The Diaries of Rabbi Ha'im Yosef David Azulai



Translated & annotated by
Benjamin Cymerman

The Diaries of Rabbi

Ha'im Yosef David Azulai

('Ma'agal Tov' - the Good Journey)

Part I

Translated and annotated by

Dr.Benjamin Cymerman

The Bnei Issakhar Institute
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1997 - 5757

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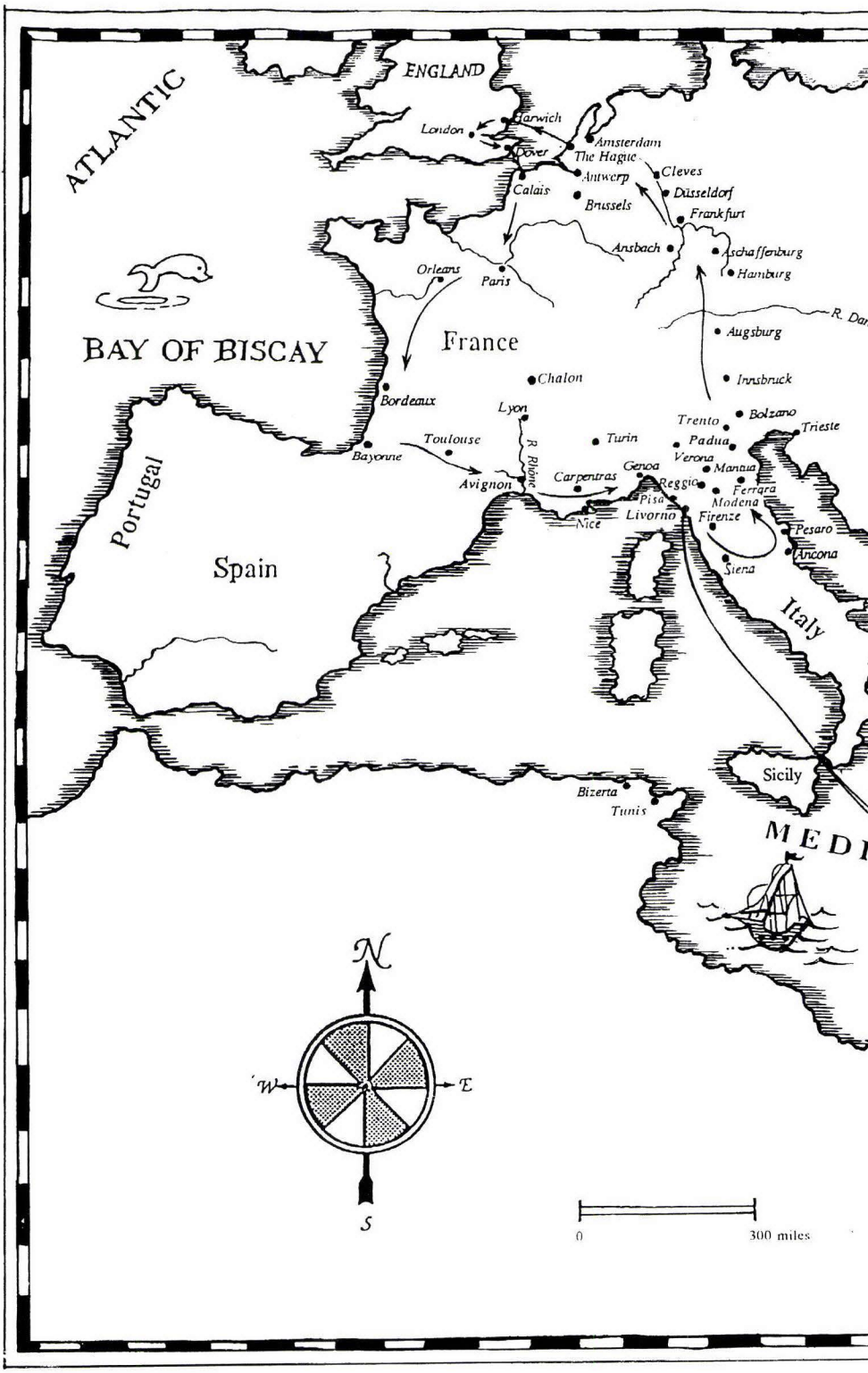
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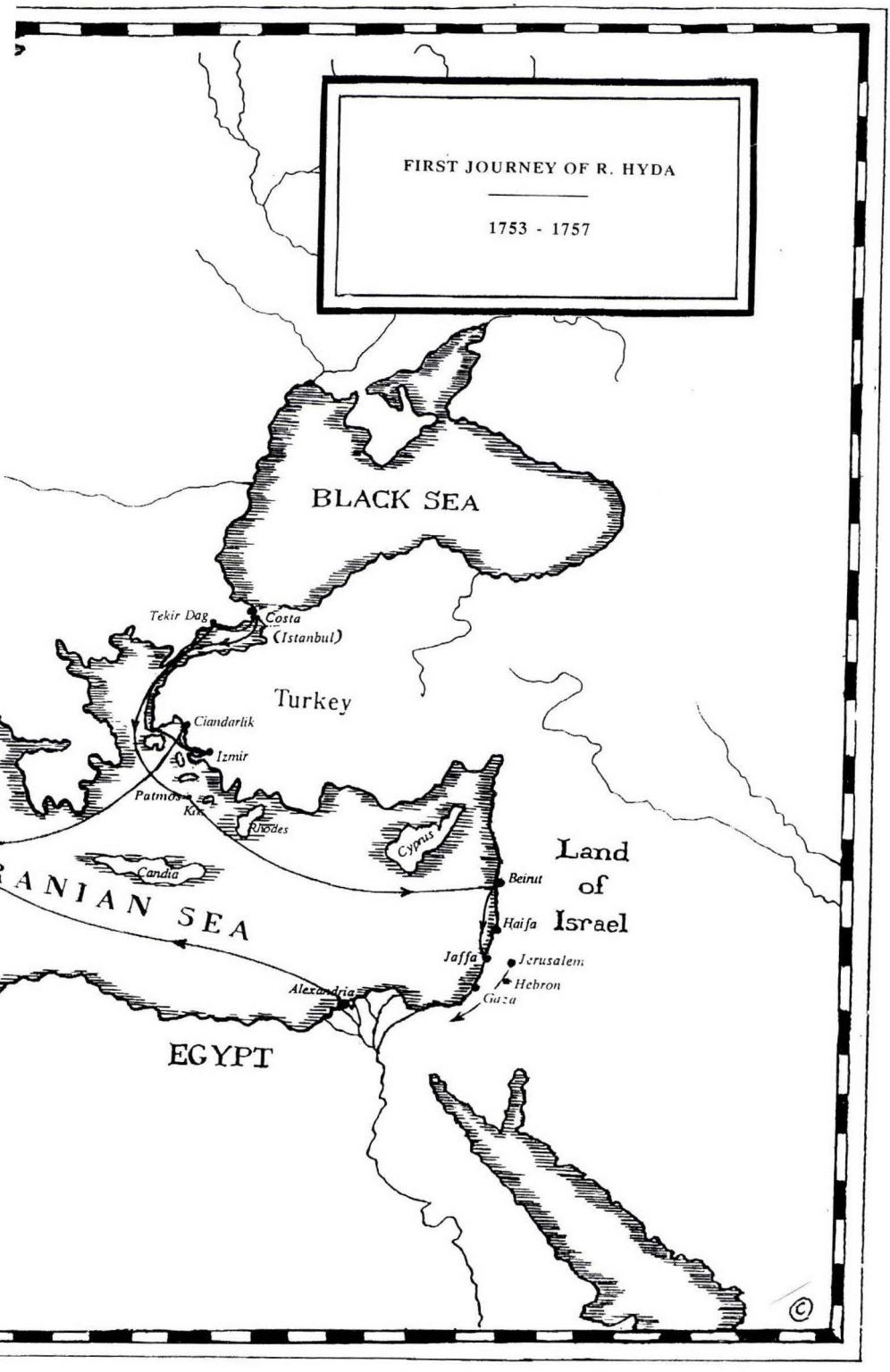
FOREWORD

The name of Rabbi H'aim Yosef David Azoulay, is known among Torah Scholars principally for his great work *Birkey Yosef* on *Halakha* and *Shem Ha-Gedolim*, an encyclopedia of all known Torah works and authors. Few, however, know he is the author of some 100 works. Fewer still know he wrote *Shem Ha-Gedolim* in 40 days - from memory. He found time to write a diary on each of his two main journeys across North Africa and Europe. He had an insatiable intellect for every kind of knowledge - scientific, historical. The more one learns about this great man, the more one recognises the uniqueness of his personality. Perhaps since Maimonides there has not existed such an illustrious figure.

The diaries themselves contain fascinating material about himself, the Jewish congregations he visited. Remarkably, the diaries are little known, even among scholars, though they have been published in the original Hebrew under the name *Ma'agal Tov*. From my own familiarity with *Ma'agal Tov* I am able to say that Dr. Cymerman has succeded in presenting a translation that is not only accurate and lucid, but manages to capture the wit and humour of the original in spite of the often abstruse language. The many footnotes do not distract unduly and provide a wealth of information for those interested. The book is enhanced by authentic pictures and maps. Although Dr. Cymerman has made a career of science, he is graduate of *Yeshivot* and a *talmid hakham*: that he is well qualified to have undertaken this work is abundantly clear.

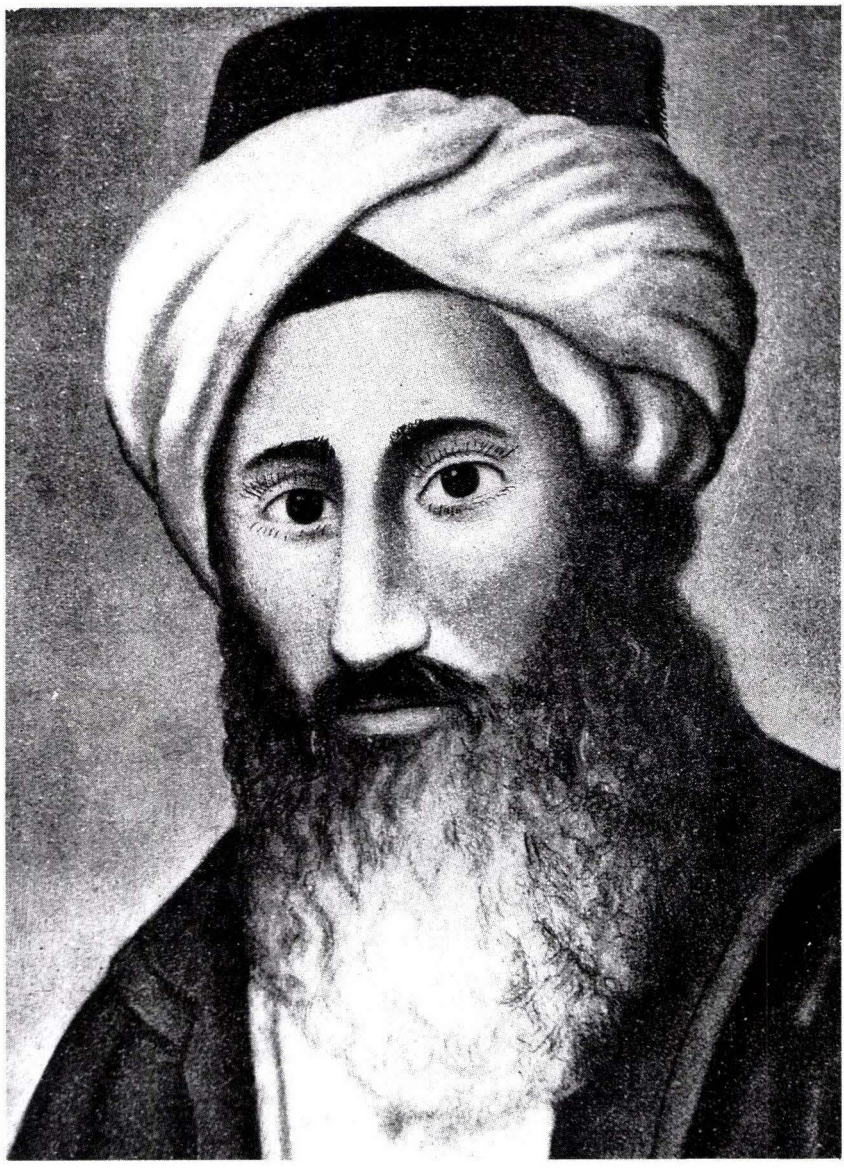
Rabbi A. Bassous, London, 5757.


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FIRST JOURNEY OF R. HYDA
1753 - 1757
BLACK SEA
Tekir Dag
Costa
(Istanbul)
Turkey
Ciandarlik
Izmir
Patmos
Kos
Rhodes
Cyprus
Candia
ANIAN SEA
Land
of
Israel
Beirut
Haifa
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Hebron
Gaza
Alexandria
EGYPT

To
my Mother לאייט

and לחבבחל״ח
in memoriam to my Father ני״ע
who saw the beginning of this work,
but not its completion.



Portrait of Rabbi Ha'im Yosef David Azulai.

Preface

From earliest times, even before the appearance of the printed book, people have been interested in travel and stories of travellers. Among Jewish travellers, the best known are Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Petahiya of Regensburg (Ratisbon), who both lived in the twelfth century and who both wrote accounts of their travels. The diary of Benjamin of Tudela has been translated and has become a classic work. A more recent Jewish traveller was the illustrious Rabbi Ha'im Yosef David Azulai - the *HYDA*[1] - of Jerusalem, best known for his many and profound writings on the Bible, Talmud, the Cabbalah and other subjects - some eighty published works and many others still in manuscript. Surprisingly, the diary of his travels is not commonly known: this is the first translation from the original Hebrew-Aramaic text.

The diary covers the years 1753-1788, though not continuously, during which time R. HYDA travelled throughout Europe and England primarily for the purpose of raising funds for the poor and the Talmudical academies (Yeshivot) in the Holy Land, especially the 'Sages of Hebron'. The original diaries - two small, neatly written books - are in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York and were not published in complete form until 1934 [2]. Various partial editions have existed since 1879 when the first edition, consisting of only some 28 pages, was published under the name *Ma'agal Tov*[3]. Short extracts

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1 For simplicity, the Hebrew soft guttural *chet* and Arabic equivalents are denoted by 'h'. R. HYDA is often affectionately referred to as just 'the HYDA' (pronounced HIDDA).

2 Mekitze Nirdamim, Jerusalem, 1934 ed. A. Freimann.

3 R. HYDA, in one of his letters, refers to his journeys as the *'ma'agal tov'* the 'good path' (Proverbs 2:9), but he did not give this title to his diary.

only have appeared in English[4], German[5], Dutch[6] and French[7] translations.

Why no English - or any other - translation of this literary and historic gem has appeared until now is probably due to a number of reasons. Not least of these, without doubt, must be the difficult and cryptic style: literary adaptations, learned puns and allusions make great demand on the reader's familiarity with Biblical and Talmudic sources. The meaning within the context is often constructed with difficulty and some obscure passages remain despite the translator's best efforts; particularly so when the author, in moments of passion, launches into flights of eloquence and even poetry: the passages in rhyming couplets are particularly abstruse. The whole is permeated with an unconscious humour that flows effortlessly from the author's vast scholarship. This literary style is in the classical tradition of the Sephardi rabbis and R. HYDA is its exponent par excellence. To offer a simplified paraphrase would be to lose a valuable dimension of the original work. It has been a principal aim of this translation to maintain the style as well as to give clear meaning.

About the Author

Ha'im Yosef David Azulai was born in Jerusalem in 5484 (1724), or thereabouts. The exact date is not certain and some historians[8] place his birth as late as 1727. He is descended from a long rabbinic line bearing the name Azulai. The origin of this name is not certain; it has been pointed out that its Hebrew letters are formed from the initial letters of the first five words of verse 7 in Leviticus chap. 21 but this is certainly accidental (and

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4 E. Adler, Jewish Travellers, Routledge, 1930.

5 L. Prijs, Das Reisetagebuch des Rabbi Ch.J.D. Asulai: Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte [1974] Munich.

6 J. S. da Silva Rosa, De Bezoeken van Gacham Azulay aan Nederland in de tweede Helft den 18de Eeuw (reprint from "de Vrijdagavond", 1st April 1927).

7 *Kountrass*, No. 4, 1987 'Ma'agal Tov: Le Hida à Paris.

8 Eisenstein, Otzar Israel, Pardes (New York), 1951.

certainly irrelevant). The family had fled from Spain seven generations earlier, and there may be some unknown connexion with the Spanish *azul* meaning 'blue'. Even as a young boy his fame as a brilliant Talmudic scholar had spread throughout the Holy Land. He wrote his first work *He'elam Davar*, dealing mainly with chronology, at the age of 16 followed a year later by *Sha'ar Yosef*, a commentary on one of the most difficult Talmudic tractates, *Horayoth* dealing with jurisprudence. R. HYDA was 29 when he set out on his first great voyage to Europe in the winter of 1753. After his return to Jerusalem, in the spring of 1757, he was appointed Dayan and he was also accepted, despite being a relative youngster (i.e. less than the normal mandatory age of 40) as a member of the society of Cabbalists in Jerusalem, under the headship of the saintly and famous Rabbi Shalom Shar'abi. In 1764 he travelled to Constantinople, together with other rabbis, because of friction between the Jerusalem administrators of the funds and the 'Appointees of Costa' but the journey was aborted and he went to Egypt, where he became the Rabbi of Cairo for 5 years.

His second great voyage was undertaken in the winter of 1773. It was during the second year of this voyage, while R. HYDA was in Tunis, that he received the shattering news of the death of his beloved wife, Rachel, from whom he had two sons, Isaiah and Abraham, and two daughters. R. Abraham, too, travelled to Europe on missions like those of his father, going as far as Poland. R. HYDA did not return to settle in Jerusalem. While in Pisa, in 1779 he re-married (this second wife was also called Rachel) but there is no record of any issue from this marriage. R. HYDA did not return to Hebron but decided to stay in Livorno (Leghorn) in Italy where he lived for some 25 years, serving in an unofficial capacity as the Rabbi and making Livorno became one of the seats of Rabbinical authority in Europe. He died in 1806 and was buried in Livorno. In 1976 one of his descendants (named Azulai), with the co-operation of the Israeli and Italian Governments, arranged for R. HYDA's remains to be re-buried in the Holy Land. It is on record that the corpse was intact.

It could be that the author's original motivation for writing a diary was the response of a young traveller to novel, often exciting and even dangerous experiences. Freimann comments that the diaries were probably written for R. HYDA's own amusement and without any thought of publication. It is quite clear, however, from R. HYDA's opening paragraphs that his motives were deeper; and throughout the succession of trials and tribulations - as well as some passages in lighter vein - described in the

diary, there is a constant affirmation of trust in the Al-mighty and thanksgiving for every deliverance from ill.

The attention to details and names is astonishing, particularly when it is evident from the introductory paragraphs that Book 1 of the diary was written after R. HYDA's return to Jerusalem! He inspired respect from almost everyone he met, Jews and gentiles alike, and expresses delight and surprise at this with charming ingenuousness. On one occasion, when called upon to adjudicate on a communal matter, he accepts the mantle of authority with modesty and surprise - 'and I, a young man!' On his second voyage he was taken by a French nobleman into the royal palace at Versailles where he met King Louis XV who afterwards enquired about him.

R. HYDA possessed a phenomenal and insatiable intellect. Among his eighty published works, covering every aspect of the Torah, are the authoritative Halakhic treatise *Birkei Yosef* and the well-known *Shem Ha-Gedolim*, a catalogue of nearly every Jewish book hitherto published collated straight from his encyclopaedic knowledge[9]. Even on his travels R. HYDA lost no opportunity of visiting and discoursing with local scholars, studying newly-found works and visiting any place of interest - ruined synagogues, museums, zoos, even a shipyard and a cannon foundry. He knew several languages: Arabic, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, some French and perhaps a little English. One of R. HYDA's least pleasant experiences was in England: in his description of this, as of other adversities, even the pathos is penetrated by his sharp wit. Perhaps the most moving passage in the diary is where R. HYDA recounts how he received the news, while in Tunis, of the death of his young wife, Rachel. His adoration of her is apparent in the brief eulogy he records listing her virtues.

Towards the end of Book II the diary ends on a happy note: R. HYDA records with great joy his marriage, in Pisa in 1779, to another Rachel, 'a maiden, noble and modest'. There is not a word about the making of this match until its actual announcement, but we suddenly understand why, in an earlier vague reference, 'I went to Pisa to deliver the gifts'. There is no record of any issue from this marriage.

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9 Surprisingly, R. HYDA makes no mention in any of his writings of the Ga'on of Vilna (an almost exact contemporary) even though he quotes several works published in Vilna in *Shem Ha-Gedolim*.

About the Author's Missions

For a clearer insight into some of the matters concerning the mission referred to in the narrative it is important to be aware of certain details of the structure and administration of the *Haluqah* [= distribution], a General Fund which existed in the Holy Land at this time. (The maintenance of Jewish communities and scholars in the Holy Land was a well-established feature of Jewish life even in the time of the Talmud[10]). At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Jewish population in Jerusalem numbered some 300 families with even smaller communities in the three other main towns Hebron, Tsefat (Safed) and Tiberias[11]. The Jews in these and other scattered communities, among them many scholars mainly of Sephardi-Oriental origin, besides having scant or no livelihood, were oppressed with high taxes and house costs, and huge interest repayments to Arab and Turkish overlords (although there were some good rulers[12]). The four regional funds sent regular emissaries, at intervals of one or two years, as far afield as Afghanistan and Lithuania, to collect money. (Following the great influx of Ashkenazi Jews at the beginning of the century, two further funds were set up with their own emissaries. In the latter half of the 18th century funds were being set up for particular towns [e.g. Hebron] and, later, for particular national groupings and institutions, emissaries now travelling as far as the Caribbeans and America).

The journeys of these emissaries were arduous and dangerous and many lost their lives at the hands of bandits in North Africa and Iraq, and at the hands of pirates in the Mediterranean Sea - R. HYDA records his own fear of the Knights of Malta. Many more were robbed of the fruits of years of their own toil and of others' sacrifices; though the most tragic aspect of such losses was the failure of the arrival of succour and relief on which so many lives depended.

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10 A. Ya'ari: *Sheluhei Eretz Israel*, Mossad Harav Kook [1977], Jerusalem; p. 343.

11 Ibid. pp. 84, 215, 501.

12 Rabbi Isaac Carigal: v. ibid. p. 580; also, Jerusalem Post [20.5.80], David Geffen: 'The Visitor from Hebron'.

Each Jewish community visited by the emissaries maintained a special Holy Land Fund, Qupath Eretz Israel either as a collection box or an organised collection when accredited emissaries arrived. In addition to their letters of credential and recommendation, emissaries usually carried a notebook of accounts, a *pinqas*[13] recording (in meticulous detail) donations and expenses; the *pinqas* of the previous emissary was often carried as well, both as a guide to the level of donations expected and as an additional credential. It is evident from surviving examples of such notebooks and from the narrative in the *Ma'agal Tov* that besides the communal donations there were also additional private donations from wealthy individuals. At the time of R. HYDA's second journey, the Yeshiva in Hebron had been formally established and a special fund had been officially approved for its maintenance. It appears that on his first mission R. HYDA had also been authorised to undertake a special collection for the Yeshiva of Hebron (the 'Sages of Hebron' - in addition to the Hebron *Haluqah*). Unfortunately, he did not have with him the *pinqas* of the former emissary who had in the previous year collected private donations for this new fund in its embryo stage. The letter of authorisation, too, failed to make proper reference to this fund and this caused R. HYDA great distress and embarrassment in the city of Fürth.

This period in R. HYDA's life has an important historical background on which the diaries provide interesting vignettes. Disciples of the false Messiah, Shabbetai Ts'vi, were still around provoking controversy, and the news gazettes in Germany were having a field-day. R. HYDA became slightly involved in the dispute between the two illustrious rabbis, R. Jacob of Emden and R. Jonathan Eybeshütz of Altona-Hamburg[14]. When he visited the illustrious Rav of Frankfurt, Rabbi Jacob Joshua Falk,[15] - "... and his appearance is like that of an Angel of the L-rd! " - R. HYDA suffered some embarrassment concerning this matter. Other events referred to include the war between France and England; the war between Russia and Turkey; raids by the Knights Templar of Malta -

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13 See the classic work by M. Benayahu: 'Rav Hai'm Yosef David Azulai' (Part 2), Mossad Rav Kook, 5719/1959, for many examples of such records.

14 Not so much a dispute as a sustained accusation by R. Jacob Emden against the other as being a supporter of Sh. Tz. The accusations were groundless and due to a misunderstanding.

15 Author of the classic Talmudic commentary *P'nei Yehoshua.*

R. HYDA describes the capture of his ship by pirates; the death of the Turkish Sultan and the coronation of his successor; the little known but terrible ravages of the Levant and Egypt by Ali Bey who was more powerful than the king of Egypt: the intrigues and plots of rival Arab chieftains are described in great detail, and R. HYDA's caravan was caught up in some of the fighting. There are a number of other incidents where R. HYDA's life is threatened by bandits. While visiting Paris R. HYDA took the opportunity of conversing with scholars of the Sorbonne about scientific knowledge: 'I understood everything he said' (and later goes on to say that there is much nonsense). He describes, too, the invention of a deaf-and-dumb language by one of his acquaintances in Paris, and the personal interest of King Louis XV who granted a stipend to the inventor to found an institute. R. HYDA came to London in 1755 and describes his visit to the Tower of London in fascinating detail. On his second visit to Paris (in 1777) and to Versailles R. HYDA records, with evident delight, how ladies of the Court would seek him out for conversation and to ask a blessing from him.

It is one purpose of the present work to open up a vista on to the life and personality of one of the most charismatic figures in comparatively recent Jewish history whose gigantic stature, as a Torah scholar and saintly though down-to-earth man, is not sufficiently widely appreciated (though popular biographical books are beginning to appear). It is hoped that the reader will derive as much pleasure and inspiration in reading this narrative as I did in translating it.

Translator's note

The text used as the basis for this translation is the Mekitze Nirdamim edition of *Ma'agal Tov* Jerusalem 1934, edited by Aaron Freimann. Although valuable use has been made of Freimann's glosses for names, a number of errors have had to be corrected. Inspection of the autograph shows, too, a number of omissions and these have been amended. The footnotes are all mine and are mainly source references; only occasionally will they demand the reader's attention. Straight quotations, with which the text is liberally sprinkled, are indicated by single quotes and left to the reader, unless there is a point of special interest.

I have allowed myself a certain licence in the setting of paragraphs and of punctuation (both hardly existing in the original) and in the choice of the plu-perfect tense (often ignored in classical Hebrew) rather than the simple past where this seemed necessary. One other liberty I have taken is the conversion, now and again, of the ubiquitous biblical 'and' to some other suitable conjunction such as 'but' or 'now' (or nothing at all) for a little added clarity, otherwise the translation is more or less verbatim. I am sure that my decision to remove all sermon material from the text and place it in a separate section at the end of the book will be generally welcome.

The three-part index is new and replaces Freimann's two-part index.

Use of parentheses

Occasionally, in obscure passages, words are added [shown thus in square brackets] to help the meaning. In a few cases the precise meaning of the narrative has eluded me and such lapses are indicated. Ordinary parentheses are used (- for words in a quoted reference irrelevant to the context.

Benjamin Cymerman, London, 5753-1993.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Mr. Alfred Rubens for permission to use pictures from his collection (A Jewish Iconography, Nonpareil Press), and particularly for the generous and gracious manner in which this was given. I owe a debt of gratitude to Tamara and David Goldschmidt for reading the manuscript and making many useful suggestions; to Mr. Yossi Jacobson for a first proof-reading; to Mr. A. Schischa with whom I enjoyed several useful discussions; and to my daughters, Miriam Gehler for invaluable assistance with the indexing, and Elisheva Guttermann (in distant Jerusalem) for final checking of the proofs.

I am indebted to many other friends (and relatives) who, by their genuine interest, have been a constant spur and encouragement in a long and arduous undertaking (over more than 7 years). It is evident that they, like myself, have been inspired by R. HYDA and his life: it is by the grace of A-lmighty G-d that I have such family and friends, and their support. I must make particular mention of Rabbi A. Bassous, who enthusiastically took upon himself the commitment to seek a suitable publishing house; and I must express my deep appreciation of the interest and expertise of Makhon B'ney Issakhar, and of its director, Rabbi Meir Abitbol, and Mrs. Rachel Ibn Tsur who was responsible for the setting and layout.

It goes almost without saying, but it must be said - the unswerving and constant support, in every littlest aspect of this work, of my dear wife, Leah *mi-nashim ba-ohel tevorakh* , has been the principal force in bringing it to completion. But without the initial inspiration provided by the scholarship of her brother, Mr. Judah J. Reich, the work would never have been started.

A page from the first diary.

[By courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York]

[Introduction of R. HYDA]

'These are the generations of TSA'IR[1]': all the happenings and great events that 'rose up and went over my head' the day 'I went out to the townships', went out into the cities of the lands of the nations, various kingdoms and different peoples, 'traversing the paths of the sea': by every sort of 'vehicle, sedan, ark'; in wagons, by mules and span of camels - all together 'at one stroke' - 'this is hard [on] the body[2]!'

I, a minor among the men of Jerusalem - may it be rebuilt and re-established! - have taken in my right hand 'a stick for the hand' and I say: with my pen will I set down 'That I may put, in order that I set [3] the order of these my journeyings to the cities and towns - as if I had just passed through them! - among the holy communities, on this holy errand from the holy city of Hebron - may it be rebuilt! - numbered by their days and by their weeks. And 'issuing from them' the wondrous kindnesses that the Master of mercy has dealt me - the tiny fraction of His support and wonders that are recognisable and that can be seen: such as these one must make known, so that the matters will be praised and thanked 'for all He has rendered me'; so there will be no refraining.

'I am unworthy in the face of all the kindness and truth' - for He has dealt me only goodness, as the shepherd tends his sheep. He, in His mercy, 'will lead me in the paths of righteousness for His Name's sake': and may He return my exile fast and fleet to thee, Jerusalem, the holy city - may it be rebuilt! - and here find all my kindred flesh alive and well. So let us merit that we live and serve Him with whole hearts quietly and tranquilly 'like the garden of my planting'. So may it be His will.

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1 I, the junior [= *tsa'ir*] is a standard self-effacing form. The phrase is a pun on Gen. 36:20. generations > happenings, v. Rashi Gen. 6:9.

2 In the common Talmudic phrase *ha gufa kashya* = 'this is itself difficult', *gufa* = body. The entire paragraph is in rhyming couplets.

3 Quoting Rashi Ex. 10:1 , amplifying the unusual form *shiti* = my putting or setting.



A Jew and Jewess of Jerusalem.

Year 5513 [1753]

Shevat 4 Parshat Bo[1], Tuesday

We journeyed from the holy city of Jerusalem - may it be rebuilt! - I, the junior, with Hakham Samuel ben Ha'im - may his memory live for ever! - in attendance; and many with us, 'a gracious escort'! We prayed Minha near Gad ha-Hozeh. But afterwards, 'came out and arose' some 'ten sons of Haman' from Halhul who harrassed us and turned us back like captives of war through their land: and the 'remainder of the locusts' - swarming and frightening. But the blessed Name overturned their intent and we arrived safely in the holy city of Hebron - may it be rebuilt! - near to midnight prior to the fourteenth [of Shevat].

Shevat 19 P. Jethro

Wednesday: we set out from the holy city of Hebron - may it be rebuilt! - in rainy weather, for Gaza - a group of three, 'three friends'.

Shevat 20

Thursday: we lodged on the eve of Thursday [=Wednesday night] in the village of Ed-Dawa'imeh in the house of Sheikh Nuf'al, who was accompanying us, for there was his home - a cowshed! All day Thursday he troubled us greatly, insisting we stay over the Sabbath. But through bribes he continued the journey.

Shevat 21

On the eve of Friday, at dead of night, we arrived at the village of Sumsum. The path entering the village was heaped, pile upon pile, with dung and was deep in mud. By means of a miracle we were able to pass

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1 Parshat Bo = the weekly portion of 'Come (to Pharaoh)', Ex. 10-13.

through a cavern, most dreadful and full of filth, inhabited not by people - but by serpents and scorpions[2]. 'And so I, the [mere] worm' [3], and one friend, arrived in Gaza at sunrise: those other companions mentioned earlier had been with us eighteen days but now I alone was left with Hakham S.b.H. - his soul [now] in Eden - and we tarried there more then fifty days.

Now, another friend had journeyed from the holy city of Jerusalem - may it speedily be rebuilt! - by way of Jaffa, eight days before us. After his departure[4] we were encountered by a Sheikh Salim from Hassalakhieh, to whom he [our friend] had been brought [introduced ?]. He [the Sheikh ?] had been 'with his feet in fetters' [under pledge ?] to a Pasha who had come with a *khazaniah* [treasure caravan ?] from Egypt as an escort for the way, for he was a notorious chieftain of Arab villains. And we arranged with him to go through the desert on 'the Sultan's Highway' [5]. I was distressed that on Shabbat Zachor we might be leaving a settlement of Jews, but through His great mercy - may He be blessed! - he [the Sheikh] agreed to stay in Gaza on Shabbat Zachor.

Adar II, 12

The night after the Sabbath we set forth and the same day we encamped in a place called De'ir [el-Balat]. And there came a sheikh who molested us and also demanded *jafar* [= protection money]. But our Sheikh Salim 'smote him by the sharpness [of the sword]' until he was humbled: but among the living and the wounded - how much pain there was! And the Name - may it be praised! - in His mercy did not deliver us as prey for their teeth.

Accompanying us were many gentiles, some seventy souls. And on the day of Purim[6] the gentiles among us said we should resume our

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2 The literal translation is abstruse: 'and its people the like of forms each one not human but *nahesh yenahesh* (Gen. 44:15, a play on *nahash* = serpent) and scorpions'.

3 Psalms 22:7.

4 Presumably from Gaza.

5 The normal caravan route.

6 This would be Tuesday.

journey on the Sabbath and that the Jews would have to as well. And no spirit was left in me, and I said to myself: Was it for this that I had to wait in Gaza in vain - to profane the Sabbath? And I fell at the feet of Sheikh Salim with tears and beseeching; and the Name - may it be praised! - gave me grace and favour. And on the eve of Wednesday[7] he set out with us, and the entire caravan left and forgotten to swallow their pride - to no avail!

On Wednesday, Shushan Purim, there blew up a great and mighty wind - 'and He will go with the whirlwinds of the south' - and the Name - may it be praised! - gave us strength and saved us.

Adar II, 16

In the small hours of Thursday night Hakham Samuel ben Ha'im - his soul now in Eden - got lost! He found himself, in the pitch-black night, alone 'like a cactus in the wilderness', far from the caravan not knowing which way to turn. He did not wander about but stood shouting for about half an hour. In answer to his cries 'the quick and the dead' responded and, hearing the voices, he used the sound to guide his way home. During all this I slept, but awoke when he returned. On hearing the story I was troubled and [then] relieved.

Adar II, 17

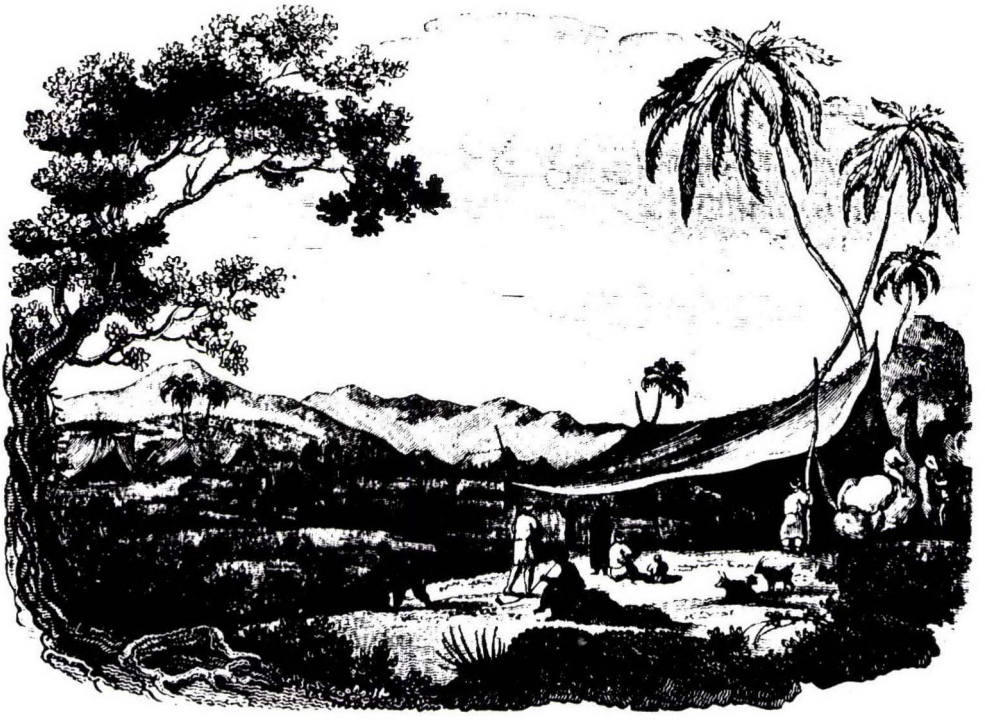
Friday, at Minha-time, we 'set to our Sabbath-place' on the face of the desert, near Bir-el-Abd. On the Sabbath day we suffered from the strength of 'the sun in his might'. Towards Minha-time it became known to us all that there were many fierce tribes ahead of us, and [even] Sheikh Salim was 'seized by trembling'. And as for the rest of us, what could we say? - broken in heart and weak in spirit.

On Sunday, the 19th of the month, we travelled all day and all through the night - and 'mighty [was] the flight' [8]. On one occasion there

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7 Tuesday.

8 Psalms 147:13 'Bolt' and 'flee' share a similar root (*bariah* , *barah*); the identical English pun!



Camp in the desert.

was before us a swollen river to ford[9], and I rode the Sheikh's horse and passed through: and Hakham S. b. H. on top of a camel, which, while crossing through the water, knelt and sat down! - and all the food in the water! But everything was saved.

Adar II, 22

Wednesday: we changed direction. The Sheikh - 'lo! he has brought us' among some Egyptian villages, 'upon their canals and upon their ponds', 'with every delightful tree', like the garden of the L-rd. It happened that we were passing by near a deep ditch, and the Sheikh, without my knowledge, smacked the camel [I was riding]. The blow was strong, 'the camel flew', and I was so startled that I fell to the ground'. The wooden 'smoke-raiser'[=pipe] I was holding in my hand got broken; but the blessed Name turned kindness towards me and after my fall I got up and remounted the camel. 'And there was but a step etc.'.

Adar II, 23

Thursday evening: lo! wagons and horsemen calling themselves by the name of Kilahy-Sana'ita. And there came from them a messenger, and Sheikh Salim - spat in his face! And his spirit flitted away and mounting his camel away he sped. But no spirit was left in us - faint, everyone! And, to add to my troubles, H. S.b.H. - his soul [now] in Eden - wished to journey on foot. But after two hours or more of such affliction he was obliged to rest for half an hour from the toil and anguish of the way.

At nightfall we came to a village - persecutors of our faith.

Adar II, 24

Friday: we arrived at the village of Mit Ghamr; and there live four Jews. We took peaceful leave of Sheikh Salim and stayed there over the Sabbath.

In this village there is a synagogue, with scrolls of the Law, and there is a *miqvah* near the synagogue: for this was once a large congregation in Israel.

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9 The wadi at El-Arish. (Torrens Ægypti)

Adar II, 27

Monday: we set out by boat from Mit Ghamr for Bulak, together with many gentiles.

Nissan 1

Thursday: I was oppressively troubled[10] about the [coming] Sabbath; this to add to my misery, for the entire way 'my soul was fully sated' [with] 'making complaints'. And all small matters appeared to my eyes in these days as enormous dangers and mighty troubles: for I was not used hitherto to highways, deserts, rivers.

Now when the steward[11] saw that 'many were the sons of the desolate', many of our company would go by land to Bulak [12], he agreed to go [with them]. I gave him two tokens[13] to present to the *g'vir* [= wealthy man, dignitary] Rabbi Abraham Mendel - may G-d preserve him and guard him! - 'and the man wondered'[14]. And I was greatly anxious about him - until I saw a *ca'ique* [= boat] carrying Rabbi Jacob Amiel who had been sent by the said *g'vir*, and he received me in it.

Nissan 2

Friday: we went to Mitsra'im[15] and stayed as guests in the home of that perfect sage, the noble and famous Our Master Rabbi J. Manasseh[16] - may his Rock and Saviour guard him! - and he was wonderfully kind to me.

There we saw a synagogue of the Mitsri'im [Egyptians ?] and it

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10 Mishna Pe'ah II, 3; Kil. V,3 *Sea'r kotesh* = tangled (pressing) branches; *tsa'ar* = woe.

11 A party of travellers would normally engage a guide or steward.

12 It seems many of the party grew disgruntled ('desolate') with the sluggish boat journey or the conditions on board; for some reason R. HYDA preferred to stay on the boat, perhaps because he expected to be met.

13 As identification, perhaps, to confirm his coming.

14 Possibly, he was surprised that a stranger was familiar with such a famous local personage.

15 The indications are that this is a town or village, and not the country of Egypt.

16 The initial could be 'I' or 'J'.

contained a *tsunbathi* [tablet ?] recording that the synagogue was built at the end of the fifth millenium. There is also a *miqvah* there and the 'Synagogue of the RaMBaM'[17]: this has a small locked room where, it is said, the RaMBaM lodged. Within the Sabbath-bounds [= 2000 cubits, about 1000 yards] there is a town called 'Old Mitsra'im', and there is kept a scroll of the Law, holy and awesome which, they say, is the Scroll of Ezra. The synagogue there, it is said, was built by the prophet Jeremiah and on the prayer-dais - now in ruins - Jeremiah prayed. In that synagogue are twenty-six pillars of marble[18].

Nissan 30

Friday: I travelled with the nobleman Hakham Rabbi Raphael Hayyun - may G-d preserve and guard him! - by boat, and we arrived at Reshid [= Rosetta] on Tuesday, Iyar 4. And I stayed in the house of Hakham S. T[19]. Al-Hakhaf, may G-d preserve and guard him.

Iyar 9

The night after the Sabbath we journeyed from Reshid and at dawn arrived in the city of No-Amon [Alexandria]. There, at the city gate, were encamped a large troop of the Pasha's soldiers. Because of the commotion the mules started bucking wildly [threatening] to throw us, and we were greatly distressed. But by the mercy of Heaven, we entered in peace; and we received hospitality from the Hakham Rabbi Isaac Provencal, may G-d preserve and guard him. Staying there too, at that time, was the saintly rabbi Our Master Rabbi Abraham ibn Asher[20], may G-d preserve and guard him. They were both very good to us.

Close to the town there is a synagogue, awesome indeed. There are twenty-six marble pillars. They call it the Synagogue of Elijah because they have a tradition he appeared here.

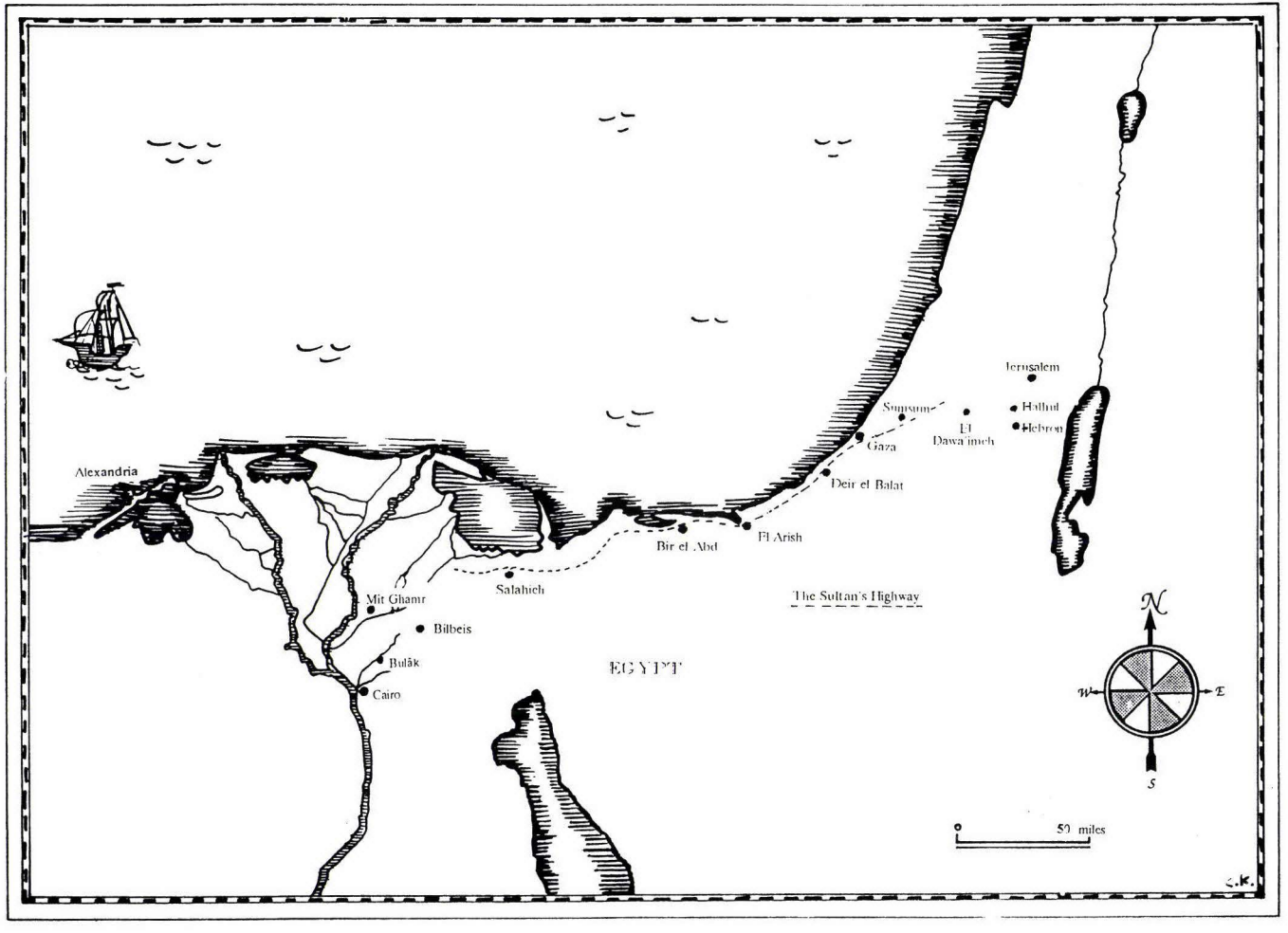
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17 Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon, the famous Maimonides.

18 The gematria value of one of the Divine names.

19 Probably 'Shem-Tov'.

20 Not R. Abraham ibn Asher, contemporary of R. Moshe Al-Sheikh; v. Ben-Jacob pp. 604 and 1136.



'The Sultan's Highway'.

Iyar 26

Wednesday: we journeyed by 'the way of a ship in the heart of the ocean', on a Swedish vessel. No description can suffice for the vicissitudes and adventures, 'they passed both together' - the *sar* [=sour] bread, and the *sa'ar* [=storm] swamping over me: my heart thrown about, back and forth, by the billows of the sea - 'waves of the deep'[21], 'going up to the high heavens' - so that we became sickened 'with a long-drawn out illness'[22], 'afflicting the soul' for a number of days.

It was the thirtieth day of our journey from No-Amon the Mighty [City] that I beheld 'this bread of affliction': 'there happened', there gathered all 'the family of *Tola'i*' [23], - 'even in the innermost chambers is it confined'[24] - impossible to remove [them] even by a 'man who can see clearly'. And there was I, poorly and in pain, 'lacking food' [25], 'and his teeth turning green' [26]. 'Were it not for the L-rd being with us', 'could there be found such' - a Jewish lad who was with us who had a little rice, and from him we had to buy - at a high price! And so we were rolling in rice 'but no other thing', nor bread nor condiment, and 'all fruit was proscribed' - 'only to the rice our eyes!'[27] This was our bread evening, morning, noon / between the lips, between the teeth / 'performing entry and exit'/ 'and our souls were sick'/ 'seeking after beet and rice'[28]/ 'the right hand brings near'/ 'for there is nothing beside it'/ 'and the mouth closing'[29]/ 'cannot bear it'./ 'Some say alter it'/ 'rise up, give no heed'/ 'despite it'/ 'and well-boiled in water'/ 'with logs of wood'/ 'from out of the

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21 *Gale amikta* = revealing the depths (Aram.); also *gale* = waves. The previous phrase is also in Aramaic.

22 Prov. 13:12 'Longing' and 'illness' have a similar root *halah* .

23 Num. 26:23; also, *tola* = worm. The previous phrase (*it-rahesh*) could be read 'there crawled to it'!

24 The Aramaic *assar* is the root of 'closes' and 'forbids'.

25 Same w. *tseda*, can mean 'food' or 'trapping'; v. Talmud Sabbath 106b defining when an animal is considered trapped or 'lacking entrapment'.

26 A huge pun on Gen. 14:14 : 'and he mustered [= *vayareq; yaraq* = green] his trained men [= *hanichav*]; the same w. *hanichav* can also mean his gums or teeth.

27 cf Num. 11:6.

28 Talmud Pesahim 114b.

29 See note [24].

Ark': / 'one did I have'/ 'and it was [fit] for burning '[30].

It also happened one other night that I inadvertently changed my sleeping berth. And it was in the middle of the night, and I was awakened by the captain of the ship; and I looked up and I saw the whole cabin overturned, and on to my [usual] sleeping berth had fallen 'chest box and cabinet'. And it was a miracle. Even the captain, 'a blaspheming foe', 'talking in his uncleanliness'[31] against the Torah and its service, had to say: He was 'walking with safeguards'[32] by us. Praise and glory to the Everlasting who overwhelms us with His lovingkindness. And [then], most of the time, 'we were at ease and respite from the storm'[33].

Tammuz 23

Wednesday: we arrived in the port of Livorno [Leghorn].

Tammuz 25

Friday: we went down to the *lazzaretto* [= quarantine station][34] towards Minha-time. And just as I rested one foot on the ground - 'behold! three baskets' full of 'the best of the land': 'of the fowl to its kind', an assortment of dishes and a great variety of loaves, various flasks of wine and fruit in plenty - the one from Our Master the Hakham Rabbi A. Caniti[35], the second from the envoys of Erets Israel[36], and the third from the respected dignitary Signor Samuel Tedesco - may the L-rd preserve them in life!

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30 The entire passage is an assortment of Talmudic phrases in rhyming couplets.

31 *Tum'o* = his uncleanliness; *tumo* = his innocence.

32 Treads with his heels [= *aqevav*]; same w. *kaf* instead of *quf in* second letter – > his obstacles or preventions.

33 A pun on ('The whole world in peace) and Hanina in woe!' (Talmud Ta'anith 24a, anecdote about R. Hanina); also, *hanina* = we rested (Aram.); *tsa'ar* = woe, *sa'ar* = storm.

34 A quarantine period of 40 days was usual for all travellers from the Middle East.

35 Freimann suggests R. Abraham Joseph Caniti: v. Ben-Jacob 368/2159.

36 Livorno had an important Jewish community, and was also the gateway to Europe, so it is not surprising that there were resident appointees from the Holy Land.

Ellul, New Moon

Friday: we entered Livorno - may the cities of Zion be rebuilt! - and G-d granted us favour and kindness [in the eyes of the comunity leaders]. However, 'just when distributing' the bundle of letters, I handed over a letter from the trustees in Erets Israel to one of them who, being unable to read it, 'this venom did give'[37] into the hand of 'one wise one '[38], and there were found written some hard words against the former appointees of the mission of Rabbi Israel Ha-Cohen[39], may G-d preserve him in life. Now they are of the noblest in the land and free from all sin: on the contrary, they exerted their charitableness in this matter with all their might. And the L-rd gave me favour in the eyes of the *g'vir*, that outstanding man of virtue, Signor Michael Pereira de Leon[40] and he made every effort to suppress the report, and the matter did not become known. For if - Heaven forfend! - were it not, as Scripture says, 'Israel knew not', great harm would be done to the mission and make mischief for generations. And the said *g'vir* Sgr. Michael, together with the *g'vir* Sgr. Solomon Aguib - may G-d preserve them! - worked wondrously to help and make effective the matter of the mission. And suddenly - in a twinkling! - were gathered all the men of the Council.

But one friend, on whom I was relying, was suffering from an illness of the eye and could not attend. I was distressed, because he was one of the leaders of the congregation. And after we left the Council in peace, I said in my heart: 'there shall be a visit' to this *g'vir* to inform him of the satisfactory outcome of the matter. But lo! he complained that the Council had not acted correctly [in agreeing] to give such a large sum! But I, indeed, blessed the Rock [for] 'my apportioned share',

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37 Psalms 67:7 *Erets* = land, *eress* = venom.

38 The reference from the Haggadah is probably ironic.

39 He was the Head of the mission. The background to this episode is not clear, and the description of it is veiled. The criticism apparently alludes to a former emissary who did not receive sufficient local support, so that R. HYDA needs to exercise some diplomacy!

40 He was also a doctor, and a friend and patron of R. HYDA, and helped with the publication of some of R. HYDA's works.

in that behold! 'he has surely prevented him' - 'out shall he go because of his eye!'

And while in the city of Livorno I prostrated myself at the tomb of Our Master the Rabbi Ha'im Ha-Cohen[41], of blessed memory, author of *Tur Bareqet* etc.

41 R. Ha'im ben Abraham of Lebanon was a pupil of R. Ha'im Vital and author of a number of works, many beginning with Tur in the title. The work mentioned is a large volume about Passover laws.

Year 5514 [1753/4]

Tishri 25 P. Bereshith

Tuesday: we journeyed from Livorno accompanied by Our Master Rabbi Hananiah Bondi[1] and the Hakham Rabbi Elijah Ha-Cohen and HR David Roqeah, may G-d preserve them. We arrived in Pisa the same day, and we lodged in the guest-house *'Supino'*.

Tishri 27

Thursday: we journeyed on and reached Florence on the eve of Friday, the 28th of the month. We lodged in the guest-house of Isaac Galetti, may G-d preserve him.

Afterwards I visited 'a splendid place'[2] and I saw there lions, leopards and their like - 'they are indeed wild creatures' [3]! And as I walked through I could see the promenade parks they call Jardines[4].

Heshvan 3 P. Noah

Wednesday: we journeyed from Florence and reached Siena on Thursday, the 4th of Heshvan; and I lodged with Signor Moshe David Gallico, his soul in Eden. It is a large town and, of its inhabitants, but a few are of the Children of Israel: these are G-d-fearing, and they pray slowly and with holy sweetness.

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1 Freimann identifies him as R. Hanaiah Mazal-Tov Bondi, author of the preface to *Siah Yitshaq* by R. Yitshaq Nunes.

2 Num. 34:4 lit. translation of *Hatsar-(Hadar).*

3 Ex. 1:19 *Haya* = midwife; also creature.

4 Near the royal palace.

Heshvan 7 Lekh-lekha

Sunday: we journeyed from Siena by way of mountainous heights; and we reached the city of Monte San Savino the eve of Monday, the 8th of Heshvan. At the gate of the city were these 'men of hammers' - forgers of iron, smiths - and when they saw us they 'became clothed with a spirit' of wildness and began beating their hammers against the anvils and shouting as if - Heaven forfend! - wild beasts were approaching. And as the sound of the shouting grew, there gathered more people and children, shouting and laughing. And so we came into that country embarrassed and abused, fearful and confused - and we did not know why this was, nor where we could turn. The gentile accompanying us did not know the way to the Jewish district; and 'many were the oppressions' upon our heads until lo! - a Jewish lad showed us the way to go to the Jewish quarter.

When we reached the *Yehudim*[5], there was nobody to receive us. The hour was late for praying *Minha* so I said: to the House of G-d we go! 'And the *Minha* passed by' [6], and also the evening prayers, and there was still no place for us to lodge. As we came out of the synagogue 'we came down at first' to an empty house close by with open windows; and it was winter, and it was cold. Now a number of people had accompanied us and so I asked, "Who is the Parness [head of the community] here?" One of them answered, "I am he." I said to him, "Woe to the generation that you are its Parness! Is it right in your eyes so to dishonour an emissary from the Holy Land 'like one of the yokels' [7]? - 'there is no fear of G-d in this place' !" - and similar words of 'rebuke against sin'. But my 'words said in a gentle manner were heard', and the words entered them 'like the venom of a serpent'; and then 'he calls me into his house and his mother's chamber'. I demurred a little, but finally I went with him to his house. And I read a book [I found] there - *Tomer Deborah*, by Rabbi Moshe Cordevero, of blessed memory.

Heshvan 11

Thursday: we journeyed through high mountains and almost the

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5 A quaint reference to the Jewish quarter.

6 Gen. 32:22 *Minha* = offering.

7 Sam. II, 17:9 *Pehat* = pit; also, *bor* = pit, *boor* = boor!

entire way was 'hills surrounding (her)', and dangerous. We arrived at Lippiano the eve of Friday, the twelfth [of Heshvan]. There are five or six householders; and I lodged with the Elder, Rabbi Elia del'Aquillo. I found there the book *Torath Hakham* by Our Master Rabbi Ha'im Ha-Cohen[8]: and I enjoyed it.

Heshvan 15, P. Va-yera

Monday: we journeyed from Lippiano and we reached the town of Urbino the eve of Wednesday, the 17th of Heshvan. Can this be the town that is the Pope's principality, and the Jews there so desolate and poor?

Heshvan 18

Thursday: we sent our packages of clothes ahead and then we departed. We arrived in Pesaro on Friday the 19th. I was anxious about our clothes but, thanks to G-d, they arrived entire.

I spent the Sabbath eve - together with the rabbi Our Master Rabbi Isaiah Romanin, may G-d grant him life - at the home of the *g'vir* Matsliah [who came] from Ancona, and the Sabbath day at the home of the young man Signor Solomon Gentilomo. I preached before Minha; and then we ate the 'Third Meal' at the house of the *Moreh Tsedeq*[9].

The Jews there are very hard and did not want to give anything until after I had [gone and] returned from Ancona.

Heshvan 22

Haye Sarah Monday: we travelled from there and arrived in Senigallia the same day. And there, too, the matter was difficult; but after 'words of entreaty'[10] they gave something. A few individuals wanted to give three *paoli* [= *pablos*] for one[11] but I did not accept.

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8 R. Ha'im ben Abraham of Lebanon.

9 Literally, 'Instructor of Righteousness', the senior rabbi. The phrase is used often.

10 Eccles. 8:1 *Pesher* = meaning, *petzar* = entreating.

11 This means, presumably, a single - and miserly - donation for the whole community.

Heshvan 24

Wednesday: we departed from there and arrived safely in the city of Ancona the same day. And it befell, as I was coming through the gate into the city square - 'and Abraham came out' - he, the *g'vir* Signor Abraham Ha-Cohen, may G-d preseve him, to receive us in his house. Within the hour, came the venerable rabbi His Honour the Rav[12] Rabbi Yehiel Ha-Cohen, may G-d preserve him, together with some of the scholars of the Yeshiva, amongst them the two luminaries HH Our Master R. S. Pappo, may G-d grant him life, Master of the Mishnah; and HHOMR Judah Perets Bonsenior, may G-d preserve him.

These men are all perfect 'all equally good' in doing great honour to emissaries from the Holy Land. Even towards me - a young man! - they acted marvellously. Day and night - until midnight - never ceased the footsteps of the notables, community leaders and scholars of the town: one group coming in, the other going out - constantly busy with me! 'And would that I were a cowherd'[13] to one of them! There would they lay 'of the choicest produce of the earth'/ 'and they laid their bounty'/ 'dripping with moisture'/ 'the fullness of the sponge'/ 'with grace and gentleness'./ 'Behold, this is to be praised!' And when the time came for us to depart, they would not let us go without escorting us to our abode.

On the Sabbath day, Haye Sarah, I preached the sermon. [Afterwards] 'came forth the nobles' of the congregation 'into the shade of my roof' [and suggested] 'they would walk and go' with me to [visit] the Italian synagogue. My host, most days, would invite some of the rabbis and notables for mealtimes - of the best things 'supporting the sustenance of the heart'.

On the Sabbath of P. Toledoth the abovementioned rabbi[14] preached: but - with great respect - 'an angel jesting'[15] with jests, to be remembered as 'a small name and great pomp'. 'And when it came the turn' of 'behold! the kings have gathered' - the men of the great Council - to consider the matter of

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12 The title Rav usually denotes the rabbi of the congregation.

13 Sam. I 20:30 '(That you) choose' = *boher*; cowherd = *boqer*[?]

14 Presumably the first-mentioned venerable rabbi.

15 *Melits* = 'intercede'; *lets* = 'jester'.

my mission, 'Ha'im asked'[16]: "It is my desire to 'go to the people', and my going [to them] do not restrain." And so they did - after the Sabbath, some one and a half hours after they had deliberated, they sent two men of stature 'and they hauled and drew up Joseph'[17]. Then I went to the Council and I appealed before them 'payment all seven'[18] - 'raiments according to their size'. 'And the reply came back' from the eldest among them that they had reached agreement, 'and a spirit of goodwill supported them' for the sum of two hundred and seventy five Corinthian *ducats* [= *escudos*]. I answered that 'I went through the sum'[19] mentioned, and 'there is a hint of the number'[20] of evil[21], and it is not fitting to repay evil for so much good - 'for they had rendered me only good'. And when they heard me present this pleasantry it found favour in their eyes, and they added another five! So I left there with 'behold! it is good.

In those days there was a division between the Sephardi [Spanish] and the Italian congregations. Many of those with us - a goodly company! - begged me repeatedly to pass that Sabbath [with the Sephardim]. So I went with the Rav[22] to the officers of the Italian Synagogue and to some of their notables, individually. I grew weary with arguing and pleading but they hardened their hearts and would not listen. 'Then were they confused, the captains' of the Sephardi Synagogue 'and they said, saying': 'Lift up your rod', say 'this is the fact of the matter' that they would not listen etc.[23]. But I answered: it is not right for an emissary who has received much good and been dealt honour from a congregation 'to throw in a bolt'; and 'an unspecified nest'[24] has a fixed

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16 Psalms 21:5 *Ha'im* = life (also the title of one of R. HYDA's books).

17 Genesis 37:28.

18 Talmud: the festival sacrifice could be brought all seven days. There were seven elders present.

19 Psalms 42:5. *Sakh* = protection; also, sum.

20 Psalms 104:25. *Remess* = insect, *remez* = hint; *ayn* = without; *hayn* = they are.

21 Gematria value of *ra'ah* [= evil] is 275.

22 Of the Sephardim, presumably.

23 Probably meaning 'take a firm stand'.

24 Mishnah Qinim II, 1. A bird sacrifice ['nest' = a pair] could be left 'undeclared' by the owner for the priest to specify which is the sin-offering and which the gift-offering.

ring'[25]. So let us try not to step upon the venom' [26].

There in Ancona I saw a commentary on the [Midrash] Sifre by Rabbi Hillel[27], in manuscript; and also *Queries by Dreams* on some uncertain laws by some holy man[28]

Kislev 13, P. Va-yishlah

Sunday: we departed from Ancona accompanied by S. David Ha-Cohen 'the perfect son-in-law' of our host, and S. Hezekiah Banchieri. The day was a stormy one, with tempestuous winds 'shattering mountains' 'with mattocks and axes'. We arrived in Senigallia that same day.

Kislev 14, P. Va-yishlah

Monday: I came with those aforementioned to Pesaro and I lodged at the house of the daughter of S. Abraham aforementioned. 'Then I said, behold! I have come' - and you dwellers of Pesaro, deal with me benevolently in my mission! But they stiffened their necks. I appealed to them: "Is it right in your eyes to give to the apostates of other congregations [29], but towards the inhabitants of the Holy Land you refuse and rebel?" And in the end we settled for a small amount.

Kislev 16

Wednesday: we travelled from Pesaro. The nights of Thursday [i.e. Wednesday night] and of Friday I was in Rimini and Faenza with some Jewish merchants. Friday morning I hired some horses to go to Lugo. 'And

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25 Mishnah Midot III, 5. Each of the 12 priestly families had its specified tethering-ring for sacrifices. The rhyming couplet probably means: nothing said is a fixed [i.e. certain] gain. Ring [= *taba'ath*] and coin [= *matbe'a*] have a common root.

26 Deut. 28:56 *Erets* = ground, *eress* = venom. Keep out of trouble.

27 This has been printed.

28 Actually, Rabbi Jacob Ha-Hasid [the Pious] occupies several pages in *Shem Ha-Gedolim*.

29 This might possibly be a reference to Shabbetai Ts'vi.

even also this'[30] the highways were all mud more than a cubit deep, and one of the horses was blind, so we had perforce to hire some gentiles to come with us. 'And we passed through the bitter waters'.

Kislev 18

Friday: we arrived in the town of Lugo. We had already arranged a lodging at the house of the *Moreh Tsedeq*, Rabbi Reuben ibn Yah'ia. I preached there at Minha-time on the holy Sabbath. And there, too, I grew tired with much urging until the matter was settled when we compromised.

Kislev 23, P. Va-yeshev

Wednesday: we journeyed from there and we were escorted by the beadle of the synagogue. On the eve of Thursday we lodged in the city of Argenta; and we arrived in Ferrara the eve of Friday, the first day of Hanukah. At the gate of the city they inquired about books and they began to search us, but I gave them some money and they let us depart in peace. Two hours after nightfall we received lodging in the house of S. Gamaliel.

In the Yeshiva there, as in the city of Ancona, I would discourse with those perfect scholars; and especially in the city of Ancona - as in the city of Verona[31] - I would always discover some new revelation in the course of the discussion. On the night of the holy Sabbath we dined at the house of S. Jacob Minervi, and on the Sabbath day, with the *g'vir S.* Moshe Ha-Cohen, may G-d preserve them.

Teveth 7, P. Va-yigash

Tuesday: we departed from Ferrara and arrived in Final de Modena the same day.

Teveth 9

Thursday: we journeyed, and came to the city of Modena on Friday,

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30 Lev. 26:24 On top of our troubles.

31 See later, Shevat 8.

the tenth of Teveth. But they would not let us enter. I sent a note to Our Master the Rabbi David ben Abraham Isaac, may G-d preserve him; and they permitted us to enter. The community had prepared a lodging place [but it was] poor and unpleasant. Towards evening, the *g'vir* S. Abraham Hazaq, his soul in Eden, came and took me to his house, with great honour. And there gathered, every night, a *Yeshivah* of scholars, with profound and penetrating minds. On the holy Sabbath P. Va-ye'hi we dined with S. Isaac Sanguinetti, may G-d preserve him; and he wrought wondrously.

In this city above-mentioned I saw the Decisions of Rabbenu Menahem of the House of Me'ir, in manuscript, on the entire Talmud beginning with *Berakhot* and ending with *Uqtsin*, consisting of six volumes like those of the RIF[32]; and the book *Or Yaqar* by R. Moshe Cordevero; and the Decisions of the Italian Ge'onim, OMR Nathaniel Trabuto and his companions, of blessed memory.

Teveth 19, P. Shemoth

Sunday: from Modena to Reggio in the same day! And there I was guest at the home of that pure-of-mind, clean without lees, the *g'vir* HH the Hakham R. Abraham Rava, may G-d preserve him. There, too, I saw, at the house of OMR Israel Bassan, may G-d preserve him, *The Decisions of the RaMBaN*, obm, on *Nedarim* [= Vows] and *Bekhorot* [= First-borns], in manuscript, in a style similar to that of the RIF obm. I have seen similar examples in Constantinople, may the cities of our Land be re-built!

Teveth 28, P. Va-era

Tuesday: from Reggio to Guastalla; and we arrived the eve of Wednesday. And [just] as I was settling in[34] I asked if they had already prayed *Ma'ariv* [= evening service], and they replied that they had not yet prayed. So we rose up and went - but there [we found] eulogists were eulogising the honour of OMR Gur Finzi [35], obm, whose resting place was in Mantua. And

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32 R. Isaac Al-Fasi, of the Talmud.

33 R. Moshe ben Nahman (Nahmanides).

34 Just sitting down in a chair.

35 He had died at the beginning of the month.

since it had so happened that I had come there - "Come to the pulpit and preach in the honour of the said Rabbi!" [they said]. I entreated that their *Moreh Tsedeq* should preach - because he had prepared himself to speak! But I could not 'turn their faces away empty', so I said, "Give me but a quarter-hour." And the L-rd helped me 'and the subject came' [36]: 'And I will redeem you with an (outstretched) arm'. And I [spoke on this] following the interpretation of OMR Samuel Florentin, obm: 'Thou hast with [thine] Arm redeemed Thy people'[37] - for, as it is written in the Zohar, the passing of a pious man weakens the Arm [etc.]. I spoke for about half an hour from what was inscribed in my memory. Then I urged the M. Ts. to speak.

While there I made a collection for the Land of Israel and I appointed officers. And I was hosted by S. Joshua Ha-Cohen, may G-d preserve him.

Shevat 1

Thursday: we journeyed from there and we arrived in Governo, a village of gentiles, that same day.

Shevat 2

Friday: we travelled, and arrived in Mantua that same day by the way of the river. And from there they sent a *calesso* [= chaise] with the Rav Our Master the Rabbi Aaron Cases, may G-d preserve him, to receive me. And on the day of the holy Sabbath, I - a young man! - and a consort of rabbis, were invited to 'the house of Samuel', [that is], S. Samuel Menahem Ha-Cohen, the Parness and the appointed head of the congregation. During that week, too, OMR Jacob [Raphael] Saraval preached an eulogy for OMR Rabbi Gur aforem., for some three hours, 'in the languages of their nation' - rhetoric and high-sounding language.

The cemetery there is built up and surrounded by a wall 'with gates and bolts' - and heretofore was none like it - [with] a courtyard, a house for washing and a place for [reciting] the blessings and a 'prepared place'

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36 Kings II, 4:1. *Nosheh* = creditor; *nosse* = subject.

37 Psalms 77:16.

[lavatory]. And I went to one funeral, and I was able to have the privilege of prostrating myself at the tombs of the ReM'A [R. Menahem Azariah] of Fano, and the RaMaZ [R. Moshe Zacut], obm.

Shevat 8 P. Bo

Thursday: we travelled and arrived in Verona. And I preached [both] on [the Sabbaths of] P. Bo and P. Beshalah. And on the day of the holy Sabbath I was with Our Master Rabbi Menahem Novara - may G-d preserve him! - one of my special friends in this town.

Shevat 20 P. Jethro

Tuesday: we journeyed from Verona and arrived in the city of Padua towards the end of Wednesday, the twenty-first of Shevat.

I spent the Sabbath with that pious Rabbi, the wonder of our generation, Rabbi Jacob Hazaq [Forti] - may G-d preserve him! - at the house of the saintly Luzzato[38]. And I heard concerning the above-mentioned Rabbi that in all his days he had never sufferred nocturnal defilement.

Shevat 25 P. Mishpatim

Sunday: we travelled from Padua by boat, together with two Jews who were bringing for us the *kollelut*[39] [= collection money], and arrived in Venice that same day.

In the city of Venice I saw the book *Or Hahama*[40] in manuscript written by the hand of Our Master, my grandfather of blessed memory, similar in appearance to the one we have in the Holy City. I also saw the works of the RaMaZ[41] obm, [both] in the 'revealed and the

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38 R. Moshe Chaim Luzatto had died five or six years earlier in the Land of Israel: his house may have been preserved as a shrine.

39 Or *kollelim*, meaning 'general' funds; the abbreviations 'ko/h/q/q/i', which appear more than once in the text, probably stand for 'the general [collection from] the holy Jewish congregation'. This general distribution of funds in the Holy Land is sometimes called *haluqah* [= distribution].

40 'The Light of the Sun' by R. Abraham ben Mordechai Azulai has been printed.

41 See above.

hidden'[42] in print and in manuscript: and his book *Yod'ei Binah*, half [of it] printed and half in manuscript. The story goes that Rabbi Binyamin Levi, of blessed memory, advised him not to print it but he would print it, and in the middle of the process both the press and the prints were burned down - some say that the printer altered his fees, then took down the type-set and destroyed and did away with the prints. I saw, too, the book *Remez Haromez*[43] in manuscript; and an explanation of the *Zohar* and an explanation of the Mishnah [both] 'written by the finger' in perfect script, extremely fine, as a scroll; and his poetry and his Decisions. There I also saw *Tosfei ha-Rosh* on [the treatises] *Sabbath* and *Horayot*; and the books *Me'orot Natan*, the meditations of R. Nathan Shapiro Ashkenazi, of blessed memory. And - 'to divide between the light [etc.]' - the book *Ari Nohem*[44], an essay to demonstrate that the Zohar is not by Rabbi Simeon bar Yoha'i and his colleagues, but by some junior [person] - and his words are vain and are as if they never existed; and the history of 'that man'[45]; and matters concerning Sh. Tz.[46]; the Haggadah and the holy Seder[47] by some apostate mocking with great mockery, abuse and blasphemy, with sections beginning like the sections of the *Haggadah*; and a 'Book of Dreams' by a faithful rabbi who - for our many sins - was misled into nonsense and asked, improperly, if he should eat on [the fast of] the 9th of Av[48]: and they answered him in like vein, 'And thou shalt eat and thou shalt be satisfied'; and he also asked whether he should go out to the privy on the 9th of Av and be 'as one who sits alone in silence'[49], and many other such inanities - and

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42 Caballah is the 'hidden' knowledge. The next-mentioned work is a commentary on the Zohar.

43 A treatise on Cabbalah by RaMaZ.

44 'The Lion Roars' by R. Judah Aryeh (de Leon) of Modena: an obviously controversial figure; he was interested in many secular matters, especially music.

45 Jesus of Nazareth.

46 Shabbetai Ts'vi whose teachings were rampant at the time.

47 The Passover Seder.

48 The motive here is obscure. It would seem that is an attempt to emulate the methods of the saintly R. Jacob ha-Hasid.

49 Lamentations 3:28.

'the waters of utterances were bitter'[50] - 'I am the man who saw affliction'[51]; and the book *Gilgul Mahalot*[52], an account of the vicissitudes of Moshe Ha'im Luzzato; and the writings of Hakham Moshe ibn Judah Hagiz[53] and of the Rabbis of Germany, Venice, Reggio; the Act of the Beth Din of Venice and the excommunication that was agreed in Frankfurt-on-the-Main[54].

All throughout my sojourn there, I would, on the Sabbath nights, be accorded great honour at the house of the Rav, OMR Jacob Belilios, may G-d preserve him, and on the Sabbath days at the house of the the saintly S. Mordecai Padova; and for the Purim banquet at the home of the Hakham Rabbi Israel Serussi; and for the whole of Passover at the home of the saint aforementioned.

I had to spend many days there because there was quite an amount of *kollelut* owing to the Sages of Hebron, may it be rebuilt. At that time the people of the city were feeling very downcast because each year they had to pay the yearly tax of forty thousand ducats. Day by day as I spoke to them, and there was no response and there was no money, I, too, became despondent at seeing their poverty and oppression. 'And so became muted the voice of pleading'[55], [yet] 'our lips with us' 'go out prayerfully'[56] [to them]: Find some solution 'and bring about the redemption'[57] of the Rabbis of Hebron, may it be rebuilt; 'therefore, as reward for this', Heaven will give judgment for the righteousness of your hearts, 'for with the L-rd is lovingkindness and with Him is great redemption' in all your troubles.

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50 Numbers 5:27 *me'arerim* = cursed, *amarim* = sayings, utterances.

51 Lamentations 3:1.

52 *Mahalot* = illnesses; a play on *gilgul mazalot* = the rolling of the planets.

53 The initials given are HMNJH ('N = ibn). He was a pupil of the Cabbalist R. Benjamin Ha-Levi.

54 Against R. M.C. Luzzato: the Act of the Venice Beth Din referred to is about the same matter, but there had been a misunderstanding and R. Luzzato was re-instated.

55 Eccles. 12:4 *Tahanah* = grinding ; *tehinah* = pleading.

56 Mishnah Shabbat V, 2 'Lambs may go out *kevunot* [= wrapped]; *hanunot* = prayerful.

57 Psalms 49:9 Roots of 'costly' and 'happen' [= *yekar*] are similar.

'And [then suddenly] I say [to myself]: 'This is my weakness!'[58] - "Will you listen [to my suggestion] - give a receipt that you have received from the *g'vir* S. Jacob Bonfil the tax of one thousand ducats due from him, and the said *g'vir* 'shall enlarge his payment'[59] to the holy Rabbis! It will thus come out that 'this one benefits and that one benefits', and you are freed from your obligations [until the tax falls due]." And the people agreed. But after several days' toil in running back and forth the aforementioned receipt was not to be found 'in the land of Ha'im' [60]. They finally told [me] that the Government - because of the presence in it of the hostile minister Caballero Mocenigo, 'one bitter one', a painful thorn and a malignant spine, an oppressor of Israel - had decreed against the Council of the Jewish Congregation that such payment should not be made of even ten ducats without permission of their Magistrate; and not many days would pass 'if payments are paid'[61] to the verger and this would anger the ministers: so what could they do? In these circumstances then, I would have to go the Magistrates, and if they would agree to arrange the payment to the Sages of Hebron in the manner aforesaid, this will give a satisfactory conclusion. 'But David spoke': how can I hope to [be able to] elicit kindness [for myself] where now kindness for you is as the morning mists? And how can I go to the Magistrate 'and I of untutored lips?' - 'and who would [dare to] cast his cloak between the lion and the lioness.'[62] - and so on.

After several days had passed I saw there was no alternative but to go to the Magistrate to settle the matter yea or nay. Then 'I chose to stand at the threshold' of the *g'vir* S. Solomon Roqeah - may he be remembered for everlasting life! - and we went to one of the lawyers they call *avvocato* and the *g'vir* aforementioned gave him a *ciquino* [63]. However, I saw no usefulness in his words 'hot air did he bring'[64], just haughty mien,

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58 Psalms 77:11 meaning here, how weak-minded of me! He has an inspiration.

59 Numbers 6:5 *Pera* = wild (hair); also, payment. The Committee would levy and then pay all the tax.

60 Psalms 142:6.

61 Judges 5:2 cf. note [59].

62 Who am I, a foreigner, to interfere?

63 Popular name for the *zecchino*, a gold coin weighing 3.5g.

64 Gen. 4:4 *Hevel* = Abel; also hot air, vanity (cf. Talmud Bab. Metz. 36b ; Eccles. 1:2)

arrogance and bluster. So I went with the aforementioned S. Solomon to the Government [offices]. On the way to the Magistrate 'our eyes gazed' upon the huge buildings of hewn stone, carved and ornamented; and Caballeros of the *Senato* walking around with large peruques, hatless and wearing black *vestas* [= cloaks].

Then S. Solomon, in a loud, clear voice placed my case before the Government. And the merit of my ancestors stood [by me] - 'and even the evil angel must perforce answer Amen': 'he put the hook in the mouth' of Caballero Mocenigo: 'he said, and so it was' that it was in order to pay [the tax] in the manner aforesaid. And then and there they summoned the Treasurer[65] and their messenger summoned [a representative of] the Council of the Jewish Congregation. And when they came the payment was authorised. [I learned later that] the aforementioned oppressor [had] said to the Council of the Jewish Congregation - not in my presence - "I see that Levantine as one of those who crucified Jesus".

The said S. Solomon then scattered largesse to the officials, their assistants and their clerks and the matter was settled satisfactorily. Praise to G-d!

Iyar 22 P. Behar

Tuesday: we journeyed from Venice in a gondola for about half the way and from there we took a *calesso* [= chaise] to come [back] to Padua. And on the way there I saw the palace and the mansions of the Venetian noblemen. We arrived [in Padua] the same day.

Iyar 23

Wednesday: we departed from Padua. During the journey I looked for the bag with my *tefillin* and it was not there! And I was very upset because, besides being full of valuable books, it contained Rashi-Tefillin 'written by the finger' of the great rabbi, the disciple of the ARI [R. Isaac Luria-Ashkenasi], obm[66], OMR Suleiman ibn Ohana, obm: OMR Ha'im Al-

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65 In the text 'they summoned Pharaoh': same root letters as 'pay', hence paymaster, treasurer.

66 ARI stands for Adonenu (our master or lord) Rabbi Isaac; he is always called 'the ARI'.

Fandari, obm, in his book *Maggid Me-reshith* enumerates their praises. And blessed be the glorious Name, whose kindness did not leave [me] - 'a spirit clothed' the *vetturino* [= coachman] and he mounted one of the horses and galloped back more than a mile enquiring among all the wayfarers. People told him that they had seen a huntsman 'and in his raised hand was seen found'[67] a large bag. And he followed his tracks, searching, and found him and recognised it. And he admitted 'that[68] is right; it is mine'. And no man could have saved from the hand of this guileful huntsman [?] but he brought everything back entire. Praises to the blessed Name.

Iyar 24

Thursday: we arrived at Verona as the shades of night were falling. And my Sabbath was spent with the *g'virim* (sic) S. Basani; and the Feast of Shavuoth [Pentecost] with the *g'vir* S. Virlingo, may G-d preserve them.

Sivan 8 P. Nasso

Wednesday: we travelled from Verona, going by way of the Tyrol, to Germany.

Sivan 9

Thursday: about mid-day the *vetturino* became [suddenly] 'clothed with a passion' [with the notion] to stop in Trento. This is a city on the border of the kingdom of Germany, full of princes and priests! This is the city about which it has been said for many years 'behold! the kings have gathered': 'there were seated the thrones' of the Pope and the Dukes of Germany; nobles, officials, bishops and 'priests of the Ba'al' all girded about. And whereas once there had only been one congregation, now 'they had gathered to stand for their souls'[69] - but impure! - to investigate into the doctrines of the creeds of the Greeks and of the Pope; and from there

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67 Ex. 17:11 *Moshe* = Moses; *motzeh* = finds.

68 Gen. 38:26 'She is right'.

69 Esther 8:11 i.e. to take the matter firmly in hand (and a play on the common phrase 'pure souls').

came the split of the Catholics from the Greeks.

But 'there are the left-overs'[70], 'the remnants of the thorns'[71], and a wind of malevolence blew there: for any Jew who had to travel through the country 'there were increasing troubles'. And even before 'setting his foot' on this woebegone land, there was a fixed decree, by order of the king, that each man take 'a suitable piece' to use as a symbol that he is a Jew[72]. I, too, had heard about all these things, so in the city of Verona I had already given instructions to the *vetturino* not to go into the city of Trento until the evening twilight, a time when people are in their homes and also [to seek] a lodging place for the night very far from the people of the city. And the 'symbol thing'[73] would rest [hidden] in my bosom; 'for so had I instructed'. But the *vetturino*, with disdain and great wilfulness and sated with the abominable [desires] of his soul [?] reneged on his undertaking, which was not to his liking, at the critical moment - "Here you are!" [74], mid-day in [the centre of] the city of Trento. So we stayed in an inn there.

[Presently] 'along came the disgrace'[75] [in the form of] an *esbirro* [= policeman] and he asked questions about the [Talmudic] chapter 'Came the (Lower) Sign'[76]. For this was the rule for the unfortunate Jews here - they must wear a special hat on their head. And I answered: "I am a stranger in the land, and my ears have only heard that a Jewish man must carry with him some sort of sign but that it 'may rest in the bosom of him who fears the L-rd'. But let it be as you say: 'what difference is it to me here or there?' 'Open your eyes and look': 'I am placing it, I am setting it'[77] 'on the head of David'." He hurried out [but] 'they had not far departed' when 'thrown over the hedge' [= rushing back] he came, like a dog returning to its dung, ordering the innkeeper: "Show me the 'cloaks and vestments' of the Jews!" And in his hand was something for 'closing with a tight seal' -

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70 Talmud Zeb. 111a. The after-effects of this religious strife boded evil for Jews.

71 Talmud Yoma 57b *kossoth* = cups, *qotzoth* = thorns.

72 In Trento the 'suitable piece' was a special hat.

73 Talmud Hor. 12a 'An omen is something'.

74 Talmud (precise location untraced): 'this is our portion'.

75 Proverbs 11:2.

76 Mishnah Niddah VI, 1.

77 See p.15 [3].

'and in iniquity do they seal'[78] my clothes; and the *ikkuv*[79] was 'the desire of Ha'im'. A little later, 'along came arrogance'[80] holding in his hand a document 'and there is printed'[81] and 'her words are bitter': "It is a decree from before the king and the nobles that any Jew passing through the land without wearing the symbol on his head, shall surely pay a fine of one hundred *reichsthaler*: 'even you will give into our hands' two hundred *reichsthaler* for you and your servant."

There happened to be two Italian gentile merchants there and I 'fell at their feet' [begging them to assist in] 'loosening these bonds'. 'And righteous talk is words of truth' and their compassion was warmed and they went[82] and returned - in vain. Now what could I do? - faint and afflicted of soul? 'And I turned this way and that' - to the innkeeper, to the coachman - would they [agree to] go to 'that persecuting officer' [and intercede]? But 'these men sinning with their souls' turned backwards. 'And mine enemies my eyes did see' there is no one to give grace, no one to show mercy 'until I myself arose' and went to the officer; and the coachman came with to show me the way.

When I arrived [there] I lifted up my eyes and saw [him] 'ruling [with] his spirit'[83] - a spirit of perversion and haughtiness, contorted were the features of his face 'and his appearance was frightening; he seemed [to portray the verse] 'towards any of the children of Israel shall a dog (not) whet his tongue [towards him]'[84] - "Why have you done thus, to transgress the commandment of the king? Hand over the redemption money for your soul 'and your money shall be instead of your head'[85]!

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78 Tal. Keth. 19b.

79 Isaiah 40:4 *he-aqov* = the rough (shall become smooth): *ikkuv* = delay or hindrance. The author's use of the " symbol before the last letter (the classic device to show emphasis, in the manner of italics) clearly indicates a pun, but its meaning is puzzling. The next phrase is Psalms 34:13.

80 Proverbs loc. cit. Another policeman.

81 Numbers 5:13 *Lo nitpassah* = she was not forced; *nidpessah* = printed; also *lo (aleph > vav)* = 'to him'(instead of 'not') i.e. there before him.

82 To the authorities, presumably.

83 Prov. 16:32.

84 Ex. 11:7 Again, the negative lo is reversed.

85 A play on Josh. 2:19 *damav* = his blood; also, his money.

And I, in humility and anguish, 'spoke with my tongue'[86]: "Why does your anger burn? 'Look aright and see' - behold! I have been carrying the symbol in my bosom. 'And who puts it to his heart'[87] will recognise words of truth, for if I had known from the beginning that '[it] must go up on top' thus would I have done; and behold! the Jews of Verona thus spake as I have done." He answered, "If it is indeed so, I will summon Jews from Verona!" Then I said, "What have I with the Jews of Verona?[88] Thus I heard them saying [that] 'great is your kindness' since I am a citizen of Jerusalem, the holy city[89]. "

'Then the L-rd opened the mouth of the ass': "Who gave Israelites [permission] to enter Jerusalem and defile it?" - Heaven forfend!

I answered and said, "Among the nations is known the kingdom of [this] country, this city, dealing justly with the oppressed, merciful in judgment, 'and truth and peace do they love' - and 'from your hand, O King, He will save us!' [90]- truthful in judgment on the humble and the poor and strangers from another land."

'Then spoke up Job'[91], the coachman: "Master, 'pronounce your sentence'[92]' and let me take my payment for the hire of 'man and beast' for each day that I must tarry here because of this Jew!".

'And my anger kindled against him on that day': "'What is [between] me and thee'? 'Pray, pick up your vessels' and go off 'to some other country'. Could you not imagine that the Authority will [only further] oppress a poor [Jew] in his affliction? For did you not know, or did you not hear in Verona just as I was passing through this acrid exile 'Ha'im is asking'[93] charity and kindness 'and ours is but the hand of the poor - and

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86 Psalms 39:4. R. HYDA was probably speaking Italian.

87 Ex. 9:21 Another reversed 'lo'.

88 The argument is not clear.

89 And you would surely stretch the point. [?]

90 Dan. 3:17 This could be a silent prayer; the text is unpunctuated.

91 Same four Hebrew letters *eyov* > *oyev* = enemy: this is possibly what R. HYDA intends; *yud* and *vav* are closely similar, and this may be a simple copying error. This is evidently a different coachman not as gallant as the former one.

92 Talmudic phrase for testing a child; a happy pun because *pesak* = 'sentence' has the same dual meaning.

93 Num. 16:30 Alive [= *Ha'im*] into the pit [=*she'olah*]; *sha'al* = asked.

know not of the tranquillity of the wicked: and 'all that the Ark takes in'[94] is shabby remnants [of clothing]."

But turning my face to the officer I said, "Pray, my master, do this one thing for me as being a creature that the L-rd has created in His world and whose mercy is on all His creations; for it is fitting for you 'to have two mercies'[95], 'for with you is the pardon'." And in the strength of my woe 'without stick or support' except to G-d alone my heart said, and only my lips moved: Thy face, O L-rd, I will seek! Pray, 'rescue me from the hand of Esau!' Let rest [upon me] the merit of my fore-fathers! 'And streams of tears did mine eyes let run', 'and with entreaties speaks the poor man' to this uncircumcised 'officer who oppresses'[96] (over) the land. 'And the lovingkindness of the L-rd from ever' hovers over me, and the officer's mercy warmed 'and Haman said': "Go in peace until I find other officers and I will ask of them to let you free in peace; 'and whatever they will show me I will tell you'."

After half an hour 'the violence reduced the wickedness'[97] to 'a poisonous order'[98] that they call *decretto*: 'they came along and decreed'[99] that I should pay 13 gold pieces. And I weighed out the money and we left there in peace.

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94 Freiman has copied *Tevah* = Ark (i.e. his travelling chest) as two meaningless words and is puzzled by the result! The phrase quotes Rashi (quoting Midrash Rabah) Gen. 6:20. The passage is nevertheless somewhat obscure as to the points of the argument and it is also not clear whether R. HYDA is here talking to the coachman or voicing a prayer. The argument seems to be: Why do you seek to extract more money from someone you know full well is poor and will be further afflicted by the authorities, who himself requires charity and, moreover, is a collector of charity for others?

95 Judges 5:30 An unusual form for 'woman': the same letters r/h/m > mercy.

96 Num. 10:9 *tsar* = oppressor, *sar* = officer.

97 Ezek. 7:11 *mateh* = rod; *matah* = down.

98 Lev. 16:22 Once again, *eretz* > *eress*; *gezerah* = broken up, wild (land); also, decree.

99 Talmud Av. Zar. 36a.

Sivan 10 P. Nasso

Friday: at noon we arrived in the city of Bolzano. I was the guest of the pious Rabbi Moshe; and [also] there was one Rabbi Shabbetai, poor and dejected. And there is a synagogue there where Jews attending the market-fair go to pray.

Sivan 19 P. Shelah

Sunday: we travelled from Bolzano, together with the brother of the aforementioned R. Moshe, in a *carrozza* [= carriage]. 'And from the L-rd was this thing' that 'the L-rd sent me with good speed' in the company of this Jew. For one thing, because of the German language, of which we knew nothing and there was a long way to go before [we reached] a place of Jews; and this is the [only] route by way of the Tyrol - fierce haters of the Faith and the whole way, practically every twenty yards, is a cross. And one night it happened that we lodged in an inn and they gave us a place in the normal manner, but in the morning when they realized we were Jews 'then [would] they have swallowed us alive' in the fury of their anger against us. For it is in their eyes 'a sin does he transgress' - who takes into the house one of the Children of Israel. And they took from us 'twice times twice' the normal hire - 'and much disgrace' 'and double money'.

And for another reason - because of the head-tax which was customary there 'for there are many' [such taxes; and it is dangerous if the taxes are not paid, and this Jew was 'knowledgable about them and their names - and it was miraculous! And on this way there are places where tax is paid called *dados* [= dice] 'and some say, giving [as the] reason'[100] because when paganism was abolished 'and he was hung' 'if were thus found in his sack'[101] 'the *dadi*[102] of his delights' ... [?] And all along the way 'as came the turn' of each tax station, up would that Ashkenazi jump 'payment would he make'[103] and back he came without tarrying.

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100 Talmud Pes. 22a 'flavour' > reason.

101 A hybrid: Gen. 41:38; ibid. 42:27.

102 Ezek. 23:3 (*Dade* = breasts). This seems to have been some sort of gaming tax originally, though now payable by everybody. The sentence appears to be an unfinished threat.

103 Ezek. 44:20 v. p. 41 [59].

One day we were ascending a hill, and there at the bottom of the hill was a guard 'and to him did Israel give to go through his boundary'[104] tax of coins and *dados*. 'And (he) [we] had not yet drawn near to them' as on previous occasions 'behold, I have given' the tax 'to the appointed man' but 'his footsteps lagged' [so] that we had already started going up the hill [while he was with the guard]. And we said: 'Who is this coming leaping over the mountains?'[105] We had almost reached the brow of the hill and he still had not come; so I said to the *vetturino* [that] we had better wait till he comes. We waited for him a long time; and then, suddenly, they commenced coming up - the Jew and 'the uncircumcised one, running after him: and his manner like one about 'to kill a soul and lay hands on a corpse'! - 'smoke was going up in his anger' 'and in his wrath doth he affright him'. I said to the Jew, "Just tell me 'what meaneth the heat of this great anger'?" And he answered, "In my eyes, too, is it bizarre. For I gave him the customary tax, and he said: Give me more *dados* - and I gave him more; then he asked for still more and I gave more. He is just looking for trouble - see with your eyes, like a roaring lion with eyes dripping with blood, fire and smoke!"

Then the *vetturino* spoke angrily to this uncircumcised myrmidon and they began to argue. 'And I was greatly afflicted' and no soul was left in me, for we were far from any settlement. And I could see this *esbirro* [with] his anger burning within him, grinding his teeth, rending his clothes, shouting and yelling and just about to clash swords with the *vetturino*. And I beseeched G-d, "I pray Thee, O L-rd, do this for the sake of Erets Israel and for the sake of the Fathers - save me 'from the mouth of the lion': do with Thy servant according to Thy lovingkindness and save the son of Thy maidservant!" Then I said to the *esbirro*, "Leave him alone and I will give you extra *dados*." Then he turned and went away; and we departed in peace. Praise to the L-rd.

Sivan 20 P. Shelah

Monday evening: we arrived in the city of Innsbruck. And this city is a crown of beauty, and there are huge buildings, splendid and gilded.

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104 Num. 21:23 Yet another reversed *lo*.

105 If he tarries longer he will have to chase up the hill after us. [?]

And there [lives] the *g'vir* Rav[106] Me'ir Lande (or Landau) and the bachelor *g'vir* R. Gavriel Oppenheim. To business!

Sivan 21

Monday: We journeyed from Innsbruck.

Sivan 23

Thursday: at sunset we arrived at the town of Pfersee. It is a small town and the people there but a few children of Israel. And there [lives] the *g'vir* R. Leib - but his heart[107] is not with him! He made trouble for me, for he said that all the letters in my hand were 'forgeries in all their words' [108]. So I looked and found written in the document of the rabbi OMR Abraham Gedilio[109] - may his light shine forth - the signatures of the Reader and the trustee of their own [congregation] and of the holy cong. of Kriegshaber which was nearby. 'And he saw that he was not able' to say they are false for the owners [of the signatures] with their own eyes were testifying on their handwriting and their signatures.

But this R. Leib was digging for 'thoughts of iniquity'. He again argued: "If it is true that this document was given into your hand why did not the sages of Hebron write this in the letter they gave to you?" And I answered, "Behold! here are their letters and their signatures giving me mandate; and if you reject their signatures how would it help you whatever they had written in the document?"

And he said to me: "Behold, there is [an] agreement between us and the holy congregation of Kriegshaber[110] - go [now] from us and if the appointees of Kriegshaber are satisfied to give [you] from the collection of Erets Israel then I agree to go [along with them]."

And I, in my innocence, went to the synagogue in Kriegshaber on

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106 The title Rav (= Master) is often accorded as a courtesy.

107 *Leib* [= lion] > *leiv* = heart.

108 Talmud Nid. 34a *ke-zavim* = 'like *zavim*' [= unclean people]; also, *kazav* = falsehood.

109 Of Hebron. His endorsement appears in R. HYDA's Sha'ar Yosef.

110 Holy cong. = *Q'hilla Qadisha* = 'qq', an oft-used convenience. Can also mean 'synagogue'.

Sunday, P. Qorah 26th Sivan; and it is quite near - about one third of an hour from the holy cong. of Pfersee. I had in my hand a letter of recommendation to the head of the holy cong. of Kriegshaber, one Abraham, and I gave him the letter and he showed me a welcoming countenance.

But when I returned to him immediately after prayers he had 'turned his neck' and was mocking and laughing. And I was astounded at the sight - but [then] I realised that R. Leib aforementioned must have written him a letter [sent] with my *vetturino* like that 'letter of Uriah' - Heaven forfend! And I pleaded and argued with words of reason with them saying thus: "I only ask of you to write on my document that you will donate a certain amount; and when a certification will arrive from Frankfurt or Amsterdam that I am the true emissary you can send [the money] through their hands."[111]

But they stiffened their necks and hardened their hearts: 'their hissing is the hissing of a serpent'; these are 'ways of the wilderness' [112], 'words of perversion' [113], most of them sinning with [but] a single mind; 'setting aside because of monetary loss' [114], 'hanging venom[115] on nothing'; 'and the land produced tight-fistedness' [116], 'and their fists[117] sate' 'clusters of bitterness '; 'because of Qamtsa and Bar-Qamtsa was destroyed'[118] 'truth and peace' ; 'and there no longer exists[119] much kindness'. And I departed from them with a dis-spirited soul; 'and this bone[120]' was 'more than [all] the

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111 There had been instances of embezzlement by charlatans - see *Sheluhei Eretz Israel* by A. Ya'ari, Mossad Rav Kook (Jerusalem), 1951. This is hardly an excuse for the cavalier treatment accorded to R. HYDA.

112 Literal text: 'wilderness laws'. Possibly a reversal of 'those that go in the wilderness': 'going' and 'law' have same root, *halakh(a).*

113 Targum on Deut. 22:14.

114 One of the categories of articles forbidden to carry on the Sabbath.

115 Job 26:7 The familiar *eretz-eress* pun. There will be no further comment on 'poison' puns.

116 Gen. 41:47 The meaning of *kematzim* there is liberal 'handfulls'; *kamtzan* = miser.

117 'The handful does not satisfy (the lion)'; *ayn* = not, *hayn* = they.

118 Jerusalem. (Talmud Gitin 53a). These two men were the cause.

119 Much kindness = *Rav hesed.* Adapt. from Talmud Bab. Metz. 5a '[The law of] Rabbi Hiyya is not'. Here R. Hiyya > R.Hisda (Hesed).

120 Talmud Bab. Bath. 116a 'This is the bone (of my tenth child)'. The meaning here is probably 'bone of contention'.

troubles'[121] I suffered from the contumely I was subjected to in every town and village of Germany until I reached the 'city and mother' Frankfurt, as will come further - two out of a hundred [?].

However, just one thing do I allow my lips to say about what I saw in the house of the dignitary R. Leib of Pfersee aforementioned - an entire *SHaS*[122]! And it is written in a very ancient script on parchment - the entire Talmud is in one volume. Its size is like the volume of RaMBaM, Part 3 with [the commentary of the] *Kesef Mishneh* printed in Venice[124] - and there is an inscription in it [saying] it was written in the city of Paris for one of the relatives of Our Rabbi Shimshon [= Samson] of Sens in the year 103 of the 6th millenium (5103 = 1343 CE). I found there, too, among a collection of 'Small Tractates' - such as the tractates Sofrim [Scribes] and Semahot [Tragedies] - a tractate Gerim [Proselytes][125] of extremely small size. [Whilst there] I read four or five leaves of the tractate of Horayoth and I found there very many textual variations. And I would have wanted to divert myself with that ShaS but the dignitary mentioned ordered his servant to get me quickly on my way and he would not allow me to 'refresh my soul'. 'May this also be for the good'[126].

Sivan 27 P. Qorah

Monday: after noon they sent me [off] from Kriegshaber, and we arrived in Buttenweisen after sunset. Buttenweisen is a village of simple and rough people, and of grinding poverty. And their houses are 'of the houses of the lacking'[127] - holes in the ground, and caves, 'and the wreckage of shards' 'and the

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121 *Sa'ar* = hair; *tza'ar* = pain.
In his autobiography *Meguilas Sefer*, Rabbi Jacob of Emden comments on some cases of charlatanism, and R. HYDA was the victim of suspicion.

122 *SHet Sedarim* = The Six Orders [of the Mishnah] i.e. the Talmud. (This *ShaS* is referred to in the publishing credits in some eds. of the Jerusalem Talmud).

124 Parts 1 and 2 are small and sometimes printed separately; Part 3 is the main Code of Maimonides.

125 Now part of the standard contents of the printed Talmud.

126 *Gam zu le'tovah* quoting the never-dismayed R. Nahum Ish 'Gamzu'(Ta'an 21a).

127 Lev. 25:31 *Hatzerim* = open town; *hasserim* = lacking.

primeval dust of the Universe'. When I arrived [there] there was no one to receive [me] - 'go here, they reject, [go there they...] etc.'[128]; until [at last] I found a lodging-place with a poor Jew and he went and arranged a place to sleep.

Sivan 29

Wednesday: From Buttenweisen we travelled by a single carriage and arrived in Harburg before mid-day. And lo! while still in our carriage we were met by S. S. [?], the new Parnes, and he brought us into his house. And the thing was surprising in my eyes. And I was faint 'like a man stunned' 'who has fasted'[129] on the way'; and 'at my post did I stand'. 'And I look at the fool(s)'[130], that Parnes, going on his way, 'to his *Minha*'[131] [taking] himself, an hour' after noon.

Then 'Job opened his mouth'[132] 'to eat to his satisfaction'; although the day was yet great - some two hours after mid-day - 'his watch had ended'. And he said to me: "Come over here 'in order to take of the basket'[133] as I am doing today[134] 'for the day is drawing to a close' 'and the Minha has passed' so the time has come to break the fast". But I said: 'Not so, father'[135] - 'I will set' my fasting from the day[break] until nightfall. After evening-prayer I ate my bread alone: and to a famished soul every bitter [thing] is sweet. And just as I was going up to bed I asked [the

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128 Talmud Mo'ed K. 15b 'Either way we reject the supposition'.

129 Samuel 15:2 *Sam* = set (himself); *tsam* = fasted. Sivan 29 is the fast of 'Small Yom Kipur (Qatan)'.

130 Prov. 7:7.

131 Gen. 4:5 *Minha* = offering, also the afternoon prayer; *sha'ah* = he turned, also hour (and another reversed *lo*. A complex hybrid pun spread over two phrases. The Parnes was breaking the fast early, eating the 'offering' after an early Minha.

132 Job's piety was imperfect.

133 Mishnah Sabb. VIII, 4 . '..in order to make a basket'. Possibly, a pun *kilkul* = basket, *qilqul* = disgrace is intended.

134 The meaning of 'today' here is, probably, 'even before nightfall', the time for major fasts to end.

135 Gen. 48:18.

Parnes] for a lamp for studying; and he said to me: 'such is not done in our place' - 'my lamp in your hand' [?] - 'go extinguish it (for me)' [136]. [So] 'along came the ass and kicked out the lamp' [137]. 'And I, afflicted and in pain' awoke before daybreak. When the morning grew light I said to my attendant, " 'Go down a step' 'and you will see' 'where is the place' 'of the synagogue', [then] 'draw me after thee, let us run' on [this] day of the [new] month!" And he said, " 'See, you say unto me' to go to the synagogue; but our host has already finished his prayers, [here] in the confines of his house!" Just at that moment a servant came along and said: "Pray [here] in private and go on your way, for the master already wants you to leave". And I said to him, "Where, then is his donation? Not so, I am going to the synagogue [this] day of New Moon and after that we will see what to do." But I could not prevail against him and he coerced me to pray [there] - "because the gentile wanted to go while [still early] morning" - and similar 'burdens of vanity and seduction'.

After praying I saw there, at the gateway of the courtyard, a cart - such as one uses for taking out the rubbish! And the servant was 'urging urgently'[138]: " 'Take the cloak ..' and the chest 'and set your footsteps on the way!'"

But I looked at that wagon and I said, "I am not riding on that! Pray bring me a chaise and I will pay 'the hire of man and beast'."

And he refused and said, "On no account - [just] 'prosper and ride'[139] on this wagon".

Then I said, "I am going back into the house until you fetch me a chaise!"

But as I approached the dooway of the house, they closed the door [before me] throwing our clothes 'out in the streets they throw' everything of ours. Then the servant got hold of our clothes and put them on the wagon. 'And I was weary of speaking' hard or soft [words] 'and he hearkens not to our voice'. And in my vexation and 'troubles of my head' I went to the *mezuzah* [doorpost? mezuzah?!] 'and streams of water do mine

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136 Num. 22:11 *Qavah* = curse; *kavah* = extinguished.

137 Tal. Shabb. 116b.

138 cf. p.18 [2]; but here *nahets ye-nahets.*

139 Psalms 45:5

eyes lower' and I called upon the L-rd: "Master of the universe! I know within me that my sins have prompted these [people]: behold! 'with sin have I done' [that] 'evil-doers rise up against me. But just give me strength to bear [it] and do this for the sake of Erets Israel and for the sake of the Fathers - help me, O G-d, 'for the waters are swamping the soul!'"

I turned back 'to speak a word in the ear' of the servant - 'and he that correcteth an evil-doer it is his own defilement' - and I said to him "At least, change this for another cart!"

'The plague'[140] answered and said: "There is no [other] wagon to be found here but further on, about an hour [distant] 'it can surely be found'."

The end of the matter was [that] 'with my own legs I traverse' [searching] - for some one and a half hours - until I succeeded in changing the cart, using my own money; but the servant did accompany me to the place of the wagon.

Sivan 30 P. Qorah

Thursday: we left Harburg and arrived in the holy cong. of Öttingen at noon.

And I went to the Rabbi there 'and Joseph told' 'all the travail which I (we) had met with' 'on the way through their land. And 'I fell at his feet': let him judge righteously 'and bring into the light my judgment'. And his mercy warmed and he wrote me a Letter of Collection for my mission 'to tell that it is just'; may G-d repay his deed.

However, 'to his own town and to the gate of his own place' it did not help: 'for they are a stiff-necked people' 'and their money requires'[141] 'a hoe and a spade' 'and to smite with the fist of wickedness' so as to give forth [but] afflictions 'flowing from the rock'. 'And I am a man' 'soft and salved' 'crawling in, crawling out'[142], 'asking with reason'[143] 'with

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140 Lev. 13:57. 'It is a leprous plague'.

141 Mishna Zeb. V, 1 *Daman* = their blood (requires sprinkling); also 'their money'.

142 Talmud Sanh 88b Describing humility.

143 Talmud Bab. Mets. 41a 'Borrowing without thought (permission)'. The reversed lo.

reason'[144]; 'and behold! the fear of G-d'[145] hovers over me, I flees from anger 'and its spices'; 'and I have become used, in the cities of Italy, to great honour, and 'the tongue [when] speaking' 'seeking calm', 'soft language explains'[146], 'who has divided off his honour'. And so [indeed] is the *politico* [= diplomacy] of the foreign nations which are over them. Among a people like this I can not dwell - 'who trample on my bounds' and who 'abuse my property [?]' [147]; 'a people whose language I do not recognise' which has a head of iron mixed with the thickest clay, for [it is] *nahesh ye-nahesh*[148] - iron and copper, the brain of of a small child but [considered] great in these villages; 'they have put their money'[149] 'in the clefts of the rocks; and they lack manners; and the *g'virim* are 'misers from whom there is no benefit'[150].

'And I pleaded'[151] before the Parnes of the holy congregation of Öttingen [that] they should render honour to their rabbi, 'and a spirit of charity should support them'. And there were some 'lads of Israel', pupils of the aforementioned rabbi, they too 'had become warmed with the plea'[152] and 'were searching for my merit'. And after all the toil they gave me [but] one florin: but with the promise that they would provide me with a chaise.

'And I beseeched' the Parnes to write me a document [saying] that they had given me a donation, without stating the amount[153], from the Erets Israel fund 'in order that they should hear and in order that they

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144 Talmud Hull. 99b 'Giving a flavour (reason)'.

145 Gen. 20:11 *Ayn* = not; *hayn* = behold.

146 Prov. 25:15 *Tishbor* = breaks; *tisbor* = explains (Aram.).

147 The w. *kufri* here may mean 'my chest,' or property, as earlier in the narrative. Seems to be a pun on *metaqen* [=prepares] and *mesaken* [=endanger > abuse]; the source is unidentified.

148 Gen. 44:15 again (cf. p. 18 [2]); but also root of *nehosheth* = copper.

149 A common Talmudic expression: (the Rabbis) set [i.e. declared] his money (abandoned).

150 Mishna Pes. VII, 8 A play on *q'tsinin* = nobles, *tsikanin* = misers who benefit themselves from others. A difficult passage.

151 Judges 16:7. The rhyming words *vehaliti vehayiti* = and I shall weaken and become. Same root as plead.

152 Talmud Yer. Ber. II 5b. *Nichvin be-poshrin* = scalded with lukewarm water; also, petsar = plead.

153 Sum; cf. p. 33 [24].

should learn' in the villages before us. And the Parnes agreed to this; [then] 'he says and it is [done], he commands' the beadle 'write you down these things'.

But the beadle 'ruled and wrote' that he had given me a florin from the charity box. And as I read it - 'poison in the rod of his mouth and with the breath of his lips doth the wicked twist'[154] - I [had to] laugh at his words, 'words of slander': 'there is no destruction[155] except by the razor of the scribe'[156]. But one of the young men who 'read it angrily'[157] said to me, "I will write what you desire". And so he did.

Yet more evil did that beadle add when following the Parnes' instructions to him to get me a chaise. It was Friday after mid-day and 'I walking to and fro[158]' [in my impatience] - 'when will this glory be[159]' that they will send me to that nearby village so that I will not come to profane the Sabbath? And he said to me, " 'Go thou' to the outside of the town and there you will find waiting the *vetturino* with the chaise." 'I said in my haste' I will do thus, because I was hurrying to leave 'for the honour of the Sabbath'. 'And I was already crossing the outskirts of the town' [when I saw] the beadle 'had sent as follows': a cart and, [sitting] in it, a beggarly man, pocked and diseased - 'the legless man goes out with his stump' - and this cart-driver was a stupid man who did not know his right hand from his left. I was momentarily astonished to see 'things which are not done' and I was already thinking of turning back but [since] I [already] 'knew and recognised' these people, and time was pressing, I 'accepted the judgment, and I rode on that cart.

In the middle of the journey the cart-driver - the foolish idiot did not know how to drive - soon got the top of our wagon 'entangled in thickets' and branches of trees, and he could not find a clear space 'among the

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154 Isaiah 11:4 *Yamith* = kills; *yamitt* = bends, slants; 'the wicked' is made the subject.

155 Naz. 40b.

156 Jeremia 36:23.

157 *Qar'a* = tore; *qara* = read.

158 Jonah 1:11 *So'er* = storming > *tso'ed* = walking.

159 Adaptation of Ex. 8:19 with *ot* = sign > *hod* = glory.

tangles to avoid catching'[160] until, finally, I and my assistant [had to] get out and and struggle [with it] to hasten our way in honour of the Sabbath.

When we were near the village we descended from the wagon to enter into the town on foot. That poor man stayed there with some other poor people who had a lodging outside the town.

Tammuz 1 P. Qorah

Friday: we left the town of Öttingen and we came to holy congregation of Wassertrüdingen[161], where we lodged with the rabbi and *g'vir* OM the Rav, Rabbi Wolf[162] - may G-d preserve him! - Parnes of the province of Ansbach. And he received me with honour, but as for my assistant - he sent him to another householder: for such is the custom in these towns - 'they cannot bear' the emissary and his assistant both together, 'only in separate places'[163], this one in the east and that one in the west - and this is the measure 'which must not be varied'! Nevertheless I kept trying [to arrange] that after my assistant had eaten with his host he should sleep near me: and I persisted and pleaded until finally 'he surely came', but even then they prepared but one single bed!

Now, verily, OM the said Rav, Rabbi Wolf - 'a man can see with his eyes' - [is] an angel and a saint, and comports himself with piety. They say about him, that he has learned through the Talmud and all four Turim[164] many times. On the Sabbath day, after the mid-day meal, I went to visit his son-in-law - brilliant, knowledgeable, pious and modest - OMR, the Rabbi Joseph - may G-d preserve him! - Dayan in the province of Ansbach. I debated with him, for nearly six hours, from subject to subject, and I [found I] had matched his conclusions in many things I had written. I took pleasure from his brilliance and wide erudition and his straight thinking. And he

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160 Talmudical phrase: 'words [= *devarim*] that have no need [= *tsorekh*]; *devakim* = tangles, *serokh* = dragging, catching.

161 This may be a faulty rendering of Wassertreuchtlingen. (R. HYDA renders Wassertrillingen).

162 Freimann points out that R. HYDA praises him highly in *Shem Ha-Gedolim*.

163 Psalms 73:18 'Slipping' and 'sharing' have a similar root *halaq*.

164 Halakhic code of Rabbenu Jacob ben Asher in 4 sections; forerunner of the *Shulhan Arukh* .

showed me there two pages that he had [written] - 'and they were among the writings' - his *Hidushei Horayoth*[165] almost with the same depth and language as the Rav *Hidushei Halakhot*[166], of blessed memory; and much additional [material] of enormous erudition, and much more like this does he have on most of the Talmud. And amongst these novellae, too, I [found I] had matched his conclusions in a number of cases. It was altogether a delight for me on that holy Sabbath to stroll with him in the fields of the Talmud and *Posqim* [codes of law]; and I recited [over him] the benediction 'Blessed ... who hath divided off from his glory [to flesh and blood]'.

The first day after the Sabbath I made known to OMR Rabbi Joseph mentioned above, my distress 'and the laying out of [my] anger'[167] concerning all those villages I had passed through. But this is what he answered me: "Behold! we have a covenant with the rabbis and officials of Costa [= Constantinople] that they agree we need not give a penny[168] to any [other] emissary: for everything [we give] will be for the poor Ashkenazis in Jerusalem; and if you refuse to believe this, your own eyes see the covenant!" 'And my face was not mine'[169], for I had no idea at all of this. Nevertheless went on arguing arguments: and the end was they gave me three florins.

But the said OMR Rabbi Joseph wrote, as writing for the Rabbi of the holy cong. of Öttingen, 'splendid words'[170] - 'an angel interceding for good' on my behalf. And they got a chaise for me, and I departed from them in peace.

Tammuz 3 P. Huqath

Sunday: at noon we travelled from Wassertrüdingen, and we arrived at the village of Wittelshofen while it was still daylight. We were met on

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165 *Hidushim* = novellae in Talmud exegesis or Halakhic derivations.

166 This is the classical definitive commentary on the entire Talmud, Rashi and Tosafists known as 'the MaHaRSA', OMR Samuel Eliezer [Ha-Levi Ædeles], 1555-1631.

167 Ester 4:7 *Kesef* = money; *qetsef* = anger.

168 In the text 'pq' probably stands for *prutah qetana* = the smallest coin.

169 Cf. 'my jaw dropped'.

170 *Mahdura* = revision, but a construction on *hiddur* = splendour is probably intended.

the main highway by the son of the Parnes - a fine lad - and he received us in his house with great honour.

Tammuz 4

Monday: we set off from Wittelshofen, and after journeying about two hours, and we came to the village of Bechhofen. The Parnes there, R. Ha'im - a hard man! - came at us with accusations, and he kept making charges against me, and 'he kept on saying', "You may be *kasher* [kosher], but you are no emissary!" I replied, "If I am *kasher* I must be an emissary; if not an emissary, then I am a thief." But 'he hardened his soul' and gave no more than one *reichsthaler*; nor did he agree to write [anything] on to my document, nor [even] to order a chaise for me - [but] a cart instead!

Tammuz 5 P. Huqath

Tuesday: we travelled from Bechhofen and arrived in Ansbach after four hours. And there, too, I made nothing! But they told me: "The Rabbi of the province is in the village of Lehrberg nearby - 'pray go and see' perhaps he will recognise the signatures. If he will so say, "Behold! I recognise"[171] - 'then may you break out in song and exultation' and 'relief and deliverance will stand!'" And so I did.

Tammuz 6

Wednesday: I took a chaise - [paid] from my own pocket - to go to the rabbi aforementioned. His name is OMR the Rabbi [Joshua] Heschel[172], and 'he lies in a sick bed'[173]. He told me [at first] that he knew all the emissaries of Hebron and [also] knew their signatures. But in the end he said that he did not recognise any of the signatures! As for the signature of OMR Ha'im Cohen[174] which had been endorsed by R. David of Ansbach,

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171 Psalms 142:5 A reversed lo.

172 A descendant, possibly, of the great Rabbi Joshua Heshel of Cracow (1595-1693).

173 Amos 3:12 'In a Damascene couch'. For explanation of the reference to Damascus in the verse it is necessary to consult the commentaries such as Rashi.

174 He was the head of the fund-raising organisation: see p. 27.

that [too] was of no importance, because he was from Merren [175], and 'all of them - not people of knowledge are they'[176] 'there is no trust in them'. I pleaded with him 'until embarrassment' but he kept 'repulsing me with words'.

So I returned to Ansbach. When the people of the town saw that their Rabbi had given 'a turned-away shoulder', they gave not a penny. And I, too, my face was not mine: 'I will go down with nothing to the grave'[177].

Tammuz 7

Thursday: we left Ansbach after noon and we came to the large city of Fürth at midnight, the eve of Friday. And the beadle 'in dark places has he placed me', [just] for the while.

On Friday, after the chapter of 'The Morning Prayer'[178], I went to the *g'vir*, Parnes and Leader, the *Haver*[179] Rav Zekhariah Cleve. I had a letter of recommendation to him from Venice and, already in his hand [was] a letter from the officials in Costa[180]. 'And he ran into the chamber' and he brought it out to see 'if [there can] indeed be found' some slur on the signatures that were in my hand. 'And eye to eye, his eyes will see, his eyelids will discern' that the signatures in my possession 'are trustworthy indeed'. But his heart was not right with him, and 'this man said': "Even though [as far] as my eyes can see 'they are of equal measure' and the signatures 'they are as one', perhaps this is only because the Ashkenazim are not expert in the writing of the Sephardi people. But, anyway, on the day of the Sabbath 'to me shall you come for I have surely remembered you on account of'[181] the recommendation."

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175 Possibly Mering, near Augsburg.

176 Even their own rabbi!

177 Gen. 37:35 *evel* (grief) > *hevel* (nothing).

178 Mishnah Ber. IV

179 'Companion [of the Rabbis]': a title of great honour in European Jewish communities.

180 Constantinople was a banking centre: a committee, including R. J. Yeruham, was based there.

181 Gen. 30:16 *Sachor* = hire; *zachor* = remember, acknowledge.



The Hof-Markt, Fürth.

After the Sabbath 'behold! the kings have gathered', the *g'virim* and Parnesim of the holy congregation - 'lift up your speech', 'and you shall strengthen yourself and you shall be a man!' But there too - as will become apparent - I made nothing: for, [they said], an envoy had come from Rabbi Judah Yeruham[182] and he had made an accommodation [with them] for the whole of Erets Israel - "And, verily, we know [that] this man Judah is surpassing over any other faithful envoy, and 'a package of documents' issues from his hand from the rabbis of and *g'virim* of Poland and Germany and the *pinqas* for the *Kollelut* is in his hand: but you - not so. 'Whose seal' - of Germany - have you in your hand? Or what Document 'is sealed up in your store'?"

'And I, afflicted and in pain', listened 'and my vitals were wroth': 'these are his arrows!'/ 'For he is surely shooting'/ 'in Costa, in the garret'[183]/ 'and there [he] blew up this storm'/ 'this is his fire, his arrows!'

'Then I said' [to R. Zekharia Cleve] [184], "Be silent! I will not say unto you 'the full mouth of the furnace burning with fire' about this R. J. Yeruham! And also a letter - 'behold! it is in my satchel' - will make known his ways."

On Sunday I went to the Council - 'there are seated the thrones' of the nobles among the people - 'and I shall walk at my pace' 'in the ways of good manners'[185], and with clear arguments. But their hearts were contrary - stronger is their face than the rock! They argued with words of nonsense, but finally, for the special Hebron fund, we compromised on the sum of seventy florins.

But even so they did craftily [so as] not to give. 'Vainly do they speak', to send them [the monies] to the *g'virim* of Vienna [for forwarding]! And to support their falseness, 'behold! a false pen is their pen'[186] [writing]

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182 He had no authorisation for this; he seems to have been something of a charlatan.

183 Tal. B. Bath. 41a A case law involving a man living in Cashta (!) in a garret - *ilitha*: this word, too, means 'false report'; also, *qashta* = 'bow', so this is a trio of puns! 'Arrows' is a common metaphor for slander.

184 It is evident from the ensuing narrative that this was a private remark to R. Z. Cleve.

185 The Laws of Good Manners: *halakha* = law, same root as 'walk'.

186 Deut. 19:18 *Ed* = witness, *et* = pen.

'in the language of your dogs' [187], but set out in their neat phrases. And the end proved [it] so - '[no]seventy did my eye [ever] see'[188] ! They 'signed a fraud', 'the fraud was in their hands' 'and iniquity clenches' 'the hands of the chiefs'[189], 'covering the money with the earth'[190] of miserliness. 'They opened their mouths' 'to pass and send off'[191] money [which had been] set aside, vowed, donated and collected 'from Asher but not all of Asher'[192] 'and that is signed in the book'. 'Yet with all this', they set 'the *ikkuv* smooth' and their 'gullets hold'[194] to 'sending' to this day!

On Friday, P. Balaq, my host - 'behold! he speaks words'[195] to hurry and send me off, 'because thus was he commanded' by those *g'virim* , the Parnessim. But I refused to set out travelling on a Friday, so he said to me, "Go and appear before R. Zekhariah."

And so I did, and I said to him, "Is this good in your eyes - to send me away on a Friday? 'What gives it, or what adds it' if I stay two [more] days in a large town such as this? - so what is all this agitation?"

He answered me thus: " 'Go appease and urge' my fellow-Parnes and if he gives permission then I will allow you." The end of the matter was that the condition was made that I should go on Sunday, the 17th of Tammuz - "and if that day is a Fast [196], all to the good! for you have no expenses to pay!"

'And it was on the first-day' that I said to the host, "Prepare a chaise, for I am ready to oblige those who are hustling me." But when I was about to leave the town he said, "Not yet! We must [first] hear the edict of the Parnessim, for 'they have words of litigation' with you!"

'And I was broken' to hear [this]. 'What is there between me and them?' And as 'I saw this [new] oppression' - 'deeds which are not done!' -

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187 Psalms 68:24 A foreign language: R. HYDA did not know German.

188 A play on Isaiah 64:3 *Ayin* = eye; the letter *ayin* stands for 70.

189 Possibly a play on Prov. 10:4: *Rosh* = poor man, same w. (with *aleph*) = head.

190 Future blood-money (*dam*) puns will go unmarked.

191 Job 33:18 *Shelah* = sword, but when second syllable stressed = send.

192 The source is unidentified: the meaning is 'well-nigh everyone'.

193 Isaiah 40:4 Again (see p. 45 [79]), the meaning of *ikkuv* here is unclear.

194 Tal. Yoma 80a Discussion on quantity of food defined as 'eating'.

195 Job 2:13 *Ayn/hayn.*

196 The Fast of the 17th Tammuz.

'terror went up on my head' [197], and my heart trembled to know what this is that they are shouting [about], or what thing might they ask? And I put this to my heart![198] - this is nothing other than R. Zekhariah betraying me and revealing the confidence I had told him that there is in my possession a letter concerning R. J. Yeruham! - even though I had sworn him [to secrecy], and he had agreed, that no word [of it] whould leave his mouth. There is no trust in him: and whoever relies on him does but deceive himself, and the one leaning on his arm is as if he leans 'on a crumbling wall, a broken fence'. And as I realised that 'this [is what] happened to me', 'I took into my right hand' the letter, and I put it into a concealed place.

Just then the Rabbi of the holy cong[199]. sent for me, and I went straight away, with fire burning in my heart, to see what I should do. It was not my desire to provoke strife, but I would not reveal another confidence: for such quarrelling is like a flood breaching, and if they would see this letter, who knows what 'order of the great fire-setting'[200] [would follow]? - they would start throwing on logs; 'and sending letters in the hands of the chiefs[201] which were in all the provinces' of Germany and Poland, and the conflagration might rage[202] even in the cities of Turkey - Oh! who asked me to enter into this dispute?

[The moment] I stepped into the home of the Rabbi he 'came forth claiming': "Behold! I have heard that there is in your possession a letter 'that is tearing'[203] 'the arrangement of the inheritances', and it is 'anger heaped up'[204] against the emissary the Rabbi J. Yeruham! Give it into my hand...'and a *mitsvah* that comes to your hand, do not let it leaven'[205]...and it is a *mitsvah* to expose charlatans..." and so on.

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197 A play on Judges 13:5 *Mora* = razor; also, terror.

198 He suddenly understands.

199 Rabbi David Strauss.

200 Of the altar (Yoma 33a).

201 Ester 8:10 *Ratzim* = runners, *rashim* = chiefs (of the various congregations).

202 Following Freimann's emendation.

203 Letter = *iggeret*, tearing = *ogeret*.

204 Another play on 'letter': *agura* = heap.

205 Perform a commandment (good deed) immediately.

I answered and said, "I am he who [surely] knows this - that 'the order of the setting'[206] will refute 'that which issues from the mouth' [of him] 'who digs stealthily'. However, the Rabbis of Hebron commanded me that [only] if the aforementioned emissary should misrepresent himself - as they have heard - as an emissary from Hebron - may it be rebuilt and re-established! - [then] show that letter!"

And I argued with him with much might and strength. 'And I spoke out against the kings', the rabbis of Germany and the *g'virim* [who wanted] to expose 'the man and his speech': "Do we not well know the injunction not to spread strife? And so I cannot disobey the Rabbis of Hebron."[207]

Said the Rabbi, "However that may be, I want to see the letter - whether you are telling the truth! And if you refuse that is your sign that 'you have spoken perversely' and that 'these things never were!'"

Then, perforce, I took the letter in my hand and I said to him, "If you will, [you may] verily see 'the letter as written', it will [however] not leave my hand."

And it was, as the Rabbi read two or three pages of the letter, he said to me, "This is not a good that you do, not to publicise this letter: for it is about such things that they said: Hasten 'to smash the teeth of iniquity'. And you are bound, at least, to give it over to be copied."

I took the letter and I went to R. Zekhariah, 'the father of all the ploughing [up]' of this evil. I said to him, "What is this here, that the Parnessim have detained me? And what is their desire?"

Then he began 'opening up storehouses' of 'words[208] [and] (the) words' [trying] to show that his actions were compelled when he revealed what I had confided to him. And finally he said, "You surely know that you must needs show me that letter, and if you do not hand it over then I fear for your own disgrace!" Then I showed him the letter and he read it in its entirety.

Now, I had not yet read it thoroughly, so as to know all its details,

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206 This presumably means: 'presenting of the letter', borrowing the earlier reference [200].

207 R. HYDA's reluctance to publicly denounce an accredited emissary as a charlatan is understandable.

208 Tal. Sot. 32a Exegesis on Deut. 6:6 'the words' (and not just 'words').

for 'it is longer than the venom'[209] but I now saw at the end of its text some things that were not correct. It stated there that the 'Sages of Hebron' had never asked [for help] from *Qupath Erets Israel*[210] , and they would only ask the offerings and donations to which the people of Germany had obligated themselves in the *pinqas* [=notebook] of the previous emissary. 'And a great trembling fell' on me for behold! I was holding in my hand a sword turned towards me - for they had not given me the *pinqas*, and I had always been asking [for money] from the *Qupath Erets Israel*! But, assuredly, these things were a 'slip of the pen' made unthinkingly!

In the meantime, R. Zekhariah had also sensed the matter - and 'the gates of explanation are never locked'[211], and the end of the matter [was] I entreated his countenance [that] he discharge me of showing it to the Parnessim, for I did not wish to become embroiled in a quarrel [that was] not mine: and that thus had I been warned by the rabbis of Hebron. He answered, "Go, pray, to the Parnessim and I will follow you."

On my way [there] my thoughts were in confusion and in my affliction 'I called on the L-rd, and to my G-d do I supplicate'. And when I came to the Council chamber - I was there outside for about an hour - and I saw and behold! the Parnessim 'there is confusion in the land' because [officials of] the Government 'had arrived to ask'[212] [about] some false charge and their hearts were not concerned with me! 'Then I said': "I will praise thee, O L-rd, for Thou hast shown anger to (me) them." 'The L-rd will accomplish [that] which concerneth me' to extricate me in peace!

'And it was in the morning' that I said to my host: "Pray, fetch a chaise and I shall go on my way; for yesterday I waited 'until embarrassment' to know what the Parnessim would say. But now I see 'one [event] knocks against the other', 'and they were confused' with some [other] matter !"

The innkeeper - he is a trustee of the congregation - answered, "'From the L-rd was this thing' that 'your soul desires' to go on your way

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209 Job 11:9.

210 v. p. 10.

211 Adapt. 'the gates of tears are never locked'; here expressing, no doubt, this pious hope!

212 Psalms 88:4 *She'ol* = grave, *she'al* = ask.

at this time when the hearts of the Parnessim are not prepared to bother with you. 'Towards G-d is your way', and I will fetch the chaise !" And so he did.

And lo! I was still with one foot on the ground - and the horses were harnessed and straining against the wheels of the wagon when 'Go! said my heart'[213] to take leave of the Rav, for it is not good manners to leave the town before 'the rising of the dawn' - the face of the Rav! So I decided: Come what may, I will run to the Man of G-d. I went to the Rav - to receive his blessing, but behold! - 'the ears hear' - 'the words of the Rav are heard' as he 'asks Ha'im', "Did you take care to give over that letter - you know! - to the Parnessim? For if you did not give it [then] you have transgressed against 'do not withhold'!"[214]

'And I replied peaceably'[215], "'Behold, pray, my master' I went yesterday to R. Zekhariah!"

He continued 'questioning Ha'im'[216] about the matter of the letter. But I replied about some other matter! I did this several times - 'he would claim wheat and I would admit charcoal'[217] - anything!

And I went [also] to R. Zekhariah, and I sought him but he was not [to be] found. So I departed from there in peace - praise to G-d, may He be blessed!

Tammuz 18 P. [Pinhas]

Monday: we travelled from Fürth and we arrived in Beiersdorf in the afternoon.

Tammuz 19

Tuesday: we travelled from Beiersdorf in the afternoon, and we arrived in Forchheim [Vorchheim]. [There] they paid for a coach to Buttenheim. On from there to Retzat; and from there to Bamberg where we arrived at nightfall.

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213 Psalms 27:8 *Lecha* = you, *lechah* = go (imp.).

214 Deut. 4:2 'Take away' > withhold.

215 Gen. 28:21 'To return' > to reply.

216 Num. 16:30

217 Talmud B. Metz. 5a. The classical case uses wheat and barley.

When the Parnessim looked at the *pinqas*, 'the first of all the evils' they noted [was] that the towns of Pfersee and Kriegshaber had not put their names on the *pinqas*, so that those coming after them - miserly creatures! - had also refrained from giving a respectable donation. [I could see that] they schemed to probe into the matter 'and it would be clear'[218] that I was a forger - Heaven forfend! 'Behold! the salty ones have gathered'[219] and they summoned my assistant to see whether from his words they could learn 'what is the order' of the forging.

Now my assistant is trustworthy - Samuel 'the righteous in his trust', verily speaking truth and honest words and when he returned, frightened and trembling, he told me all that had happened to him. 'Then I rose up' and I took in hy hands the note-book and all the documents - nearly 300 were in my possession! - and the distribution lists, and I went to them. And in the fullness of my scorn and anger I spoke hard things - from out of soft words - and I said:

"Are your eyes plastered over, not able to see? - all these documents in the Holy Tongue, in Spanish and in Italian! And your eyes can see all the signatures from Hebron, Constantinople, and all the Rabbis of Italy; and the signature of the Ambassador of the King of France; and the signature of the Head of the Bishops in Jerusalem. Is it possible to find anyone who could forge all this - in various handwritings and languages? Where is your intelligence? And [your] Torah, where is that? The L-rd has [there] commanded, many times, concerning the oppression of strangers: is this right in your eyes [so] to abuse and to defame an emissary from the Land of Israel?"

I spoke in this same wise in my own tongue, with sound reason but with sorrow in my heart. 'And still was their hand stretched out'[220] continuing to ask nonsense - "Why is this, that not all the rabbis of Venice have signed, but only one in the name of all of them? Also, you said that you came to Germany from Verona; but in the 'book of Ha'im' the signature of Verona precedes the signature of Venice!"

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218 Num. 24:22 *Leva'er* = to destroy; also, (with *patah* instead of *qametz*) to clarify.

219 Psalms 48:5 *Melachim* = kings; *melahim* = the salty [ones] [?]

220 Isaiah 9:11, 9:20, 10:4.

On the next day the trustee of the holy cong. said to me, "Mighty is your merit! - for the Parnessim have instructed me to write in the *pinqas* that they will send ten florins to Fürth for them to send with their own donation."

Then I answered them a quelling reply to all their improper queries. 'Blessed is the Name of His glory, Who gives strength to the weary to bear 'the words of outrage' 'and sufficient is the disgrace, and no money'[221] ! I said, "Thanks - let them give, or not give, it is all the same to me. Send me off and I will go!"

Tammuz 21

Thursday: after mid-day we journeyed and arrived, four hours later, in Ebelsbach. And the Jews [there] sent us to a gentile hospice, and they did not give me as much as a penny!

Tammuz 22

Friday: from there to Knetsgau; and from there, [by boat] on the River Main, to Hassfurt. And we spent Sabbath at the house of the *g'vir* Rabbi Moshe. He expressed anger about [all] the clothes we had [brought] with us: "For someone going on a journey it suffices for him the garment he wears and two shirts!" At any rate, his disposition was [later] pleasant. It was good in his eyes, too, that I ate little on the Sabbath, so his mind was calmed.

Staying there with him was a scholar, 'whole and perfect' and G-d-fearing. He shared my anguish and he was a good intercessor, softly spoken. At the time for my departure he gave a fine donation for the mission - one reichsthaler - and for me, the junior, one florin [222].

Tammuz 24 Mattoth

Sunday: from there to Schönungen by boat.

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221 Adapt. of Ester 1:18 *Qatsef* = wrath, *kasef* = money.

222 It is not clear who gave this donation - if R. Moshe, then 'fine donation' must be sardonic.

Tammuz 25 Mattoth

Monday: from Schönungen on the river to the gentile town Schweinfurt, a large town of palatial aspect. But [as] we waited for the arrival of a chaise we 'passed through the bitter waters': for there were gathered crowds upon crowds of men, women and children and they were all staring - defiled, wondering[223] - at the style of our clothes and the hairs of our beards, shouting and laughing.

Eventually, we arrived at the town of Niederverrn. I stayed at the house of the Parnes and Rav of that place, the *g'vir* Rabbi Zanwill: the capacity of his intellect 'two thousand bath doth it hold'[224] - but a single *bath* only is seen! He gave an appearance as if whole-heartedly wanting to give a magnanimous gift, only his fellow Parnessim were not in town. All such [stuff] is - cobwebs! But, nevertheless, he gave something; and out of his pocket he lavished a munificent gift - suited to his greatness and wealth - quarter of a florin[225]: that is about nine Turkish pieces[226].

Tammuz 27

Wednesday: from Niederverrn we passed through Geldersheim and then arrived in Arnstein. And the *g'vir* there is Rabbi Aaron and he did not want us to enter the town. So I sent him the credentials; and even with all this 'he did not allow Israel to cross his boundary', and he sent a coach for us to ride on.

And because of my anguish and vexation at seeing these 'things which are not done' - 'to David when he changed' from the coach in which we came to another, I remembered that I had dropped my *giazdamico* [?] [=portfolio]: and in it were three stones I had had engraved [while] in Fürth, and three *ungaros*[227] which I had exchanged from R. Zanwill, and

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223 *Teme'im, temehim.*

224 King I, 7:26 A *bath* = 13.5 gallons approx.

225 It is not clear if this 'munificent' gift was extra to the 'something' from the communal box.

226 Probably the widely used 2-*para* piece.

227 Italian name for the Hungarian ducat; this was a standard gold coin throughout Europe.

three other florins and more, and some papers that I needed. And [it] was in the middle of the journey [that] I sought it and could not find it! So I turned back and sent my assistant to search; but he did not find [it]. And so, sullen and ill-tempered, I arrived that same day in Thüringen. And the *g'vir* there bedded us down in a ruined house with gaping windows.

Tammuz 28

Thursday: we journeyed from Thüringen, and we passed through Himmelstadt, Laudenbach, Zellingen, Leinach: and in those towns - 'a hundred troubles' [228]!

Tammuz 29

Friday: we passed through Greusenheim, Hochberg; and we arrived, at Minha-time, in the town of Heidingsfeld. Here we had something of honour; and the Rabbi of that place welcomed me - he is Rabbi Leib, the son of OMR Rav Baruch Rappoport.

Menahem [Av] 5 P. Devarim

Wednesday: we journeyed from Heidingsfeld and after passing through Neubrunn we arrived in the town of Wertheim.

Menahem [Av] 6

Thursday: Fechenbach, Freudenberg, Miltenberg, Heubach.

Menahem [Av] 7

Friday: Klingenberg, Wörth, Wallstadt; and we arrived at Minha-time in the town of Aschaffenburg.

In all those villages that we came to, sometimes they would not even pay for the coach; other times they would settle with the coach-driver for [only] a quarter-hour, or similar 'things which are not done'. On several

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228 Gen. 26:12 *She'arim* = measures, *tse'arim* < *tsa'ar* = pain.

occasions, coming to a village, I pleaded with the Parnes or the *g'vir* - but no one would listen, and I had to pay out of my own pocket. There were also occasions, when the direct route required a half-hour - or by a short cut a quarter-hour - to reach a Jewish village, they [the coachmen] would go by a roundabout route, and similar loutish things. In order not to incur expenses out of the mission funds, I would bear and accept great suffering 'as part of the wanderings'[229] : it would cost me several gold pieces[230] [just] to travel from one large city to another, and the cost of the inns and such like. And I was mindful of them [?] when they had quarrelled with me [231]

Menahem [Av] 10 Va-eth'hanan

Monday: from Aschaffenburg to Seligenstadt. And there, at the home of R. Leib - the pure[232] - I met a lad - a scholar, 'altogether charming'. I think he was from Mainz. He was wonderful in doing kindness, and much concerning himself with me - with all his might! And R. Leib - 'according to his value', and the value of 'the donors among the people' [?] - was [also] wonderful in doing kindness. May G-d reward their deeds [with] everlasting life!

Menahem [Av] 11

From there we came to the holy cong. of Hanau. But at the city gates the gatekeepers would not allow us to enter. So I sent a note to the Rabbi, but 'my eyes ceased' from waiting, and in the end I gave some money to the gatekeepers and they allowed us [in].

Just as I was entering, the beadle came out towards us - and he was very annoyed because perforce must he take us to his house! But I said to him, "Come, let us be introduced to the Rabbi, the Chief of the Beth Din, for it is not to the honour of Erets Israel that I should stay with you!"

'And I came that day' to the Rav and I gave him the documents

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229 Talmud Bab. Bath. 77b Adapt. of chattels ('wandering property') acquired together with land.

230 Reichsthalers.

231 This sentence is obscure.

232 *Leib* [German/Yiddish: 'lion'] is quite common; also Heb. for 'heart'.

relating to the collection, and the *pinqas* . He inspected everything and his response was, " 'I do not recognise' any of these signatures, and who says 'that behold the things are true' in this book of signatures?"

Now whilst I was speaking to him I saw on the table the book *Beth Shemuel* [on] *Even Ha'Ezer* [233]. Then I began to discourse with him on the law of *yihud* [234]. 'And it was that when he saw' that I possess 'a scent of Torah', he welcomed me with a good countenance / and with 'pure words' / 'with the opening of blind eyes' / after everything that had happened: for this rabbi - he is OMR Rabbi Isaac [the son of R. Israel, the Rabbi of Hanover], 'the perfect son-in-law'[235] of OMR Rabbi [Samuel] Hillman, the Head of the Beth Din of the holy cong. of Metz - 'across the entire Earth has gone forth the line' of his lovingkindness, 'his praise is [to be found] among the congregations of the pious', 'and his actions prove [this]'. 'And there with us', 'a brother of goodness and lovingkindness' [236], the Rav's brother - he is OMR Rabbi Wolff, Head of the Beth Din of the holy cong. of Kaluszyn [Poland]. 'Also he had intent'[237] to be a good advocate 'on behalf of Joseph'.

At that time there were 'matters of dispute' in the holy cong. of Hanau mentioned, between the Parnessim. 'And they had [just] been called'[238] 'for a meeting'[239] to the Assembly-place: and they were / discussing and conferring / adamantine and noisily / dogmatically and agitatedly / prevaricating and arguing / day and night - until midnight! - 'they are confused in the land'. And the Rav sent me off in peace with a small donation, according to the occasion and the time [?], and with cheerful countenance - 'the greater visage to the smaller visage'[?] . 'And on

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233 The third section of *Shulhan Arukh* dealing with marital matters.

234 That is, 'isolation' with one who is a forbidden; the book may have been open there.

235 Mishna, Nidd. V, 3. cf. Ex. 4:25 hatan [= son-in-law, bridegroom].

236 Psalms 23:6. *Akh* = only; *ah* = brother.

237 In the High Priest's Yom Kippur devotions. The next phrase *sever [?] Yosef* is guessed.

238 Esther 6:1. *Niqra'im* = read, called (pl).

239 Talmud, B. Kama 104b *agav asipha* = per the threshold; also, *asipha* = gathering.

top of all this', that pair of rabbis, the brothers aforementioned, did not forsake their kindness and they inclined their charity with some small private donation, 'from their own hand was this'. Moreover, this Rav, the head of the Beth Din, 'holds the ink-pot'/ - 'a letter[240] of praise and fine words'! / 'for the land and for its fruits' [?] - an angel interceding for good on my behalf.

We departed by boat to the large town of Boppard. The Parnessim [of Hanau, however] had not paid the boat-man the charge for our [packages of] clothes; I did not know this and had, perforce, 'to pay of the best'.

Menahem [Av] 14, Va-eth'hanan

Friday: we journeyed on from there by boat and we arrived, in the afternoon, in Frankfurt-on-Main. On our arrival in the port, 'at their station were standing' the Government officers - 'with large hats on'[241] / 'their aspect is like flames'/ 'their appearance is the proof' / 'he doth shout, even doth he roar'. / 'They went down to question Ha'im' searchingly[242] 'in the language of Copt and Elam': but in any case, 'from between their eyebrows it could be recognised' that they would not allow entrance into the city until investigating the matter - who is this man, and from what town? - and so on. For such is the way of these cities - they are separate Governments, republics and dukedoms and the like; they therefore 'go out standing', 'watch against watch', against those who enter and leave lest they be 'spying out the land'. I was already prepared [with] various passports showering from my bosom! - and yet, with all this, she (sic) did not give permission.

So I left the clothes [baggage] there by the river, and I went with the soldiers / faint and weary / weak of hands / 'without legs'/ in the twilight / and nothing to say / or utter with the lips. / 'And as I was on the way'/ -

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240 Talmud, Ber. 6b *Adap.* of agra = reward = > letter [= *iggeret*]; *hillula* = wedding, also, praise.

241 Ezekiel 23:15 In the context the hats are of exaggerated size and gaudily arrogant; hence the comparison with flames in the next phrase.

242 The previous phrase is, once again, an adap. of Num 17:30 (*she'ol* = pit, *she'al* = ask), with *amiq* = deep [= searchingly ?] added.

'that place [is] Mahanayim'[243] - / 'there found Ha'im'/ 'a man of Beinayim'[244]: / 'he is wholly splendid '[245] / 'and desirous is he to the eyes'! / - 'a crown of beauty',/ 'a jewel among jewels', / 'the glory of youth', / 'from the Ramatha'im'[246]; / his mouth opens [he] / with clarity / in the Holy Tongue 'in the manner of those pleasant utterances' of the Sephardim, 'talking to me in soft language', gentle, good and beneficial, sweeter than honey 'from the hive and within'[247]; and my two eyes lit up as he spoke 'refreshing the soul of Ha'im'[248]: 'and he became awake and alert'[249] like a man awakening from his slumber!

'I said to him', "'Since thou art precious (in my sight)', 'and thy kindness has waxed great', [and] 'I am now faint' [250], 'make wondrous thy kindnesses, [and] rescue [me]' - 'come with us' 'to that officer'. 'And it shall be, when he has seen' the passport, [then] show me the entrance of the city by the river 'where there were cast' [251], our clothes, and [there, too, is] my attendant: for I do not know the way back. And now also that the day is sinking towards evening, and the Sabbath - 'this is pressing and interrupting'[252] and I do not know where to turn, and my soul is much confused: 'where dost thou feed? - and where dost thou lie down?'"

And thus he answered me: "Behold! I am like a servant to run before you! Do not fear and do not tremble, for I am with you, to stand and to serve just as I inclined favour to former emissaries!" And so he did. And he

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243 Gen. 32:3 Used here just to maintain the rhyme.

244 Sam. I 17:4 *Ish beinayim* = champion.

245 Gen. 25:25 *Aderet* = cloak, haderet < *hadar* = splendour.

246 Sam.I, 1:1. see note [1].

247 Tal. Yer. Mo'ed Katan ch. III, (p.35 ed. Hatam Sofer, Jerusalem, 5730-1970) from Tsofim [Mount Scopus] inwards; also, *tsuf* = bee-hive.

248 A double pun: *mashiv ha-ru'ah* [=maketh blow (or turneth backward) the wind]; ru'ah ha'im = a spirit of life.

249 An odd phrase: *va-yehi er de'chor*, rhymes with Gen. 38:7, *bechor* = firstborn: *er* = awake, *dechor* (aram.) = remember(ing), i.e. alert [?].

250 Deut. 3:24 *Ata hahelota* [=Thou hast begun] = > *ngata* = now; *(ha)haloti* = I have become faint.

251 Isaiah 6:13 *Be-shalechet*; also (v. Rashi) name of a gate in Jerusalem.

252 Possibly an abstruse reference to the mandatory stopping of work.

went with me to 'the officer who rules over the land', and from there to another officer; and straightaway and immediately, through the sweetness of his language and the grace of his manner, the permission was granted. The soldiers asked for some money, and he straightaway gave them 'with a piled measure'. We came to [the place where I had left] the clothes, and he even [saw] to despatch everything to the Jewish quarter. Then he took me to the new Parness, the *g'vir* Rabbi Meir Wirmes[253] and we showed him some of the letters. And after all this, he still did not budge from dallying around me, this esteemed, perfect, wonderful young man aforementioned! - he is the eminent *Haver*, the honour of his Torah-name, His Honour the Rav Rabbi Wolf Rintel[254] of Hamburg - may his memory live in the world to come![255] - of the family of Rom[256], perfect in character, in outlook, charitable, beloved and acclaimed 'among all that enter the gates of his city' 'in voice, in appearance, and fragrance'. He did not budge from there until he 'had found me a resting-place' in the home of the respected and learned householder Rabbi Leib Wetzler. And all those days that I was in Frankfurt-on-Main did not budge the hand of that young man aforementioned, days and nights, 'in his love and in his compassion' - 'continually shining', and doing kindness wondrously. And all matters and intimate secrets, both his and mine, did not force us [apart]: in those [few] days our affection [for each other] grew wonderfully - the attachment of soul to soul 'and a single spirit was theirs', 'except for the divisions'[257] of physical matters only!

Now this said young man[258] was of the family of the nobleman - outstanding in perfection, philanthropist, Parness and leader, munificent benefactor, the eminent *Haver* - the Honour of his Torah-name do they extol! - His Honour the Rav Rabbi Reuben Scheyer Segal, may his memory live in the world to come. 'And he brought me into his chambers'; there I

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253 Possibly 'Worms'.

254 Freimann's emendation of 'Hintel' in the original.

255 This young man died tragically in a fire on 8th December, 1754: see on, Teves 3, 5515.

256 The w. *rom* = exalted. A family renowned for its scholarship.

257 Psalms 73:18 *Halaq* = slippery; *heleq* = division.

258 The Heb. w. for lad, or bachelor, is used throughout - unlikely for someone described as *Haver*.



The Judengasse, Frankfurt.

[often] stayed days, nights, weeks! The said *g'vir* inclined towards me kindness and very great honour: may G-d reward his work, and may his resting-place be glory and his seed a blessing: his only son - 'the beloved of G-d, praiseworthy and exalted, keen-witted and perfected and G-d fearing - the honour of his Torah-name, His Honour the Rav Rabbi Judah, may G-d sustain him in life, may he see issue, have length of days, and [with] the desire of G-d be his hand successful; may thus be His will.

Menahem [Av] 16, Eqev

Sunday: I went to the Council-place, before the twelve Parnessim and [community] leaders, and I displayed before them 'the sheaf of documents' and all the letters 'that were issuing from under my hand' - 'a weak hand'! But 'the kings of the earth would not believe'; yet they spoke respectfully and with gentle speech. They said, "Indeed, your appearance shows that you are a trustworthy person, but what can we do? - all your letters and their signatures 'are not known in the thoroughfares'. 'And there is no man in the land' 'to confirm any thing': not in vain 'do the epigrammatists epigrammatize' - 'certify your deed [then] go to court'!"[259]

And I - for my sins! - I was disgusted to hear. For, after all the toil and trouble and the roaring of the waves of bitter waters 'rising and flooding over me and over my neck' from the day that I left Italy, I had thought that on the day I would show the credentials of my mission in the large city of Frankfurt-on-Main there would be no lack of attestors from [among] those who recognise [at least] some of the signatures from Italy, and especially, from Constantinople. And now that I had come here my hopes were not realised - 'a turned-over world did I see'.[260]

[Now this was] because, since the five years that they had formed into two factions[261], [there was] 'strife upon strife', and the burning flame of quarrelling and contention in the city 'had gone up to the high heavens'. And I had already heard, indeed, that the fire of this quarrel 'was a conflagration' 'as the consuming of silver'[262] of more than a hundred

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259 Ket. 19b.

260 Tal. Bab. Bathra 10b.

261 See Freimann's reference.

262 *Tzerof* = refining; *serof* = burning. The background events are not clear.

thousand *Rhein-florins*[263] to the Kaiser[264] and the Government; 'and the word had gone out from the king's mouth' - the Kaiser - to remove all the old Parnessim and to appoint others, 'new and recent'. And these [new] men 'do not know and do not understand' about the matters of the mission - 'not of them and not of their tumult and not of their turmoil'.

And so I now had to consult with that crown of dignitaries, HHR Reuben aforementioned and the young man HHR Wolf aforem., what to do and 'whence shall come my help'. Finally, we reached agreement to send a letter to Vienna, to the famous Minister Moses Lopez Pereira who was known by the name of Don Hugo Baron d'Aiguillar, to send information as to whether he had [received] previous knowledge from the officials in Constantinople about the matter of my mission. The said *g'vir* wrote to him in the French language; and also I, the junior, 'enclosed words' to him, and 'my mouth spake in the Holy Tongue'; 'and the scrolls were sent in the hands of the riders', by the post. Shortly after, '[the thought] went up on my heart' to go to the holy cong. of Worms, for there [resides] the *Ga'on*[265] OMR Rabbi Joshua, Chief of the Beth Din and Head of the *Metivta*[266] of the holy cong. of Frankfurt-on-Main aforementioned - who, at the beginning of the dispute some three years earlier 'moved afar off', [but] perhaps he would recognise some of the signatures! And the thing found favour in the eyes of the *'g'vir'* aforementioned [R. Reuben Segal] and his son [R. Judah] and of that [other] young man aforementioned, and they came to accompany me to the outskirts of the city with friendly countenances and great affection.

Av 18, Eqev

Tuesday: we travelled by the coach that goes once each week from Frankfurt-on-Main to Worms and we arrived on Wednesday near to

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263 A silver coin; an enormous sum of tax.

264 It was not until 1871 that the title Kaiser was used for the emperor of all Germany; the title Caesar [Kaesar] is often used in the Talmud for 'monarch' and refers here to Frederick the Great.

265 A 'mighty intellect'; genius - a title reserved for the greatest of Torah scholars.

266 Aram. for *Yeshiva* , the initials RoM [= Rosh Metivta] being commonly used.

Minha-time. I went immediately 'to receive the countenance' of the Rabbi, the author of *P'nei Yehoshua*[267] aforem. 'And his appearance is as the appearance of an angel of the L-rd'! And he, in his kindness, gave me a welcoming countenance. I recounted to him all the events that had occurred about me; and I fell at his feet - 'let him pluck out my soul from bondage'.

In the course of the conversation I told him that his brilliant book 'had appeared widespread' 'in the Land of Desire'[268] and [that] all the scholars and rabbis of Jerusalem - may it be rebuilt and re-established! - had benefited from the shining light of his Torah, the spirit of his understanding and the beauty of his intellect; and especially, the outstanding rabbi, HHOMR Rabbi Isaac Ha-Cohen [Rappaport] - may his memory live in the world to come! - 'rejoiced in his heart' 'that he had raised and that he had brought' [i.e. quoted] from his book *Batei Kehunah*[269] in the last appendix. I also [told him] that I, the junior, in the synagogue at Hanau, had seen the second volume 'and I had rejoiced as over a whole treasure-hoard'; and when I had opened it and seen [his] holy sayings on the tractate of *Megillah* and 'following his path', had been enabled to answer a [certain] difficulty [put] by the Rabbi [author of] *Panim Me'eerot*.

And the said Rav instructed that I be given a dwelling suitable for the honour of the Land of Israel; and so the Parnessim did. But I was sorely afflicted on account of that the coach mentioned earlier was big, and heavy - much laden with merchandise - and pulled by eight horses; and most of the places along the way were stony - 'and the stones of that place' - 'and the sound was heard', 'a sound that did not cease', 'and he led him with heaviness'. And most of the way I had pain in my bones, and 'agony in my head' - great pain - 'and this is its fruit'. For as I was descending in the holy cong of Worms 'a pain afflicted me ' - of toothache! So strong [was it] that

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267 A great and famous work which has become the standard adjunct and commentary on the Tosafists.

268 The land of Israel is referred to in the Talmud (Meg. 6a) as (Erets) *Ts'evi* = gazelle, but also = desire.

269 This Rappaport family-tree goes back to the High Priest Aaron. (The translator is honoured that his son's wife is of that family. It should be remarked that not all Rappaports, or Rappoports, are priestly families).

almost did the world go black before me. 'And away went respite'[270]! 'And Joseph could not hold [it] back' - not standing, not sitting, not lying. 'And I prayed unto G-d': "Heal me, and restore me and let not Thy mercies cease!"

'But healed, healed is Joseph'![271] - with a remedy from the wife of the host. For, in truth, as I could see, they were filled with pity over me - 'each man and his household' - when they saw my affliction and my great pain; 'and they exceeded in bringing' various remedies until Heaven's mercies rose up upon me, and the pain eased. I went to the house of the Rabbi above-mentioned and I took with me the documents: and he commanded [them] to fetch letters from the officials in Constantinople that they had sent to him. And he saw that my and his signatures were as one 'all of them matching' and that all [the documents] had been prepared under the hands of the officials.

The Rav answered, saying: "Do not fear, for I am with you 'and this is my testimony' that the signatures are true and that you are a true emissary!"

Then the conversation turned, and he related to me matters about the Rav OMR Jonathan [Eybeschüetz] of Prague, [now] Head of the Beth-Din of the holy cong. of Hamburg-Altona-Ansbach - staggering things! He showed me various other letters - 'and their appearance is like the flames' - the entire fraternity of the rabbis of Poland and Germany, 'in one mode do (and) they prophesy': "'Surely burn them' 'with the rod [of His wrath]' 'and (no) [the] smell of fire cling to them'!"[272] 'They all of them opened with condemnation' - 'the cry of 'RYBaH' [273], 'and it shall be a flame'[274] - against the *qameahs* [= amulets] written by OMR R. Jonathan and [other]

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270 Judges 13:11 Manoah < *manah* = resting.

271 Gen. 37:33 *Tarof* = torn; changing *teth* to *tav* < *terufah* = remedy.

272 Daniel 3:27.

273 Midrash Gen. 18:21 'the cry of the girl' [= *ribah*]; but here, Freimann points out, means Rabbi Ya'acov Ben *'Hirsch'*; hirsch (German) = deer = *Tz'vi* (Heb.) i.e. the famous 'Hakham Tz'vi', Rav in London and Amsterdam, father of the equally famous R. Jacob of Emden, both unrelenting in pursuing and eradicating the cult of Shabbetai Tz'vi.

274 Talmud, Shev. 25a It exists in the future [= *lehaba*]; same letters read *lehava* = flame.

actions of his which clearly show [that] he has been an adherent from his youth 'and even to old age' to the faith of Sh. Tz.[275] The said OMR R. Joshua also showed me an extract from a letter from the Rabbis of Constantinople, advocating righteousness and merit upon OMR Jonathan, and 'pouring out of fury' on the faction that was against him: to indict them as 'a knot' of evil-doers 'that is not lasting', 'hanging venom on nothing'.

OMR R. Joshua then said to me, "It enters my mind that the Rabbis of Constantinople 'have trodden (their bow) their ink-pot'[276] without knowing upon what 'the bases of the argument are founded' [277]. 'And who, and who', are the men of this other faction?"

'And I, in my affliction' - even though from the stamp of the language I knew for certain 'these are indeed the words' of the Rabbis of Constantinople, and 'similar is this voice to the voice' of the Hakham R. Joseph Sasson - his soul [now] in Eden! - the Scribe of Constantinople - out of the exigency of the moment I said, "'Ah, my master', as long as the entire letter is not before us - for 'the witnesses of the signature [alone can] determine' - 'who knows if a pen like this'[278] is from 'the (bow) ink-pot' of the mighty, the Rabbis of Constantinople?"

I also saw there two printed pamphlets - 'these are for disgrace' - about OMR R. Jonathan, and there was an additional page, hand-written. 'They said' 'that these were things copied'[279] from a book, of which OMR R. Jonathan was the author - on the Cabbalah, and there were said 'words, the words'[280] 'with which the Sages do not agree'. In truth, 'the world grew black about me' on account of the profaning of our Torah, and of the profaning of the Name, that among the nations was heard - and written in their 'gazettes' - that the Jewish sages were arguing against a leading Rabbi

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275 The Cabbalistic symbols written on these amulets were (mistakenly) identified by R. J. Emden as symbolic of the Sh. Tz. belief. R. J. Emden's pronouncements were accepted without question by many.

276 Psalms 37:14 *Qashtam* > *qastam; qeshet* = bow, *qeset* = ink-pot.

277 Job 38:1 It seems that R. Joshua was adopting a neutral stance in the matter.

278 Esther 4:14 *Eth* = time, *et* = pen.

279 *Atiqim* = ancient < *ataq* = copy.

280 See p. 66 [208] .

who, through his wisdom, now knew that the Messiah had come, and that the other sages 'stood like a wall' against him and against the truth and the faith of Jesus. 'Woe to the ears that hear thus!' May the good L-rd grant pardon for it!

Meanwhile, OMR R. Joshua gave instructions to 'write one in the document'[281] of the *kollelut* 'to 'declare righteous' my mission and that 'exceedingly truthful' are the signatures in my hand. And it was written and signed according to everything I asked.

'My Sabbath'[282] was [spent] with the said Rabbi, and great honour did he [accord] me; and I enjoyed 'of Asher is fat his bread'[283], 'bread with bread': 'he made a great banquet according to the hand of the king' and with Torah-food, 'things that form part of the meal'[284], Halakhic matters and Aggadah: [his was] 'a mouth issuing pearls', 'ruby, topaz' - scintillating with 'its glow and its glory'. And on one matter that the Rav spoke - 'her mouth opens she in wisdom', the Rabbi's wife, 'and Hannah was speaking [quietly]' [285]:

"That which you [just] said, it is a good saying, and it is true!"

The Rav answered [in jest], " May I merit reward - that you find one thing [of mine] pleasing!"

After the Sabbath I went to the Parnessim of the holy cong. of Worms aforementioned. But with arguments and complaints / - 'vanity of vanities' - / 'their faces covered [they] in nettles'[286] / 'they trod down [pleas] with [their] shoes'/ so as not to give / 'money or vessels'. Despite that Rav aforementioned 'spoke hard [words] with them', 'as straw were they reckoned' : would that it were possible to soften the extreme hardness of their hard neck, for it is strong - 'splitting the rock' 'and bolts of iron

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281 Tal. Sabb. 104b Discussion on the prohibition of writing at least two letters: whether if one already exists on the writing (document) etc.

282 Tal. Ber. 28a Adapt. 'Whose Sabbath? (to preach)'.

283 I.e. in abundance (in this context); but Tal. Betsa 16a 'how stupid are the Babylonians who eat bread with bread (without condiment)'! The name Asher in Gen. 49:20 has no relevance here.

284 Tal. Ber. 41b Any integral dish of a meal is covered by the main blessing.

285 Her name was actually Gittel.

286 Cf. 'burying their heads in the sand'.

does it sunder'! Nevertheless, out of respect for the Rav, they wrote in the 'pinqas' that they would send a certain sum to Amsterdam. But [only] 'the words in their hearts' they fulfilled; they have sent nothing till the present day.

'And [in] this town'[287] of Worms, I have heard, is a very ancient community. They that in the time of the Second Temple there was here a Sanhedrin, and they judged here a 'betrothed damsel'[288] . It was previously called Germaise, and the Rav, the *Roqe'ah*, of blessed memory - he is R. Elazar of Germaise - was born here. Next to the Synagogue there, there is a room which, it is a tradition in their hands, was the Beth Midrash of RASHI[289] . It is called Worms because of a terrible happening that occurred hundreds of years before. An evil monster came to their town, and every single day they would throw to it '[human] prey for its teeth'. It happened one day that the lot fell on a certain man, and he took in his hand a sharp sword, and when it swallowed him, he miraculously stayed alive, and he plunged the sword into it and it died. And on account of the creature being called a 'worm' they changed the name of the town to Worms. These are their words!

They say that the MaHaRaM[290] of Rottenburg, of blessed memory, is buried there. And there they showed us, in a certain street, a wall 'deeper is its appearance' than the walls next to it, and they told us that the mother of RaSHI, of blessed memory, while she was pregnant with RaSHI obm, was passing through this street and she was crushed [against the wall] by the carriage of a certain nobleman. In the normal way, it would not have been possible for her to survive, but a miracle happened for her, and the wall 'recoiled backwards'. This is indeed a miracle, and I think that this happening is mentioned in the 'Succession of the Cabbalah' [291]. And many other such things do they tell - astounding wonders that have happened in

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287 Lament. 2:15.

288 Deut. 22:23.

289 Rabbi Shlomo Itz'haqi, the classical Bible commentary.

290 Morenu Ha-Rav (Our Master the Rav) Me'ir; one of the greatest authorities of his age, (ca. 1215-1293).

291 R. Gedaliah ben Joseph ibn Yahia, ca. 1640.

the holy congregation of Worms in earlier days. And they have been written down in their 'Book of Miracles' [292].

Av 24, Re'eh

Monday: we journeyed from Worms and we arrived in Gernsheim.

Av 25, Re'eh

Tuesday: from Gernsheim to Oppenheim.

Av 26, Re'eh

Wednesday: from Oppenheim to Mainz.

Av 27, Re'eh

Thursday: from Mainz by boat on the river [back] to Frankfurt-on-Main. And - happy event ! - there at the city gate 'I found him that my soul loveth', the young man H. H. the Rav R. Wolf aforem.; and I rejoiced with him 'as one finding a great treasure'. And we went to the *g'vir* R. Reuben mentioned earlier and I showed them 'the record of testimony'[293] from the Rav OMR Joshua 'who surely attested us'[294] that 'all truth and truth doth Ha'im grasp' [295].

Just then they brought me a large bundle of letters that had arrived in my name at Verona 'and there issued from among them'[296] several letters from the Holy City of Jerusalem and from No-Amon [Alexandria], Livorno and Verona. 'And issuing from the whole'[297] an Act of the Beth Din of the Holy Congregation of Ashkenazim in Verona - 'they will testify,

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292 See *Shem Ha-Gedolim* under R. Elazar Ha-Roqe'ah (Freimann).

293 Formal preamble to a witness' statement. (Tal. Sanhedrin 29b).

294 Gen. 43:3 *Ha'ed* = to warn; also to attest.

295 Adapt. of Tal. Ber. 14b. Jesting criticism of a synagogue reader repeating the w. *emeth* [truth].

296 Tal. Sanh. 74b 'We derive this [law] from [the common words] *among, among*'.

297 Tal. Sanh. 84a 'It derives from the general class'.

they will tell' - about my being 'a faithful emissary'. After the signatures of the Beth Din were signed merchants and nobles from [among] the Jews and the nations 'according to their language and their peoples', and their signatures were known [even] among the gentile merchants of Frankfurt. And the *g'vir* R. Reuben and all those standing there 'they saw, straightaway were they amazed'! I gave into their hands the said Act of the Beth Din. 'And on top of all this' - there was also a letter from Vienna recommending good on my behalf.

'After all this', I sent a letter to Amsterdam, to the Hakham R. David Meldola - 'he came out free' [?] - [requesting that] if any letters came in my name 'from any of those towns', then he should send them [on]. Within eight days, he answered that more than fifty letters had come; but the [local] dignitaries had said to hold them - because they were concerned about [sending] the monies by the post, 'for there is much'! I showed them this letter, and 'their eyes see righteousness', 'the certainty of the words of truth'. Thanks to G-d, may He be praised, Who has granted me grace and favour.

They accorded me great honour in Frankfurt-on-Main. I stayed there more than three months, in great honour, in the house of that goodly man R. Leib previously mentioned[298]. I had a special room just for myself, and the holy cong. paid 'according to each Sabbath' to the said R. Leib eight florins payment for the lodging. On the Sabbaths I stayed with different *g'virim*: one Sabbath with R. Susskind Stern, two Sabbaths with R. Michal Speier, one Sabbath with R. Ber Kahn[299], one Sabbath with R. Meir Hanover, one Sabbath with R. Sussel Colef[300] and one Sabbath with R. Nathan Colef; and all the rest of the Sabbaths, and the Days of Awe[301], with R. Reuben Scheyer whose affection for me was wonderful in the extreme. And he inclined towards me goodly kindnesses with a shining cheerful countenance; 'and his soul went out' to me - as did the soul of his son and of the young man aforementioned - doing wondrously, 'marvellous and wonderful'! They exerted themselves in honouring me,

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298 V. p. 77.

299 Or Cohn? Kohn? The text has no 'h' present, just letters *quf, alef, nun.*

300 Or Colef? Kolaf? Culaf?

301 The ten days (inclusive) between Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur.

and extolling and exalting me: they bought for me *aliyoth*[302] and 'Opening [the Ark]' for many florins; R. Reuben purchased an *ethrog* [citron] for me, for nine florins, the like of which was not [to be found] in the entire city!

During my stay in Frankfurt-on-Main, I purchased many books, and likewise did my attendant purchase for himself. We deposited the boxes with the said R. Reuben, so that he would send them [on] to Amsterdam by river. He asked me to write to him from Amsterdam when I arrived and he would [then] send them. And the holy cong. donated a considerable sum for my mission, but the scribe, R. Israel, wrote in my *pinqas* that it was for the Ashkenazim. I pleaded with him, till he erased it and wrote just 'for the poor'. The Rav, Rabbi Moses Rof, also wrote a letter for me, according to my wishes, to recommend good on my behalf; and he gave me 'food for the way'. The *g'virim*, too, did not forsake their kindness: may the L-rd repay their works. May thus be His will!

302 The honour of being called up to reading from the Torah is often auctioned.

Year 5515 [1754/55]

Heshvan 19, Haye-Sarah

Monday: from Frankfurt-on-Main by chaise to Mainz, and I was accompanied by the young man previously mentioned, and by the young man R. Judah Scheier Segal[1] for some two hours.

Heshvan 20

The night of Tuesday [Monday night] we entered Mainz. We lodged with the *g'vir* R. Isaac Gundersheim; and they honoured us with great honour. Thanks be to G-d, may he be praised!

Heshvan 28, Toledoth

Wednesday: from Mainz to Bingen; and we arrived [there] the night of Thursday.

And there I saw the 'Man of G-d', holy and wonderful, OMR R. Israel [Mengeburg]: 'learning does not cease from his mouth' - and he comports himself with piety, holiness and purity. And 'his strength is great' in *SHaS* and *Poskim*[2].

Kislev 5, Va-yetse

Tuesday: from Bingen to St. Goar where we arrived after noon.

Kislev 7, Va-yetse

Thursday: from St. Goar to Boppard; and from there to Koblenz.

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1 A common by-name [from SEGAn-Levi = deputy-Levi] for the non-priestly descendants of this tribe.

2 Talmud and Halakhic Codes.

Kislev 11, Va-yishlah

Monday: from Koblenz to Neuwied; we arrived after noon. Kislev 13, Va-yishlah Wednesday: from Neuwied, arriving in Bonn in the evening.

Kislev 18, Va-yeshev

Monday: from Bonn - arriving at Deutz in the evening - [we travelled] by boat, together with men of the Council of the province of Cologne.

Kislev 20, Va-yeshev

Wednesday: from Deutz - and we arrived at the village of Zons the evening of Thursday.

Kislev 21, Va-yeshev

Thursday: from Zons - and we arrived at the town of Düsseldorf. But they would not let us enter; and we spent the Sabbath outside the town in a gentile inn - 'hungry and thirsty'. On Friday, I had already sent a letter, through a gentile, to the Rabbi of the Holy Congregation to beseech him to send us a cup of wine for Qiddush, and some sort of dish to flavour the bread; but he turned my face away empty! - and [this] even though I had sent him the *pinqas* and the letters from Frankfurt which were most powerful recommendations of [my] integrity and merit indeed. The holy congregation, however, did send a donation by the hand of the beadle, but still, the latter 'ruled and wrote' on a small piece of paper - at my request through the gentile messenger: "Impossible."

On the night of the Holy Sabbath - I was sleeping on a chair, when behold! along comes the gentile innkeeper to wake me up and order me: "Go from here!" I was 'sullen and angry', and bewildered, but I went out and he took me into another house with broken windows. I found out, later, that 'Zeresh, his wife' was in labour 'crying out in her travail'; and she delivered 'a daughter to Gehinnom'.

And I [too] had crushing pains that Sabbath. Let that also be for the best.

Kislev 24, Mi-qets

Sunday: from there to the village of Ürdingen, and we arrived at Minha-time.

Kislev 25, Mi-qets

Monday: from there to Moers; 'and we passed through the bitter waters' - for [we were left there] with our packages thrown on to the streets 'and there is no-one to gather in'. Eventually we went to the house of the *Moreh-Tsedeq* [= Righteous Instructor], and we slept there on chairs, without any 'support of bread', and without covering against the frost.

Kislev 26, Mi-qets

Tuesday: from there to Rheinberg.

Kislev 27, Mi-qets

Wednesday: from Rheinberg to Xanten.

Kislev 28, Mi-qets

Thursday: we set off from Xanten after mid-day, travelling by post-chaise, and we came to the town of Cleve about two hours after nightfall. I was distressed, for there was no-one to take us in. We found our way to the guest-house of a Jew, but he did not want to accept us for he had no room. 'We fell at his feet' - [beseeching him] just to give a place [just] to sit!

'As we sat there by the door-pin'[3] 'in an uncomfortable manner'[4], 'my ears overheard' [people saying] that it was the policy of the city that, whosoever passes through there, 'visitors and wayfarers'[5], must go to the Governor to tell him that they would like to stay there: whether it be overnight, 'only if a day or two', or longer, if they find themselves in the city thus must they inform the Governor, and a docket will be given to them. Whosoever does not conduct himself according to this custom 'there is one law for him' - 'instead of

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3 Ex. 16:3 *Sir [ha-bassar]* = the [flesh] pot; tsir = our w.

4 A common Talmudic phr. *agav duhka* = by way of a forced [interpretation].

5 *Arhi parhi* = vagabonds, fly-by-nights.

grace, abomination', 'he shall surely be punished according to whatever will set upon him' 'the spirit of the Governor' [6].

I was extremely troubled 'at these tidings which had come', for at that hour 'whom should we send and who would go for us ?' - 'who goes in the darknesses' nearly at midnight? And I pleaded and pleaded - until I was embarrassed - with a Jewish man staying with us: let his kindness be so wondrous as to go, together with my attendant Samuel, to the officials. 'And they went and they came' - and with them two other men of stature - 'their appearance verifies that they are wondrous men'.

'And they reached the [place of] *She'ol*[7], 'asking Ha'im', "From whence have you come, and what is your business?" 'And David spoke': "Behold, I am an emissary of the Rabbis of the holy city of Hebron - may it be re-built and re-established! - and behold, there are in my possession letters from Frankfurt 'which testify in their greatness'[8] about my mission!"

And when they[9] read the letters from Frankfurt 'verily was I called' to come to their homes 'in their towns and in their towers'. 'And we shall advance forth armed' - and we went to their house. Now these are men of perfection: they are the sons of the famous *g'vir* R. Bendit-Gumpel Nijmegen[10]. And I lodged in the house of one of them, that praiseworthy *g'vir* R. Feivelmann. And great honour they did me 'and he put me' in a mosaic-tiled chamber [as] in royal palaces.

In this town Cleves I found a sister of my mother! She is Mistress Gittele, 'the daughter of the king', my lord and master, my grandfather the pious, the *mequbbal* [11], a holy man of G-d OMR R. Joseph Bialir, of blessed memory, who came to the holy city of Jerusalem in the company of the holy rabbi OMR R. Judah Hasid, of blessed memory, sixty years ago, more or less. And I asked her how was our family-connection with OMR R. Falk, of blessed memory, the author of *D'rishah [U-P'risha]* and of the *S[efer] M[e'irot]*

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6 Adapt. of. Prov. 16:32.

7 Hell. A double play on Psalms 88:4 *She'al* = asking; then Num. 17:30.

8 Mishnah Ket. 2:10 'In their adulthood'.

9 The two gentlemen.

10 v. Freimann's references to the Gompertz family.

11 One expert in the Cabbalah.

'A[enayim] [12]. She told me that the rabbi OMR R. Judah was the son, or the grandson, of the *SeM'A*; he had a daughter whose name was Hindel, and Mistress Hindel had a daughter, whose name was Sarah. Now, Mistress Sarah 'rose up and was wed' to the pious rabbi OMR R. Nathaniel, obm[13] she was the second wife of OMR R. Nathaniel, of blessed memory. OMR R. Nathaniel had a daughter from the said Mistress Sarah and her name was Hindel. She was the wife of the Master, my grandfather Joseph, of blessed memory; and his daughter [was] my Lady, my mother Mistress Sarah - may her soul be bound in the bond of the living - named after her grandmother, the wife of the said OMR N[athaniel]. Now, the aforementioned Mistress Gittele, my mother's sister, is the daughter of my Master, my grandfather, from another wife, and she married the Rabbi OMR R. Falk, the son of OMR R. Nathaniel obm who was [then] the Chief of the Beth Din in Cleves: he was from the first wife of OMR N[athaniel] whose name was Mindele, and named after her is a daughter of Mistress Gittele who is married in Sant [?].

Mistress Gittele, my aunt, also has a son [who is] a bachelor, R. Judah, and he is in Cleves. The pious rabbi OMR R. Nathaniel, of blessed memory, has a validation in the book *Me'il Shemu'el*, the *Indexed and Abbreviated SH[nei] L[uhot] H[a-Berit]*[14], and in the *Midrash Rabbah*. And he was *Rosh Yeshiva* [head of the Talmudical academy] in the holy cong. of Noorden near Amsterdam; great is his name in Israel, may his merit protect us. May thus be His will.

I saw there the book *Meshivat Nefesh* by OMR I[saac] Tsemah obm in scrolls of manuscript.

Teveth 3, Va-yigash

Tuesday: we journeyed from Cleves and arrived in Nijmegen the same day. And I was guest with the *g'vir*, Parnes and leader [of the community] Elia the son of R. Bendit, the brother of R. Feivelmann aforementioned. And there I heard, with shock, that a fire had broken out

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12 This commentary on the Hoshen-Mishpat (4th section of the Shulhan Arukh) is always known as 'the S'M'A'. The author R. Joshua Falk (or Valk or Wallach) should not be confused with R. Jacob Joshua Falk of Frankfurt referred to earlier in the narrative.

13 v. Freimann's references to the Gompertz family.

14 Author R. Isaiah Horowitz, always called 'the SHeLaH'.

in the holy congregation of Frankfurt-on-Main on Hanukah in the house of R. Rueben Scheyer [Scheier] who was referred to earlier, and his house was burnt down and everything of his, and his wife and his daughter were burnt; and the young man R. Wolf mentioned earlier jumped from several stories high and died when he fell; R. Reuben and his son R. Judah threw themselves [out] and broke their legs, but stayed alive. My soul almost flew away, and my spirit was stricken and much bewildered, at 'this conflagration which the L-rd hath kindled': 'if towards those that do His will [is it] thus etc.' 'The *aed* [= brand] comes along and cuts off'[15] the narrative of the emissary'. The anguishes cleave together'[16] 'at this beauty to be swallowed by the ground'[17]: he, my friend and boon-companion R. Wolf whose love for me was wonderful 'more than the love of women'.

And I was 'like a man confused' / 'enwrapped in bitterness'[18], / I [and] my soul 'caught up in the thickets'/ of grief and sighing / covered over and entangled. [Yet nevertheless] 'be shaken, be shaken - but make the benediction'[19]: "Blessed be the Judge of Truth, righteous is He and righteous is his judgment." 'And let my prayer to my hope [?] return'[20]: may the soul of R. Wolf aforementioned, and the souls of those others burnt up be bound up in the bond of the living, 'to their rest and to their inheritance'. May Heaven have mercy on the surviving remnant R. Reuben together and his son, 'and may He return them their wealth'[21], 'and a everlasting healing be given to them'[22], 'healed all the land'[23].

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15 Tal. Meg. 2b 'Comes the *et* and cuts [i.e. separates] the phrases' The narrative is interrupted by the tragedy.

16 Tal. San. 107b 'The gates (*she'arim*) cleaved together'; *tse'arim* - an invented plural of *tsa'ar* = anguish.

17 Tal. Av. Zar. 20. R. Aqiba's remark about the wife of Turnus Rufus (whom he eventually married).

18 *Maror, korekh* - the bitter herb and the bitter-herb sandwich eaten at the Passover *Seder*.

19 Adapt. of Tal Succ. 44b '... he did not make the benediction (before shaking the *lulav*)'.

20 Psalms 35:13 *Heiqi* = my bosom; here *hiki*.

21 Psalms 94:23 *Onam* = their iniquity; *honam* their wealth.

22 Kings II 25:30 *Aruhah* = portion; *aruchah* = healing.

23 Ex. 34:10 *Bara* (created); *bari* = healthy.

Let us return to our own [business] - great was my anguish over our books that we had deposited under the hand of the pious R. Reuben aforementioned; in addition I, the junior, had deposited under his hand nearly three hundred florins of the collection money. We simply gave up hope for them, and we 'accepted upon us the righteousness of the Judgment'.

Teveth 9, Va-yehi

Monday: we journeyed from Nijmegen close to the Minha-time; and we arrived in Arnhem that night.

Teveth 11

Wednesday: from Arnhem to Amersfort; and there in Amersfort I found the Hakham Rabbi David Meldola[24] who came out to welcome me, 'he and one other with him' from Amsterdam. Those are his words; but, in truth, I recognised that he [only] came for his own need - to distribute his books which he had had printed. I suffered some loss as a result, for I was obliged to travel with him to Amsterdam and the *g'virim* [there], because they were obliged to give him donations for his [outlays on] his books, would reduce their donations to my mission!

Teveth 12, Va-yehi

Thursday: we journeyed from Amersfort and we arrived on the eve of Thursday in Amsterdam. I lodged in the house of the aforementioned [Rav]. And my mouth will I fill with praise/ to [Him] whose works are awe-inspiring/ who performs great things/ who wrought wondrously his many kindnesses towards us, for we found in Amsterdam the two cases of books which had been sent by R. Reuben mentioned above from Frankfurt-on-Main. It seems that actually on that very day, the night after which his house burned down, the spirit of G-d had moved him to send them out of his house: and this was miraculous; and even the deposit of money which I had under his hand, as previously mentioned - he had written a letter promising to send this on. But within a short time he departed to his

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24 See Freimann's refs. concerning this personality.

eternal home - alas! - 'and the precious son', R. Judah - may he live! - 'paid up of the best', and he sent them to me through the agency of the *g'vir* R. Yohanan Hanover. Praise the L-rd for He is good: for everlasting is His kindness! - I am unworthy of all the kindnesses and of all the truth which He has done with His servant.

In the city of Amsterdam the L-rd gave me grace and favour in the eyes of the heads and deputies of the holy congregation of the Sephardim; and He put in the hearts of those two 'channels of gold', the Hakham R. Isaac Teixeira de Mattos and the *g'vir* Senor Moses de Raphael Mendes da Costa, to exert themslves for my mission: and they did [so] and they were successful. May G-d repay their deed: may thus be His will.

On the Sabbath evenings throughout the days of my stay in Amsterdam I would be invited to the [houses of the] nobles; but I did not want to go on the Sabbath days on account of the foods 'which come through the fire'[25], and so on. And two Sabbaths I was with S. Jacob Nunes Henriques and two Sabbaths with S. Samuel Bueno de Mesquita; and one Sabbath with S. Hakham R. Abraham da Veiga; and one Sabbath with S. David Henriques de Castro; and one Sabbath with S. Aaron de Jacob de Prado; and one Sabbath with S. Solomon and S. Aaron Lombruzo; and one Sabbath with S. Samuel Levi Ximenes; and one Sabbath with S. Hakham Moses de Godines[26]; and one Sabbath with S. Isaac Teixeira de Mattos aforementioned. And great honour did they render me those nobles and sages, and they were very friendly towards me, and above all, S. Jacob Nunes Henriques and S. Samuel Bueno de Mesquita aforementioned, and his brother S. R. Aaron and their circle, and S. Hakham R. Moses Raphael Hezqeyahu da Veiga. And they wrought wondrously for me - kindness and truth: double is their reward from Heaven[27] for their good throughout their days.

But 'I passed through the bitter waters' with the H. R. D. M.[28], my host; for he wanted 'to swallow me up without cause', perhaps on account

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25 Num 31:23 R. HYDA evidently suspected the Sabbath laws concerning heating of food were not always strictly obeyed.

26 Freimann's rendering of *Gondes.*

27 The abbrev. *S[ekharam] K[aful] M[in] H[a-shamayim].*

28 Hakham R. David Meldola, mentioned earlier.

of the books I had bought for others, or [on account of] books I had acquired for myself, or because I was thinking to have my little book[29] printed there. 'And I, in my affliction', studiously tried to keep away from him, with great respect, so as not to come into argument with him. I was greatly distressed, 'but thanks and praise do I give' that He gave me strength to endure, and that He gave me good sense to conduct myself correctly and with propriety, and that He rescued me from his hand. He also wanted to accompany me to the Hague and [thence] to London! It was his intention to distribute his books, just as he had done in Amersfort; but this would harm my mission - and more. This was [reason enough] for me to [decide to] travel almost on the eve of the Passover from Amsterdam - at a time when 'the master of the house is unable to remove his vessels thence'[30]. Moreover, he had been taking from me 14 florins each week! - by order of the Parnes and the elders of the city, who made the settlement between us. Now when I, for myself, 'went through the total' of the florins which he had taken, this amounted to 186 - 'and since a sign is a thing' 'KOF before the DaM'[31]. Get up and go out![32].

While there in Amsterdam, I had considered [going in] my way of 'my setting, my fasting'[33] each day of the *SHOBABIM* days[34] according to our custom. However, I saw myself 'thin as a line', at the extreme of weakness, dizzy [with] affliction upon affliction that had 'swam up and passed over my head' in the state of Germany. I had already fasted three [of those] days: 'and it was on the third day' - I was unable to look into a

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29 *Sha'ar Yosef*, published shortly afterwards in Livorno.

30 Tal. Sotah 35b Quoting the spies 'blasphemy about the impotence of 'the Master of the house'.

31 Tal. B. Bathra 58a 'Like an ape (*kof*) before man (*adam*)'; the gematria value of the letters *kof* = 186, DaM = David Meldola!

32 Go out = *puk*, same gematria. This rebuke was said to R. Cahana who secreted himself under the bridal bed of his teacher, Rav, in order to learn correct conduct (Tal. Ber. 62a).

33 Cf. p.15 [3], here *(shiti), sumi* > *tsumi* = my fasting.

34 In a leap-year, during the 8 winter weeks of the portions of the Law *Shemoth, Va-aera, Bo, Beshalah, Yithro, Mishpatim, Terumah, Tetsaveh*, some have the custom to fast each Thursday; these days are called the days of *Shobabim-TaT*; it seems that R. HYDA's custom was to fast every day.

book because of [my] great weakness. Therefore, [I decided, rather] 'did learning not cease from my lips' - and the 'Scroll of Fasts was annulled'[35] that year, and additionally, 'by virtue of the winter'[36], 'mighty and strong'. There was frost, '[hard] as wood'[37], and all the canals 'are frozen with ice'[38] - 'the terrible ice', 'and on top of the ground'[39]. 'And in their moving to they go' 'running and returning'[?] ; and close about were 'dwellings and canals stretched out'[40]: 'they have lifted up the rivers [?], all of them'[41]. 'And as a man rises up' in the morning early, and his hand grasps a jug of water, it does not pour from the vessel; and my hand to a stone doth freeze[42] from the cold - as if no water had ever flowed. The hand writes / and grasps the ink-pot / it does not stand [?], there is no ink - 'the ink-pot of the mighty is sealed up'[43].

These conditions continued for more than seventy days.

But the kindnesses of the L-rd must I mention, as for everything which G-d has bestowed on me 'and saved my soul from death'. One day, I rose up early in the morning to go to the magnificent and splendid Synagogue of the holy cong. of the Sephardim. It was very far from my lodging, and one had to cross three bridges and several streets. 'And I, in my innocence going' could see, 'and behold it is desolate', the ground all slippery, 'for on it had rained'[44] a little light rain earlier in the morning; 'and

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35 Tal. Sabb. 13b *Meguilat Ta'anit* = the Scroll (document) of Fasts, includes these and others.

36 Tal. B. Mets. 96b According to a man's sharpness (*hurfa*) *etc.; also, horef* = winter.

37 Mishna, Ukts III, 7 Pith (*kor)* of a palm is considered wood; also, *kor* = cold.

38 Lev. 21:5 *Qorcha* = baldness, *qerah* = ice.

39 Tal. B. Mets. 11b, conveyancing of chattels with (on top of) land; but the following sentence is not at all clear.

40 Adapt. of Num. 24:6 *Ahol* = aloe, *ohel* = dwelling; but the meaning here is not clear.

41 Psalms 93:3 *Qolam* = their voice, *kulam* = all of them; again, the meaning here is unclear.

42 Rhymes with Judges 5:26 'Her hand to the peg did she send (*shalha)'; qarha* = froze.

43 Adapt. of Sam. I, 2:4

44 Gen. 2:3 Not (*lo*) rained; *lo* = to him (on it).

the rain was upon the earth' upon 'the terrible ice', and the ground had become like natron and soap. 'And behold, I could see' 'troubles on the ground' 'for all flesh had fouled its way on the earth'. Despite all this 'my heart will not fear' to be going on 'the way to a good deed', and 'in the House of the L-rd will we walk with the throng' - but taking care with my footsteps, walking gently and with great delicacy!

Just as I was entering the street of the Synagogue, I lifted up my eyes and behold! - a wagon was approaching and speeding towards me. Now it is customary in the town that a person must give way before wagons, 'for the land is wide' and the coachman does not care about anybody, even though he breaks his skull. So great was my apprehension that I was forced to run, and to turn aside from the way. And woe to me on account of the wagon, and woe to me that the way was very slippery, and on one side the river! All I remember is that I turned aside from the way. And it appears that I fell as I turned from the way, and I knocked my head on the ground, and there happened along some Jew who supported me and led me to the Synagogue. And all through this I felt nothing; just that I found myself in the Synagogue, very confused, agitated and trembling without knowledge of anything at all. After a short time my attendant came and I asked him what had happened to me: for he had been with me on the way, but at some distance from me. He answered me saying [that] I had fallen, and someone had lifted me up and brought me [to the Synagogue], he had seen [this] from afar and shouted, but could not reach me because of the 'perversion of the way'. I opened a prayer-book [in order] to pray, and I looked - and I could not see the letters! And because of the confusion, and the anguish that I could not see the letters, there was no spirit left in me. So I began to pray by mouth [i.e. by heart] - one up and seven down! [?] But after praying 'my mind returned to me' 'and also the light of my eyes, behold, is with me'[45]. Blessed is the G-d who saves: I will praise G-d exceedingly with my mouth and in the midst of the multitude will I exalt Him! May the name of G-d be praised from now and for evermore.

And I preached [there] in Amsterdam [on] the portion of *Va-era*. I also saw there the book *Tsitsat Novel Ts'vi*[46] that had been printed secretly.

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45 Psalms 38:11 The light of my eyes it is also not (*ayn*) with me; *hayn* = it is.

46 By Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, against the Sabbateans (Amsterdam, 1737). The book has recently been reprinted (J. Halpern, Manchester, 1986).

Nissan 13, Shemini

Tuesday: the eve of the 13th we journeyed from Amsterdam by barque, accompanied by the the M.R. Isaac Siroko[47]; and we arrived in the Hague on Tuesday, before noon.

Nissan 27, Thazri'a

Tuesday: I had planned to travel to England by packet-boat. I started off by going to various villages by [sailing]-barque[48]; but because of the strong winds I had to turn back, and came to Rotterdam.

Iyar 6, Aharey

Thursday: we journeyed from Rotterdam. And we slept the eve of Friday in Helvoet, and some call it Hellevoetsluis, a village of gentiles at the extremity of Holland.

Iyar 8

The holy Sabbath: night and day we 'sabbathed' on the packet-boat; and it set off at the end of the day of the holy Sabbath.

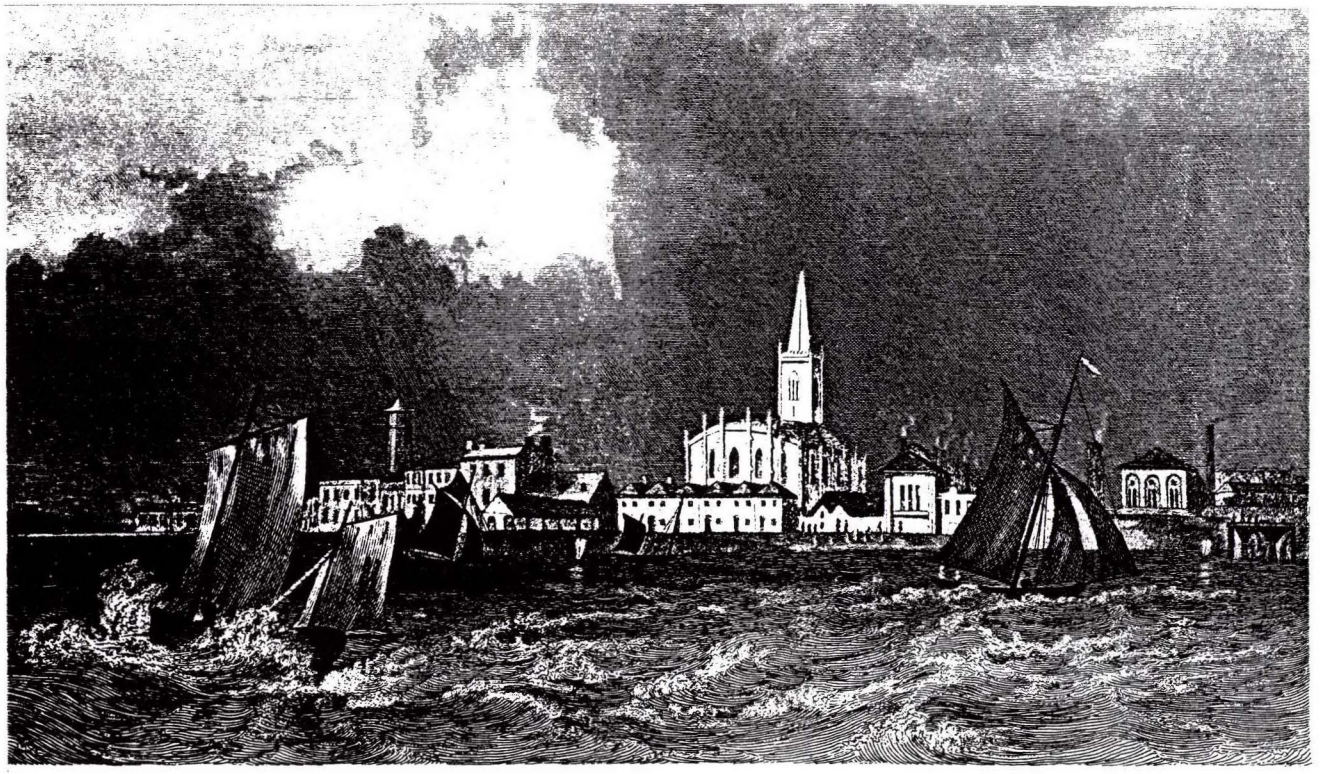
Iyar 9, Emor

At evening we reached the port of Harwich, the beginning of England! And the articles and those that came on the packet-boat, were all taken to the customs-house. I took out some money, in English silver coins, to pay to the customs men at the documents [control], and I put the purse in the belt around my loins. Afterwards I came to the house where the baggage was, and they opened my coffer and carefully went through [it], and they searched, 'extremely fine', in all the clothes and between the folds of the turban, with great patience. They took all the documents [concerning] the mission and took them to their chief: for there was already

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47 The 'M' probably stands for *Maggid* = preacher; he was rabbi in one of the synagogues in Amsterdam.

48 The packet-boat itself, evidently, did not depart from Rotterdam or from the Hague.



The Port of Harwich.

the smell and sound of war from France[49]. Even the sailors were carefully searched, and 'each man took off his shoe' - and hose! - [so as] to examine secret parts. On one they found a Dutch *guilder*, and they cut it up and threw it away! 'And I in my affliction' was very distressed and worried, for I had [with me] some hundred and eighty Dutch *guilders* in my pouch. Meanwhile, a customs-man prodded about my clothing and heard the sound of money [jingling], 'and said [something] and laughed'. I was nervous - [but then] I remembered the purse of English money in my belt. I took them out, and threw them down in front of him . When he saw that it was English money, he was ashamed and returned it. Now, I had with me a recommendation to the Master of the Post there and it 'interceded well' and they returned the documents; and they did not see guilders [which I had] on me! Praises to the L-rd, may He be blessed: 'how can I repay G-d all that He has bestowed upon me'. And we stayed there for two days in a gentile hostelry.

Iyar 11, Emor

Tuesday: at mid-day we departed from Harwich; We had just passed through the gate of the city to where the coach was [there] waiting, and I needed 'to do smalls' and pass water. In modesty I went up to a stone wall [nearby], and because I was still visible to everyone, I walked on a little and saw a field, and on its other side, a depression somewhat lower. It appeared to my eyes to be [solid] 'ground of the earth' so I climbed over the stone wall intervening and thrust one leg on to the ground. But my leg, and my thigh, sank into mud and excrement: it seems that place was a slopping place gathering all the dirt and excrement of the place!

And my one leg and thigh were submerged - as mentioned - and the other leg was swinging, and my hands grasping the wall. And I saw myself in great danger 'and but a step etc' - and nearly was 'my enemy'[50] drowning there, Heaven forfend! And I began shouting in a desperate voice - and no one heard me; until a gentile-woman living some way away heard my voice, and she, too, began to scream. 'And I, in my affliction' -

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49 The Seven-Year War (1755-1763).

50 A euphemism to avoid pointing evil towards oneself.

there was no strength left in me to stay hanging: and I was afraid [that] perhaps the wall would fall on me - and there would be 'stoning' and 'suffocation' [both] at the same time - Heaven forfend!

'And the G-d of my father was to my help' and through the merit of my fathers my trouble was seen by the coachman and my attendant and they drew near 'and they hauled and drew up Joseph', 'hung with cords of disgrace'[51] 'and trailing disgust' [52]! Most of my clothing - 'not as the quality of that is the quality of this: the common denominator between them'[53] - they were filthy and putrid 'and exhilarated in stench'[54]! But G-d, in His mercies, gave into the heart of one gentile who had come along at the sound of the commotion, to bring me into his house, and there was a well of water, and I took off my clothes and washed myself and my clothes and removed the filth from them. I put a *samara* [= rug] over my body and I got into the carriage with my soaking clothes beside me. I will praise the L-rd with all my heart Who 'has sorely afflicted me but has not given me to death;' I am unworthy of all the kindnesses. Blessed is the G-d who saves!

Iyar 12, Emor

Wednesday: in the evening, towards sunset, we arrived in the great city London. But I had to exert myself that eve of Thursday until I found a lodging place in the house of a Sephardi: 'this is his name', S. Aron Ha-Cohen, may G-d grant him life! And though the place was uncomfortable, I acquiesced, [it] being a clean lodging - and with a privy[55]. This had been the guest-house of the previous emissaries.

In the matter of the mission 'wonder of wonders' were done unto me. For while I was yet there[56] they sent three 'of the honey' - the heads of the

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51 Esther 1:6 Hung with cords of linen (*buts*) ; *buz* = disgrace.

52 Ex. 26:12 The trailing remnant (*serah*); same root > putrefaction.

53 A classical Talmudic mode of analysis to derive an unknown point of law from two others; for example, Mishna B. Kama 1,1 comparing culpability in various aspects of damage caused by animals. The word for quality (*re'i*) is similar to *rae'i* meaning excrement.

54 Amos 6:7 Again, a double-entendre on *serah*.

55 'Place of honour'.

56 Before having gone out to see anybody.

city to tell me, not to come into the city since I would not make anything; the emissaries from Tsefat, who had preceded me, had already come twice and left 'with clean hands'. I replied that there was an obligation thrown on to me to go, and no-one would be free; and on the day that 'I go out into the camps' the L-rd would do whatever in His eyes is good.

But when I went to all the *g'virim*, they had left the town 'to pasture in the gardens', and there is no man [left] 'treading in his town'. So I took unto myself the quality of patience and I said [to myself]: 'There is no healer like time' hush! do not mention the matter of the mission until 'the eye sees' to acquire some friends. But to which side of the *g'virim* should I go? - for the *g'virim* have hearts divided one from the others in their inner interests, 'and their inside is not as their exterior'. I saw, too, scandal among the sages of the city[57]: 'they are the ones who speak' scorn and blasphemy each man to his fellow, 'burning up and consuming with the rod of their tongues', 'each man his fellow swallowing alive'; 'and sufficent is the disgrace' in the eyes of the dignitaries. 'Woe to the eyes that see thus': the profanation of the Torah and those who study it!

I searched among my documents of authorisation and I saw 'one in the writing' [referring] to one Hakham [in London] and no more. And straightaway I enquired [about] that Hakham - is he the Rav of the place, or a Dayan[58]? They told me, "'He is not a great one in this place', this Hakham." I said [to myself]: If so, then, since I do not have with me letters to 'those more important and greater than he', 'I would be making jealousy', 'and damage is likely', 'and half the damage [again]', by this missive[59]. So I put it 'underguard' and the danger would be removed.

'And the L-rd reckoned it for good' - because this Hakham 'his reputation is bad': and the Dayanim and the chief dignitaries dislike him. And blessed His glorious Name who did not forsake his kindness and gave me

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57 See Transactions of the Jewish Historical Soc. of Eng. VII, pp.272 - 290 (Freimann).

58 Isaac Nieto. After the illustrious David Nieto died in 1728, his son Isaac was Hakham from 1733 to 1741 (resigned), then Moses Gomes de Mesquita from 1744 to 1751. Amid much dissension, Isaac Nieto again became head of the cong., but with the lesser title of Av Beth Din.

59 'On this sheaf (of documents)' in the original; the meaning is, probably, that a letter addressed to one Hakham should not be presented to another.

favour in the eyes of some friends, and chief among them the perfect sage - behold, he is 'indeed a nobleman' [60] - His Honour OMR R. Isaac del Vali and S. Pinhas Gometz Sierra, may G-d grant them life! And there also were found, the great and mighty HHOMR R. Jacob Qimhe - m. G.g.h.l! - the son of OMR S. Qimhe[61] obm of Constantinople; and the perfect sage HHOM R. Ha'im El-Bali, may G-d preserve him in life. 'And I made with them a covenant' with extreme affection. 'They all responded saying': "Behold! the matter of this mission requires the Great *Ma'amad*[62] and it is the custom of this city to make such a *Ma'amad* at the beginning of the winter, and [even] His Honour the Rav Rabbi Massoud Bonan - may G-d grant him life! - has already had to wait several months until the time of the Meeting, and we do not know what you can do [about it]. But if [you are] wise, 'hear this' - behold! the *g'vir* S. Joseph Salvador: he is one of the Parnessim, and he has gone to [take] the waters; and behold! - he has a refined intelligence 'and what he decrees and says will so stand' 'for his might is strong'. 'And when Joseph comes into the house', if G-d will give you favour in his eyes, 'the man will not rest except when he has concluded the matter for good.'"

'And it came to pass', when the *g'vir* S. Joseph Salvador - may G-d grant him life! - returned, I went to him; 'and I saw his mind' 'had [indeed] been measured out by them with a large measure', 'pure, without lees'. I started out 'presenting my demands' in the matter of the mission 'with gentle lips' and 'firm demand'. And thus he answered me, "Do you not know that in these lands 'there is not a man on the ground' that what he desires can he do - but nothing, except with the consent of the majority. But, anyway, 'go, I pray and see' the dignitaries S. Franco and S. Mendes: 'for the asking'[63] will they stand at your right hand!" And I departed from him in peace.

'And the man was a man of valour' and he exerted his efforts, and they arranged a meeting of the Parnessim and I went to the meeting. And

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60 Gen. 27:37 The origin of the w. *g'vir*: lord, nobleman.

61 The common spelling is Kimche. Descendants of the famous R. David Kimche survive in Turkey, England and many other places. R. Shlomo Kimche of Constantinople is the author of the book.

62 Convocation of Elders; lit. 'stand'.

63 Lev. 7:13 *Al halot* = on the loaves; also, *le-halot* = to entreat.

the other Parnessim 'rose up to swallow me up in vain'; but he gave me a surreptitious signal 'and gave to understand' that, behold, he is [standing ready] to help me. I left the Ma'amad, 'but he did not rise up and did not move' until he had prevailed to assemble the Great Council 'not in its proper time'[64]. And the matter ended with 'for it is good' for the Fund. Afterwards, through the mediation of S. Francos, 'from the L-rd went out this thing' that S. Pinhas Gometz Sierra abovementioned and S. Joseph de Abraham Francos 'would stand at the blessing'[65] to collect from the *Yehidim*[66]; and so they did.

And after the collection from the *Yehidim* had been concluded, there arrived a letter from the English ambassador in Constantinople to instruct S. Francos about me. Now if that letter had arrived earlier it would have had a tremendous effect. But, anyway, it gave me honour and glory in the eyes of the dignitaries; praise and glory to Him who lives for everlasting!

Now among the friends that I had [made] was the *Hazan*[67] S. David Castro; for he possessed 'a hand and a good name'[68] and his words 'produce fruit and fruits from the fruit'[69] with the *g'virim*. May the L-rd remember it for his good! And there, in the city of London, he took me to a castle called the Tower. And there I saw lions, and an eagle one hundred years old; and an Indian cat as large as a dog; and another cat, a hybrid with a wild one; and other terrifying wild animals on iron chains. And I also saw an upstairs chamber, its length perhaps fifty cubits or more, and made into many smaller rooms; and the dividing partitions are of guns and all [sorts of] other weapons, all arranged extremely beautifully, in the manner of a wall with a doorway in it[70] and similarly around the sides [of

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64 An extraordinary general meeting.

65 Adapt. of Deut. 27:12 to the form of 27:13; the meaning here is, to use their influence.

66 'The special ones': the elected honorary officers in Sephardi Jewish congregations are so called.

67 This w. usually means cantor; but sometimes the beadle of the synagogue

68 Adapt. of Isaiah 56:5.

69 Tal. Qid. 40a.

70 Perhaps this was the impression given by walls solidly decked with these weapons.

the chamber]; and the ceiling - something marvellous, with a plenitude of weapons of war, in their thousands, tens of thousands and milliards and the beauty of their order and arrangement 'according to their character and their stature'.

I also saw there all the kings of England 'the image of the likeness of their form' out of iron, mounted on horses of iron. 'And one who sees', as it [first] appears to his eyes, would judge they have inside them a spirit of life - most wonderful! And many suits of armour - of all different kinds - set up, arranged and prepared 'each in separate herds'; and many kinds of weapons of war, enormous in size, frightful; and 'holding decorated shields'[71], and row upon row of weapons 'buckler, cuirasse and shield' that they had captured from their enemies since England had existed; and many other such 'instruments, [all] of them instruments diverse and strange'[72] are they, and 'of great stature are they'.

In one darkened room there is a separating barrier of iron, and within they showed us the royal crown and the crown jewels 'full of sparkle, flashing with light' - glowing like the lightning; and the golden chalice with which they annoint the king, and similar precious vessels and kingly treasures of gems and pearls. Behold, all these have mine eyes seen 'peering out from the embrasures', sorrowful and joyful - 'if thus to those who transgress his word, then to the doers of His will how much more so!' Behold, days are coming 'of desire and of glory', of the saving of the House of Israel, and our eyes will see 'the breath of our nostrils', the Messiah of the L-rd, lighting up and illuminating like the sun seventy-fold, crowned with the crowns of crowns, 'holy of holies is he to the L-rd. May thus be His will.

And I preached in London the Sabbath of ... [?]

Tammuz 28, Devarim

Monday: we journeyed from London and arrived in Dover, a town of gentiles, Tuesday night after midnight.

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71 Tal. Sabb. 32a *Tafish thiros amtha*: Let multiply the iniquities of the maidservant (then give her a single whipping for the lot!); here, *tafis* = holding, *thiras* = shield, *imra* = adornment. (A long, difficult shot!).

72 Adapt. of Esther 1:7.

Tammuz 29 Devarim

Tuesday: we journeyed from Dover by ship and arrived at Calais, a town of gentiles in the kingdom of France, that same day towards evening. And I tarried there in Calais a few days, until 'the turn came' of the departure of the coach for Paris.

Av 6 Va'ethanan

Monday: we left Calais 'and I kept [to] (from) the way of Paris'[73]. 'And, in my innocence, I go' into a large coach holding eight places, and with us were Englishmen and Frenchmen.

At the conclusion of the holy Sabbath, after *Havdalah*, [I would have] 'to go and journey' [from my lodging] by chaise or horses to reach the station of the [stage] coach, on Sunday, to take my place again in the coach. Thus I did on three Sabbaths, [while journeying] from Calais to Paris and from Paris to Bordeaux[74].

Av 12 Eqev

Sunday: while still daylight we entered the great city of Paris. And I went to S. Jacob Rodriguez-Pereira who lived there, for I had brought for him a letter of recommendation from Amsterdam. I asked him to find me a lodging-place; and he found me a room with a Jew, S. Leon, may G-d grant him life.

Now, an astounding thing of wisdom did the said S. Jacob relate to me. With his wisdom and by exercise of his intellect, together with painstaking care, he had succeeded in taking a deaf-mute - to whom the Sages refer - who could not hear and could not speak 'from the womb and from conception', and bring him to a state of speaking whereby he could reply with his mouth to something they would ask in writing, for yes - "yes", and for no - "no". He could also write with his hand in the French language and in the Holy Language; 'and with his mouth he could read' in the books of both languages, and he could understand the Bible. And he [this man] was also competent, 'made skilful his hands' 'and he gave with them signs' on the joints of his fingers, and each joint made he as a sign for

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73 Psalms 17:4 *Parits* = violent man.

74 It seems that R. HYDA had to catch up this same coach further along the route!

one letter; when he wanted to speak to him, with great celerity would he take and move the joints of his fingers indicating the letters of the word he desired. And the mute, after much practice, straightaway understood his question and he would reply.

And now with my [own] eyes I saw in his house a lad who, they said, was a mute neither hearing nor speaking, and I saw him talking to me in the Holy Language and in French! - lacking only in that his voice [was] 'as the creatures of the forest', different from a human voice: and the reason for this is because he lacks the sense of hearing 'and does not hear our voice' nor his own voice [so as] to a-right it and to adjust it to the human voice.

And my eyes watched S. Jacob indicating with his fingers to this mute and immediately 'would he indeed reply' to his question, 'and I as making a jest' did make some signs with my fingers, in a random manner - for I did not know the signs 'which Jacob selected to him'. And I saw that the lad was perplexed by the sight, and was upset that he he did not understand. Then his master said to him "Do not be upset for unthinkingly did he 'send the finger'."

There [in his house] S. Jacob aforementioned showed me a book compiled by the scholars of the learned Academy of Paris: it was printed in French and [therein] was discussed this [very] matter, the said S. Jacob, through his wisdom and his diligence, had discovered this thing; and that they had put to the test and carefully investigated the facts of the case and they knew with certainty that the lad was a mute from 'birth and from the womb', neither hearing nor speaking; and by [his] toil and wisdom and experimentation S. Jacob aforementioned had gradually made him 'understand and discern', and speak until he had reached the state described. And while S. Jacob was reading in the book, I, the junior, had a knowledge and some understanding of French and I could see that it was [indeed] so 'printed and written' in the book he was reading.

And the matter became known to the king of France and he wished to see 'this great sight'. And S. Jacob went with the boy before the King; and he was much amazed, 'and he ruled and wrote' and it was signed with the royal seal to give each year from the king's Treasury eight hundred francs[75]. And I saw this document with the King's signature! Blessed be He who graces man with intelligence!

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75 A stipend for the development and teaching of the skills.

Now, because I had brought a *lettera di cambio*[76] from London, I was obliged to seek its proprietor, and I walked for some three hours through the streets of Paris, its avenues and its esplanades. 'And the land is of palatial aspect'; its merchants are nobles, its traders the honoured of the land. As I was passing along 'did mine eyes behold', in a certain street, a statue in the likeness of Louis XIV, and of Henry IV, and of the kings they had vanquished: all of them of gleaming bronze, the handiwork of some skilled artisan.

S. Jacob also took me to the house of an official of the Academy whom they call *Directeur de l'Acadamie de la Science*. I and he were closeted there for some five hours, and he showed me the learned volumes which they collate and publish each year. In these are [gathered] all sorts of secular sciences; and he read to me some of the topics and, at the time, I understood the outline structure of the concepts. I also saw [there] books on anatomy. 'But they in sin'[77] do thus draw out their days inventing novel theories and insights and new-fangled ideas.

I also visited the *bibliotheque* and I saw there some twenty people [engaged in] reading and copying. I asked the the man [in charge] standing there if there was any manuscript of the *RaMBaM* [there]. He answered, "'Behold, today are opened the books' that are printed, and on Fridays those that are written. Come to me on Friday and I will show you all the manuscripts of yours. But, in any event, we have a printed RamBaM: if you wish, please take it!" Out of politeness I took the *RaMBaM - [edition with] Migdal Oz*[78] - and I sat there and read two chapters. And afterwards I arose and looked at the Jewish books there - different from all [the others]! - but they are indeed few among many. Verily, there are there 'houses full' of books of all the religions and philosophies in all languages - something remarkable!

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76 Letter of exchange.

77 Psalms 51:7 Behold [= *hen*] in sin; also, *hen* = they. R. HYDA does not seem too impressed.

78 A commentary attributed by some to R. Yom-Tov ben Abraham (the illustrious 'RYTBA'); however, R. HYDA in 'Shem Ha-Gedolim' disagrees and states, categorically, that the author is R. Shem-Tov ibn Abraham, a pupil (as was the RYTBA) of the RaSHBA (R. Shlomo ben Aderet)

I had in my possession a recommendation to a certain official, the *Directeur de la Compagnie India*; and I went there - 'and in his hall all is glory'. I asked him for a recommendation to other places where I was going, and he gave it me. And passing through Paris I saw the *Jardines* and the king's palace. But during my exile among all the towns I had passed through I have seen no town [so] crowned with beauty, such a splendour of splendours, beauteous, and polished and cleansed, and correctly ordered as Amsterdam; and the Synagogue of the Sephardim in Amsterdam - 'throughout the whole land has gone out the line' of its praise. Verily 'there have gathered and come' every the perfection, much greater even - the half of it! - than the royal palace: the *[Beit] Midrash*, and the *Talmud Torah*[79] and the *Yeshivot* nearby; and in the [very] midst of the highway can the Synagogue be seen, for it is 'in the height of the city'; and it is hung with radiant light, bright and clean; and its height and its width are seen clearly by the eyes to be supported by [only] four pillars! It has no stairs, and young and old can enter it with ease. It was built in the year of 'in the fullness of thy lovingkindness WILL I COME INTO THY HOUSE'[80] - 'He will establish [it] with righteousness' 'until Shiloh cometh': 'the L-rd will see for himself'[81] 'Israel going through his border'[82].

Av 14 Eqev

Tuesday: We left Paris by coach at mid-day.

Av 27 Shof'tim

Monday: we arrived by coach at Blaye.

Av 28 Shof'tim

Tuesday: we journeyed by barque on the river and we arrived after about five hours in the city of Bordeaux. I had been worrying in what

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79 School for children.

80 Gematria of *(A)vo beytèkha* = 435 in the present millenium (commenced 1240).

81 Gen. 49:10.

82 Num. 20:21.

manner I would be coming [i.e. be received] in that town, and where I should go. I looked around and there behold! - stood a folding stool. As we drew near I heard people calling to me so I went over [to them]: then they sat me [and carried me] on the stool, and behind me all the worthies of the congregation on foot! I gave thanks to the Master of Mercies 'for from the dung-heap doth he elevate the poor, to seat me with the nobles' in the likeness of an exalted man! 'And my mouth is filled with praise' to the dreaded One Who works deeds and Who [so] gave into the hearts of the leaders of the holy cong. to accorded me this great honour. 'And they would arrive early morning at my door' - all the *g'virim* and the heads of the holy cong. 'and footsteps did not cease' day and night - till midnight - all my days there.

But there was dissension in the town, for a qualified *shohet* had been declared unfit by the Master, the venerable Hakham Rabbi Jacob Attias. The entire holy cong. had been eating of his *shehita*, but another *shohet*, a relative of the said H.R. Jacob, was now slaughtering instead him. I told them that on weekdays I do not eat meat; and each Sabbath I would slaughter some chicken for myself. It was for such reasons that whilst in London I had learned, in a few days, how to slaughter a chicken. And thus I did for each Sabbath: on the Friday I would slaughter a chicken myself. Accompanying me there was a S. Benjamin Abraham Ashkenazi, a *shohet* ordained by the Rabbi of Amsterdam, and the two of us would together examine the knife, [taking] about an hour.

From the day of my arrival they [?] had wrought wondrously to plead before the Parnessim and all the *g'virim* to settle this dispute between the *shohetim*. Out of respect for the venerable [rabbi], I refrained from [entering] the argument. Each day I would say to Our Master R. Jacob aforementioned that he should give [in] with good grace in this matter, for everyone was clamouring against him; but he hardened his heart obstinately. In the end, after eighteen days - and nights! - when they had grown weary with beseeching me, they sent an emissary [saying] that it seemed to them that I was doing no good in holding back from judging the argument since the power was in my hand [to stop it].

So I straightaway went to the Master and I said: "Eye to eye you can see that I have been careful of your honour. But now I must 'perforce against my will' become involved." And he said that this was his desire, too. Then I said to him, "If so then I am acting with [your] permission." Then he showed me a Decision he had written on this [matter]: [but it was]

as though this man had never seen daylight! - slag mixed with clay and mortar, and spiced with mucus and lime! So I sent saying to the Parnessim that they should write for me a *supplique*[83] in their language 'so that all the peoples of the land shall know' that [this is] not at my instigation[84]. I also wrote out a document for the said Hakham R. Jacob to sign[85]; and they forced him 'by might against his will' to sign 'that whatever I am saying herein shall stand'. Then I selected two scholarly men, namely, the Hakham R. Abraham Lopez and the Hakham R. Abraham Monsanto, who also have a sensitivity in the examination of a slaughtering-knife[86].

I also sent, one other evening, for a lung [of an animal] and for an Ashkenazi *shohet* to tell me 'what are the places' of the minor lobe and the major lobe[87] and so on. And afterwards I went through all the laws in the *Shulhan Arukh* and some of the *Beit Yosef* [88]. And I studied thoroughly the law concerning a *shohet* who had been disqualified by a *Moreh* [= instructor]; and I saw that, in my humble opinion, there is no 'taste or odour' in his words.

So afterwards I took 'sweet counsel' with 'the good two'[89] aforementioned, and they agreed with me to meet and to examine both *shohetim*. And the *shohet* who had been disqualified by the Hakham R. Jacob aforementioned was found to be skilled and expert; and the *shohet*, his relative, was in five days unable to present us with one [good] slaughtering-knife! And similarly did we test other *shohetim* who performed *shehita* for others - and we removed some of them [from office]. And I also wrote and signed everything in the Community book. And I was distressed at the *hilul*

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83 Announcement, proclamation.

84 'From my heart'.

85 Resigning his position.

86 The tests for sharpness and cleanness of the edge are detailed and delicate.

87 The main area of *trefa* problems.

88 The commentary on the *Arba Turim* (The Four Arrays) by R. Joseph Caro who wrote the *Shulhan Arukh*, 1563, in the same four sections and subsections. The *Tur* (as it is called in short), was the first ordered and enumerated Code of Talmudic laws, written by R. Jacob son of R. Asher ben Yehiel Ashkenazi in the middle of the 13th century.

89 Psalms 55:15; Eccles. 4:9.

ha-Shem[90] and wept silent tears over that elderly rabbi. But, in any event, 'all the people within the gates' knew that my deeds were for the name of Heaven and that I had become involved against my will.

Then the Rabbi requested that I should tell him the reasons why I had declared *kasher* [= fit] the *shohet* he had disqualified; and he also asked that I give him [back] his Decision. But I refused: for he [himself] does not have the understanding to receive the truth, and relies on his son - by whom the light of deep scholarship and law-decision has never been seen! And thus I said to him: "If you will stay silent, stay silent; and if not, then I will write to the entire diaspora of Israel and I will send them your Decision and my Decision - and let them compare!" And I explained the matters 'in the eyes of the congregation', in a manner taking much trouble in the 'Laws of Respect' and patience, until I had established the truth. Yet I did not come to any quarrel with the Rabbi even though his actions were not proper; but I honoured him and mentioned him with great respect in two sermons that I preached there.

'And I give thanks and praise' that I took no repast with any person except with S. Benjamin Grades who was 'certified holy' according to the law of Moses and of Israel. They had [all] been wanting to invite me for meals of milk and fish, but I was worried about the vessels and about the maidservants who themselves did all the cooking; and the L-rd thus caused that no fish of such good quality were obtainable as suited their desire 'for honour and splendour', and because of this I was saved from having to take meals with anyone, except at my lodging, where they were 'kasher from the evening' [?]. Praise to the L-rd for He is good: for all that he has rendered unto me!

And I did not agree to give that second sermon until they had pleaded with me 'till embarrassment'. My reason [for declining] was that it was their custom to donate some small donation there and they would think this was for the emissary. In order to quell gossip and slander against emissaries - 'which with our own ears have we heard' - I only agreed to preach again after the 'pleading by the faces'[91] of the Parnessim and the notables of that Community. But it passed with great honour. Praise to G-d - may He be blessed!

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90 'Disrepute to the (holy) Name'.

91 In person.

Year 5516 [1755/6]

Tishri 3 Ha'azinu

Monday: I departed from Bordeaux with great honour. We arrived in Bayonne on Thursday shortly before noon. Barely two hours [had elapsed] before there came to receive me 'the good and the right' S. Isaac Nunes Tavares and his son-in-law, my dear beloved friend, S. Samuel Alessandro Fernandez, together with some of the Parnessim. [We went off] in a carriage, and they seated me next to them.

After another hour or so, most of the holy cong. had come to welcome me. And I lodged with the above-named gentleman. And, in truth, they wrought wondrously, kindness upon kindness, in hospitality and every kind of honour in the world - 'wonder of wonders'! These men are perfect - S. Isaac and his son-in-law, and their associates: may G-d reward their works, and their righteousness endure for ever! All the congregation did exceedingly, [both] in honouring and donating, more than their measure; and with G-d is the lovingkindness and wherewithal to repay good recompense to those that perform good deeds. May the Shield of their fathers be their help and their refuge, a rampart on their right hand; and blessed is his glorious Name, Who gave me wisdom how to behave towards them with *politico*[1] and with good manners - the 'Great' and the 'Small'[2] - almost nothing did I transgress. Above all do I hate benefactions: a veil of modesty [was] over my countenance, and I took care to give great and sincere courtliness on every occasion and for every thing, small or great.

And I avoided preaching to them extravagant things and *Aggadah*[3] that was beyond them; and *qal-vachomer*[4] not telling them any Cabbalah

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1 Diplomacy.

2 The Talmudic tractate 'Good Manners' (!) exists in a major format and in an abbreviated one: *Derekh Erets Rabba* and *Derekh Erets Zuta*.

3 Midrashic homilies.

4 *A fortiori*; lit. 'light-and-heavy'. A common expression.

and so on, or about mystic formulae and Names and the like. And indeed, 'grace and honour doth G-d give' - for I know in myself that I do not know how to give the littlest speech, yet all my words were in their eyes as pearls 'all of them matching' in knowledge and accomplishment; / and the merit of the *Sleepers of Hebron*[5] / and of the *Bearers of the Ark* / were 'going before me as droves of sheep'/ making me into a personage and a patron / in the shadow of money and reward. [?] / And I call from within my throat and shall sing / and 'the tongue shall speak' many praises to Him that dwells in Heaven - that thus far hath G-d blessed me. May the name of G-d be blessed from now unto evermore!

On the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles I preached in the Synagogue of the Parnessim. 'And this second time'[6] in the Faro Synagogue at Minha-time; 'and yet the third'[7] in the *Yeshiva 'Ets Ha'im'* [= Tree of Life] after Minha; 'and fourthly'[8] on the morning of the second day of the festival, in the Brandon Synagogue; and at Minha-time 'adding a fifth'[9] in the Ponti [Pointe ?] Synagogue; 'and Ozem the sixth'[10] in the Yeshiva *'Ateret Bahurim'* [= The Splendour of Youth] after Minha; and the evening of *Shemini Atseret* [Feast of the Eighth] in the Julian Synagogue, 'standing on seven'[11]; and on the day of *Shemini Atseret* in the 'Kavod' Synagogue, 'the eighth day of the preparation'[12]; and at Minha on *Shemini Atseret* in the 'Salzedo' Synagogue, 'nine on the mountain' [?]; after Minha - 'the tenth shall be holy' - in the Yeshiva *'Ha-Hevra'*; and the Sabbath evening in the Synagogue of Gueldes, eleven; and on the day of *Simhat Torah* [= Rejoicing of the Law], in the morning, in the 'Alexandro' Synagogue, twelve; and at Minha on *Simhat Torah* in the 'Yeshurun' Synagogue - 'one there was' [?]. Of these, four were sermons, and the rest

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5 Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their wives, who are buried there in the cave of Makhpelah.

6 Malachi 2:13.

7 Adap. of Isaiah 6:13.

8 Num. 31:8 'And (they killed) *Reva'*; same root as *arba* = four.

9 Lev. 5:24.

10 Chron. I 2:15 Spelled here with *ayin* (instead of *aleph*): poss. meaning 'exertion'.

11 Tal. Ned. 6b. 'Standing on oath' = *mushba'g*; same root as *sheva'g* = seven.

12 Lev. 9:1, 8:33.

[topical] subjects and homilies[13] and two or three expositions[14]; and they made donations for my mission. On one occasion they brought a folding stool for me and I sat on it; and S. Isaac aforementioned sat behind me.

[The day after the Festival][15] we crossed over the bridge to go into the [centre of the] town, and we visited a Monsieur Causabon to whom I had brought a *recommendation.* I spoke a few words to him, and that *g'vir* was well-pleased by them, 'and all that heard were happy'. Then we went to the house of the Governor to obtain a passport; and they treated us honourably.

Afterwards S. Isaac and S. Jacob Levi took me to the *Jardines* and to the Citadel which is the protecting fortress of the city. They showed me a lump of stone which had been sent from Spain to the Academy at Paris: this was originally wood and by means of chemicals had been made into stone. I told the *g'virim* that I did not believe this. They replied that if, indeed, it were not true, they would not have spent twenty flowers [?] to send it from one kingdom to another. At this juncture, 'one wise one '- an Ashkenazi - remarked, "I, too, have seen in some book that there is a bird that grows on a tree!" They began to laugh; but I said that it is mentioned in the *Shulchan Arukh, Yoreh, De'ah Sec.* 84[16] and that they ought to give it some credence, so that our perfect Torah should be no less [credible] than the gentile wisdom that testifies on a stone that it is wood! And they knew that they were caught in their own net 'and they fell silent together'[17].

Heshvan, New Moon, Noah

Sunday: I left a village near Bayonne where there are Jews, with great honour and a gracious escort. And we arrived towards evening at Peyrehorade.

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13 Based on Aggadah or sayings of the Rabbis.

14 Of biblical passages.

15 There is a sudden break in the narrative here: this insertion is necessary.

16 A philosophical point as to whether Shehita would apply!

17 A play on Psalms 19:9 *tsadku* > *shatku.*

Heshvan 1, Noah

Monday: From Peyrehorade we came to the city of Toulouse on the eve of Sabbath, the 5th of the month, before noon. 'And it was my Sabbath' with some poor Jewish pedlar [?] there.

Heshvan 7, Lekh-Lekha

Sunday: We departed from Toulouse by chaise and we arrived in Montpellier on the eve of Sabbath, the 12th of the month. We spent the Sabbath with Rabbi Moshe Ha-Cohen and his son-in-law Rabbi Abraham de Rocco-Martineau who were staying there on business. And I enjoyed myself reading *Sefer Eylim*[18] and *The Soul of Life*[19] which they had with them.

Heshvan 14, Va-yerah

Sunday: we left Montpellier and R. Abraham aforem. accompanied us as far as the town of Lunel/ We arrived in the town of Nîmes on the eve of Monday. I spent some time with a number of the Jews there, in particular with the Rabbi Israel Mal.

Heshvan 15

Monday: we departed from the town of Nîmes and arrived in the city of Avignon the same day. 'And as the affliction arose'[20] so all my bones 'were seized with trembling'; for the kingdom of Avignon is under the rule of the Pope and those governing it are more 'evil and transgressing' than the kingdom of Romania[21] itself. Now, I had several [holy] books with me - a small *Eyn Ya'aqob* and two small *Gemarot*[22] and similar and also some coins of other kingdoms; and all this is a great danger. 'And my heart was hoping'[23] that they would never search in my

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18 Author R. Joseph Shlomo del Medigo, known as the YaShaR (*Rofeh* = doctor).

19 By the illustrious Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam.

20 Ad. of Gen. 19:15 *Shahar* = morning, *tsa'ar* = affliction.

21 Referring, probably, to Rome or the Vatican.

22 *Gemara* (Aram.) is synonymous with Talmud.

23 Jer. 23:9 *Nishbar* = broken; *nisbar* = 'we think', or possibly 'hope' if an Aram. construct.

bosom 'and grasp him by his garment', although in the city of Nîmes 'it had verily been told to me' that sometimes they overstep the rules of manners 'and they accomplish a diligent search' [24]. But thanks to the blessed Name who saved us[25].

And straightaway as I came into the city of Avignon 'indeed was David ask :d': "For the sake of G-d - do you not have [with you] any book, 'small or great'?"[26] But in secret I had [already] taken a bag and put inside all that i had and sent it to the Parness, saying: "'Pray recognise what is in my ɼossession' and do with it as you will." And the Parness hid it in a secret lodge - 'in a mysterious place did he put it'. I preached there on [the Sabbath of] the Portion of Va-yerah; and I was honoured with very great honour.

Heshvan 23, Haye-Sarah

Tuesday: we departed from Avignon in great honour. Accompanying me were Monsieur Vidal and Monsieur Isaac de Montilles (Monteux) in a coach; and we came together with them to the holy cong. of Carpentras before noon. There, too, they accorded me great honour, excessive indeed. And there are to be found scholars, sagacious and sharp, and they also are the *g'virim* of the holy cong.; and 'my hand did not leave theirs' all those days - 'to include the nights'[27] 'continually and without ceasing'; and they all came to me, in particular, those perfect, G-d fearing scholars His Honour Our Master the Rav Rabbi Joseph de Milhaud and HHOMR Rabbi Moses di Rocco Martinez, m.G.g.t.l.

And I preached there [the Sabbath of] the Portion of Haye-Sarah; and they kept me there [over] [the following Sabbath of] Toledoth.

Kislev 6, P. Va-yetse

Monday: we journeyed from Carpentras accompanied by the noble Rav, HHOMR R. Abraham di Rocco Martinez - may G-d preserve him in

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24 Psalms 64:7.

25 See Freimann's reference to R. Jacob of Lunel whose books were confiscated.

26 Tal. B. Bathra 14a v. Rashi.

27 Mishnah Berakhot I, 5.

life - and Monsieur Samuel de Latisse, the Parness; and we travelled together to the town of L'Isle[28]. There, too, they lavished of their bounty most wondrously: the main power, [both] in the matter of the honour and of the munificence, being Monsieur Joseph de Beaucaire and his sons, the *g'virim*: they are the heads of the holy cong. And I preached there [Sabbath] P. Va-Yetse.

Kislev 13, Va-yishlach

Monday: we departed from L'Isle escorted by most of the congregation, some thirty people, with great honour; and we came together with them to the holy cong. of Cavaillon. And there also wrought wondrous kindness and great honour. Whilst there I tried to find excuses for not eating meat, because there was some doubt concerning the *shohet*; and - praise be to G-d - I succeeded.

These four holy congregations mostly have the customs of the Sephardim. But they [also] have some modern [!] customs and a new *Mahzor* for the 'Days of Awe'[29] which contains liturgical compositions by world-renowned *Ge'onim*.

Kislev 19, Va-yeshev

Sunday: the night after the holy Sabbath, about midnight, the *'g'vir'* Abraham de Monteux came with others from Avignon to escort me back from there - with great honour. In the morning we were joined by men of the holy cong. of Cavaillon and we returned together to the holy cong. of Avignon, on the same day. And they kept me there - against my will! - in the holy cong. of Avignon, the whole of that week.

But how mighty were the kindnesses of those four congregations - 'no description can suffice!'[30] - 'and let no man dally in the relating'[31] 'lest

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28 Freimann's Lille (500 miles north!) is erroneous: so is the map in M. Benayahu's otherwise excellent work 'HYDA' (Mossad HaRav Kook, 1959). The text word contains the letter 's' so this is certainly L'Isle.

29 Kings I 6:6.

30 Isaiah 40:16 *ba'ger* = destroy; *ba'er* = elucidate.

31 Adapt. of Mishnah Sabb. I, 2 *Sappar* = barber; *sippur* = relating.

he make excisions'[32]. And on the whole, I would say, the wondrous charity and kindness and great honour that they wrought was in excess of their means; and everything with the presentation of a shining countenance and exceeding affection. May it be His Will that the merit of the Land of Israel hovers over them to do good unto them all their days, with sons who are scholars, length of life, with wealth and glory and everlasting life: may thus be the Will.

Kislev 26, Mi-kets

Sunday: the night following the holy Sabbath, after midnight, I was studying and dozed off. And it was told me in my dream that 'charity saves from death'. Now that day, early in the morning, I wished to journey away in peace. But before daybreak the voice of the coachman came booming forth and saying, "It is not possible for us to travel because we are unable to cross the river ahead!" So I had to stay [there]; and about noon gave three francs for charity.

'And towards the Minha [time]' I heard that the River Rhone, and other rivers near the city, had swollen mightily to the extent that two [places along the] bank(s) of the said River Rhone - between which were houses [where] shepherds [lived] - had been joined across[33]; and the River Rhone was 'joined across its two reaches' [34], and it devastated and smashed all that [place] in between. 'And this place is a place of pastures', 'indeed it is absolutely open'[35], and through the river 'pass many souls and their lack'[36] 'in the thickness of the cloud' [37].

And the [other] rivers [also] joined across, and the waters came into

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32 Kings I 6:6.

33 The Rhone near Avignon has large bends; there are islands south of Avignon and the reference to 'two banks' which is a little obscure, may be describing the flooding over of these.

34 Ex. 28:7 'Ends'. This may fit either interpretation.

35 Talmud expression used in comparing laws linked by a common superfluous ('open') phrase (e.g. Shabb. 131a).

36 The phrase is borrowed from a minor form of 'grace after meals'. The meaning of both of these phrases is obscure.

37 I.e. many people.

the city of Avignon 'with great power and a mighty hand'. And I enquired of our Jewish brethren if - Heaven forfend! - the waters had reached the street of the Jews? - the land were [then] lost, for the Jewish quarter is in the heights of the city. And when night came the waters had reached the street of the Jews. And all over the city the waters swelled and rose two storeys high; and [though] all the gates were closed the waters had gone up much higher than they. 'And there was great and bitter crying' in all the town, whether for the death of man and beast - for in the town alone 480 animals perished - or whether for the hunger: for the waters swept away hundreds, even thousands, of *qorim*[38] of wheat and flour, and barrels of wine and barrels of oil, and stacks of loads of sugar: 'And the land was flowing with milk and honey' 'like streams stretching forth', 'and all these were passing'[39] through the waters; and also much merchandise of the gentiles went to perdition and many houses fell with the might of the waters. Also the springs and 'wells of of live waters' rose up several storeys; and even in the Jewish quarter did the wells swell up mightily. Near the synagogue there is a small courtyard and there is a [house with] a room within which is a room within which is another room, and in this third room there are some twenty steps to a *miqvah* of 'live water'; and the spring had risen up over all the steps and filled all the houses and flooded into the courtyard of the synagogue from that side[40].

'And I in my affliction', when I heard on the night of Monday, 27th Kislev some of the aforementioned things, and when I saw the rains coming down with a fierceness and force the like of which I had never seen, and the rivers swelling enormously and the springs and wells rising ever upwards, there was no spirit left within me and I could see - Heaven forfend! - death before my eyes. And especially, for within but a few days, we had heard that in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, 'terrors overturned it'[41] - and the earth[quakes] swallowed it, and its remnants were destroyed by fire: and similar things abnormal to the order of the world. So I said to

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38 Talmudic measure; a *qor* is roughly 11 bushels.

39 'And all these transgress' - name of a chapter in the Talmud (Pesahim III).

40 In addition to the rising waters outside.

41 Job 30:15. This earthquake occurred on 1st November, 1755, destroying most of the city centre.

our brethren of the House of Israel, "Let us, pray, go up to the synagogue and say *Seli'hot*"[42]. But they declined, for [certain] good reasons.

So an hour before midnight I put on sackcloth and, together with H.S.b. H.[43] - his soul in Eden - I recited 91 times 'And may it be pleasing' [Psalm 90] and the Psalm [20] 'He shall answer you', and the prayers 'With the tears of of the third' [Psalm 80] only - as in the manner of one about to die - Heaven forfend! After midnight I gave 24 *soldos*[44] for charity on behalf of myself and on behalf of the holy cong., and one *soldo* for the [sake of the] soul of Rabbi Me'ir [*ba'al Ha-Ness*][45]. Blessed is G-d, who in His great mercy had mercy upon us - and straightaway the rains stopped, and on Monday morning there was no further increase of water from the rivers into the town; and even though the wells were still rising, our minds were at ease. That Monday the sun shone and an east wind blew; and the waters gradually subsided until, on Thursday, it was possible [for people] to leave the town, [though] with difficulty. And they sent to fetch flour from the countryside, for there was great famine in the town. But praise to the blessed Name that to us, sons of the Covenant, there was no lack. Also, the flood water had stopped just near to the Jewish quarter and had not entered the street!

Now it is written in their books that if the waters in Avignon would reach a certain point - Heaven forfend! - the town would perish in the floodwaters: and this time they passed by a handbreadth the mark aforementioned! They said there surely had not been the like in two hundred years. If - H.f! - we had travelled on Sunday early in the morning, even though we might have got across the river, H.f! - [what] with the flood of mighty waters approaching afterwards, what would then have happened to us? Praise the L-rd for He is good, for His kindness endureth for ever; blessed is He who favours the sinful with good, who has favoured us with all goodness; blessed is the L-rd who saves. Amen.

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42 Penitential prayers reserved for days of catastrophe. The reason for their declining is hard to understand.

43 Hakham Samuel ben Haim, his attendant (see chap. 1).

44 A *soldo* is a small Italian coin, but the term was also used for the French sou.

45 A mysterious saintly figure dating back possibly 1000 years; while his favour is often invoked in time of distress, Judaism does not otherwise include any tradition of 'saintly' intercession.

Teveth 10, Va-ye'hi

Sunday: we journeyed from Avignon and they [all] accompanied us as far as the river; and our good friend Michael Roget accompanied us for a day and a half.

We arrived safely in Nice de Provence on Thursday the 15th. At the edge of the French border there was a ford in front of us where the gentiles [in charge of the ford] 'must go through the river on foot' carrying on their shoulders those who pass to and fro! And we were distressed, for it was in flood and there were deep places; praise to G-d who delivered us!

I preached in Nice the Portion Va-ye'hi. And [while] there I saw the letter *'Be not like your Ancestors'* with a commentary[46].

Teveth 25, Va-Era

Monday: we departed from Nice at noon and we were accompanied by the bachelor *g'vir* Moses Joseph Vidal and S. Jacob Astruc[47] for ten days, may Heaven reward them manifold!

We traversed two mountain peaks [Col de] Brans and [Col de] Brouis; 'and the third hill'[48], which they call Colle di Tenda, we traversed on Wednesday. And we were climbing up the mountain for some three hours. The mountain was covered deep in snow; and when we wanted to descend it was impossible to do so for we sank, both we and our animals, into the snow! So we hired four gentiles to assist us; and two of them were grasping us dragging us and throwing us - and we were in great distress: praise to the blessed Name that the day was [comparatively] warm and the sun was shining strongly. I was wearing several garments and two *samaras*[49] and two pairs of socks: and with all this we were still very cold.

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46 The author, R. Isaac Ha-Levi Profiat Duran, is attempting to reform an apostate friend in a satirical manner to deceive inquisitors who might read it; the commentary is by R. Joseph Shem-Tov.

47 A well-known Provencal-Jewish name originating in the 11th century; it is linked with the famous R. Isaac (Ishtori) ben Moshe (Ha-Parhi) author of *Kaftor Va-Ferah,* and also with the modern Jewish name Astor (Otzar Israel, Eisenstein); occasionally used as a forename.

48 Ex. 28:19 *Tur* = row; in Aram. = hill.

49 *Zamarra* (Sp) = sheepskin coat.

Mercifully, I had some raw chocolate, and I ate about a litre! By the time we came to the foot of the mountain 'the strength of the bearer had weakened' and I was almost faint. I estimated that the snow was some 30 cubits[50] deep; those two [who had come] with us said that they had passed through in Ellul and they knew that there were places where there was 100 cubits of snow. Blessed is He who redeems and saves!

We arrived safely at the town of Cuneo the eve of Friday, 29th Teveth. But at the entrance [to the town] had gathered a great crowd of people, gentiles, young and old: and we were much distressed by the sounds of their abuse and mockery, and they wanted to strike us 'for they are evil and sinful exceedingly'.

And I preached there on [that Sabbath of] P. Va-Era.

Shevat 3, Bo

Monday: we departed from the town of Cuneo near to mid-day and we arrived at Fossano towards Minha-time.

Shevat 4, Bo

Tuesday: from Fossano we set forth in the morning and we arrived at Carmagnola early in the evening before Wednesday.

Shevat 5, Bo

Wednesday: we set out from Carmagnola; and we arrived in peace in Turin at evenfall.

I preached there on [Sabbath] P. Bo and [Sabbath] P. Mishpatim. And the L-rd gave us favour in the eyes of the eminent Rav, Head of the Beth-Din, OMR Rabbi Isaac Formiggini, may the Merciful One guard him in life. And he wrought wondrously in 'doing with me kindness and truth'; 'and great was the deed', with all [his] strength and might: 'the L-rd his G-d is with him, and the exultation of the King is in his midst' ! Also the dignitaries Signor Rabbi Simon Mondovi and Signor Joseph Todros Ovazza and HHOM the Hakham R. Samuel Nitza inclined [their] kindness

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50 57 feet!

towards me: may G-d repay their works, may thus be His Will!

I went with the Rav to see the king in his palace; and I recited the benediction before him. Then I went to the library: and it is 'as an ape before man' against that of Paris. But I saw there *Arba Turim*[51] written with the most exquisite beauty, with letters relieved in gold, written in Ferrara more than two hundred years earlier for a certain prince[52]. I also saw there other manuscripts in our writing but they were on philosophy and natural science. And I saw in Turin the book *Kelimat Ha-Goyim*[53], and the Refutations of R. Judah b. Eliezer Briel against the evangelists.

Adar I 2, Terumah

Tuesday: at noon we journeyed from Turin and arrived in Vercelli at evenfall of Thursday. I was guest in the home of those delectable brothers HHOMR R. Jacob and HHOM the Hakham R. Benjamin Segri, may G-d preserve them in life.

I preached there on [Sabbath] P. Terumoh and on [Sabbath] P. Tetsaveh. And they inclined [their] kindness towards me. I saw there a [copy of] the large *Or Zaru'a*[54] in manuscript; and *Ts'vi Mudah*[55]; and *Kol Ha-RaMaZ* - much larger than the printed [version ?]; and the eulogy of the *RaMaZ*[56] over the author of *Gidule Terumah*, of blessed memory; and stories about S.Ts.; and *'The Sayings of the ReM'A'*, obm, in manuscript[57].

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51 The codification of Talmudic laws by R. Abraham ben Judah of Barcelona; forerunner of *Shulhan Arukh*.

52 Freimann directs attention to p. 4 of Peyron's Cod. heb. Tarinenses.

53 See below p. 114 [1]: same author.

54 A monumental commentary on the Talmud by R. Isaac b. Moshe of Vienna (ca 12–), also known as the RIOZ. There is also a shortened version edited by the author's son R. Haim of Neustadt.

55 By R. Emmanuel Francis against Shabbetai Ts'vi.

56 R. Moshe Zacut of Venice, b. Amsterdam 5385, d. 5458 (1625-1697): pupil of R. Benjamin Ha-Levy and himself author of many authoritative Cabbalistic works.

57 *Asarah Ma'amarot* [The Ten Sayings] by R. Menahem Azariah of Fano (Parma).

Adar I 14, Tissa

Sunday: in the afternoon we set out from Vercelli and arrived in Casale di Monferrato the night of Monday. We had trouble with the customs[58] but the Jews sent [someone] and brought us away in peace. I lodged with the *g'vir* HHOM the Hakham Simeon Ha'im Levi Morello, may G-d preserve him in life; and he wrought wondrous kindness with me, and [also] all his household.

I preached there on [the Sabbath of Portion] Tissa; and I became extremely endeared of the Rav, the *g'vir*, the Wonder of our Generation, OMR Shabbetai Elhanan Del Vecchio, may the Merciful One guard him and grant him life!

Adar II 1, Pequdei

Wednesday: from Casale to Alessandria; and accompanying us as an escort were the Rav and S. Morello aforem., for some two *parsa* [parasangs][59]. We arrived in Alessandria that evening, and I lodged with S. Israel Ha-Cohen Vitali della Torre. He inclined favour towards us; and my 'covenant' [of affection] was the Rav, the *g'vir*, Wonder of our Generation, shrewd and clear-headed OMR A. Ha-Levi, may G-d grant him life; and he was exceedingly kind to me - 'may there be great reward[60] from Heaven' [for him].

Adar II 15, Tsav

Wednesday: at noon we departed from Alessandria della Paglia and we arrived in Genoa the eve of Friday. I lodged with S. Moses Foa, may G-d grant him life: 'and Moses inclined'[61] much kindness towards me. May the merit of his ancestors support him 'and be his strength'.

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58 Freimann's emendation of *hakham* > *mekhess*.

59 Taking a cubit as 60cm, one parasang (= 4 mil = 4x2000 cubits) = 3 miles.

60 In the *Kadish* prayer *shelama* means *peace*: similar root.

61 Lit. 'the rod' [= *mateh*] of Moses; similar root [*neteh*] to 'incline'. This idiomatic use of 'inclining' or 'leaning' to do good is a classical Heb. form.

Adar II 29, Thazri'a

Wednesday: at nightfall we set out by *feluca* [=sailing barge] for Livorno. Now I was girded with a *chimir* [=money-belt] in which I had more than 400 *venezzios*[62]; I also had a *rologio* [=watch] and some other articles. On Friday, towards evening, since we were [still] in the middle of our journey, and there was also something of a storm over the sea and there were many gentiles with us, I secretly took off the *chimir* and all else that I had about me, and I put them in the basket where I kept my vessels of food.

On the Sabbath day a wind blew up and we arrived at Minha-time in Livorno. Now although according to the Law[63] it is permitted to descend, I preferred not to get off following the stricter view; but the officers of the *Sanita* [health authority] forced us to get off and they cleared the *feluca* and took us into the town to the officials in charge of the *Sanita*. I was dressed in tattered garments and I was very distressed, both on account of meeting [thus] with the *g'virim*, the respected of the community - and I 'clothed in cords of shame' - and also on account of the money and other articles in the basket which had been left behind on the *feluca*. When I returned I instructed my attendant to stand opposite the *feluca* and, during the night, to sleep on board. On Sunday morning I went back there and found everything intact! Praise to the blessed Name.

I took a house in the court of my dear friend Hakham Rabbi David Roqeah - may the Merciful One guard him and preserve him; and for meal-times I would go to that erudite *g'vir*, the laudable and praiseworthy Signor Michael Pereira de Leon. I tarried there with him 15 months! And he wrought wondrously for me with great kindness and with great honour, excessive indeed, he and all his household: may He who guards the truth for everlasting guard them and set them for ever 'with every blessing and exaltedness': so may it be His will. Also, the aforementioned Hakham R. David Roqeah - may G-d grant him life! - exerted himself exceedingly, both in body and with money - may G-d protect him as the apple of His eye: may thus be His will. And many other friends did I have from among the notables and the scholars, and especially the Rav OMRR Hananiah

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62 The Venetian equivalent of the *ungaro*.

63 The Halakhic law pertaining to travel on the Sabbath.

Bondi, may the Merciful One guard him and protect him; and the *HaKam* S. HHOMRR Isaac Nunes Vais; and the Hakham S. HHOMRR Eliahu Cohen: may the L-rd our G-d be with them: may thus be His will.

There in Livorno I saw, at the home of S. David Medina three pneumatic machines[64]: and they were used for producing light[65]. I also saw there *mondo nuovo, lanterna magica*[66], *mar'zuki finir*[67].

Alas! for our many sins, on 22 Tammuz, Hakham Samuel ben Ha'im went, without my knowledge, to bathe [ritually] in the sea and drowned. And they sent soldiers to watch over him overnight; and on the morning of 22 Tammuz he was buried with great honour. Woe to me, alas for [the loss of] this 'goodly dove' and this evil and bitter happening; blessed is the true Judge. He leaves behind life to us and to all Israel. May his seed be a blessing and multiply in the land: may thus be His will.

And I, the junior, had my little book *Sha'ar Yosef* printed there [in Livorno] - praise and glory to the Everlasting - 'thus far hath the L-rd blessed me'. And I saw in Livorno the manuscript of *Shibole Ha-leqet* ['The Gleaned Stalks'], an elucidation on the Order of *Zera'im*[68] by Rabbi I. of Sampont: he is R. Y. bar Malki-Tsedeq; and also a commentary on the *Zohar* by the RaMaZ; and letters of the RaMaZ and *Liqqute* [= collected works] *Ha-RaMaZ*; and the book [of] *She'moth*[69].

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64 *Macchina pneumatica.*

65 Could also mean heat or flame; perhaps these were some kind of bellows.

66 Perhaps the meaning is: magic lantern pictures of America.

67 Freimann gives an Arabic reading *falir*: the meaning of both words remains unknown.

68 *Seeds*, the first of the six orders, or sections, of the Mishnah dealing with tithe laws etc.: this manuscript is an anthology of early - 9th to 12th century - Talmudic commentaries.

69 Names - probably the lexicon *'Names for Divorces'* of personal and geographical names in Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, German and other languages compiled by R. S. Luria.

Year 5517 [1756/7]

Tishri 8, Ha'azinu

Sabbath: I preached on [this] 'Sabbath of Repentance' in Livorno.

Sivan 26, Qorah

Tuesday: I left Livorno with a large entourage - among them the rabbis HHOMR A. Spira, OMR Judah 'Ga'ish, OMR H. Bondi, the Hakham Rabbi A. Segri, the HR A. Cohen, the HR D. Roqe'ah and that erudite *g'vir* S. Michael, and others with them - in great honour, on the boat *Ragusea*: the captain of the ship, Giovanni Caselar.

Sivan 29, Qorah

Friday: we cruised past Porto Ferrajo, Piambino.

Tammuz 2, Huqath

Monday: past Civitavecchia, Espiaggia di Roma.

Tammuz 3, Huqath

Tuesday: past Napoli, Sicilia.

Tammuz 4, Huqath

Wednesday: the islands - with the two volcanoes,[1] one to the north and one to the south; by day we saw smoke, and at night fire, issuing from them.

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1 Stromboli and Gran Cratere.

Tammuz 5, Huqath

Thursday: past Messina; and the captain of the ship took a Venetian pilot in order to traverse [the strait].

Tammuz 9, Balaq

Monday: past the islands of Morea.

Tammuz 10, Balaq

Tuesday: past the islands of Cerigo, Candia [Crete], and the beginning of the *archipelago.*

Tammuz 13, Balaq

Friday: we sighted Scio.

Tammuz 14, Balaq

Saturday, the day of the holy Sabbath: we saw Kara Burun. In the morning I awoke with the verse: 'Raise your hand against your oppressors and may your enemies be cut off'[2]. And close to noon we were boarded by the corsair Frances![3] The captain went up to him and [attempted] to stop him but [then] some twenty [of his] sailors boarded [us]. They took me by force and led me to their ship and they searched me 'with all manner of searches'; and they kept me and my captain prisoner. And I, for my many sins, had not [yet] fulfilled the [obligatory] two meals of the Sabbath day. I was also greatly distressed, for I had deposited with the captain a purse full of *talleros*[4], and besides this I had in my possession some 500 gold *ducats* and I remembered that I had with me letters from London including a *lettera di cambio* [= letter of exchange]. If - Heaven forfend! - they would see any sign [of suspicion] they would 'hold on to their falsehood' saying

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2 Micah 5:8.

3 Probably one of the Maltese Knights Templar of St. John who were notorious pirates in that area.

4 A widely minted silver coin; later, a *tallero del Levante* was issued for trade with the Levant.

everything was English property![5] And I recited 'And may it be pleasant..' [Psalm 90, 91] ninety-one times; and I vowed many vows. And - praise the L-rd, may He be blessed! - on Sunday, the 15th, at noon, they allowed us to go back to our ship.

But the predator stayed 'sitting in the room' [6], some 20 [of them] with drawn swords - and all around us on the ship. And - thanks to G-d - I had the strength and fleetness to take those aforementioned letters from London and destroy them; and I put the *chimir*[7] of gold ducats next to my flesh. On Monday, the 16th of Tammuz, in the evening, 'the enemy came' and took all the money bags, including a purse containing deposits that I had in my bosom; and they took all the merchandise, and they demanded and searched all our clothes; and they also searched in my clothes, and in my bosom and in the pockets of the clothes I was wearing. But G-d in His manifold mercies wrought [so] that they did not find the *chimir*.

They kept us in Ciandarlik six days. And they tried to provoke a quarrel with the captain in order to set an attack upon us; but the master of our vessel was a man of good sense and bore everything, keeping his mouth sealed.

Tammuz 20, Pin'has

Friday: we journeyed from Ciandarlik thoroughly emptied and we arrived in Izmir in the evening. To meet our ship came the son and the grandson of S. Abraham Fernandez Dias and our good friend Hakham M. Pardo; and they took us to their homes with great honour and they extended towards me kindness. And altogether great honour was accorded me in Izmir, especially [by] the Rav OMR Y. Sha'ul - may the Merciful One guard him! The dignitaries HR Avishalom Ha-Levi and HR Eliahu, his son, and HR Isaac Arditi never ceased [from] their kindness and charitableness. 'A shoulder [?] and a name'[8] to Izmir! - all our money for the mission

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5 'They would hold on to the loot.' English privateers in those waters were great rivals.

6 The opening words of Psalm 91: *(Yoshev) be'sether* [= in secrecy]; *be'cheder* = in the room.

7 Money belt.

8 Cf. Zephaniah 3:10.

returned to our hands: thanks to the A-mighty, may He be blessed, Who wrought as on that day!

And I saw in Izmir the Responsa of our Master obm[9], in manuscript - that is, the book *Avqat Rokhel*; and the *Shita Mequbetset* on [tractate] *Ketubot* in manuscript, of OMR Aaron Lepapa[10].

Av 19, Eqev

Friday: we left Izmir accompanied by the Hakham Rabbi I. El-Bali and S. Jacob Fernandez and HR Isaac Mollucco and their entourage.

Ellul New Moon, Shof'tim

Tuesday: I arrived at Boghaz Hissar and left there the same day.

Ellul 1[11], Shof'tim

Wednesday: I passed through Gallipoli [in order] to meet R. Moshe ibn Habib, may G-d guard him and protect him.

Ellul 4, Shof'tim

Saturday, the day of the holy Sabbath: I was in Tekir Dag [staying] with the Ga'on Isaiah Ashkenazi.

Ellul 6, Thetse

Monday: I entered Costa [= Constantinople] and took a *oda* [= room] in Jeni-Han[12]. At a later time, I became the guest of that princely Eminence, his conduct all lovingkindness, HHOMR Samuel Ha-levi, may G-d grant him life. He was wonderfully good and welcoming to me, and

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9 R. Joseph Caro, author of the *Shulhan Arukh*.

10 Could read *Lapapa* or *Lefafa*. A work of the same name by R. Betsalel Ashkenazi is a standard anthology of Talmudic commentaries, and this is a similar work.

11 New Moon is alternately the first of the new month or the last of the old month.

12 A district in Constantinople.

also his entire household especially his son-in-law, an outstanding scholar - 'behold, a *g'vir*'[13]- HHOMR Moses Angel, may G-d grant him life; 'and may He lift them up and bear them all the days of the world, 'and may the might not depart'[14], 'neither should their produce bend to the earth: may thus be His will.

13 Gen. 27:37 The original reference to this w.

14 Ex. 28:28 *Hoshen* = breastplate; *hossen* = might.

Year 5518 [1757/8]

Tishri 27, Noah

[Tuesday]: I went to the gate of 'the officer of the legs'[1] and saw how they bring the elephants [?].

Heshvan 2, Lekh-lekha

Sunday: I saw the [mosque] Nur di Osmaniye (Nurnosmaniye); the gateway of the Viceroy [?] opposite; the mosque Aya (Agia) Sophia; *'sebilhane'*[2]; the *'Tarafane'*[3] Palace; leopards[4], lions, tigers, wolves, *'origa di drago'* [= lair of the dragon ?], elephant head [?], head of *'timsah'* [= crocodile], the bazaar, Aguga Alfinete [?], the place of 'the mad ones' [= Dervishes]. Then - to make a separation - I went and prayed Minha in the Aharida Synagogue[5], and there I saw parchment documents written in the year 5044 (1284). I [also] saw the Yanbol Synagogue, the Jana Synagogue, the Vidia Synagogue, the Havra Synagogue and the Eliau Synagogue outside Balat[6]; and I saw the cemetery at Egri Kapu and I prostrated myself at the tomb of Rabbi Eliahu Mizrahi, obm. And I saw the reservoir[7] from which water goes to the whole of Costa and its environs.

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1 A most curious term, possibly meaning zoo-keeper.

2 Water-carriers.

3 The 'All-around' (on both sides) Palace ? - though in old T. *tarafane* means 'pilgrim's route'. This could be the Yildiz Palace or the Topkapi Palace: but *tarafane* is puzzling.

4 Freimann's rendering; *aslan* = 'lion' in modern usage.

5 Built 1654; now being rebuilt.

6 The Yanbol Synagogue still stands in Balat (near the Aharida Syn.) and is regularly used. Nearby, too, stand the Jana Syn. walls, but now enclose a shop and a warehouse; of the others there is no trace, as is the case with 4 others: Stipol, Kastoria, Pulyashan and Salonika. There does not appear to be any record of the 'Havra' which is simply the Turkish for 'synagogue'.

7 Built by Mahmud I in 1732 (Freimann).

I also saw there Responsa of the Rabbi 'Knesset Ha-Gedolah'[8] obm, on *Yoreh Deah* and *Hoshen Mishpat*[9] And [I also saw] amulets; and the sword of OMRR Naftali, obm[10] - wonderful things! And I saw a book written by a bastard who had 'cleansed his issue' through a maidservant[11] but MaHaRiBaL[12] and the Rav Abraham ibn Ya'ish[13] were hesitant, so he wrote a book about the matter and [then] he gained agreement from Our Master [R. Joseph Caro], the RaDBaZ[14], the MaBiT[15] and the Rav Al-Sheikh[16] obm: and I saw their signatures there; also the book *'Mishmeret Ha-Mitsvoth'*[17] and *'Megillat Sefer'*, Part II[18]; and *'Helqo shel Binyamin'*.

Heshvan 16, Haye Sarah

Sunday, the night of the termination of the Holy Sabbath: Sultan Osman died; and Sultan Mustafa the son of Sultan Ahmed[19] immediately became king.

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8 The author R. Ha'im Benveniste is better known by the name of his famous work.

9 Two of the four parts of *Shulhan Arukh*, the other two being *Orah Ha'im* and *Even Ha-'Ezer*.

10 R. Naftali (ha-Cohen) Katz (b. Ukraine, 1649 - d. Constantinople, 1719). He was a mystic figure and had a fabulous sword of gold engraved with Divine Names. One of his rabbinic posts was in Frankfurt-am-Main where he was accused and imprisoned by the Church for starting a blaze (which burnt down half the Jewish district) in order to demonstrate mystic powers in quelling it.

11 Deut. 23:3 He may marry a proselyte or a maidservant.

12 OMR Yosef Ben Lev, lived just after R. Joseph Caro author of *Shulhan Arukh*.

13 A contemporary of the MaHaRiBaL.

14 R. David ibn Zimra [or Zamiro], prolific writer on many subjects (including some 3000 Responsa); particularly known for his commentary on the Code of Maimonides.

15 Rabbi Moshe [Ben Yosef] di-Trani, (d. Jerusalem 1585) author of *Qiryat Sefer*, a well-known work on the Bible and on the Talmud.

16 Famous Cabbalist contemporary of R. Joseph Caro.

17 R. Joshua Benveniste of Costa; does not seem to be related to above [8].

18 R. Benjamin Cases of Costa: Part 1 unknown. The next-mentioned work is probably by the same author.

19 Ahmed III son of Mustafa III.

Heshvan 20, Haye Sarah

Thursday: they girded him with the sword[20] in the Eyup [mosque]. And I went to Kara Gumruk: and from a shop there I could see the procession with all the trappings of royalty; and I pronounced the benediction over the king. The order of the procession was as follows[21]: janissaries, the cannoneers, armourers[22], marching in order from the king's palace in Costa up to their place of worship, the Eyup, from two sides. After them passed by: the Town Prefect with head-dress, the chief of police, the *chavusi* [=halberdiers of the Sultan's bodyguard] in ceremonial dress and plumes; then the *sipahi* [cavalry], the *chavusi* of the vizier; feudal chieftains, regular officers, chamberlains, *ulemas* [=doctors of law] of the Moslem colleges, the general of the *chavusi*, the general of the artillery, the general of the armourers, *'sagarchi bashi'*, *'samsunchu bashi'*[23] with *kahyasi* [=adjutants], 500 *ergelik* [student] *mollas*, chamberlains, commanders-in-chief, staff-officers, the Governor of Rumuli, the Governor of Anatolia, the Head of the Janissaries, *kapitan pasha* [=high admiral] in ceremonial turban, the sheikh of Islam [=head ulema], the Vizier, the King, the armour-bearer, the *chokador*[24], 'kislar agassi' [keeper of the harem], the *onader* [?]. All of these nobles were magnificently apparelled - and riding caparisoned horses - most of them trimmed with ermine, gilded *dives* and *hitayes*[25], and the 'ulemas' in white silk; and for each one several slaves, on the right and on the left, going on foot; before the King [was] a water-canteen jewelled with diamonds, and [he was seated on] a jewelled throne, and another of *re'is (ra'is ?) de perle*[26]; then eight reserve officers with emblazoned shields and

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20 The sword of Osman worn by a new Sultan. (It is now kept in the Topkapi Museum).

21 The old Turkish titles and ranks that are used throughout this passage have been rendered as nearly as possible. Spellings of T. words are phonetic.

22 The Turkish *chebechi* (the strict Turkish plural form is *chebechlar*) means harness makers or saddlers: (the equivalent of a modern Corps of Engineers).

23 Commander of 64th Janisaries; Head Keeper of the Sultan's Hounds.

24 From an earlier Turkish word *tuhadir* = (royal) robe-maker.

25 An unknown word; possibly head-dresses and bands.

26 An unknown term perhaps meaning mother-of-pearl. The narrative is unclear concerning this 'other' throne: the word for 'another' (*aheret*) may be an error which should read *aharav* = 'behind him' - something of pearls.

nine without shields; and behind him was hanging[27] the jewelled sword, which he would later gird, in a sheath gilded all over; and then the *hasinedar* [royal treasurer], with both hands kept scattering into the streets and the shops - paras! besides handing out gifts to the court and kitchen servants and to all passing by. I collected 'seven good cows'[28] ! May G-d grant us the merit to distinguish[29] and see eye to eye the Messiah of the L-ord of Jacob crowned with the crown of crowns, speedily in our days, Amen.

Kislev 12, Vayishlah

Thursday: I saw the king in the Miblud [Palace] on returning from their *tifla*[30]. And at that selfsame time they brought to him amnesties: and he commanded and received them.

Kislev 25, Miqets

Wednesday, the first day of Hanukah: I went to Kiathane with that perfect sage HHOMRR Elia Palombo and the outstanding sage Naftali ha-Cohen, may G-d preserve them. And I saw [the] two rows of water fountains spouting. And there are three *kiosks*[31] of gilded copper which Sultan Ahmet had made for his sons. And this is a place of beauty with sweeping grandeur and delightful palaces with beautiful towers.

Teves 22, Va'era

Monday: I saw the king, going and returning, in Galata and I recited the benediction.

Adar II New Moon, Piqudei

Friday: I boarded a French ship - her captain, Monsieur Colombo - with the *mollah* who was going to the holy city of Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established! And we 'sabbathed' on the ship.

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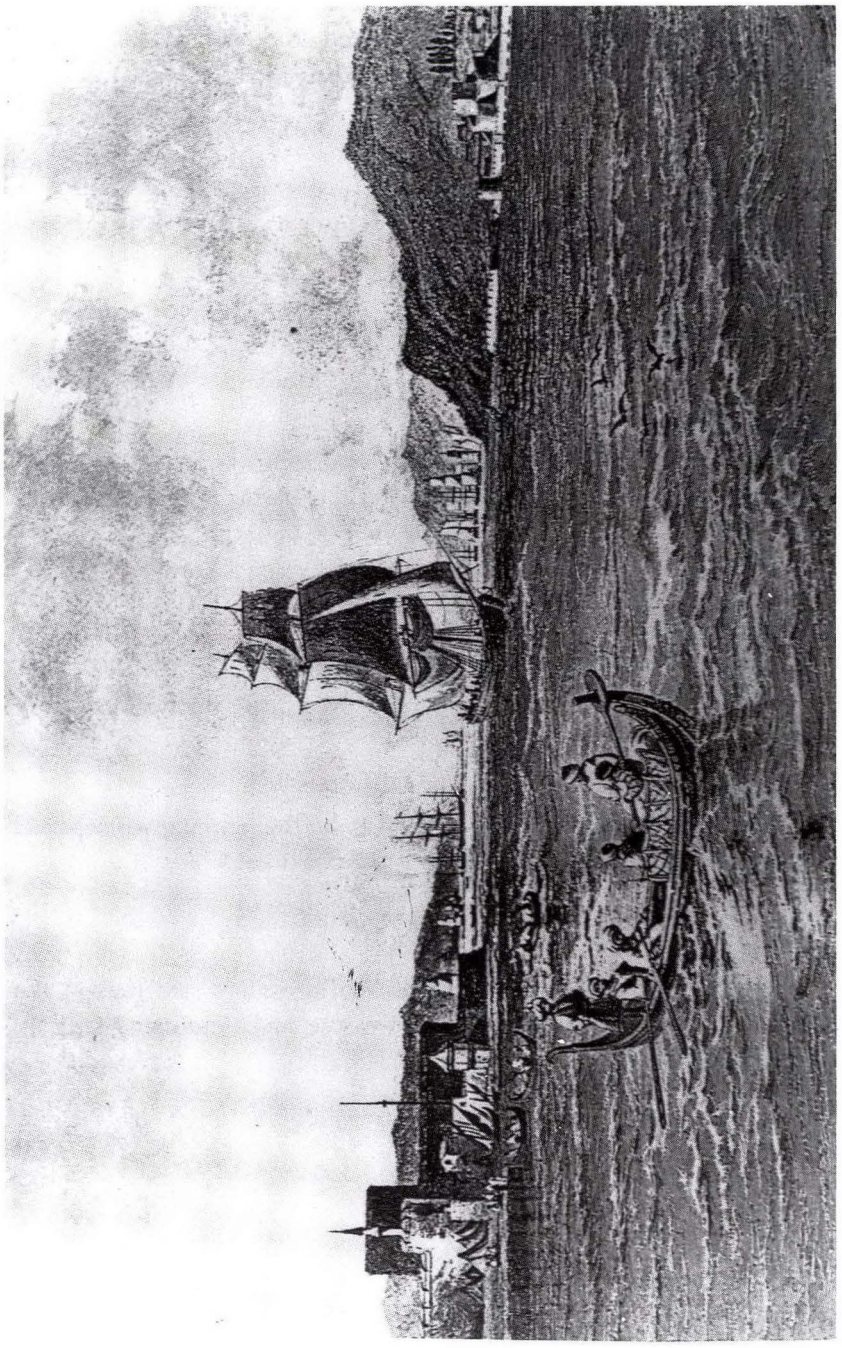
27 Again, there seems to be a lapsus calami: the text reads *lo hayah* (=there was not) which makes no sense: *t'luyah* is almost certainly intended.

28 Gen. 41:26. Cow = *parah* .

29 Between the kings of Israel and the kings of the nations (Talmud Ber. 9b).

30 Their place of worship.

31 The original Turkish w. for summer house or pavilion.



Off Costa.

Adar II 3, Vayiqra

Monday: towards noon we journeyed from Beshiktash, in good health and in peace; and in the evening we arrived at Marmara.

Adar II 4, Vayiqra

Tuesday: we cruised past Tekir Dag.

Adar II 5, Vayiqra

Wednesday: past Gallipoli.

Adar II 6, Vayiqra

Thursday: to Boghaz Hissar, where we disembarked. And we lodged the eve of Friday [= Thursday night] with [the] Hakham Rabbi Israel Ha-Cohen.

Adar II 7, Vayiqra

Friday: at evening we returned to the ship. And a wind blew up - great and powerful.

Adar II 8, Vayiqra

Saturday, the day of the holy Sabbath: in the morning we departed from Boghaz Hissar; and in the evening we could see Chios.

Adar II 9, Tsav

Sunday: we saw Sisam-Kushadasi[32]. The sailors said that in the nearby mountain [Kushadasi] is a buried treasure, and a monster guards [it] to keep people away.

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32 The isle of Samos, in the gulf of K.

Adar II 10, Tsav

Monday: we passed Istankoi [Kos]. And there was a mighty head wind against us; so we turned back and we stopped in the village of Patino [Patmos][33].

Adar II 12, Tsav

Wednesday: we journeyed from the aforem. village, and a fair breeze blew.

Adar II 13, Tsav

Thursday: our eyes saw islands in the sea on both sides, and afar off we could see the isle of Rhodes.

Adar II 15, Tsav

Saturday, the day of the holy Sabbath: we cruised past the isle of Cyprus, at a very great distance.

Adar II 18, Shemini

Tuesday and the eve of Wednesday and [until] the eve of Thursday, the 20th, we passed through a sea worse than all the [previous] great storms, mighty indeed, 'and the waters were to them as a high wall', 'going (out) in high waves'[34] - wondrous indeed! And everything of ours, articles / 'and vessels of diverse sorts'/ all 'wandering and shifting'/ 'and every man, his hands upon his loins'/ afflicted and in pain / shaken and separated / going and coming / 'returning to his vomit'. And the master of the vessel 'then began to cast'[35] ropes[36] and make means in order to prevent the ship going. And our souls were very sick.

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33 On the isle of Patmos.

34 Ex. 14:8 '...with a high hand'; but Onkelos: *resh galei* = head high; *galei* = waves.

35 Ex. 15:1 *Yashir* = shall sing; *yasir* = shall cast off.

36 If the word intended here is *haviloth*. But the spelling here is *havila'oth*, with *vav*, not *veth*; and there is also an extra *aleph*; possibly a lapsus calami.

Adar II 20, Shemini

Thursday: the master of the vessel was forced to go to Beirut. We reached port two hours before mid-day; and our mouths were full of praise to the L-rd of Salvation Who saved us. And there in Beirut harbour we found [lying] three [other] ships; and they were telling about all the adventures that had encountered them, 'and many were their hosts'[37]. One of them had thrown into the sea half of the merchandise, and also the *sandal* [rowing-boat, lifeboat], to save their lives Thanks and praises to the Master of mercies who rescued us and all our belongings: may His great Name be blessed from now and evermore. Halleluy-a.

Adar II 25, Thazria

Tuesday: at nightfall we sailed away in peace from the port of Beirut.

Adar II 26

Wednesday: we cruised past Tyre, Sidon. Haifa and Acco.

Adar II 28, Thazri'a

Friday, 'eve of the sixth': at nightfall we reached the port of Jaffa. And a spirit of perversion came over the master of the ship, and he gave orders that we be taken off in the darkness of the night! He had explained [his reason] only in the ears of the *mollah* and they had made this agreement; but it was very dangerous both for ourselves - going at dead of night and fearful of the Maltese[38] - and for our baggages. But 'G-d overturned the deliberations of the foes' and we did wait until the light of morning; and after prayers we departed, ourselves and our [packets of] clothes, in peace, for the town of Jaffa.

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37 Tal. Hullin 60a.

38 It seems they were lying offshore and had to reach port by means of a totally unprotected dinghy.

39 Clearly an exalted Turkish title of the times. J.Z. was the head of the 'Sages of Costa' and also, evidently, a wealthy man.

We lodged in the *han* [=inn] which had been built by that illustrious, princely *Chelebi*[39] Jacob Zonana, may G-d preserve him in life in tranquillity and security. Give thanks to G-d for He is good, for H.k.i.e.l. 'And how precious are His kindnesses - may He be blessed - that He saved us from the storms of the sea, and saved us from the English [pirates] and we did not see even one of their ships: for, even though we had [letters] patent from the English ambassador, who had written to me, the junior, directly - the ambassador himself was 'writing with his hand, but annulling in his heart', and [indeed] he explicitly stated 'that the letter as written would be of no help and of no avail'.

In truth[40], great is our L-rd, and great is the might of 'He who dwells ... on high' Who concealed us in the shade of His wings 'to maintain us in life this very day'.

Nisan 3, Taharah [=Purification][41]

Tuesday: we set out from Jaffa before noon with some gentiles; and we arrived at Ramleh while the day was still long.

Nisan 4, Taharah

Wednesday: we travelled from Ramleh and we arrived safely in the h.c. of Jerusalem, m.i.b.r.a.r., the same day, at the [time of the] Minha-offering. Give thanks to G-d for He is good, for His kindnesses are everlasting: 'what can I repay to G-d [for] all His bounty towards me'? May the Name of G-d be blessed from now and for ever. Halleluy-a, that He hath blessed me till here and has returned me in complete peace. For even here 'hath Ha'im found' all his household 'sharing in life', 'strong and enduring'. 'May G-d accomplish that which concerneth me - O, G-d, thy kindness endureth for ever', 'may thy kindness, O G-d, be upon us according as we have waited for Thee'[42].

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40 The Aramaic w. *qushta* is used (the previous sentence is also in Aramaic). The following phrase is adapted from the familiar 'who dwells in Cashta...' (v. p.46 [3]).

41 In addition to the weekly Sidra, Num. ch. 19 is read two Sabbaths before Passover.

42 Psalms 138 and 33.

Year 5524 [1764]

In the month of Shevat[1] I left the h.c. of Jerusalem, m.i.b.r.a.r., in the company of the Rabbi Bali Babani and the Rabbi Moshe Morpurgo. 'And it was upon the way' came towards us that 'great monster' the chief of the villains of Abu Ghosh; and around us were *ner resha'im* [= the lamp of the evil][2], a congregation of 250 evil ones[3], 'and they wanted to swallow us without cause'[4]. And when I saw this, our souls went out [from us] - for, but not a few days since, had happened the event, in the village of Bethar, that they took captive a caravan of a mixed company of people, and they tortured them and took from them 1500 *arayot*[5]; and out of the great agony 'one man of them was lost', the Hakham Sulima Elbo, may he be remembered for everlasting life. And my flesh was seized with trembling, for one thing 'was I now surrounded by dogs', and from my remembering the matter of Bethar. Therefore, I perforce uttered one of the Holy Names concerning guarding of the wayfarer[6] and glory to G-d, may He be blessed

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1 This opening paragraph describes the first stage in a journey to Turkey, not to raise funds but as part of a delegation to the 'Appointees of Costa' (sent there by the Sages of Jerusalem). A month was to elapse before they set sail. A delicate balance of power existed between Costa and Jerusalem (see, for example, *Sheluhey Erets Israel*, A.Ya'ari, Mossad R. Kook, 1977, p.405). Decisions on the choice of emissaries, and their own representative in Jerusalem, were generally made by the Council in Costa. At this time, it appears, there was some friction caused by the appointment of a certain Rabbi Rahamim as the Jerusalem representative. R. HYDA goes on to highlight certain dates outlining the course of events.

2 Prov. 24:20 Gematria value of *ner* = 250.

3 cf. Num. 16:2.

4 Job 2:3.

5 Lit. 'lions': the large *ghrush* equal to a *reichsthaler*. The small Egyptian *ghrosh* is worth 40 paras.

6 The holy Cabbalists who know such things use them only in extremis.

- they did not approach within our 4 cubits. But they began smiting and wounding the *filamis*[7] who were with us; and we settled with them for a hundred *zolotas*[8]. Blessed is He who redeems and rescues.

Shevat 2

After a few days the Rav HHOMR Y. T. [Yom-Tov] Elgazi[9], may G-d guard him and grant him life, arrived together with my son, Isaiah. It was our intention to go to Costa about 'matters of strife in your troubles, O Jerusalem'[10]: for we had so been directed by the seven Elders of the City. But we were awaiting [certain] letters.

Shevat 3

After we had left, [it later transpired that] R. Rahamim was appointed and the seven Elders of the City resigned.

Shevat 4

Afterwards I received a letter from OMR A. Asseo - from Sidon - that his Eminence the Rabbi Jacob Zonana had sent a *firman* [= decree] together with letters from State ministers concerning the appointment of the aforem. official. I immediately wrote to the h.c. of Jerusalem that it was my desire to return to the h.c. because there was now nothing whatever to be gained in our going, and we would become a mockery.

Shevat 5

As soon as this letter of mine reached the h.c. they prevailed, 'in that very hour'[11], upon the Hakham Rabbi S. Alhadif and the HR Ha'im Alfandari, to come to Jaffa and prevent us [returning].

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7 An unknown term but obviously referring to the escort.

8 30 paras. They then went on to Jaffa.

9 One of the most illustrious Talmudic scholars of that generation. His monumental commentary on the tractate Bekhorot is in most printed eds.

10 Cf. Deut. 17:8 *Sha'arekha* = gates; *tsa'arekha* = our w.

11 The text has an awkward phrase *bah sha'ata* (Aram.) but *bah be-sha'ata* compares with Dan. 5:30. 'in that very night'.

Adar 1

Eight days after the arrival of our brethren aforem., arrived the rabbis HHR Isaac Abulafia and HHOMR Abraham ibn Asher in order to travel to Costa and to make us to go with them. 'And I, in my affliction', coerced and subdued, was forced to give in to them.

Adar 2

The night of the going out of the Sabbath: we put to sea in order to go to Cappodocia. 'And it was in the morning' and lo, and behold! - we saw dry land. I thought that we had reached Cappodocia, because all night had blown a great and strong wind. But when we ascended to the upper deck of the ship we knew we had returned to Jaffa; for the mighty gales had broken the mast of the ship. 'And the sea grew ever more tempestuous', wondrously. Then the eye discerned a *ca'ique* [=dinghy] coming from Jaffa, with some twenty or more *goyim* who were coming to take off the souris [?] which had been handed over to the master; for in Jaffa they [already] knew that we were in danger - and 'our hearts dissolved'[12].

Adar 3

After a little while we beseeched the captain to take us back to Jaffa. And after some effort, - and expending of money! - 'because of the pressure of the danger'[13] we all returned, OMR Y. T. and the HR S. and the HR H. and I, to Jaffa. And I sent a letter to the rabbis that they should send my son and my things for I did not wish to make the journey[14]. And the rabbi OMR I. Abuali, when he saw the sadness of his plight, he too was forced to leave [the ship]; and he gave the master the full hire - more than twenty *ghrush* - and he disembarked, and also my son and all the baggages; and only HHOMR Abraham was left, with his attendant, because he refused to disembark. And when we saw the Rav HHOM Isaac and my son 'coming

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12 It seems the valuables were being removed and the passengers abandoned to their fate.

13. Tal. Hullin 8b *sakina* = knife; *sakana* = danger.

14 It is not clear to which rabbis this letter was sent, and why.

out and walking on dry land' we rejoiced with them.

Adar 4

Monday: when I saw that 'the sea grew ever more tempestuous', wondrously! and that the Rav HHOM Abraham was still in port 'trembling seized me' that he was putting himself in such great danger. And I took a *ca'ique* for three *zolotas*, at my own expense, and I sent him a note 'beseeching his holy countenance' that he, too, leave and that when he joined us we would appoint a time to discuss what we should do. And he gave a verbal reply that he was fearful [to disembark then], and he would journey with that particular *mayesh*[15] just as soon G-d would abate the fierce storm.

Adar 5

All that week the sea continued to rage; and our eyes looked in despair - because of the anguish of the Rav HHOMR A. , and that 'the rope had parted'[16], and like matters which are not to be written down. And we were greatly distressed.

Adar 6

The eve of Friday: the sea calmed and a fair wind blew for journeying, and the Rav HHOMR A. set out. The Rav HHOMR I. was saddened by his going and becoming separated from him; but how could he think to go out in that boat? 'And I, in my great affliction', on several counts, said to him: "Of this I am sure - that the wind will turn and there will be a storm such that the Rav HHOMR A. would have to turn back and beseech that they send a *ca'ique* to take him back. For the L-rd knows 'how the *tsa'ar* [=anguish] will rise'[17] this week provoking danger for several days and nights!"

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15 Sail-boat.

16 The mission had failed; or, perhaps, the company had become divided.

17 'The *sa'ar* [=storm] rose up'. But here it is a prophecy - see on.

Adar 7

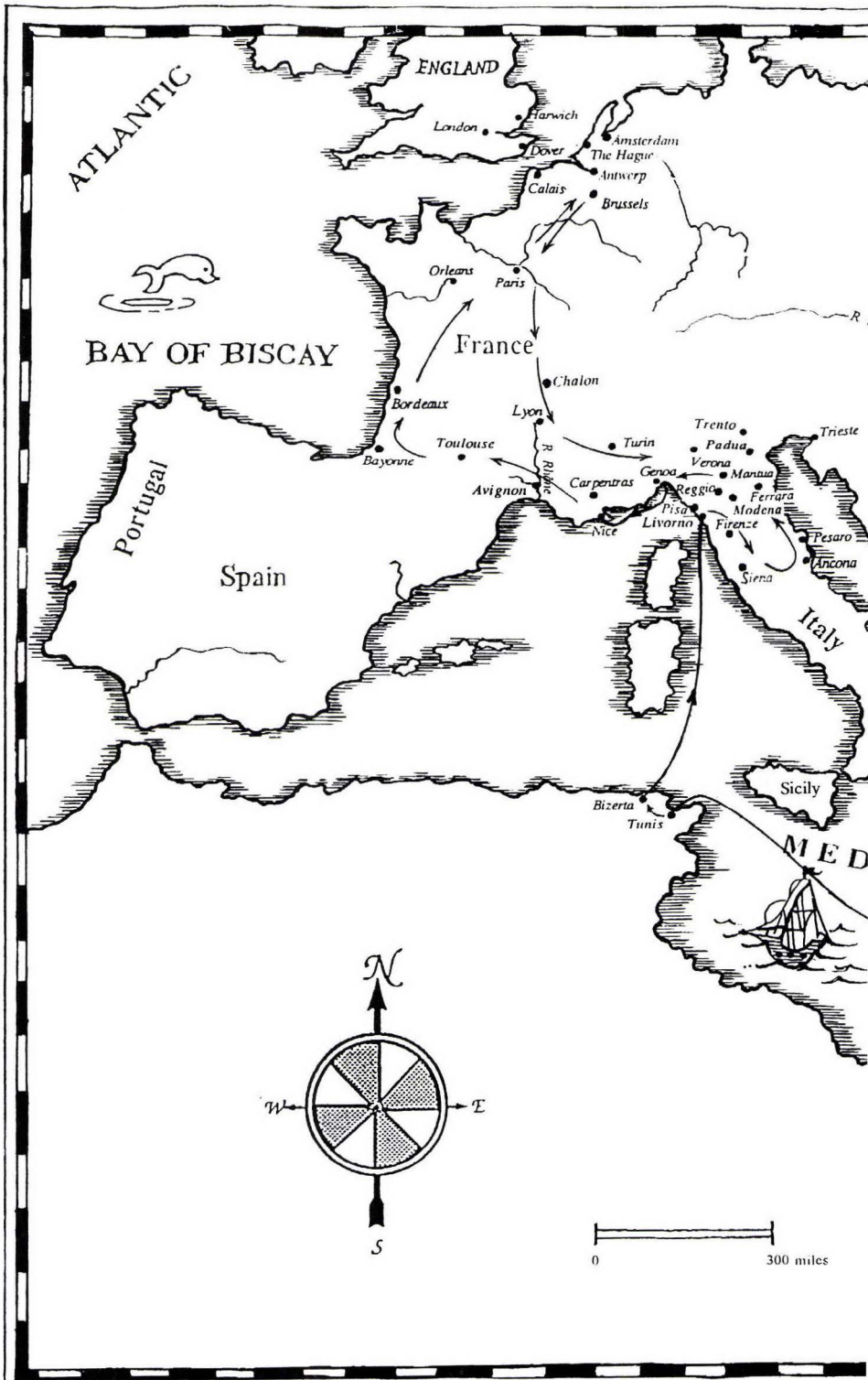
Friday: I was 'sullen and annoyed' - I and my companions. HHOMR Y.T. and the HR S. and the HR F.[18] went to the baths; but I did not want to go with them - darkly afflicted! Then, hearing the sound of calling and shouting, I looked through the window: the *mayesh* in which the Rav was going had turned back! - and he had indicated that they should send and bring him [to shore]. But because of the great turbulence of the sea the *cai'aqos* did not trust themselves to go. So he stayed there till evening, when he was forced, close to the time for 'receiving the Sabbath', to take the *jalopah*[19] from the captain in order to go [ashore]. And he came to us safely; and we ṣabbathed 'Sabbath Zakhor'[20] in peace.

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18 A new name? Perhaps Al-Fandari?

19 The ship's boat, presumably.

20 The Sabbath before the Feast of Purim the verses of Deut. 25:17 ff. are read commencing with the word 'Remember'.


ATLANTIC
ENGLAND
London
Harwich
Dover
Amsterdam
The Hague
Antwerp
Calais
Brussels
Orleans
Paris
BAY OF BISCAY
France
Chalon
Bordeaux
Lyon
Toulouse
Bayonne
R. Rhône
Turin
Trento
Padua
Trieste
Verona
Genoa
Mantua
Carpentras
Reggio
Ferrara
Avignon
Pisa
Modena
Livorno
Firenze
Nice
Pesaro
Ancona
Siena
Portugal
Spain
Italy
Sicily
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300 miles


SECOND JOURNEY OF R. HYDA
1772 - 1778
BLACK SEA
Tekir Dag
Costa
(Istanbul)
Turkey
Ciandarlik
Izmir
Patmos
Kos
Rhodes
Cyprus
Candia
NIAN SEA
Land
of
Israel
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The Diaries of Rabbi

Ha'im Yosef David Azulai

('Ma'agal Tov' - the Good Journey)

Part II

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Introduction

It is good to give praise to G-d for all the kindnesses and favours, all that He has bestowed upon me. Thus it was whether I was standing upon distant highways, or in numerous adventures, under *various oppressions*[1], *empty pitchers*[2] [of] which man is not innocent, *his various splendours*[3]. *And the lovingkindness of G-d is everlasting: I have rested in anguish*[4], but *He has brought me out to the uplands: He is always there - how manifold His wonders. But this did I have* - this light reed, which has ruled and written [but] one tithe of the *episodes that passed over me and over my neck - but only its main roots*[6]. In truth have they said [that] *the subject of the miracle does not recognise 'the miracle according to its kind'*[7] *- for each, one hundred of its measures. And my mouth will I fill with praises to the L-rd Who answers [with] the light He answers me*[8], manifold are His works - rivers and streams of kindness upon kindness. May His Name be blessed and exalted above every blessing, *blessing upon blessings: the slave will indeed say*[9] *'I am the junior, the smallest of his brothers'*. HYDA S.T. [10]

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1 Tal. *Shinuyi (d'hiqi)* = (forced) replies; but *shinuye* could also mean changes.

2 Tal. Av. Zara 37b 'Do not hang empty pitchers on R.Nahman' - do not ascribe such absurdities to him. The meaning here seems to be flippancies or indulgencies.

3 In contrast to 'empty pitchers'. [?]

4 Cf. Book 1 p.26[33].

5 *Prashat ha'Ibbur* = crossroads, crisis. Here *ibbur* > over = passing over, and forms a hybrid with the next expression.

6 Leaving out the details.

7 Lev. 11:15. *Neyts* = hawk; *nes* = miracle.

8 *Aneneni* in the text is possibly a play on *nehor enay* = the light of my eyes.

9 Ex. 21:5.

10 Standard Sephardi usage: *sofo tov* = may his end be good, a sort of self-blessing.

Year 5533 [1772/3], Heshvan

Heshvan

The eve of New Moon Heshvan, Monday P. Noah: we journeyed from Hebron with the Hakham R. Isaac Eliashar and the *g'vir* HR I. Nahmias and [his] attendant, and Abraham Gabbay, our attendant. And we were distressed all that day. The Sheikh of Yatta and Es-Semu'a harassed us and he wanted a large sum for *jafar*. And our souls were very sick, with fear of this enemy - and we settled with him for several *zolotas* - apart from the toil of travelling and [of] the camels, much[1] indeed.

1. (Heshvan) Tuesday, New Moon Heshvan

We were overtaken by the caravan which Abu Dhahab, the ruler of Egypt[2] had sent to fetch the son of Sheikh Hislit[3], who ruled over thousands of Arabs, and bring with him a thousand camels and Arabs, for it was his wish to do battle with Ali Bey[4] who was encamped near Jaffa: for so had the king decreed. And these things were[5] because the king had sent him a minister with sword and sceptre of gold for driving Ali Bey out of Egypt, and he [now] decreed that he [Ali Bey] be pursued and killed. And in the presence of that minister did he [Abu Dhahab] do this sending and fetching of those Arabs; but his heart was not right within him [and] he deceived him [in the end]. But this was a miracle and a wonderful thing for us, because the highways were dangerous and in a caravan like this, with Sheikh ben-Hislit, we would be able to come through the desert by [the

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1 Or 'many' (camels ?).

2 Muhammed el-Khazandar, a powerful feudal chief and ally of the king, Hatugar.

3 Probably means Sheikh ben-Hislit - see below.

4 A powerful despot and tyrant who terrorised the Levant. (See later p. 9 ff).

5 Abu Dhahab's agreement to raise an army against Ali Bey, presumably. The narrative is a little unclear, but it seems that the sword and sceptre were gifts.

regular] 'Highway of the Sultan' - and it was a miracle!

But a great fear fell upon us - because it was to Sheikh Hislit that we owed the *kollelut* for the holy city of Hebron - five thousand *zolotas* with interest; and he had fallen into the hand [debt] of the Pasha of Damascus and had given him in payment the debt of Hebron [owed to him]. The Pasha had sent to collect it, and they found themselves in great trouble and they were forced to take [more money] at huge interest and pay [the interest owing] while the deed of loan stayed in his hand. And even though this matter[6] was common knowledge among the Arabs, [we also knew] they would not hesitate[7] to force us and to afflict us until we paid [ransom], or they [the Jews of Hebron] paid for us: and this anguish burned in our hearts like fire. But praise to the L-rd, may He be blessed, Who saved us from his hand: for the said sheikh, Bakhir ben-Hislit, encountered HR I. Eliashar and said to him, "Are you from Hebron? How is the peace of Haslan? I have a matter to settle with him - 'and days will speak'[8]." And the said HR I. answered him, "Haslan is enslaved [=in bond] to his master - 'and what the slave acquires belongs to his master'[9]."

3. Friday

We were in El-Arish and we were very distressed about the Sabbath. In the end, by means of money, we [arranged that we] went about one half mile further and we 'sabbathed' in the valley of A[rish] with two Arabs. On the night of Sabbath we ate and we drank with joyous hearts and on Sabbath day we had a small repast in good [spirits]. But 'at the time of the offering up of the Minha' along came a sheikh from the [neighbouring] Arabs and harassed us greatly, asking much money for the Arish *jafar*, and other complaints. We gave him some raisins explaining it was the Sabbath and we could not hand him money. And he became angry and galloped off on his horse to fetch other Arabs from nearby. And we, 'the hand of the poor', nervous and trembling and falling at his feet: "Wait

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6 That we no longer owed money to the Skeikh.

7 This holding to ransom by the Arabs was common - v. Shevat, 5524.

8 Job 32:7 Time will tell? Or, perhaps the meaning is: It has been a long time.

9 Tal. Pes. 88b.

until nightfall!" But he kept on threatening in a manner that caused me great distress. Thus in torment we prayed Minha and ate the Third Meal and languished until sunset. Then, about a quarter of an hour afterwards we prayed the evening prayer and we recited the *Havdalah* and we gave him quite a sum - I think some six or seven *sequinos*[10]. We mounted the camels and rode to catch up with the caravan which had continued travelling on the holy Sabbath.

5. Sunday, Lekh-lekha

This night aforem. of the termination of the Sabbath we had much trouble for 'the world grew dark' about us, and 'there was gloom in the world', and great fear, and rain. And my heart was especially afflicted with anguish and fear and trembling that cannot be measured; and I vowed many vows because of the greatness of my fear. We rode eight hours through the night - and we reached the main caravan just as they were beginning to move off! But we had no strength to go on so, out of our great affliction and weariness, encamped there; and after a while our hearts became [sufficiently] lifted up for us to travel on. As we set off we saw a caravan in the distance - a small one - coming from Egypt in the direction of Gaza. We travelled on and after going for about an hour we were not able to continue; so we encamped and collapsed there and fell asleep until sunrise. We arose in haste and we journeyed all the day; and four hours in[to] the night of Monday[11], when we arrived at Katieh and found the caravan and encamped there, we learned that on that night of Sunday while we were travelling separately from the [main] caravan going towards Egypt, enemies had fallen on them, with some 72 'flying camels', and had killed some of them and robbed them. And [to think! -] the Arabs of that small caravan were close to our Arabs and, if we had not been moving then - Heaven forfend! - in the natural way [of things] their fury would have been upon us, too. 'I will give thanks to G-d for He is good for H.k.e.f.e.

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10 There are gold and silver sequins: the gold being the highest denomination in Turkish coins. R. HYDA tends to use Ladino (Spanish) plurals for all foreign words.

11 The night between Sunday and Monday.

Blessed is He Who bestows favours upon the guilty, Who bestows upon us only good.

As we were riding on our course there came a *khasif*[12] with 20 attendants, riding accoutred horses, who were fleeing Ali Bey and coming to Abu Dhahab. And that night the *g'vir* HR I. Nahmias payed him a courtesy visit; and he [the *khasif*] told him that we were 'under the shadow of his beams' and other [discussion] in the Turkish tongue. And this *khasif* was a good [man] and an important minister and spoke good words to him.

9. Thursday

'A spirit clothed'[13] the *khasif* and his men [and they decided] to go to Bilbeis; and the thousand Arabs went in another direction, that is, the route to Egypt. But we heard that they intended to pass the Sabbath [travelling] in the desert; and we were sorely distressed. The HR I. Eliashar wanted to go along with the caravan; but I and HR I. Nahmias wished to go with the *khasif* . But because the HR I. Eliashar was bountiful giving the Arabs biscuits and fruit - of ours! - they therefore listened to his words: and he told the Arabs leading the camels to follow the caravan. I was angry, and we [the others in our party] dismounted from the camels and we shouted at the Arab who was leading us, and we began walking on foot towards Bilbeis. And the HR I. E. strongly reprimanded us as if we had been common folk. But we stayed silent and continued walking; and in the end the Arab came with the camels to take us to Bilbeis: and we arrived there. Then I spoke at length to the HR I.E. rebuking him; but he said to me, "You may very well be greater than me in [the knowledge of] Torah but in wordly matters you know nothing..."[14].

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12 Local *pasha* (governor) of a small province.

13 A sudden decision.

14 A leaf (pp.4 and 5) of the original diary is missing here. The narrative resumes here at a date some 6 months later on. The intervening time was spent, presumably, in visiting the Jewish communities in Egypt. It is evident from the ensuing narrative that these were troubled times and journeying, especially by sea, was difficult and dangerous. R. HYDA was now in Alexandria.

[Nissan]

... and I conducted the Passover joyfully as guest of M. Samuel aforem.,[15] and I 'ate its harvest'; and I had great honour [along] with all our friends.

Iyar

All the Torah scholars aforem. - and some others - with the exception of OMHR 'A.D.N. [Amram DiwaN][16] went their own ways - by means of miracles! But I was afraid to travel because of the Muscovite lurking between No-Amon [= Alexandria] and Livorno.

14.

That *bar-pahin*[17], Ali Bey, *shaqura'i*[18] 'wreaking evil on Jacob'[19], *AB he'anan* [= the thickness of the cloud] / wreaking great destruction / 'throwing down'[20] / destroying and smashing / 'my people which are in Egypt' / plundering and looting hundreds and thousands - / 'this man, oppressor and enemy' / who killed the noble *g'vir* Joseph ha-Levi Secandari 'under the rod' and looted all his money and sold his lands and

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15 He was no doubt mentioned in the missing pages.

16 This saintly figure is buried near Fez in Morocco; his tomb is a place of pilgrimage.

17 Jerusalem Talmud, Berakhot 20b, 64b, Sanhedrin 57a: a vile person (not found in lexicons).

18 This word is, curiously, missing in the Freimann edition but exists in the manuscript. The w. itself is curious, being unknown in Hebrew, Arabic or Turkish. This may be two words, the Turkish *shaqi* [= bandit or criminal] and *re'i* from *re'is* meaning 'head'. The letters of *re'i (resh, ayin, yud)* are also the root letters of the following word, *lir'ot* in the next phrase.

19 Psalm 78:71 *Lir'ot (be-Ya'aqob)* = 'to pasture' but is used here as a play on *ra* meaning evil.

20 *Gud ah'it* - a technical geometrical Tal. term meaning throwing or extending a line downwards.

goods leaving all his family 'naked and bare'; he it is who plundered the *g'virim* M. Nissim and HR I. Provencal and M. Ha'im Sasson and sold all their possessions and left them standing 'empty vessels'; he it is who multiplied his blows against all the *g'virim* in Egypt, emptying them of silver and gold / 'even the garments'/ 'as the fat of lambs'[21] are the quilts 'sold / in market' 'likely to come'[22] 'bundled up in their clothes' / 'bundles of money'/ to give to the 'man of terror' / who scatters and crumbles / rebels and revolts/ - 'this he chooses'[23] and this man has destroyed 'whole peoples'. 'Vicious is he in extracting money', and 'many are those he has killed'; and all the holders of office in Egypt - 'and they are many' - he destroyed them or killed them or drove them away and set up his own servants in their stead. It is he who rebelled against King Hatugar, and waged war against the Sheriff of Mecca, and vanquished them; and he sent 80 thousand [men] with Abu Dhahab[24] to Gaza and Damascus and vanquished them. And all the beautiful and delightful treasures of the whole world around - 'like the ox licks up' - did he steal and rob and murder: his sole ambition to rule. And he wasted all the money on wars, and gathering armies and weapons. But 'a voice from Heaven fell', 'the kingship did they remove from him' and he sought to kill Abu Dhahab[25]; and he [Ali Bey] fled to Sa'ud [Arabia] and gathered an army and came to do battle with him in Egypt. And all feared and trembled before Abu Dhahab for he was a mighty and victorious warrior: and all Egypt were behind Abu Dhahab, and Ali Bey, 'the grinder of bones' was forced to flee from Egypt. And he set off with the army he still possessed; and going before him were 32 camels laden with gold and pearls.

And so 'He set on the rock' 'in place of the copper, Abu Dhahab'[26]:

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21 *Karim* (lambs) can also mean cushions, probbly the pun intended, 'cushions and quilts' being a common term for 'household effects; the phrases here cross the rhyming couplets; some of these - technical Talmudic terms - have only the remotest connexion.

22 This Talmudic reference to 'readily saleable' crop futures is not at all clear.

23 First Mishna of Sanhedrin ch. 3: 'This one chooses (a judge)'.

24 Who later changed sides.

25 Seeing him as a powerful rival.

26 Isaiah 60:17 *Avi zahav* = I will bring gold.

and he ruled a great dominion. And that son of murder, Ali Bey, 'that black, bald goat'[27] fled and found refuge [in] Gaza[28]. And from there he journeyed to 'the rocks of Acco' - 'the starling goes to the raven'[29] - the marauding Sheikh Da'ir [Zahir] - 'any kind of attachment' [?] - a painful thorn and a poisonous spike, 'manured with manure'[30]. And they conspired together to overthrow King Hatugar; and they attacked Sidon and took it. And they besieged Jaffa for several months - 'eight are they'[6]. All the ways were blocked - Aram [Syria and Lebanon] to the east, the Muscovites to the west - a flaming fire [?] - and the Philistines [of Gaza] to the rear [of ?] Da'ir and AB - and they had made a pact among themselves, the leaders of the Muscovites with these aforem. bandits, and they were agreed to destroy the kingdom of Hatugar; and they had sent this message to the queen of the Muscovites.

And the fierceness of the wars had spread devastation over the land 'and there was famine in the land'; and the truth of this [was seen in] Zion, the 'city of our pilgrimage', where many are 'swollen with hunger', the start is pain and in the end death for many in Israel. Some fled for their lives [elsewhere] and died while on the way. And there was ruinous famine. Coming as far as Hebron'/ did the affliction rise up. / 'The want[32] was even there'/ 'for there was no more money' / 'to restore the soul'/ 'even [with] barley bread'; / 'and ground with gravel'/ was 'the repast'[33]/ 'ordinary earth' / 'and the ash of ovens'[34] / 'and the flour is not the main thing'[35] : to such an extent that the measure known as a *sussia* which, in normal years, is

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27 Tal. Sabb. 152a. The Aram. *barha* (goat) is a play on *barah* = fled.

28 Song of S. 8:6. 'powerful (*gaza*) as death': the whole phrase is used here in the original.

29 Tal. Bab. Kama 92b.

30 Tal. Bab. Kama 113b. Said of a field (i.e. correctly done) but here a play on *da'ir* [= manure]!

31 Tal. Shabb. 21a. The number of the days of Hanukah.

32 Num. 12:13 *Basar* [= flesh] > *batsar* = want.

33 'With this *eruv* etc.' - a formula recited to declare the *eruv* i.e. the special dispensation for cooking on a festival day for a following Sabbath: irrelevant here but sustains the metre of the couplets.

34 Both phrases from Mishna Bets. I, 1.

35 Tal. Ber. 36a.

worth four paras went up to a hundred paras! By the end of the summer every staple was gone and there was no bread and grasses were being sold at high prices. People could be found lying dead in the fields. The 'goyim' were eating insects and rodents and cats - and lucky was he who could trap a cat and eat it! And this was the cause, for our many sins, that afterwards many of Israel who had been ill and then departed to their eternal abode, left life [food ?] for others.

In the meantime, that rebel Ali Bey - may his sins ensnare him! - 'got together chariots and riders' and set forth to return to Egypt to dispute and fight against Abu Dhahab. These tidings reached Abu Dhahab: and he and all the *beys* and chieftains in Egypt knew that if Ali Bey were to return, 'at once would they be sentenced to death'. And they prepared for war. And it happened, just as Abu Dhahab was setting out and bringing out 'the weapons of his wrath' as for the day of battle, [so to] 'upped and jumped in' Mur'ad Bey and also rode against Ali Bey - 'the bear met him', 'Mur'ad against the king!'[36] And he girded himself 'to perform the commandment of *meliqah*[37]';/ 'devouring and treading'/ 'they take (the) Ali'[38] / 'like one of the ruffians'. But then his friend, Isma'il Bey, 'girding on his sword like an Ishmaelite' came to rescue Ali Bey! - for they are all his vassals, mutinous slaves. But the riders [of Abu Dhahab] engaged them - in their manner, with swords - and they smote that evil one, Ali Bey, [in] 'the flesh of his arm'; 'and there had never before been such' a grievous wound smitten with a sword.

They brought him before Abu Dhahab, 'and the evil man speaks with entreaty'[39]; and Abu Dhahab, being his brother-in-law - and his [erstwhile] servant - took pity on him. They made a litter for him, 'lifted up his head (gall) and wormwood'[40] / 'the way of the board'[41] / 'and raising [on] planks'[?] / 'this man of destruction'/ 'diseased and smitten'/ on the

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36 *Mored b'malchut* = rebelling against the king; the king here being Ali Bey.

37 Killing (a bird sacrifice) by breaking the neck in a prescribed manner.

38 Mishnah Betsah I, 5 One may take (use) an *ali* [= chopping-board] on a festival day (a permitted cooking task).

39 Prov. 18:23 *Rash* = poor man; *rash'a* = evil man.

40 Hybrid of Num. 31:49 and Deut. 29:17 *Rosh* = gall; also head.

41 *Nesher* = eagle; here *nesser* = board.

carriage. And he came to the land of Egypt / 'almost dead'[42] / 'in his sick-couch .'/ 'But [only for] a day or two' - / 'for the land of Egypt grew weary' - / 'they could surely [now] profit'[43]: / 'every one who girds on a girdle'/ 'all answered and said' / "Let him be brought to the slaughter!" And so they summoned there 'an expert physician'/ 'not prepared' (i.e. unofficially): he brought poison, and 'great is the one commanded'/ 'the doctor goes to his house'/ 'poison there he puts'[44] / 'to entrap the cat' [?]/ 'and he saddled his ass' [?]/ 'here is the poison'[45] ! And on the evening of the 14th of Iyar - 'this spirit of perversion'/ 'this leprous soul'[46] / - 'away flew this plague'/ the cloud faded and went - may his bones rot! And so in secret/ was the dog's head/ stewed and buried/ 'according to the rite and the law'. This [news] was sent to 'the place called Costa'[47]. 'And when it came before the king' and before the ministers - 'these are they who go into exile'[48] - joy and song as the rejoicing at harvest-time. These are [but] one fragment out of ten thousand of 'the chapter of plagues' and 'the chapter of the leper' and 'after the death'[49]. May thus perish all thy enemies, O L-rd!

Sivan

The two grand-daughters of M. Samuel fell ill; and there was great distress because he has no other [issue] and they are young girls. And the one most dear to them was near to death. And there was I, 'the knots of my innards dissolving', and 'the anguish rising'. I saw the entire household overturned in one instant: trembling, sorrow, sighing, agony and crying displacing joy. 'And Joseph could not hold back' - and I called together a

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42 Gen. 26:10 *Shakhav* [= lain] used for 'died' in Aramaic.

43 Tal. Av. Zarah 2b.

44 Ex. 15:25 Sham = there; sam = poison

45 Gen. 21:17 Again, *sham'* > *sam* . Perhaps the meaning here is: after leaving the poison the physician quickly left the scene.

46 Num. 19:22 *Nog'a'at* [= touches] has same root as *neg'a* [= leprosy] .

47 A pun is clearly intended, possibly *athra d'kudsha* = holy place.

48 Mishnah Makkot ch. 2.

49 Lev. 16:1 The third of these three consecutive portions of Leviticus.

complete *minyan* [of ten men] and I made a *matsla'in*[50] for the girl. And may His great Name be praised - for He wrought wondrous kindness and she came back to good life; and there was relief.

After this the *g'vir* M. Samuel became very ill; and all my body trembled, and I did much praying and made on his behalf redemptions with my own money in addition to what they did with his money. And many days of distress passed thus until the Holy One, blessed be He, took pity on him and sent His word and healed him.

At this time I was troubled by not knowing which way I should[51] turn: whether to stay on? - I have not the strength to endure, for I was already embarrassed in staying several months with the *g'vir* aforem.; or if I should decide to go to Livorno, I am afeared because of the danger of being captured - for the Muscovite 'hath builded about me and encompassed me' and the sea is full of Muscovite corsairs, and also the wicked Greeks. And my heart dissolved within me and became as water - unimaginable is this distress, constantly, day and night - until I heard that in the region of Tunis there were no Muscovites, and there was a ship going to Tunis and from there to Livorno. I made up my mind to travel with it, and to stay in it the one or two days while they would be unloading the merchandise at Tunis, and then to go to Livorno. And I carried out a plan to obtain a testimonial from the Imperial consul that I am a resident of Livorno: whereby two Jews should go and testify that my daughter is married in Livorno. And I got it! Nevertheless, 'all this is of no use to me' for the clothing and the language 'they are my witnesses' that I am a Levantine: but perhaps it will help.

Tammuz 22

Tuesday, Mattoth: I journeyed in the aforem. ship from No-Amon [Alexandria]. But I had no money left on account of my expenses on food, dried fruit, fish, water and 'vessels of varied kinds', and wine and beer; and the fare of the ship from No-Amon was more than a hundred *ghrush*! And I said [to myself]: How can I go into the *lazzaretto* [quarantine] of Livorno without money? And even though my daughter Mistress Sarah and my

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50 A special set of prayers on behalf of a sick person.

51 The text contains the unknown word *aknah* where we would expect *anah* = 'I'.

son-in-law [were] in Livorno - may Zion and her cities be rebuilt! - and my son-in-law is a *g'vir*, I did not want to be penniless in case - Heaven forfend! - they would not be aware [of this] and I would have to ask. One should not rely [on miracles] in these matters, so I borrowed ten *reales* from S. Jesse; and I travelled in peace.

Now the master of this ship was a man of great wickedness - Frances, arrogant and stupid. And he made special rules about me - he ordered them not to give me water, and if I wanted anything I must ask him. And on Friday, when we wanted to prepare two meals for the Sabbath, his eye [became] malevolent and he said that I was not a prince to have so much to eat and to waste water as though [we were] in a town; and I had already brought two barrels of water, and the sailors finished them in two weeks. I made him a gift of some expensive tobacco and some jars of wine but it made no difference to him - he continued in his wickedness from the beginning to the end. All week I was unable to eat even the minimum for saying grace because of [the lack of] water for washing my hands: and how greatly was I distressed by this at the meal-times of the holy Sabbath. And this evil man, the ship's captain, had a particular hatred towards me to the extent that he forbade the sailors [even] to talk to me! I used to give them some reward and fruits so that they might make some conversation, for I was sick of the various troubles; and in secret they spoke [with me] a little and they told [me] that they were afraid of the master.

And I was very distressed for a number of reasons: 1) that I had nobody to talk with; 2) because the berth I was in was dark by day and very cramped by night; 3) the constant trouble with the Muscovite - every ship that we saw in the distance caused me anguish until we knew that he was not a Muscovite; 4) because of the stormy sea that was [seemed ?] constantly timed[52] against me - absolutely! - and he [the captain] had perforce to go several miles out of his way: and and he wished to go to Candia [Crete], where the Muscovite was, for it was this evil captain's desire not to go by way of the Barbary coast because the wind was against him; 5) because the ship was holed and all day and all night - or most of it - the sailors were bailing out water: and they were too weary to go down

52 The text here has the word *zeman* [= time] and this seems to be the required meaning but the passage is a little unclear.

[under the ship] to caulk the leak because they did know exactly where the leak was - and the sailors tried rowing but they were unable. They were supposed to pass by a place called Kau Dokra, but it was impossible to pass there because of the [strong] winds. We were in great trouble from the confusion and the turmoil, and the fear and the anguish - and no water. And nearly the whole of Sabbath the storm raged - 'waves (of) from the deep' going up high into the heavens.

On Sunday the sea calmed but, nevertheless, the wind was so [strong] against us that we were in great trouble. To add to our troubles was the wickedness of the ships's captain. But in the midst of all my distress there were times when I could study, and I read the entire [book], *Perashat Derachim*, and I [also] wrote a number of *novellae*[53], interpretations and essays, and sermons from Parashat Vayiqra to P. [?]

Emor[54]

The [fast] day of the 9th of Av passed in great distress - what with the stormy seas and with the fasting I had a miserable time indeed. On the 22nd of Ab we passed by that evil [place], Kau Dokra. And this is but a small portion that I remember of our many troubles on that ship - on many counts - and of the mighty dangers.

Ellul 6

Wednesday, Thetse: we reached the city of Susa; and they did not allow us to disembark, for it was the custom to send a messenger to Tunis and obtain permission from the king. And as we arrived in port I gave thanks to G-d for all He had bestowed upon me and saved me from all the evil - may His Name be blessed for ever, the One who bestows good on the undeserving!

I sent a *billette* [= note] to the [local] holy cong. asking them to send me something to eat 'for I am weary'. And for the Sabbath they sent me some flesh of fowl and bread and fruit - and charcoal[55]!

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53 A new analysis/synthesis on a biblical or Talmudic topic.

54 Lev. chaps. 1 - 23. The date is some time in Av.

55 For the mandatory warm Sabbath meal.

[Ellul] 10.

Sunday, Tavo: permission came from Tunis and we disembarked in peace. And I went to see the Hakham there, R. Solomon Wazan. He regards himself as Rav! There [too] was the Hakham R. Judah Franco of Tunis; and this Hakham wished me to stay in his house. He took me home and prepared for me [so] small a room that had I been a child I would be cramped - there was no room at all! His house was [altogether] small and cramped, mildewed and dirty and untidy; he also had young children - and 'all sorts of vessels' - / [whether] at their going / or their coming / their sitting down / or their getting up,/ 'I am their song'[56]. Now, he told me that there was a certain *g'vir*, whose name was R. Moshe Wazan, and if he would allow me to stay in his house then I should not disclose [that he had told me]. 'Then said I': 'If he will call me I will answer him' - [with] 'a righteous yes'[57] - that I do not wish to burden 'The Exalted Honour of His Torah'[58]. And he answered me [with] 'words, the words'[59].

So I rose up and and went to R. Moshe; and he accorded me honour. And his son told me quietly, so that the Hakham should not hear, that if I wished I could stay there. I answered aloud that that is certainly my wish [but] not to burden the Hakham. So I stayed there; but the Hakham was annoyed both with him and with me[60]. And there I began to enjoy the meals 'of wind / from the north-west' 'doth it stink'[61] / 'the left-over remains' - / without the cleanliness/ [of] spoon or spade/ could be seen [even] in a dream. / And even the King 'extended the foot' to him[62] [not] to eat. 'And whomsoever would take lavishly' / a handful of juicy meat - / 'its name is dirt'/ 'and it is spiced - / 'from the north shall open up' / 'and blow at them'. [?] And [there were] dishes and cups and jugs on the tables - 'and

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56 Lamen. 3:63 Constant noise [?]

57 Lev. 19:36 A righteous *hin* (a liquid measure); *heyn* = yes.

58 Initials of *Ma'Aalath Kevod Toratho* are given here (cf. 'his royal Highness)'.

59 Deut. 1:1 Talmudic emphasis on 'the'; the meaning here is not clear but cf. Book I p. 66 [208].

60 Feeling he had been slighted.

61 Ex. 26:13 Play on *serah* = dragging, stinking (Aram.); also next phrase.

62 Talmudic idiom - to rebut, refuse (cf. 'My foot!'). The ref. to a king is obscure.

one dish of wrath'[63], a wide one - and he took it, full of *cuscus*[64] - for each one some six or seven litres!; and some onions, half cooked and whole on a tray. In truth, I was too sickened to eat, [so] for my sake they went around the town to find a spoon. However, there was plenty and it was sufficiently satisfying. But they were distressed, both the *g'vir* and his son, about R. Solomon being annoyed. So I said to them, "Do not worry and do not be downcast," and I sent to call for him 'and I spoke to his heart' with great respect. Then I settled him [his grudges] concerning me and I accorded him all honour.

I discoursed a little with R. Judah Franco and I could see that he is a [Talmudical] scholar; but R. Solomon 'appears to the eyes' to be a Rav, and a Hakham in his own eyes - let that be enough said!

[Ellul] 18.

Monday, Nitsavim: we left Susa together with R. Judah Franco and we over-nighted near to El-Qaro.

[Ellul] 19.

Wednesday [sic]: we came in peace to Tunis; and there is a large open space before the town. But the *goyim* are wicked people and they molested us. Once, my assistant Abraham raised his voice [against them] and they hit him with mighty blows; but, miraculously, a Jew happened to pass by who took us to a place where all the emissaries go, called Dar Hifreeh'a [?]. And there I found the Hakham Mordecai Levi of Jerusalem, the son of the Hakham Aharon - his soul in Eden - my good friend! And he recognised me from Jerusalem, but I had left him as a lad. Some years since he had gone to Izmir, but they had sent him [here] as an emissary on behalf of the Izmir synagogues that had been burnt. He had staying here for some months and had made a great name [for himself] as a man of wisdom and intellect - and he knew their language and found favour [among them]. When I went in there the HR Mordecai honoured me and bent down to kiss my hand.

Now I had not yet prayed and I began to say my prayers, but [just then]

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63 *Kesef* = silver; *qetsef* = our w.

64 Finely-divided meal-savoury common in Arab lands.

in came the Hakhamim R. Joseph Cohen, R. Nathan Bourgille, R. Joseph Zarqa and his son-in-law R. Joshua. They waited until I had finished praying and [then] I began to discourse with words of Torah. In the meantime arrived the *g'vir* R. Moshe the son of the Qayid [= leader], that perfect Hakham R. Joshua Cohen Tenugi, and he invited me, in his father's name, to his house and we went there. It is outside the *ghetto* and he has a princely court, with marble stones and paving; and he gave me a fine room. And a number of other people - great Hakhamim - came to see me. They said that they had thought to send a wagon for me, but they only had mules[65]. So I quoted them the text of the Yerushalmi[66] concerning the mule, and also the words of the Tosefot Yom-Tov[67] and the questions I raised on this subject: and so I passed time with them with words of Torah 'of what came to my hand'. And the Hakham R. Mordecai was to be with me, day and night all that week, in the house of the Qayid!

At midnight the Qayid arrived and was very welcoming towards me. We dined with him and I spoke at the table, as is my wont, concerning the [weekly Torah] portion: 'And Malki-tsedek, king of Salem brought out bread and wine; and he is the priest etc.' - according to the exposition of the *Hawat Ya'ir*[68]; and this pleased them.

And in truth, they wrought wondrously [on my behalf] - he, his son R. Moshe, and his son-in-law R. Judah Netaf [Netef ?] and his daughter Mistress Gazala, all of them: their kindness waxed exceedingly - the honour [they bestowed on me] and gifts and money - excessive indeed! The *g'vir*, the Qayid desired that I should not leave his house - even for prayers! - except on Sabbaths: so during the week-days I would pray in one of the houses in his courtyard, at a window [looking] on a synagogue where it was his custom to pray, and on Sabbath and on festival-days I would accompany him to the synagogue where he prayed.

I was accorded much honour - to such a degree that many women who were pregnant came to the house of the *g'vir* wanting to see me; and

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65 The Torah forbids hybriding.

66 Jerusalem Talmud (Kila'im 8:2). Once done, the hybrid issue is permitted for use.

67 The authoritative Mishnaic commentary of R. Y.T. Lipschutz (Kila'im 8:1,4).

68 R. Ha'im Ya'ir Bacharach, a brilliant 17th century Talmudist, mathematician, engineer and musician.

they would stand by the windows and look at me from afar without my being aware. And as I was strolling around the courtyard with the *g'vir* one Sabbath I became aware of the women behind me taking hold of the edges of my garments from behind in order to kiss them!

But women never sit down [there] at the table. Particularly in this matter of eating, they conduct themselves according to their own customs - all the tables were loaded with dishes / and their odour wafts / 'the excess of stink' [69]/ and they eat with their hands and with their feet / and with all the fat are their hands filled: the *g'vir* would lift up a piece of fatty meat and, while holding it in his hand, would he swallow it and then wipe his hands on a towel on his knees; and this towel would become like a butcher's shop. Also, the men and the women walked barefoot - and big feet! I had already seen, each Sabbath after Minha, [the members of] the Beth Din and the Parnesssim and the city elders and the Rabbis would come to the *g'vir* Qayid, and he would sit at the head and would take his foot in his hand[70] in front of all of them! He would [also] put a smoking tobacco in his mouth[71] , and a tray - 'black as a raven' - before him, and he would spit into this in front of them! I would be sitting next to him and I was distressed by this. Even at the table, when this was being prepared, the first thing to be set on it would be this disgusting vessel full of spittle.

And also in some [other] matters 'did the L-rd not lead them by way of the land'[72]. And I used to tell them, "Good manners is not 'legal currency' in your land; and I must not [learn to] use these 'illegal' things [that are] among you, [for] what would I do when I go to Livorno '(from)[73] a foreign nation' which represents entirely the 'Tractate of Good Manners' and diplomacy of the most refined? 'For but the little [that] I did have before me' that would be lost and forgotten by dwelling amongst you! And indeed, for the glory of the Torah. ..[it is not fitting !]"

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69 See Book 1 p. 103 [52] .

70 They probably sat on the ground: messing about with one's feet is bad manners anywhere but the Halacha would also require washing of the hands afterwards.

71 If this is on the Sabbath smoking would be forbidden: R. HYDA probably means chewing tobacco.

72 *Derekh erets* also = good manners.

73 The word 'from' in the text clearly to needs emendation.



A Jewish family in Tunisia.

Year 5534 [1773/4]

Tishri

The day of the New Year: after Minha came all the Parnesssim and Rabbis and many sages and clever scholars - many, many more than on previous Sabbaths. And I told them my ways [of exposition] on the passage: 'And they slaughtered the ox and they brought the lad to Eli' [as the Talmud explains] that he issued *halakhic* decisions etc[1]. and also various other matters and questions [that arose] by the way. They were all eager to listen to my words and they were, in truth, learned scholars and thinkers[2]. The *g'vir*, the Qayid is himself [of] incisive and deep [intellect]. He was a pupil of the Rav R. Abraham Tayeeb[3] who was a great thinker and was the author of notes and novellae on the [Mishnaic] Order of *Qodashim* before even the publication of *Birchat Ha-Zevah*[4]. The said Rav is [also known as] 'Baba Sidi'. It is related that when the book *P'ri Hodosh*[5] appeared he [R. A. Tayeeb] strove to 'throw all his fortifications to the ground'; but one night he dreamt about the Rav *'P'ri Hodosh'* and he complaining about him, and from that day on he did not want to attack him again.

The said Rav Abraham Tayeeb used to seclude and engross himself in study even on journeys. He had many pupils [who became] rabbis and

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1 Tal. Berachot 31b.

2 He seems both pleased and surprised.

3 A famous family - see Freimann's refs.

4 *Qodashim* (Holy Matters) deals with sacrifices and the Temple Service. The author of this work, R. Aharon Samuel of Kaydanov (Lithuania), was born in Vilna in 1614. His life was full of upheavals and tragedy - two of his children were murdered by Cossacks; he studied under the famous Rabbi Joshua Heschel of Cracow, becoming later Rav in Fuerth (1667) then in Frankfurt (1674) finally returning to Cracow where he died. R. HYDA praises this work highly in 'Shem Ha-Gedolim'; there is a surprising omission of the name 'Aharon'.

5 Famous authoritative commentary on *Shulhan Arukh* by R. Hezekiah De Silva (HDS). The reason for this antagonism is not known and is surprising indeed.

Hakhamim. The Rav Isaac Lombruzo was his pupil - [he is] the Rav [who is] author of *Zera Yits'haq*, printed in Tunis[6]. Although Rav Isaac was a Leghornese [from Livorno], he was also Rav to the Tunisians, and he spread Torah throughout Israel. My [own] teacher, the Rav[7], zlhh[8], when he was in Tunis in 5498 (1737 or 1738), was greatly esteemed by the Rav Isaac aforem. who gave him much honour, and he was Rav of Tunis at that time. It is told that my teacher, the Rav, zlhh, used to speak to this Rav aforem. about me! - I, the junior! - who was at that time 'on the eve of the fourteenth' year: it was a result of his kindness that many kind things were said about me. This R. Isaac aforem. merited, by virtue of his diligence [in Torah study], humility and perfection of his traits - 'for they live!'[9] - to establish many pupils, among them the Rav Joseph Zarqa, sage and scribe, pious pure and righteous. He has some sixty pupils, and amongst those of the most noteworthy scholars and the greatest of his pupils are his son-in-law R. Joshua and R. Abraham Qatan, the Parnesss, and R. Jacob Ma'arikh[10]. And all of them loved me: and I would learn with them and also with many, many more Torah scholars - perhaps a hundred or so scholars with whom I learned and with whom I discussed; and I found favour in their eyes.

Let us return to our subject: the Rav Abraham Tayeeb, 'the greatest of our generation'[11] was a pupil of the Rabbis Rav Abraham Ha-Cohen - whom they call 'Baba Rabi' - and the Rav Tsemah Tsarfati (Serfaty) and from them did R. Abraham Tayeeb acquire his learning . Now before their time they did not study *Tosafot*[12] in Tunis - only the Gemara and Rashi, but these rabbis aforem. developed wondrous intellectuality by their studying

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6 In 1768. There is a book of the same name by R. Isaac Azulai.

7 R. Jonah Navon, author of *'Neh'epah Ba-Kesef'*, Constantinople, 1748.

8 *'Zekher tsadiq lehaye ha-olam haba'* - may the memory of the righteous live for ever in the world to come.

9 Ex. 1:19. *'Hayot'* = midwives, but also 'they live' (f. pl.): i.e. a living example of good qualities.

10 This w. could mean 'editor'.

11 *'Gadol ha-Dor'* is a term not used lightly; but, surprisingly, he is little known.

12 The famous, non-pareil Talmudic analysts of the 12th and 13th century French-German schools.

of the Tosafot and the MaHaRSaL[13] and the MaHaRSA[14] in profoundest depth. Particularly did they immerse themselves in the words of the MaHaRSaL, and they adored his words. And out of their great desire for [learning] Torah, [it happened] one [Yom] Kippur eve they were so engrossed in discussion in a passage of the MaHaRSaL, that the time for the 'Separating Meal' came and they had forgotten to buy anything to eat because of their passion for learning! And I was told great things about these rabbis aforem. and amongst them, that the Rav Tsemah Serfaty was once ill for several months, lying in bed close to ... and then appeared Elijah, of blessed memory, and healed him. The entire matter is frightening, and I do not remember it[15], but this altogether shows that the rabbis aforem. spread much Torah - 'the kids had become goats'! According to what I have heard today there are close to three hundred Torah scholars in Tunis. I even saw boys of some fourteen years studying with depth and acuteness, 'aiming at the target'. All their activity is in the *ShaS*[16] and MaHaRSA and the novellae and opinions of the German rabbis [i.e. *Tosafot*], and a little of the writings of the RaMBaM [Maimonides], but they are not so well-versed in *Posqim* [halakhic authors] and rabbinic responsa. And they do not have a [good] memory: so much so that me - for my sins, who do not have a [good] memory - they regarded [as having] a huge memory! But the *g'virim* revere the Torah and their sole desire is to merit sons who are Torah scholars; and they give much charity and they honour the Torah and those who learn it very greatly indeed.

10.

On Yom Kippur I prayed with the Qayid in the synagogue near [the house of] his brother-in-law Joshua Netaf.

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13 R. Shelomo Luria (1510-1573).

14 R. S.E. Ædeles (v. Book I p.59 [166]), R. S. Luria and R. Méir of Lublin (MaHaRaM) are the classical trio of expositors of Tosafot (v. p. 31).

15 But it is given in full in *Shem Ha-Gedolim* under *Zera Yits'haq* q.v.

16 *'Sh(et) S(idre)'* = six orders (of the Talmud).

11.

And there, at the termination of Yom Kippur I recited the benediction for the [New] Moon - but I was the only one[17]! And [when] I arrived at the house I found everybody there with the Qayid.

14.

On the eve of the Festival [of Succot] I helped to lay the covering on the 'succah' - I by myself!

15.

The night of Succot I wished to sleep in the *succah* - and thus throughout the Festival - and I was joined by R. Judah Ha'im Raphael Netaf - may his Rock and Redeemer protect him - this descendant of illustrious ancestors, husband of the virtuous, righteous lady Gazala, daughter of the noble Qayid. And all through the Festival I would go to the synagogue and perform the 'waving [of the *lulav*][18] according to the directions of the ARI, zl. I would [also] put into the Ark a small [piece of] paper with Names - but they did not notice.

Now when I first came [to Tunis] a group of Cabbalists had come to visit me and I had told them that I was not versed in the Cabbalah, and in this language did I say it to them: "There is no Cabbalut here[19]!" Then a miracle happened! - the noble Qayid quarreled with them, and he had their leaders locked up in prison![20] And he sent to their houses and took away all their books on Cabbalah, for he claimed that they were doing this for self-aggrandisement and not for pure motives. But even after [they were released] they still attempted to question me whether I knew [Cabbalah]. And I fled from them!

One day, the brother of the Qayid - called R. Abraham, who regards himself as an outstanding Rav, great preacher and Cabbalist - and is

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17 Although this may be done earlier, it is usual to wait until this time.

18 There are variations of custom in the order of waving.

19 'Cabbalah-stuff'. R. HYDA was constantly pestered about Cabbalah as is seen in the ensuing narrative.

20 R. HYDA did not want to get involved with 'amateur' would-be Cabbalists.

occasionally crazy and calls himself a prophet! - came to see me. The house was full of Torah scholars, and he began saying grandiose things, [namely], that he could reveal [Biblical] expositions according to 'Secret'. He then went on to expound [the verse] "Remember, O L-rd, what has happened to us ... " exactly as does the ARI, zl. I could not stand for this and I told him, "This with which you are praising yourself is from the ARI, zl!" and he straightaway got up and went out. But he soon returned and said to me, "But did you not yourself say that you have not studied the words of the ARI, zl - so how can you know?" I told him it is written in *Sha'are Zion* and it is from there that I know it[21]. Again, one other day, those Cabbalists came to me, and I knew that that week they had newly received *Sha'ar Ma'amorey HaZaL* [Gateway to the Sayings of the Hakhamim ZL] by the ARI, zl[22]. I happened to remember that at the beginning was [something on] the *Sod* [=secret] [concerning the Talmudical edict] 'Let not the blessing of an ordinary man (be light in your eyes)' the *Gematria*-value of which is *dal shem (sham ?)* ... etc. Just then, along came a young boy [asking] that I should bless him, so I said - in their hearing! - "Let not the blessing of an ordinary man be ..." Then I blessed him and they answered, "This is the great Secret!" I said to them, "*Dal me'hakha*! [Away from here! (Aram.)] I do not know any Secret." And they understood that I had [indeed] hinted at the Secret by my saying *Dal me'hakha*'[23]. They kept pleading with me but I stated my intention of not speaking about Secrets of which I had no understanding: and that is, *Dal me'hakha*. But they were greatly pleased because they knew and saw that I [really] did understand the Secret.

Kislev.

That I had come to Tunis now was through force of circumstances - through that evil ship's captain, and it being Rosh Ha-Shanah I was fearful lest he would not let me blow the *shofar* and so on; and also because of

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21 Probably the book bearing this name by R. Nathan Nata' ben Moshe, Hanover (ben Ya'aqov, 604, 1134): prayers of the ARI, zl. A book mainly of prayers would not be classed as Cabbalah material.

22 Not listed either in *Ben-Ya'aqov* or *Shem Ha-Gedolim*.

23 Aramaic for 'Get away from here! ' But it is clearly a phrase with a Cabbalistic allusion.

[Yom] Kippur and the Festival [of Succoth]; and also on account of the ship being decrepit. So after the Festival I began to make my preparations, for I wanted to journey on to Livorno without loss of time. But the *g'vir*, and his son, by pressing me day by day, kept me back a long time. Several times I was actually about to set off on the journey when the son of the *g'vir* would swear, with a solemn oath, that I must stay. It was about 12 hours' journey to the port and I also needed the king's permission to leave and he swore that he would strive to stop me going! And I was much distressed and 'Joseph could not hold back'. But they heaped on me so much kindness, whether by donations of money - which they did with dignity and without it being requested - or any [other] thing without my asking, to keep me from leaving their house. But their conduct was entirely respectful. And they wanted to see my writings and my books - to discover, most probably, if I had any books on Cabbalah!

Now, I had in my possession two books [on Cabbalah] in manuscript about which I will tell you a story. It was in the year 5524 (1764), when I went to Egypt with the rabbis HHOMR Abraham Ibn Asher, zlhh, and HHOMR Yom Tov El-Gazi - may the Merciful One protect him - and the Hakham R. S. Al-Hadif, zlhh, instead of going to Costa. We lodged in the house of the *g'vir* Hakham R. Manasseh, zlhh. The said *g'vir* took a liking to me, and would not let me leave! And I was in a turmoil some 70 days - should I perhaps send and fetch my family? In the meantime, I did not go to a [Beth] Midrash at all, and studied there in the house. [One day] I visited S. Israel Sulam to see some writings of OMR Ha'im Vital, ztl; he had taken them in pledge from the Hakham Joseph Biliado for a debt of 50 *reales*. This HR Joseph Biliado is a broken, poor man so he had claimed them for his debt. They are in the handwriting of OMR Ha'im Vital, ztl, himself! I went there and I saw all the pages written with the purity of the holy hand of OMR Ha'im Vital, ztl; and the Order [of Prayer ?] of his son OMR Solomon Vital in the handwriting of his son, R. Moses Vital, zl. And amongst them I also saw a marvellous book, in manuscript, by OMR H. V. ztl, on practical applications of Cabbalah, and the science of Combinations [of Holy Names] and other subjects relating to the *Tanna'im*[24]. I borrowed this book, and some other books, and I went and secluded myself with that

24 Authors of the Mishna.

book aforem. And I was just about beginning to understand something [of it], though only with slight perception, and I grew greatly excited - but whilst studying it I fell asleep. And I [dreamt and] saw OMR H.V. ztl, and I asked him questions which he answered; and he gave me a cup of wine to drink.

I awoke feeling very happy. I hoped to have some time that night [for studying] but I was obliged to sit at the table all evening with the *g'vir* Manasseh, zlhh. They speak there with impropriety, with laughter and jests and similar, so that the whole evening, till midnight, I sat idle, listening and staying silent, and so on. I was not in my own house where by diligent study of the aforem. book 'I would pursue and I would reach' something: and if I were not [properly] prepared then perhaps - Heaven forfend! - I might be in danger. This idea grew stronger within me so that in the morning, after prayers, I took the book and handed it back to S. Israel aforem. and I forgot all about them [sic].

After some months my family arrived from the Holy City and I stayed there several months, busy with the burdens of the community and several illnesses [that had afflicted] the members of my household and [other] happenings like these so that the matter of the aforem. book did not come to my mind at all. [Eventually][25] I returned to Hebron where I stayed for 3 years and 4 months after which I left on my present mission.

Now, when I arrived in No-Amon [Alexandria] [on this present journey] they told me [there] that [a certain] S. Menahem Mir had two books on Cabbalah. I asked [to see] them and they brought them to me. One of them was that very book aforem. by OMR H. V. ztl! The other book was a very early manuscript on the science of mathematics. And I was astonished at this phenomenon, because S. Israel aforem. is still alive and well and he well knows such books[26], and he is a Torah scholar and a wealthy man - so how and how did this book reach here? And I looked over it and inspected and examined it - and I remembered it as being the self-same [book]. And I said to S. Menahem aforem., "You should know that this book is unobtainable [anywhere else] so be careful not to lend it to

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25 R. HYDA occupied the position as Rav of Cairo until 5529 (1769). He did not chronicle this period of his life in any detail.

26 And he would not have let it out of his possession.

any person and keep it hidden with you like a pearl!" And he answered, "I cannot understand any word of it so what should I do with it? If you wish, take it - and I will be relieved. Take them both - I bought them in a *souk* in *Mitsra'im*[27] but they shall be yours! But this I will tell you - Israel Sulam knows I bought these books and he sent saying they are his and he wants to buy them [back]! And I answered that I had bought them in *Mitsra'im* from the abandoned [property ?] of H. Naftali - a visitor who had come there[28] - in the open market-place." These are the words of S. Menahem. And I was amazed at this sight - how this book had rolled around and [finally] come to my hand after so many years. And I did not not know the answer to this thing but I gave thanks to His Name for my meriting to acquire this book.

Now, I had with me a case of books, and after telling them that I do not know any Cabbalah, I took this book out and hid it amongst my clothes. And - by a miracle! - they did search for a book [on Cabbalah] but did not find it amongst my clothes! It would certainly have been lost to me - in the way Moshe [the son of the Qayid] had taken the other book on mathematics against my will, for there no argument helped; and as much as I pleaded that they should return it to me, they would not listen and it was lost to me. And they constantly wanted to open the small box in which [I kept] my writings; but I guarded the keys! On one occasion they took the keys away from me by force and they wanted to take a book of my writings to keep for themselves as a memory. Then I began shouting, with oaths, until they gave me back the keys.

One day I forgot a section of *Birke Yosef* which I was then writing[29]. There were many scholars there; and while I was talking to them they took my books. And afterwards I searched for them and could not find them; and I asked them and no one responded. And I was very distressed and I related the matter to the Qayid; and he shouted at them - and they brought them back! But all this was out of love, for they mistakenly thought me to be a great man in everything.

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27 Normally translates as Egypt, but see Book 1 p.23.

28 Either he died or for some reason left behind goods to be disposed of.

29 On Halakha - probably R. HYDA's most well-known work.

Since I had with me a number of *Sha'ar Yosef*[30] which I had brought to Egypt, the Qayid said to me that I should distribute them. I had about sixty of them - some 130 *makhburim*[31][?] . In addition, in the synagogue of the *g'vir*, on three occasions donations were declared for my benefit by those 'called up' at the Reading of the Law. And the Qayid also sent word to various villages to make donations, and they did so; some donated clothes and books! May G-d repay their efforts - for they dealt bountifully with me - great kindnesses.

Teveth

I was informed that the Rabbi Mordecai Ha-Levi[32], before my coming there, had spoken disparagingly about me and about my book *Sha'ar Yosef* and that even now he was quietly denigrating my books. I could recognise deceit in the friendly manner he spoke to me-deceit, and underneath it wile. He tried to frighten me by telling me that others were talking about me such-and-such [about me]. And whenever I intervened in scholarly debates and refuted the words of the scholars he would say to me, "Do not do thus, for they will say thus and thus ..." - in a way that, several times, 'with clear vision and not with riddles', I could see his wicked intent to do me down. So I turned my face from him; and if he came towards me I did not speak to him. And after a number of times he came and said to me, "Why is your countenance downcast?" And I answered him, "Because you have spoken such-and-such ..." Then he asked my forgiveness.

After this I showed him friendliness; and when he departed, I escorted him to the outskirts of the town. This was a great event, for the Qayid would never allow me even to go out to pray, and I had done this without his knowledge - and the HR Mordecai knew of this. Later he sent a letter to R. Nathan [Bourgille][33] and in it was a hint of disparagement towards me. Then he went to Aragil [?]. Now I had [previously] sent letters

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30 R. HYDA's first book.

31 A strange word; the root *hibbur* can mean a 'binding' or 'tome'.

32 See p.18.

33 See p.19.

to Aragil and they had answered me with great respect, [saying] they would collect money on signatures to my book [?] After he went there, they sent word that this was not possible ... and other vain words. I think he was the cause; I know that he wrote to Izmir denouncing me for having caused him loss. The sons of [my son] HR Isaiah, may His Rock guard him and grant him life, told me that they had taxed him on this and the HR Mordecai himself told them that I had caused him losses for Izmir and so on. Let this also be for the best! But the truth is - he denigrated me in many things; but G-d was my help that his words were vain. Although it says 'one may exercise suspicion[34]', to begin with I had accorded him great honour; but then 'he turned into a predator'.

'And L-rd of knowledge is G-d' and 'examiner of hearts and kidneys is the L-rd'. Truly, the merit of my ancestors stood with me: for He gave me 'answer of the tongue' in discussing Torah with the Torah scholars. One night, we were 'on vigil' [the night before a circumcision] where I was perforce obliged to go, and several scholars there tried to confute me in Halakha; but 'G-d gives words' so that I 'went out armed' - and the scholars were full of praise. One other night, 'lo! a child was born unto' the son of R. Abraham Cohen the brother of the *g'vir*, and he took me there against my desire. And on that night, too, they were prepared 'to array themselves by the gate' against me; and R. Abraham brought with his writings and wanted to discourse on the subject of 'the dead dog'[35]: he took issue with the MaHarSA and with the MaHaRaM![35a] But, praise be to G-d who took pity on me, and I was greatly victorious. This was, in truth, wonderful for they are mighty and sharp scholars and I - poor and humble. And I found favour [with them] and they held me for a great man; but this is due to Heavenly kindness 'for I am an oaf among men'. I was especially beloved by the HR I. Zarqa and by some of the other scholars: and particularly by R. Abraham Qatan. Among the greatest of my scholarly friends was HR Joseph Bosmut, a brilliant Torah scholar and Heaven-fearing - who

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34 Here the meaning is 'I gave him the benefit of the doubt', the reverse of the usual Talmudic meaning.

35 Possibly a reference to the discusssion in Betsah 27b concerning handling of *muqtsah* objects on festivals.

35a See p. 24[14].

exceeded in showing me love and was also helpful to me; and also the *hatan* [= bridegroom-to-be], R. Judah Ha-Cohen Tenugi, showed great and wonderful love and gave me as a gift of a number of books and a box of silver, and he bought a *Shem Ha-Gedolim* and *Birke Yosef* even before they were completed. Also R. Uziel Ha'yikh - even although he is opposed to emissaries, and he has a sharp intellect and a good memory - accorded me very great honour. In truth, nearly all the *g'virim* sent me munificent gifts, and especially Qayid Abraham Sadbon and his son, Samuel Sadbon. Their kindness was great and wonderful - even the daughter of the *g'vir*, the mistress of the household, Gazala. One day I was sitting in my room studying and she came in and placed a piece of paper before me and said something [timidly], in the manner of a maidservant to her mistress. I did not know what was inside it, but I spoke a few words to her modestly, and she straightaway left. I found inside the piece of paper ten *venezzios*, and she also donated 4 *zecchinos*-worth of wax [candles] for me to study with, and a box full of fruits for the way. Her husband, too, was most friendly to me, and never ceased in his affection for me; and his brother-in-law R. Moshe did me great honour; I remember [but] one hundredth of the kindnesses and favours they did towards me. Behold, their reward is length of days, years of life and wealth and glory.

Adar 22

Seven[36], Thissa, the day of the holy Sabbath: a bundle of letters arrived for me from Livorno, all sealed.

[Adar] 23

Sunday, Va-yaqhel: after Havdalah I went to my room and opened them. And I saw, that for my many sins, 'a decree is pronounced on [the] woman'[37], the wife of my youth, a kind-hearted, clear-headed, G-d-fearing woman, charitable, modest, the delight of my eyes, the beauty of my home - my Mistress Rachel, her soul in Eden - and the world grew dark around me. But it immediately came to my mind that if I disclose this thing they

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36 An unusual form.

37 Ref. to Tal. Sabb. 31b and Rosh. Hash. 11a, what may hasten a woman's death.

would willy-nilly force a wife upon me 'and there is no saving from their hand': the fact being that they are so very, very attached to me - unimaginably so! And no argument would prevail against them and - literally - by a royal decree would they force it upon me! And blessed is His glorious Name who wrought wondrous kindness with me in this moment of great distress that this [thought] came into my mind. I then straightaway took a lamp and I went to the synagogue and I wept there for an hour or so; then I left there, and I washed my face.

In my room I found R. Moshe and R. Judah, the two brothers-in-law [of the Qayid] and a young man R. Moshe ben Me'ir who was staying with the Qayid, and also some other people. And I was there with them, in distress, till midnight. After they went I sat on the ground to recite *Tiqun Hatsoth*[38]; and I took off my shoes and socks to do mourning as is requisite for 'late tidings'[39]: for my many sins, she had departed this life on the 20th of Sivan 5533 (1773), a Friday. May her soul be bound up in the bond of the living. And everything was [done] in quiet and in secret.

Every night I used to do thus; and I grew ill as a result of this evil news. For three days I donated money for charity and 'oil for lighting' for the resting of her soul. And I was oppressed, and I grieved over the loss of this pearl who was probably unique in this generation - in the estimation of my mind - in wisdom, and honour, and incredible , marvellous good sense, charm, beauty, and an exceeding modesty that cannot be imagined, and supreme cleanliness: to the extent that I became downcast and sullen. This was the cause of my falling sick with the 'black sickness' [?] so that I was unable to talk, nor did I trust in telling any person [about this matter]; and I was in this distress for many days. Even when I [finally] boarded the ship [when we departed from Tunis] I did not trust in telling Abraham, [my assistant], in case the ship became damaged and we had to return and he would let the matter be known - until we reached Livorno, and then I told Abraham.

As if my own distress was not sufficient - that week Qayid Judah Ha-Cohen died, the *mehutan*[40] of the *g'vir*. He wanted me to preach on the

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38 'The Midnight Redress'.

39 Laws of mourning apply for one day instead of seven.

40 Marriage relation: parents of a married couple. It seems more than one person had the title Qayid.

Sabbath after the funeral. Now, preaching there is a difficult thing, for their [style of] preaching is with [halakhic] discourse and they may all throw questions at the preacher - and he has to answer! And how much embarrassment this causes ...

Adar 29

Seventh-day, the holy Sabbath: I preached for about an hour and a half. And I gave a discourse around *aharonim*[41]. I constructed it by raising queries and seeking proofs - things in which they had little expertise! And they were very much pleased with it - and all the greatest of the scholars and most of the *g'virim* [were there] - a full house! - and it was miraculous. Blessed be G-d who dealeth me only goodness: and especially so in my being in the great anguish described.

Nissan 1

Sunday, Vayiqra. The custom is that on the eve of New Moon on Nissan the senior Hakhamim gather at the house of the Qayid and hold learned discussions in Torah. And both the houses [sic] were full. And the Holy One, blessed be He, gave me strength and good reason to discourse with them with strength and sharpness. Among other things, they read out a query put by the Rav MS.L.[42] on [the subject of] Qodoshim [the Temple services]. I immediately began to bring proofs towards one side of the query, and I was forcing the argument strongly. They continued reading forth the words of the Rav [MS. L.] - for only one of them read while the rest of us listened - and I saw that with my impoverished [understanding] I had [unwittingly] presaged the words of the Rav! And I was distressed, because they would say I had stolen the words of the Rav: for they would think I have read the entire book and that I had [merely] a good memory. So I instantly answered and said, "What the Rav has written, he has written; but I can see that it is possible to incline [to a view] opposite to

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41 'Latter-day' commentaries on Talmud, including MaHaRSA and MaHaRaM (v. p. 24).

42 *Mishneh Le-melekh*, by Rabbi Judah Rozanes (1657-1727), one of the most famous commentaries on RaMBaM.

what the Rav has said ..." , and I proceeded to argue against all I had said [reaching] an opposite conclusion! And all the listeners were astounded that the Holy One, blessed be He[43] has poured bounteously of His goodness on the lowest of all low [creatures]. Throughout that night I was 'wide of heart' in depth and in great sharpness and strength - all night long, from subject to subject, right until the rise of dawn! P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

For our many sins, that day the soul departed from Rabbi Shemaria Qatarivas. And they foregathered to mourn him in another house, but I prevented them, because it was New Moon and [also] this was not in his presence - even though there is an argument for regarding it as being in his presence[44]. And they listened to my voice.

They [always] gave special importance to my words in matters of [halakhic] law. One day, by [dint] of great imploring, I went to a 'Seven Benedictions' [feast in the marriage week]. When leaving, I told them they had erred in three laws: 1) that the *Kethuba* [=marriage contract] had a number of erasures which had not been endorsed - and this a document which is invalidated by an erasure; 2) it had been signed before the *Qiddushin* ceremony and the [accompanying] 'Seven Benedictions', and they had therefore 'signed on a falsity' since it written therein '...and this bride has consented and become his wife'; 3) because the entire congregation responded '...our L-rd, King of the Universe for everything was created for His Glory etc.' - and thus [repeating] all the other [six] benedictions, and this is taking the Name of Heaven in vain, as we can learn from the Responsa of the RIBaSH[45] etc.; and they were amazed. I was also obliged to go to the cemetery and to preach in a nearby house on the rabbi aforem. - a short sermon.

'And Abraham answered ...' my assistant! - many were his transgressions in Tunis, in a number of ways: he defied my authority; he used to curse the other servants of the Qayid; and he exceeded in doing various strange things without my consent - [entire] scrolls could not contain [their telling] - to such a degree that I nearly had an argument with

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43 *Ha-Qadosh Baruch Hu* will henceforth be rendered HQBH.

44 A sufficiently important person [?].

45 R. Isaac bar-Sheshet, pupil of the famous 'RaN' [R. Nissim ben Reuben] who wrote commentaries on most of the Talmud.

the *g'vir* on his account. He [the *g'vir* ?] had started by abusing him but later he found favour in the eyes of the g'veret and her husband listened to her. Then he [Abraham ?] 'turned predator' and he [?] wanted to make him [?] ride over me[46]. So 'I took for Ha'im [a lad called] Aryeh whom I found there and brought him into the house of the *g'vir* and made him as my assistant, and did not use the services of Abraham at all.

At that time Samuel Fassi was in Tunis and I acted as good advocate for him in the distribution of his *qame'ot*[47]. He also went to other towns; and in one town he was disgraced because he had eaten on a public fast-day[48] and they took their money [back] from him. When he came back to Tunis the *g'vir* was full of anger against him but I interceded on his behalf and saved him. Ha'im ibn Rabi was also there [in Tunis], and I was a good advocate for him. There had also come from Aram Tsovah [=Lebanon] a Torah scholar who was blind and who preached in the synagogue. His whole sermon [I saw] was from the book *Beyrakh Itshaq* but I did not disclose this to anyone, except R. Moshe ibn Me'ir. On the Sabbath after Minha he came to visit the Qayid. The Qayid sent to fetch a lad - of some ten years - who was blind, and they sat him before him and he recited by heart whole pages of the [Talmudic] tractate *Betsah*. And the Torah scholar aforem. asked about him, and they told him this was a blind boy quoting the Gemara by heart, aged ten years; this was in order to humble him and show that a lad who, like him, was blind knows Gemara by heart.

There had also come [in Tunis], some months before my coming, HR Bekhor Almosnino, an emissary from Jerusalem. He behaved badly and, for our many sins, became a mockery and a derision. There were also many Ashkenazim and [other] poor folk - from the ends of the Earth. Among them was one from Costa who had been wealthy, but the wheel [of fortune] had turned against him. Because he was an unlearned man they did not want to see him; but I interceded strongly for him and they took a little pity on him.

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46 It seems that Abraham tried to manipulate the g'vir who could exercise his authority.

47 The *qame'a* - an amulet that may have various forms - is used by some Cabbalists. S. Fassi is unknown.

48 Permitted by faintness or ill health.

[Nisan] 15

The night of Passover: I was saying novellae on the *Haggadah* on every paragraph; and similarly on the second night - new novellae that I had not said on the first. The attendant of the *g'vir*, one Rahamim, took up the tray of the mandatory *matsoth* and vegetables and passed it over the head of each of the men three times. Then he went towards the women, sitting at one side, and as he passed it over them he asked if three times was necessary for the women too. I said [to him], "*Raham rahamatayim - le'rosh gever*"[49]: [for the head of a man] you need three times - *raham rahamatayim* alludes to Rahamim the attendant - but not for the head of a woman!

The whole Passover I ate only *matsah shemura*[50]. After the Passover I was ready to travel, and R. Abraham, the brother of the *g'vir* wanted to come to Livorno with me. So I told the son of the *g'vir*, "Tell your father that his brother R. Abraham has spoken ill of me because I did not agree with him about what he said on certain Torah subjects, namely, that the [classical] commentators did not know and that he understood the matters in very truth. Out of respect to your father I kept silent, but he should know that if he [R. Abraham] comes to Livorno and conducts himself in this manner, 'I have the strength in my hand' to have him put in prison. And if that happens you cannot complain, because if he abuses me he is damaging my mission; and I am certain that the Parnesssim of Livorno will do this if he starts speaking perversely about them - as is his wont. Now if you are wise you will prevent him [making] this journey - for it would embarrass you."

He went to his father and spoke to him, and he sent reply that he would do all he could to prevent him going; but he would like to know who it was that told me about his brother. I sent in reply, "Tell your father that I cannot tell him [this] for certain private reasons; but let him do whatever he can [to stop him]!" I was, in truth worried, for I knew the manner of things that went on in this town[51]. On a previous occasion, he

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49 A play on Judges 5:30 'A damsel, two damsels for the head of each man'. (An unusual w. for damsel. Unusually, too, R. HYDA carefully explains!)

50 Guarded against leavening from the time of reaping.

51 And did not wish him to be dealt with harshly.

[the *g'vir*] had sent to fetch R. Solomon Wazan of Susa and had had him put in prison because his wife, there in Susa, had left a rag on top of a pot and it fell into the fire and caused a fire on the Sabbath; and for this, her husband, the Hakham of that community, had been put in prison in Tunis! And as for what might have happened to her .... But blessed be G-d - the *g'vir* was gracious to me and succeeded in keeping his brother there.

Indeed, 'many times many' were the things that happened to me in Tunis and for which the Omnipresent took pity on me and gave me 'answer of the tongue'. 'What can I repay to G-d for all that he has dealt to me? - a cup of salvation will I lift up, and on the Name of G-d will I call! One day, along came this R. Abraham who holds himself as possibly the deepest thinker of all men and said - and this is not all he said - that he is a prophet and that he is a 'spark' out of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and that he can say 'secrets'. It is a haughty spirit within him [that drives him] to such idiocy that he can denigrate all the sages of Israel. But there are times when he acts as a Torah scholar and shows intelligence so that sometimes he says delightful things. He [once] said he could expound a verse [with the exact interpretation] as given [from Sinai], namely, that concerning Elkana where it is written, '... when he came into his house ...'[52], which means that a guest [in another's house] may not indulge in marital relations etc. I answered this was certainly quite correct but these are the words of our sages, of blessed memory, in the chapter *Af-al-pi* [fifth chapter of tractate *Ketuboth*] and [indeed] from here is it derived. And they brought a Gemara - and he saw [the quotation] and went away [abashed].

One Sabbath after Minha they were reading [the commentary] *P'ri Hadash*[53] on *Yoreh De'ah* [third section of *Shulhan Arukh*] and R.I. Zarqa and his students were debating a great difficulty concerning it. And I remarked, "According to the style of language appearing in the Peri Hadash it must be that this is previously stated in the ShaS [= Talmud] and if so there is no basis for your difficulty." And they brought a ShaS and it was found as I had said. And on many other occasions when scholars had come to me with a problem for which he wanted to give a solution I would already know the

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52 This seems to be a slight misquotation of Sam. 1:19.

53 R. Hezeqiah De Silva.

answer, exactly in line with his thinking. But I used to reproach them for not learning *Beth Yosef*[54] and [other] *Pos'qim* [= Halakhic authorities] - spending all their days [just] in ShaS and MaHaRSA. One night I was studying, together with my good friend the perfect Hakham - incisive and questioning - HHOMR Joseph Bosmut n.y.[55], a section of *Tosafot*, [seemingly] straightforward, and I remarked to him, "What do you see in this section?" He replied, "It is straightforward and there is no need for [even] half a word of discussion!" I said to him, "Wait a little, and I will show you that there are certain points [of difficulty]." Then I proceeded to expound four or five possible arguments - and this amazed [him]. Now I well recognise my shortcomings and my lowliness in penetrative thought and in all intellectual qualities - truthfully [I say this] and not out of [false] modesty, for verily I am simpleton; but I would [always] beseech the all-merciful G-d that for the glory of the Land of Israel He favour me with intellect and confidence - for they were saying that there were no longer any worthy Torah scholars in the Land of Israel - they had seen among the emissaries some who were *amey ha-arets*[56], and the best were [only] average scholars. And He, in His mercy took pity on me and gave me 'answer of the tongue'.

We have already written above concerning their nasty custom of throwing questions during sermons; and sometimes I was obliged to speak at short notice. One Sabbath, the *g'vir* asked a question against R. Abraham Khavat, an elder Hakham and a well-known Dayan, who was expounding a subject in [tractate] *Ketubot* and in the *Tosafot* and in the MaHaRSA. I said to him that his question was nothing and I would explain to him at his home. Also, one other day a certain Torah scholar was discoursing and took great pains - to impress me - in posing a number of questions against *Tosafot*, RYTBA[57] and the MaSaL[58] from discussions [in the Talmud text] and from the [accepted] Halakha. And the *g'vir* was greatly impressed. But

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54 R. Joseph Caro's monumental commentary on Rabbenu Ya'aqob ben Asher's monumental codification of Halakha *Arba Turim* [= The Four Rows] or *Tur* for short.

55 *'Nero ya'ir'* = may his light shine forth.

56 'People of the land': *hoi polloi*

57 R. Yom-Tov ben Abraham (ben Ashvili according to *Shem Ha-Gedolim*) a generation after Tosafot.

58 Possibly R. Solomon Luria, but also possibly *Mishneh Le-melekh*.

after we came home I said to him, "For your information, all these questions are nothing: but, one does not interrupt a lecture and 'cause blanching of the face' [from shame] - Heaven forbid!" Then I proceeded to answer all the questions except 'for one of them is not broken'. This was one that he had asked concerning *Yad Malakhi*, and this was indeed a difficulty[59]. And he conceded to my words - in a manner that exceeds the telling [?]. Many were the matters and kindnesses with which His lovingkindness overwhelmed me, blessed be the Holy Name.

I saw in Tunis the commentary of the RaN[60] on [tractate] *Shabbath*, the commentary of R. Jonah [of Gerona] on [tractate] *Sanhedrin*, *Tosafot Ha-RoSh*[61] on [tractate] *Megillah* in manuscript. I also saw in the house of the *g'vir* a book on practical Cabbalah by the Rav Elia Spira, zlhh, who died in Tunis during a fast. He was praying Minha wearing *talith* and *tefillin* and praying the *Amidah* at length and after reciting the closing passage 'Grant peace...' he collapsed and his soul departed. His wife and daughter were [still] there [in Tunis], and the *g'vir* had taken this book from them [on loan] and the book had been with him some three months.

I wanted to copy just two concepts from it. Now they told me that there had been a certain scholar [there in Tunis], sharp, pious and outstanding named R. H. Lombruzo, zlhh, may his soul rest among the holy: and a disciple of his told me that he had learned the science of Combinations [of Names] and he had made practical use of it. I asked him, "Does he not have some writings on this science?" He answered that he did have a small pamphlet but all his books were kept in a [locked] cupboard and the key was in the hand of the widow. I said to him, "Go to her and ask if she will agree to lend me two or three books which are not to be found [elsewhere]; and if she gives you leave, take that pamphlet as well!" The widow replied that I could take any book I wanted, and this would give her satisfaction. He brought me books by *aharonim*[62] and amongst them was this pamphlet! And I copied it: and it was profound indeed. But I did not want to busy myself with it 'until G-d would

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59 A pity no details are given.

60 v. p.35 [45].

61 The famous R. Asher b. Yehiel both wrote Tosafot-type discussions on the Talmud (he was more or less a contemporary of the Tosafists) and also codified it.

62 Later commentaries on the Talmud, following the Tosafists.

grant me respite' - no promise intended - and perhaps I will [then] engage in learning this wisdom.

I have already stated that I found favour in the eyes of all and my name had become greatly respected: one individual would desire me to visit his home - and promised 100 *reales;* while another, if I came to his house would donate fine garments! But the Qayid did not allow me to go because, he said, it would not be fitting for me and I did not budge from his instructions. One day I wished to go to the Leghornese Synagogue but he did not want [me to] but I implored him so he gave me permission: this took place not in the presence of his son, neither did I say anything to his son. I went there on the eighth day of the Passover and they made a donation [for me]. But later, the son was annoyed [with me] because he did not want me to go. But I did have his permission to go, one other Sabbath, to pray in the synagogue where the *g'vir* Abraham Sadbon prayed; and they made me a mightily great donation! I also had his permission to go to the home of Abraham Sadbon on Sunday. I dined one day at the home of the Qayid Shlomo Nataf, and the Rabbis were all there. And, blessed be G-d, I debated and discussed much with them in Torah, and I had 'an open mouth' to wrangle and to give solutions, from one subject to another; and matters which they proposed I would argue against - and all of this with great ease, with the help of the A-lmighty.

What more shall I relate? - for 'multiplied and multiplied' were the matters and the details, both personal and general: yet just this [incident] will I tell. One night, after midnight, after I had gone to bed and drawn the curtains around, it in their manner, I saw and behold! - a man entering through towards me; and I was startled. He spoke: "I am Moshe, son of the Qayid! My father says that there are here some Leghornese [Jews] who belong to the sect of Freemasons. Is it permitted to kill them? And this must be in secret. Answer me now!" And when I heard this I jumped up shocked and I said to him, "You [dare to] ask me laws concerning capital punishment as I lie here in bed! Away quickly - but I will tell you to tell your father that it is absolutely forbidden to kill them, even under 'the laws of duress' because we are not aware of any sin in the matter. And they say that it is not against the law of Moses and Israel but like a comedy. And though I certainly agree that even indulging in comedies is a transgression - and all the more this - but how can you think to 'pursue them to death'? Heaven forbid!" But I know that after I left Tunis they harassed them and gave them into the hands of the government authorities; and I think they were beaten and fined.

[Nisan] 24

Tuesday, P. Shemini: after prayers I was ready to travel to Binizarat [Bizerta]. And I made a valediction and began to say some *novellae*; and this lasted some two hours. And the entire courtyard of the *g'vir* was full to overflowing with the great and the common, Hakhamim, *g'virim*, Parnesssim - nearly 400 people! And from the time I began to speak 'words of Torah' I did not stop: from one subject to another, interpretations, *novellae*, questions and answers. And even on that day, the time of my departure, I gave some interpretations based on 'the Secrets' in the Introduction of the 'ARI' ztl[63]; and they were happy to see that they had judged correctly in their opinion that I knew about such matters.

Now, in the midst of this great throng had appeared Hakham R. B[ekhorh] Almosnino, the emissary from Jerusalem - may it be rebuilt and re-established! And he began shouting that Hebron owed him money and he wanted to claim some of the *sheqalim* reserved for Hebron. Indeed, he had already come to me several times [about this] but I had assuaged him and he had retracted. One day he had come saying that 'the crown of my head' - my master, my father zlhh - had appeared to him in a dream and told him that he should tell me to pay, and that I had paid him, and so on...! And I had told him [then] "There is no dream without nonsense - everything may be true, except for what you dreamt about me paying you: that is a lie!"

Now today he had come shouting [fresh] accusations. So I spoke [up]: "'Hearken all ye nations!' I hereby decree, with a decree that is of the Torah, that none of the officers or the Parnesssim [of the congregation] should give him 'the smallest penny' of [the] Hebron [funds]. If he has any claim against them, let him claim in Costa or in Hebron!" Then they bundled him out ignominiously; and they then asked me if the householder where he was lodging should throw him out, too. I replied, "Heaven forbid! He retains his position as before, except that his hand must not touch the holies of Hebron - and that is a warning to all the officers and the Parnesssim."

Then I departed in peace, accompanied by some fifteen men on horseback as far as Bizerta. On the journey, the son-in-law of the *naggid*

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63 The first chapter of *Sh'moneh She'arim* [Eight Gates] by R. Ha'im Vital.

[=noble i.e. the Qayid] R. Judah[64], fainted and could not continue the journey. And I was greatly distressed, for we were in the middle of the desert and there was no place to rest. Then I dismounted and sat there beside him for an hour or so, after which he was just about able to ride with two men [supporting him] either side. And praise be! - that we arrived in Bizerta in peace: and R. Judah, too, was recovered and well. We all lodged with R. Samuel Sadbon, the son of the Qayid Abraham: and he wrought wondrously - each day a large feast! And though I ate no meat, he slaughtered several oxen, and geese; and varieties of wines and beer - 'according to the hand of the king'.

Among those accompanying me were: R. Moshe, the son of the *naggid* and his son-in-law, R. Judah aforem.; R. Judah Cohen Tenugi, the *hatan* aforem.; and R. Moshe ben Me'ir aforem.; and the Hakham, the princely R. Uzziel Hayikh; and the Rabbi Shalom Ma'arikh and other *g'virim.*

Iyar 6

Qedoshim, Sunday: we journeyed with great pomp in a barque full of people - the entire holy cong. of Bizerta, and all those who came from Tunis! There were drums and flutes, and vases of roses, and women in the windows making *salutas*, and performers on the barque were playing and singing - a great and noisy commotion! The ship was an English one, and the captain one Mister Samuel. The ship belonged to the *gornada* [fleet, garrison ?] of Tunis and was going to my son-in-law and his brother in Livorno, sent by R. Samuel Sadbon! And that dear man, Judah Sadbon, was coming with us for he was the merchant of [chartering] the ship. And there also came with us two men from Tunis - and I was [treated] like a prince.

And a storm blew up on us at sea; but blessed be G-d - it grew calm after a few hours. But then a Muscovite vessel approached towards us, and I began to pray and to make vows and promises to charity - and it turned back. And so we reached Spiaggia[65] of Livorno in peace. Praise G-d for He is good for his mercy endureth for ever!

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64 Judah Netaf (v. p. 19)

65 The name of the port area of Livorno.

[Iyar] 17

Thursday, Emor: We arrived in peace at the port of Livorno. And to [meet us in] Spiaggia came the *g'vir* my son-in-law - may his Rock and Redeemer guard him! - and HR Isaac El-Gazi, may his Rock guard him. We were not yet given permission to go to the *lazaretto* [=quarantine].

[Iyar] 18

Friday: along came to meet me my sweet daughter, the lady Mistress Sarah - 'above women in the tent is she blessed!' - dressed 'in robes of splendour', [right] on to the barque, together with her son, the first-born, and servants. Her opening words were to ask about her mother, and I told her I had received a letter in No-Amon [Alexandria] and from there I had gone to Tunis and there was no further letter from her there. I gave her some *buttarga* [=fish-roe] from Tunis.

[Iyar] 19

Seventh-day, the holy Sabbath, Emor I spent in Spiaggia. And my daughter sent all sorts of food to me and to R. Judah Sadbun who had come to do business with the *g'vir*, my son-in-law, ytv,[66].

[Iyar] 20

Sunday, Behar: we went to the *lazaretto*; and they had prepared for me [there] a fine house with a kitchen and lavatory. It had an upper chamber and, next to that, another one for Judah Sadbun and his attendants and for a Tunisian *goy* who had come with him, and for myself and my two attendants[67], yet another chamber. And all 40 days [of the quarantine] my daughter would send baskets full of foods and fruits and all other requirements - closed with a seal - with a gentile woman who was their servant.

And I was accorded great honour - all the *g'virim* and prominent people came to visit me: S[ignor] Leon, S. Pereira, S. Roqe'ah, S. Reccanati,

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66 *Yishmerey-hu Tsuro Ve-go'alo* = 'may his Rock and Redeemer guard him'.

67 Abraham and Ha'im Aryeh (v. p. 36).

S. Aguib, S. Bonfil, S. Caravalio and S. Franco - who sent a *ministro* [= deputy], for he is very old - and also another S. Leon and a few [other] *g'virim*. The Hakhamim came to visit a number of times; the sons of S. Pereira and my daughter m.[68] and my son-in-law, ytv, used to come every week - and HR Isaac Elgazi, ytv, every day! And they brought me gifts: S. Leon, coffee and chocolate; S. Pereira, *pan de Espana* [?]; HR I. Elgazi, *pan esponjado* [sponge-cake].

While in that *lazaretto* I started - and finished! - *Shem Ha-Gedolim*. And I brought a few books from Livorno [?].

I had visitors almost every day. I wore the fine clothes they had given me in Tunis. Alas! for our many sins, there came the evil tidings of the death of HR I Polacco, zlhh - closer than a brother, in whose hand I had left many books, my documents and other effects. And the anguish clenched my heart. May his soul be bound up in the bond of the righteous; he has left behind life for Israel[69].

Sivan 6

Monday, Nasso, Shavuoth night [Sunday night] in the *lazaretto*: I stayed up according to the custom reading and learning. Praise to G-d.

[Sivan] 29

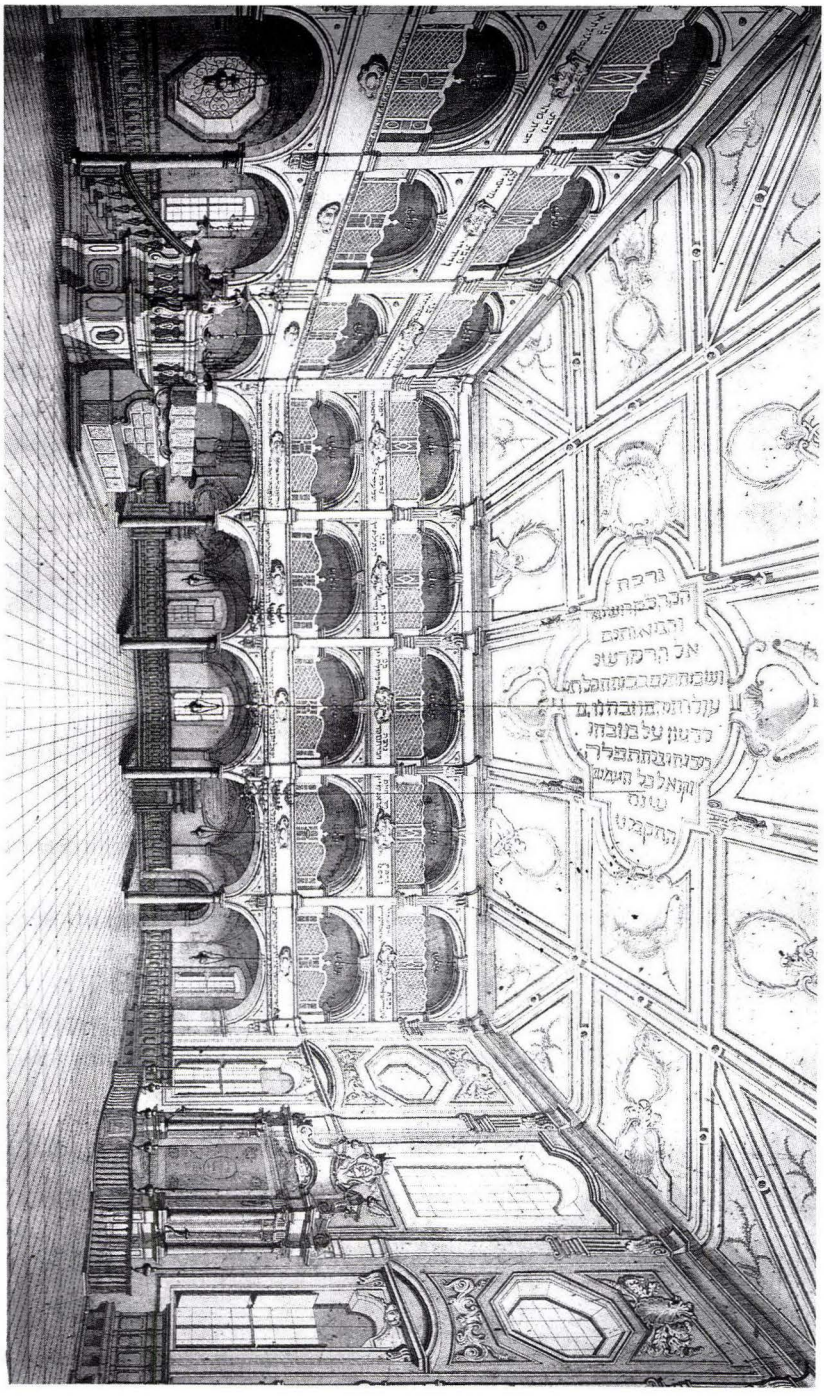
Wednesday, Qorah: my son-in-law came with a *calesso* [= chaise] drawn by a single horse, and he took me into the city to his house and there I stayed. I immediately asked the Parnesssim for permission to publish my books *Shem Ha-Gedolim* and *Birke Yosef*; and they gave their permission. I did not want any *haskamah* [= endorsement] from the Hakhamim. I spent the day-time in the chambers of S. Aaron and Judah David Assagioli[70], studying, while night-times I used to go sleep at my daughter's house; at mid-day, too, I would go to dine with her. One day

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68 *'Mi-nashim ba-ohek tevorakh'* - 'above all women in the tent may she be blessed' (Judges 5:24).

69 i.e. may his death atone for others.

70 Or Acciaioli (Freimann).



Interior of the Synagogue, Livorno.

during this period, the *Ma'amad*[71] organised a [communal] collection of 'RaNaT' *pezzas*[72]. Appointees from Erets Israel[73] were present called to me and I went over to them. I had nothing to say to them, but these Appointees from E. I. [quietly] made it known to me that I should dispense 'favours'. 'And I am like a deaf person who does not hear' until in the end they were obliged to stand up and say outright that 'the Emissary' should give them 'favours'; but they left there 'like thieves', for they could tell that I was not willing. After about two hours I left and walked to the garden of S. Jacob Bonfil. He was the Parnesss, and an Appointee of the Land of Israel. He asked me, "Why have you come here?" I answered him, "By the same token as today's [proceedings]."

Then he said to me, "You have no right to take [all of] the donation of the Ma'amad, and you have no right to send it off!"

I told him my arguments. Then he said, "What is the solution?"

I answered him, "The solution is [for me] to return to Alexandria."[74]

I grew weary of talking with him and I went away 'in burning wrath'. I went back to my rooms. Some of my friends were there; and they gave me advice. But I was in no mood to listen. Then came HR Hananiah Bondi, ytv, and said, "This is 'a profaning of the Name'."[75] I replied, in a loud voice, "Here we have a *ShaS and Pos'qim*, and here we have books of Cabbalah and *mussar* [ethics, morality]: 'pray, show me thy glory' - whence do you learn that this is 'a profaning of the Name'?" And I explained the matters to him; and he was silent.

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71 The synagogual committee.

72 Lit. 'coin' (gematria R + N + T = 200 + 50 + 400). This is probably the Tuscany *pezza delle rose* (also called the *rosalino* or *rosino* on account of its two roses), issued by Grand Duke Ferdinand di Medici in 1665 for trading with the Orient; silver, worth about the same as the silver *reichsthaler*. A *pezza* was also issued in Livorno.

73 The principal Jewish communities had officials responsible for handling the funds for the Land of Israel.

74 A rather puzzling exchange. The bone of contention is not explained but there is clearly a background of argument concerning apportionment of the community's donations.

75 Conduct unbecoming to a Torah scholar.

The next day, the Appointees of E[rets]. I[srael]. and our friend, the elderly *g'vir* S. Michael Pereira, came to apologise to me; and I spoke to them with cordiality and with reasonableness. They produced and showed me a paper signed by the Yehidim - "Signor Michael, 25 *pezza*; S. Leon, 20; S. Aguib, 20." And they told me that the old S. Franco had been obstinate and had gone to S. Joseph Leon and to S. Hakham I. Reccanati and told them that they should not sign. But S. Leon paid no attention to him and he did sign - though S. Reccanati did not want to. Then they asked me if I would agree to accompany them to obtain signatures from some of the other *g'virim*. I replied that they should come [with me] but that I alone would go to see S. Reccanati.

So I rose up and went to the aforem. [S. Reccanati]. I found him alone 'and I fell down before him'[76] and pleaded much with him until he signed: but he was storming and shaking and fuming - absolutely! After he had signed I went to see S. Franco and said to him, "Behold, S. Leon and the Hakham I. Reccanati have signed - now you should sign." He answered with some words of nonsense and I got up and went out.

I gave the paper into the hand of S. Bonfil, and they [the other *g'virim*] went and signed[77] for nearly two hundred *pezzas*: it was a miracle! P.tL.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e. - for whosoever knows Livorno and their haughtiness will understand that a miracle and a wonder happened to me - in the merit of my fathers, blessed is the L-rd who saves.

I had recognised that the [new] attendant of mine, Ha'im Aryeh, was not G-d-fearing so, upon my entering Livorno, I bade him depart.

Now, with my dear daughter, 'above women in the tent may she be blessed', I was suffering great anguish as she probed about her mother. I endeavoured to keep her in doubt, and though she may have suspected something she did not find confirmation.

I began to publish *Shem Ha-Gedolim* and *Birke Yosef*.

Av 24

Monday, Re'ey: I journeyed from Livorno in the evening

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76 Certainly figuratively.

77 Probably meaning obtained signatures.

accompanied by the HR Eliahu Ha-Cohen and S. Shalom Tsadiq. I was guest at the home of HR Abraham Ha-Levi, ytv, in Pisa - at my expense! But he accorded me very great honour.

[Av] 25

Tuesday: Those friends aforem. travelled [back] to Livorno; and I sent back with them letters, fruits and delicacies for my daughter m.[78] and S. Michael [Pereira], ytv.

[Av] 26

Wednesday: I visited S. Raphael di Fez; and I bandied words with him!

Ellul 20

Seventh-day, Tavo, the holy Sabbath: I went for a little stroll, being in a black mood over the evil tidings [?] and other troubles. And I saw there in Pisa the *torre tuerta* [= leaning tower], the doors of the Domo from the outside, the Plaza de Cavalieri with paintings of all the Dukes of Tuscany and, in the centre, Grand Duke Ferdinand. Next to it is a water-fountain in the form of a woman sitting, with bared arms outstretched holding in her hands a marble basin: and from her mouth, and from the joints of her hands water spouting - something beautiful and glorious.

The town of Pisa has air that is good and refreshing, and its waters are so excellent that they are sold in the *especieria* [= apothecaries] in other places for the sick. And I stayed there because in Rome there were decrees from the new Pope and [people] there were extremely anxious and confused.

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78 *'Mi-nashim etc'* (v. p.45 [68]).

Year 5535 [1774/5]

Tishri

I spent the 'Ten Days of Penitence' in Pisa in my customary manner: I refrained from excessive talking until the termination of [Yom] Kippur, on account of my being [burdened] with a multitude of troubles and disturbing thoughts. The fasting, together with the lack of talking during the Days of Penitence added to the blackness [of my mood]. But, blessed be G-d, by taking a stroll every day there was a little relief.

16 [Tishri]

Second day of the Festival of Succoth: I saw there in Pisa an *especula* [= observatory] where there were scientific instruments, particularly for measuring. And it has upper rooms [arranged] in a circle[1] and stairs right around - one hundred and fifty stairs. And with the *cannocchiale* [= telescope] I could see the clock in Bagni [di San Giuliano] which is about four miles away[2].

Heshvan 13

Tuesday, Vayera: I departed from Pisa accompanied, for four miles, by HR Eliahu Ha-Cohen and S. Shalom Tsadiq and S. Judah Assaioli [Acciaioli] and his son - they had come from Livorno specially for this purpose - and S. Michael and his son and S. Jacob Servi and his son. On that same day, while travelling, I saw the [garden] Giardino Conte Cevoli and it is very lovely; and there is there a *macchina ruinata* [= artificial ruin] - a cleverly-made building looking as if the walls and pillars are about to fall, broken and crumbling - and the people [visiting] there, as it is [seemingly]

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1 Possibly circular rooms.

2 Probably the talmudic *mil*, a little over a kilometre.

collapsing, [looking] terrified and running away: and it is [really] a sound building, the opposite of what appears to the eyes!

[Heshvan] 14

Wednesday: we slept that night in a gentile inn, 'Casa Bianca'; and they were wicked people. And Wednesday evening we arrived in Siena together with S. Servi and his son aforem.

[Heshvan] 17

The day of the h. S.: I preached for about an hour and a quarter: and it pleased them. And I dined 'the repast of the day' with S. Joshua Gallico, ytv.

Heshvan 18

Sunday, Haye-Sarah: there was a meeting [of] the Small Council of the Community[3]; and they made [a donation of] 20 *pezza*. I was very annoyed.

Heshvan 19

Monday: after *ma'ariv* I mounted the *teyvah* [=dais] and informed the holy cong. that I was angry. So the same day they met [again] and added five [*pezza*]. And I told them that 'they are a stiff-necked people' and [that] I would go and pay out of my own pocket[4]. Afterwards I sent and summoned them and 'spoke hard words ' - and also soft words - to them until they agreed to donate thirty. And they arranged a full meeting; and I asked that they should lend [me ?] 300 lit. [*litras? liretta?*][5]. On the eve of Tuesday they said that they would lend [this] out of the charity coffer of the Congregation which was under the control of the Small Council. But the Small Council would not agree, and I was distressed. I was also afflicted with a slight fever until Sunday, [P.] Toledoth. Praise to G-d, may He be blessed, I soon became well.

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3 The initials 'VAQI' probably stand for *vaa'd qatan*; the 'I' is a mystery.

4 To make up the expected contribution from that congregation.

5 See note on the French *litre* on p.161.

Heshvan 20

Tuesday: the Great Council met and made [the loan] of 300 *litras*. Then I went to individuals for donations, and I sent a [collection] box with S. Mordecai Nissim to 'medium' givers and to the women. And I was accepted by all the congregation and I was important in their eyes. P.t.L.m.H.b.b.

Heshan 26

Monday, Toledoth: we journeyed from Siena with S. Jacob Servi and his son aforem.

Heshvan 27

Tuesday: [we lodged] that night at the gentile hostel 'Poggiboni'. Also lodging there was a Pole who recounted amazing things about the deceit of the Germans and how their party was swindled - 'therefore do the soothsayers [well] say': 'Poor is the dough etc.'[6] That same day Tuesday, in the evening, we arrived in Florence. We had arranged a fine lodging right next to the house of the *g'vir* the HR David Piazza. He has a room full of books! And I was received among them with honour.

Kislev 4

Vayetse, Monday: the Appointees came [to see me] and told me that the holy cong. had made a donation. I told them that I wanted to collect donations from individuals, but they said to me that the Council does not allow [this]. Then I 'spoke hard words' to them and told them that, no matter what, they must give this permission.

Kislev 5

Tuesday: that night the Appointees came and said that all the members of the Council had agreed that I might go to individuals. And blessed be G-d that we departed from that [meeting] in peace.

Now there resides the pious Rav OMRR Jacob Hai-Levi - may his

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6 '... whose baker himself declares it to be bad'. (Midrash, Genesis 8:21).

light shine forth! - who is my good friend from old times in Venice, and he accorded me much honour. I went to individuals and each man did 'according to his blessing'.

Kislev 6

I went to visit the zoo and saw there lions, leopards and bears.

Kislev 7

I went to the see the Garden of the Duke[7] - glorious and splendid, huge and magnificent.

Kislev 11

Monday, Vayishlah: I visited the *Bibliotecca* and saw there some tractates of the Talmud, written on parchment, from the year 4937 (1177); *Pesiqta* on Genesis and Exodus in manuscript; and they have their own books, in all languages, 7 rooms full - [magnificent] 'according to the hand of the king'.

Now because I was a little unwell - and the weather had turned cold; and we had to cross the mountains of Bologna; and also our friend HR A. Sanguinetti ytv was himself on a mission in Ancona; and OMR A[braham] I[srael] ny[8] wrote saying that I should not come; and also because of the printing of *Birke Yosef* - I decided to return to Pisa.

While, in Florence, I saw Novellae of the RaMBaN [= Nachmanides] on [tractate] *Shabbath*; and the book *Hamelamed* [?] - explanations of R. Jonathan[9] - on some of the *Halakhot* of the RIF[10]; the *Nimmuqey*[11] on [tractate] *Pesahim*; and responsa of Italian rabbis.

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7 Freimann identifies this as the Giardino di Boboli.

8 *Nero ya'ir* = may his light shine forth. There seems to be no previous mention of him. He was Rav of Ancona and Alessandria della Paglia.

9 A classical Talmudical commentator of Lunel; contemporary of the RaMBaM.

10 R. Isaac [Al-] Fasi.

11 *Nimmuqey Yosef* of R. Joseph Habiba who wrote on the entire RIF (though not everything is extant). The manuscript of Pesahim is specifically referred to in *Shem Ha-Gedolim*.

Kislev 13

Wednesday: we left Florence to go [back] to Pisa, and accompanying us was Gad Castile who was travelling to the town of Livorno.

Kislev 14

Thursday: two hours after nightfall we arrived at Pontedera. In the morning we departed for Pisa in peace. And I brought for my good friend S. Raphael 12 *portugales* [=oranges] which had been given to me by S. Ephraim Joseph Rimini ytv in Florence.

Kislev 24

Sunday, Miqets: after prayers a letter arrived for me from my daughter Sarah m[12] [saying] she wanted to come, with her husband, [to see me]. It was a day of snow and sleet. I rode [to meet them] in a *calesso* and after going 3 miles I met with them. They said they wanted to [go on and] stay a little while in Pisa but that they would return at nightfall. So I went on to Livorno. I was anxious [about them] until the evening, when they returned.

Kislev 25

Monday: I was anxious about my manuscripts which they had taken to Pisa, for they had been left somewhere - but no-one knew where! During the day I sent someone to Pisa and he found them - in an inn! And he brought them back to me. Thanks to G-d, may He be blessed!

Teveth 3

Vayigash Tuesday: I travelled to Pisa in a *carrozzino* [=coach], together with the *g'vir* our good friend S. Michael, in order to collect my belongings.

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12 *Mi-nashim* etc.

Teveth 5

Thursday: we returned to Livorno in snowy weather. My attendant went off to go by river.

Teveth 7

The day of the holy Sabbath: I went to pray in the Yeshiva of R. David Roqeah zl; and albeit there is an established agreement that all must pray in the Synagogue except for the Torah scholars established in the *yeshivot*, they agreed to give me privileged status [to pray] in the said *Yeshiva*.

Shevat

In Livorno [at that time] were HR J. Burla and HR Yaqar, and there, too, had come OMR Y.T. El-Gazi and HR I. Hazan. Trouble had been rife in [the community of] Livorno and OMR Y.T. and those with him succeeded [in calming things]. I was very happy meeting OMR Y.T. and his companions and [being able] to renew the friendship between us: thanks to G-d. But HR Yaqar complained to me about the matter of the Hebron debt to 'the Damascene (Eliezer)'[13]; and for fear of 'profanement of the Name' I made a compromise with him. Then the wife of Abraham 'Aiyas [or Gaias][14] also went to the Ma'amad[15] to claim from me; but the Ma'amad refused her. And again, S. Avigdor [?] Rodriguez went out [of his way] to claim on her behalf; 'but he only hauled up a shard'. Also H. Ephraim, the son of my teacher - Rabbi, zl had come from Turin regarding a debt due to his mother-in-law! - and I was obliged to give him some money. And I suffered many troubles in Livorno, but I was able to study every day and night, until midnight, in the house of S. Michael ytv - 'over the heights'; and his sons joined me. I slept in the house of S. Assagioli, and also ate there excepting the eve of the holy Sabbath, with S. Michael, and the day of the h.S., with my daughter m-[16].

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13 See p.6. Eliezer here is gratuitous (Gen.15:2).

14 Spelled variously with or without *aleph* after the initial *ayin*. Abraham was one of the three sons of the illustrious R. Judah Aiyas who also passed through Livorno on his way from Algeria to the Holy Land.

15 Synagogue committee.

16 *Mi-nashim* etc.

Nissan 10, Aharey

Monday: I saw an elephant! It was nine years old and higher and wider than a camel. And they said that it grows for 30 years and can live more than 100; and that it nurses a grudge. Its eyes are very small and its ears are very wide and the length of its nose is 3 cubits, and it uses its nostrils for eating and drinking. And I recited the benediction - with Name and Kingship [17]- '(Blessed etc.) ... who varies His creatures'.

Sivan 3

Thursday, Ba-Midbar: I was given the honour of *Sandeq* [holding the child] for the boy born to S. Shalom Tsadiq and they named him Yosef Ha'im after my name.

Sivan 8

Tuesday, Nasso: I travelled to Pisa and was accompanied by HR Elia Nahamu, S. Sh. Tsadiq, and David Assagioli; and they returned home in peace.

Sivan 14

Monday, Be-Ha'alotekha: I saw there in Pisa the Giardino dei Semplici. It has many herbs and trees but they were not producing fruit. There was a tree there similar to an Egyptian *mu'ise* [?] and they call it *higo*[18] after the person who brought it from America.

Sivan 17

Thursday: in the afternoon I went by gondola to the baths and bathed there. The buildings there are magnificent.

Sivan 22

Tuesday, Shelah: I went by *calesso* with S. Jacob Servi to the village

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17 'G-d, King of the Universe': i.e. with full conviction.

18 Fig. (Sp).

of Asciano and I saw there the source of the waters that come to Pisa : a huge well-spring that is led two miles from the mountain - by conduit and channel that they call *gola* - in great bounty.

Sivan 23

Wednesday: I wrote to the printers in Livorno. A letter arrived for me that night [saying] that S. Pereira were [sic] in trouble[19]. On Thursday Isaac Conti arrived holding a bundle of warrant-papers. I went [back] by *calesso* on that Thursday, and at the gates of the city I found the brothers, may G-d guard them and grant them life. I stayed with them the night of Friday and in the morning we prayed early in the *Yeshivat Cuatro Cantos*[20]. I arrived [back] in Pisa three and a half hours before noon. And on the night of the holy Sabbath I was sullen and vexed - mightily!

Sivan 28

Monday, Qorah: I hired a *calesso,* but [before I set off] the customs [men] came to seal the [parcels of] clothing ready for journeying to the town of Florence, on the eve of New Moon, Tuesday morning. On the eve of Monday I had looked over the folios that had come from the printer in Livorno and they were not satisfactory and this had caused me some delay.

Tammuz 3

The holy Sabbath, Bo: a folio arrived from Livorno 'and it was mouldy'. I had been ready to depart on the Sunday but [now] I had to delay. I was annoyed.

Tammuz 4

Huqath Sunday, the night of the going out of the H.S.: I was [still] distressed. On Sunday I sent [my assistant] Abraham to Livorno according to a *goral*[21] that had fallen to me [based] on the Parasha [=portion] 'Lo

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19 Apparently he and his brother (see below).

20 The Spanish/Ladino form (instead of *quattro canti*). A curious name.

21 A Cabbalistic use of random selection of a verse.

TiSA ET SheM H. E. LaShaVE' [22] - and the interpretation had immediately occurred to me that these were the initials of *Lo telekh sham atah, ela tekef shelah meshartekha - H. E. lekha shomer umoshi'a, amen.* (Go not thou there but immediately send your assistant - the L-rd your G-d is a Guardian and a Saviour, amen). And I sent for my manuscripts and fetched them back.

Tammuz 7

Wednesday: I was ready to travel to Florence - for I had sent the manuscript to Livorno with the Doctor Hakham Bondi - when there came a message from there that I should not go via the town of Ancona because the people would be at the fair in Senigallia and were busy etc. So I was obliged to pay the amount of the deposit money to the *vetturino* and cancel the journey. And I was very distressed by all this.

Av 13

Wednesday, Va-ethhanan: I journeyed from Pisa acompanied by S. Jacob Servi and my brother and dear friend S. Raphael, for 12 miles, as far as Ponte dell 'Olio.

Av 14

Thursday: we spent the night at a gentile tavern, 'Scala'. On the morrow at noon we arrived safely in Florence.

Av 16

Sabbath: I read the 'Ten Commandments' in the Synagogue of the Sephardim. And I dined with the *g'vir* S. David Piazza. And there [I found] the bachelor S. Abraham Canfus from Ragusa, my relative. Afterwards, accompanied by S. Menahem Bilanis [Bolanes ?] his [?] son-in-law and S. Abraham aforem., we all went to Boboli.

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22 The 3rd commandment. Initials of the Divine Names are used.

Av 17, Eqev

Sunday: we journeyed in peace from Florence. We stayed overnight in a gentile hospice *'Rito'* near Mascari [Maschere] - a fine place - on the edge of Toscana.

Av 18

Monday: we lodged in the hospice *'Pietramala'*, at the [other] edge of Toscana.

Av 19

Tuesday: at a gentile hospice at the edge of Romagna, *'Ostaria Nova'*, 12 miles from Bologna; and on the morrow [we stopped] at a gentile inn, 'San Pietro' further from Bologna. I did not wish to enter the town, and I had so arranged with the *vetturino* to skirt round [the town].

Av 20

Wednesday: the eve of Wednesday we lodged in Faenza. There are some Jews there and I sent for them; but they did not come because, they said, they were afraid of the Inquisition since on their festival-day Jews are not allowed to leave their homes. And [indeed], afterwards along came an *esbirro* from the Inquisition saying he requires a fine of 4 *escudos* for Abraham who had gone out at night! At the end he agreed to [a payment of] 2 *pablos*.

On Wednesday we arrived at the town of Cesena. And [living] there was a Jew from Lugo. I went to him three times, but it was of no avail at all.

Av 21

Thursday: I arrived at the town of Pesaro and I went to the home of S. Abraham Levi. And there they gave me a letter from the Rav OMR A. Israel, ny[23] [saying] that in Ancona I could stay at the home of the *g'vir* S.

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23 Freimann identifies him as R. Ha'im Abraham Israel from Rhodes who served as Rav in Ancona; he is the author of Beth Abraham and Imroth *Tehoroth*.

Pinhas Ha-Cohen ytv. They told me that the said *g'vir* [S. Pinhas] was in Pesaro [but] at the home of S. Matsliah: for he had quarrelled with his sister, the mother of S. Abraham Levi. So I went to him and I pleaded with him to make peace with his sister. He refused. However, in the end he did go to his sister, but told her that he had come only out of his respect for me. She said to him, "You have done this out of respect for S. Amron[24] who told you [to do this] after [R. HYDA told you]. Now, out of respect for me, go and make peace with the wife of S. Abraham daughter of S. Morpurgo[25]." And he went and made peace; and she kissed his hand.

Now the coach-driver, Gaetan, who had come with me from Florence, and with whom I had contracted to bring me to Ancona, informed me that the mule was sick and could not go, so he hired for me another *calesso* to take me to Ancona. But at the gate of the city [of Pesaro] the horses refused [at first] to go further, because they were new and unused to the *calesso* harness. And I was much distressed during the whole journey until we eventually reached Senigallia at sundown.

Av 22

The eve of Friday: I stayed overnight at the house of the HR Moshe Foa, M.Ts.[26] of the holy cong. of Israel [in Senigallia]. About noon that day I travelled to Ancona. And I suffered much distress because of the horses: near Ancona both my assistant and I fell [out of the *calesso*], and the *calesso* overturned on to us and on to the horses: We were greatly endangered but, thank G-d, we managed to get up sound as ever before; and we arrived safely in Ancona. And we lodged in the house of the *g'vir* Pinhas Ha-Cohen, ytv.

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24 There are clearly 'wheels within wheels' here: perhaps S. Amron has some hold on S. Pinhas that he does not care to admit.

25 Probably son of the illustrious Rabbi Samson Morpugo who was Rav in Ancona, author of a number of important books and a Doctor of Medecine in the University of Padua. It is not clear whether this peace is to be made between himself and the lady or between the two ladies!

26 *Moreh Tsedeq* = 'instructor of righteousness'.

Av 23

The day of the H. S.: the chief seneschal of S. Pinhas, S. Aaron Abulafia, was summoned to go to the Government [office] and was arrested there because he had spoken harsh words against their judges. And they were very distressed - the said *g'vir*, the *g'veret* [= wife of the g.], Mistress Giudecca, and all their household. Now I knew that the *g'vir* himself was being harassed[27] on the orders of Cardinal Bufalini who 'ruled over the land', because in the days of Pope Ganganelli, who was a friend of S. Pinhas, he [S. Pinhas] had had one of the gentile nobles arrested and brought in chains from Senigallia to Rome on account of his father's debt to S. Pinhas. Now that the Pope had died and another was in office, the said noble was asking S. Pinhas for 'everything available' - 'shame, damages and anguish'. Moreover, the said Cardinal had a grudge against S. Pinhas because he had stood up against him. So now S. Pinhas was in danger, 'and his heart was not with him'. As for me - who knew [all] about the crisis - 'my heart was melting' and I was myself anguished to come at [such] a difficult time, when the *g'vir* was in great trouble. And I poured out my soul before G-d.

Av 25

Monday, Re'ey: S. Aaron, aforem. was released and that day they went to the Cardinal who had the power to judge the *g'vir*. But he gave him a light judgment - merely commanding him to stay in his house till the Sabbath. And this was a miraculous.

Ellul, New Moon

H.S. Re'ey: the *g'vir* left [home ?] and came for evening prayers with me to the Italian Synagogue, and in the morning to the Levantine Synagogue. I preached at Minha-time in the Italian Synagogue.

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27 The phrase literally is 'prevented from resting his legs'.

[Ellul] 6[28]

Sunday, Shof'tim: I pleaded with the *g'virim* to make a meeting concerning the mission but they replied that they were in trouble on account of the Pope's decree concerning the symbol[29]. They were awaiting a favourable reply from Rome - and when a favourable reply would arrive, a good day indeed that would be. I was anxious lest - Heaven forfend! - the favourable reply they wished would not come, for then the distress would be double!

Ellul 15

Sunday, Tavo: I was present at the circumcision of the boy born to S. David Morpugo and also at the feast; but I was careful about eating meat. A reply came from Rome - favourable as they wished! Thanks be to G-d!

Ellul 18

Wednesday: a meeting of the delegates was arranged and four came to the house. Now I had gotten wind that they had fixed upon a sum of 450 Corinthian *ducats*. I insisted that I will not take less than 500, and the *g'vir* S. Samuel Cagli Ponente informed his colleagues so [later] that night.

Ellul 19

Thursday: there was a general meeting. Eighteen came and 'TOV'[30] agreed to give 500. And this was miraculous - for they began by quibbling about 300. The Yehidim did not want to give individual donations, but G-d was my Help and I succeeded in taking from them individually, except for Joseph Hai Consul. I went up to speak to him and he replied harshly. I bore his utterances, and he finally gave me a *zecchino* which I accepted because he is one of the leaders of the holy cong.

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28 This is an error and should read '8'.

29 The wearing of a Jew-symbol.

30 Gematria 17.

Ellul 22

Sunday, Nitsavim: I went to the *g'virim* David and Isaac Ha-Cohanim, brothers of the lady Giudecca, mistress of the house; and to the wife of S. David, Signora Reina, sister of S. Pinhas. They [David and Isaac] had been quarreling mightily - for 12 years - with the *g'vir* S. Pinhas and his wife, their sister Giudecca, and with his [S. Pinhas'] brother-in-law S. Samuel Cagli and his wife Signora Sapira, the sister of S. Pinhas and Signora Reina; and they had extracted [from them], by *lites* [=litigation], nearly thirty thousand *scudos*.

Cardinals, prelates, marqueses, emissaries, rabbis - all had grown weary yet failed to make peace among them: for great indeed was their enmity. 'And a spirit clothed me, the junior, and I spoke rebukingly to S. David and I persuaded him to make peace with all the others, for I had to go to Venice after Rosh Ha-Shanah [in eight days' time] and I told him that I would cancel that journey [unless peace was made]. And his brother S. Isaac [also] helped immensely, and the matter was concluded that peace was made among them all, but for a matter of money to be settled among them by me and the Rav OMR A. Israel, with a proper judgment according to the Torah without compromises.

And I rose up and went to the said Rav and he was delighted with my words. And we rose up and went to the said *g'virim* and we took a pledge and oath from them to fulfil everything we would rule. After that we went to S. Pinhas and S. Cagli and we took from them and from their wives a similar pledge and an oath. And it was amazing - mighty and wonderful!

Ellul 27

Friday: to the Yeshiva - this is near the houses of the aforem. *g'virim*, and this Yeshiva belongs to the said *g'virim* - did they all come : they, their wives, and the Rav aforem. and I, the junior. And peace was made: praise be to G-d!

Ellul 28

Saturday: the day of the Holy Sabbath: I went, accompanied by S. Pinhas, to the 'House of G-d' aforem. And we called on the *g'vir* S. Joseph Morpugo and peace was made between them. Then I went, together with S. Pinhas, to [call on] S. David and S. Isaac; and afterwards they [all] came to the house of S. Cagli and Signora Sapira; and from there they went up to the house of their sister Signora Giudecca, the wife of S. Pinhas.

Ellul 29

The Eve of Rosh Ha-Shanah: the Rav, OMR A. I.[31] sent for me, but I told him that I was meditating. So he went by himself to make peace between S. Consul and S. Cagli and his wife. But it did not last. They said afterwards that [it was because] I was not there (because) [that] this was a shaky peace; but the peace I had made was lasting[32].

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31 Abraham Israel.

32 There is some obscurity here and this emendation seems necessary.

Year 5536 [1775-6]

Year 5536, Tishri

The Ten Days of Penitence: I was meditating in seclusion in a room, all alone, in the house of the *g'vir* Pinhas ytv abovem. For the Festival [of Tabernacles] they made a special *succah* for me to sleep in. On the night of *Hoshanah Rabbah* I conducted myself according to my custom[1]. Praise to G-d. On the night of *Simhat Torah* we visited the 'Bridegrooms [of Torah and of Bereshith]'; and they gave me tokens for the *mitsvoth*[2] I would [be called upon to] perform. The night of *Isru Hag* [the departure of the Festival] I was in the Italian Synagogue where the Rav and the Beth Din say [the prayer] *Qol mevasser* ... ['A voice announces ...'] and 'The L-rd He is G-d', and each Sefer Torah is given to someone to hold. And the Rav OMR A. Israel, ny, relinquished his Sefer Torah to me but I recited *Qol* and 'The L-rd' after him.

Heshvan

The Rav came to my room concerning 'The Laws of Cohanim'[3], the *g'virim*, over their disputes about many questions of business, inheritances, property rights, civil damages - close on seventy details - and plaints by the *g'virim*, the Cohanim[4], among themselves and between S. David and S.Cagli - many and complicated matters. But - through His lovingkindness, may He be blessed - I was able to continue working on *Birke Yosef*, [section] *Yoreh Deah*[5]. Only at times when the said Rav came to me would I study together with him the laws concerning the aforem. and after he left I would

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1 The last night of Succoth is customarily spent in Torah study.

2 Reading or handling the Sefer Torah.

3 Synonym for Leviticus dealing with priestly laws; but this reference is to David and Isaac.

4 'The Cohens' aforem.

5 The work covers the four sections of *Shulhan Arukh*.

return to my studies. Most nights and most days he was busy with their matters. With the help of the Al-mighty, just that [occasional] hour that I spent with him sufficed. And many were the discussions between us; but everything with respect and great friendship. Praise be to G-d. Every Sabbath before the prayers I would get up at dawn and would meditate on the various topics [relating to sermons for that Sabbath] and would finish them while in the Synagogue. After the prayers Hakhamim and other learned men would come [to discuss with me] and I would tell them novellae 'both new and old' concerning the Torah portion and topics of the day. P.b.t.G.

Heshvan 12, Vayera

Sunday, the exit of the Sabbath: letters arrived for me from the son of my friend Abraham ytv, and I was distressed for a number of reasons and I could not sleep until 7 hours[6]. And in a dream I saw the Rav HHOMR Moshe Mizrahi[7] zlhh: he was bringing me a letter he had written by hand for Costa; and I told him reasons for not sending it! - and afterwards we went off to pray together. And I awoke[8]. (And I was happy because whenever I see the aforem. Rav 'he is my salvation': 'awakened from the East' and everything is in peace, with the help of the Name, may it be blessed).

Kislev

Signora Sarah, the wife of S. Matsliah's son - she is the daughter of S[ignora] Giudecca the sister of S. Pinhas - came from Pesaro to see me. Now, as a result of the great peace aforem. that had been made [amongst them], the *g'virim* desired to make a banquet: and they found a suitable occasion on account of their relative Signora Sarah who had come there [to Ancona].

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6 Presumably 7 am.

7 Of Jerusalem, v. *Shem Ha-Gedolim. Zikhrono lehaye ha-olam ha-ba* = his memory for everlasting life.

8 The bracketed sentence is missing from the manuscript but Freimann has copied it from the Livorno edition of *Ma'agal Tov*.

The first [banquet] was made by Signora Sapira, the wife of S. Samuel Cagli; and after that by S. Joseph Morpugo; and after that by S. Pinhas; and after that by S. David. To each of them were [invited] the Rav OMR A. I., myself and the *g'virim* Cohanim, and some other *g'virim*. And these were banquets fit for princes and nobles! - and each [host] exceeded the previous one hugely; and this [all] served to reinforce the harmony. And the drinking was in abundance. But for the most of the time I discoursed in words of Torah with the Rav aforem. and with other scholars, throughout the feast. And just the tiniest morsel did I eat - of fish.

Teveth

I achieved many things in Ancona. I was involved in their communal affairs and accorded great honour. Among these was the conferring on R. Yoel Hamits the title of *Maskil*[9] despite the antagonism of most of the *g'virim*. They were compelled more or less against their will to agree, and R. Yoel was appointed as Reader in the Sephardi Synagogue in the face of opposition by quite a number of of the Synagogue leaders. I was also busy with the marriage of the daughter of Joshua, the Reader of the Italian Synagogue to the son of R. Judah, the *shohet* and this [matter] was hard as iron. Many were the artifices involved in all the above - and many more that are best not written about, or even hinted at! R. Yoel aforem. and R. Solomon Moses Seppilli did not cease from atending upon me and showing the strength of their friendship and kindness day and night, in all [matters].

In the month of Teveth we completed our judgments in the cases of the abovem. *g'virim* according to the Torah to the best of our understanding. However, we could see it leading to trouble and more hatred; therefore 'we girded ourselves with strength' to effect a compromise among them. It required, indeed, a mighty and formidable effort on our part defying all description - and only for the fact of G-d being with us and favouring us with wisdom and patience and guiles were we able to make a compromise among them [both] in the matters of the

9 Man of erudition, less then a Hakham. In later times the term was applied derogatorily to secular scholars.

property and the civil damages. And it took several [more] months to settle these things. Blessed is G-d the Saviour.

But in the meantime a new problem emerged. S. Cagli had given his property as a gift to the young man S. Samuel, the son of S. Pinhas his [S. Cagli's] brother-in-law. Now the *g'vir* Joseph Hai Consul, S. Barukh Levi and Ben Porath, the heirs of S. Cagli, had written depositions to the Pope to have the gift annulled, giving false reasons, and sent them through the hand of Cardinal Bufalini. And there was great distress in the house of S. Pinhas and of his sister Signora Sapira[10], and whenever a missive arrived from Rome it was as 'the tearing out of the soul' [for them]. They confided all these things to me: all their ideas, and every little detail - but everything! - and begged me to pray for them. And, in truth, I suffered great anguish because of their distress and I poured out my soul before G-d. And, thanks be to G-d - before Purim came a *chirographo* from the Pope confirming the aforem. gift. But [alas] just at this time that the Cohanim and S. Cagli were rejoicing - just at that very moment came the tidings that the brother of S. Consul's son-in-law - named Fano, of Reggio, had turned apostate. This was a terrible blow to the House of Fano and S. Consul was greatly distressed about it.

Shevat 16

I was honoured with *Sandeq* to the son of S. Almagia; and they called the boy's name Ha'im Joseph David Almagia, ytv.

Adar

On Purim I was sent *menahot*[11] by S. Cagli, S. David and S. Pinhas ytv, with honour and love.

Nisan

New Moon, Nisan: we issued formal judgment for the above-mentioned financial matters according to the [strict] law apart from those

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10 They wished the gift to remain.

11 Gift-offerings. The more usual w. for the customary Purim gifts is *manot* (portions).

compromises we had made with their knowledge and consent.

Nisan 3

S. Isaac [Ha-Cohen] went off to the Corn Exchange - which they call *loreta* - saying he wanted to buy some wheat. But the real reason was that he was annoyed about some of the particulars for which we had made him liable - and his brother S. David was exceedingly sullen and annoyed 'and from his mouth came out thunderbolts'.

Nisan 9

I went to S. David and spoke at length 'to his heart' straightforward words of truth; and S. Isaac also came - and the words fell sweetly, thank G-d. But there was still left the matter of the oaths which the two sides were obliged to swear; and in this 'we passed through the bitter waters' - just what should be the order and the setting and the language of the oaths, and when? In the end, with G-d's help we arranged the language in a manner they found agreeable; and a scribe of the Beth Din read out the order of the oath and all the three *g'virim* David, Isaac and Pinhas, in the same moment, swore it together. And it was a miracle! and the date was the 13th day of Nisan.

Nisan 29

A legal instrument was drawn up on the matter of the brothers and S. Pinhas by a notary of the Cardinal. And it was 'an honour for the Name', for he [the Cardinal] had himself written in that the quarrel among the *g'virim* had been going on for years and the Pope, the Cardinal and nobles had all tried without success until along came one from Jerusalem etc. And the brothers paid up as decreed.

Iyar 1

First day of New Moon: a legal instrument [of settlement] was drawn up by the above-named [Cardinal ?] about the matter of S. Cagli and the brothers.

Iyar 2

I departed from Ancona in great honour and escorting us to the outskirts of the town came about 300 people and *calessos* - the Rav, S. Solomon Moses Seppilli, S. Pinhas and attendant, Menasheh, S. David and Isaac aforem., S. Aaron Abulafia, S. Samuel Moses the son of S. Pinhas and S. Azariah Cohen Vitali - for 11 miles, as far as Casa Bruciata; and we arrived towards Minha-time at Senigallia, together with S. Pinhas and his attendant. And we lodged with S. Samuel Gallico.

Iyar 3

That night, there was a meeting [of the Council] and we persisted until the matter of the mission was settled satisfactorily. And G-d helped me to settle many matters in one and a half days:

1) I obtained agreement between Joshua Saban and Judah Ha-Levi to remove their dispute out of the Roman courts to be judged by the Yeshivah in Ancona; 2) the community officials 'this will they give' [namely], the title of *Haver* to R. Isaac [del Vecchio] ['of the elders']; 3) they gave leave to the M[oreh] T[sedeq], Hakham Rabbi Moses Foa to go to Piemonte [= Piedmont] for two months; 4) when there would be a vacancy on the Council they would re-instate S. David Camerino; 5) they would lose no time in apportioning the properties of Abraham Hayun and Judah Ha-Levi; 6) the agency of Moses Mondolfo in the said properties should be settled with an appropriate fee; 7) Abraham Hayun's guarantee for Joshua Saban should continue indefinitely; 8) any two litigants concerning ownership rights should go to Ancona for judgment; 9) we made peace between Isaac of Ascoli and Abraham Hayun; 10) any dispute in agency would be arbitrated by S. Gallico. All these matters were difficult and tiring to a degree; but the lovingkindness of G-d is eternal and G-d is with us granting us success in everything.

And the brothers S. David Abraham and S. Samuel and S. Mahalel Gallico and other Yehidim accorded me bounty and honour in plenty. Praises to the L-rd, may He be blessed, who does wondrously.

Iyar 4

We set off, and we were escorted by six *calessos* as far as Moratta. During the journey, the son of S. Gallico fell and fainted; and I was very distressed. But - blessed be G-d - he was not hurt and he recovered and they returned in peace. At evening we arrived in Pesaro and I and S. Pinhas stayed at the house of his sister Signora Giudecca and her sons S. Abraham Levi and S. Raphael Samson. That night S. Abraham was sick with fever; and they bled him twice.

Iyar 6

We went off by *carrozza* [=coach] with S. Pinhas and S. Matsliah to the palace of the city Governor, the Marchese Moschi. And there [we saw] *giuochi di acqua*[12], a wondrous thing [consisting of] many contrivances and stone carvings producing music and resonances by the force of the water. And also through the powerful [spray of] water could be seen a rainbow [even] on a clear day - something wonderful. And there I [also] saw a peacock.

Iyar 7

The eve of Friday: at mid-day I performed a *pidyon* ['redemption'] on S. Abraham aforem. and he began to feel better; thanks to G-d.

Iyar 8

The holy Sabbath: we dined with S. Matsliah, and I preached at Minha-time in the Sephardi Synagogue, rebukingly[13].

Iyar 9

We wanted to depart [from Pesaro] but 'the windows of Heaven opened' and we had to tarry.

While in the town of Pesaro I saw a commentary on the Torah and [also] *'Ta'amey Ha-Mitsvoth'* by R. Moses Cordevero zlhh, and the Responsa of R. Yehiel Trabuto: and he writes that the Ga'on OMR I. Colon

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12 A water-driven device.

13 Perhaps because of all the discord he had seen.

zlhh is his uncle; it is also written there that OMR I.C. is descended from Rashi. I also saw there the Responsa of the Rav Zekhariah of Urbino, the son-in-law of the said Rav Yehiel.

Iyar 10

Monday, Emor: we set forth escorted by S. Raphael Samson and R. Isaac, one of the elders, for 5 miles; accompanied by Isaac Moscato, my new attendant on my travels, we reached Rimini at noon.

Iyar 11

I stayed overnight in Rimini. And there are some Jews there and they welcomed us; and that same day, at mid-day, we arrived at the town of Cesena. And there are Israelites there and I dined with them. Later in the afternoon I prayed Minha, at eventide, in a town called Forli; and after that I came to the town of Faenza: and there are Israelites there and they welcomed us warmly.

Iyar 12

Wednesday: S. Shabbetai Fano [of Lugo] had sent a gentile, Girolonomo, to escort us from Faenza to Lugo. Also accompanying us was the young man S. Michael Solomon Hazaq. And [when we were still] two miles away some of the townspeople came out to meet us. So we arrived safely in the town of Lugo, and we lodged in the house of the said S. Shabbetai Shemariah Fano - a beautiful room - at the expense of the community.

I met there the sage R. Judah Fano; and he told me [inter alia] that the ReM'A zl[14] once wrote on a small piece of parchment *'Shema' Israel'* using the milk of a nursing mother and her nursing daughter mixed with lemon juice: with fasting and *tevilah* [ritual immersion] this is a wonderful talisman, for whomsoever swallows this parchment, against apostasy: and it is tried and tested.

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14 The renowned R. Menahem Azariah of Fano, Italy. He lived in the 16th century and wrote prolifically on both Halakha and Cabbalah. R. HYDA in *Shem Ha-Gedolim* is fulsome in his praise for him.

Iyar 15

Saturday: the Rav OMR Solomon David del Vecchio[15] came [to visit me] and I went with him to the Talmud Torah [school] to listen to two boys discoursing, by way of a debate, on the passage *Mehad be'shevyekha*[16]. They recited arguments and counter-arguments, all of it [constructed] by the aforem. Rav. Afterwards I went to the house of the Rav; and then he came with me to visit the [community] officials S. Jacob Finzi, his [the Rav's] father-in-law, and S. Gedaliah Senigallia, and S. Joseph Del Vecchio, and S. Barukh Solomon Pinto: they did me great honour. And at Minha the Rav preached and urged about the matter of my mission; and he said beautiful novellae and connected various [Talmudic] passages by virtue of their sequence or through *pilpul*[17]. And [afterwards] he came, together with his brother-in-law S. Isaac Finzi, to partake with me of the 'Third Meal'.

Iyar 16

Sunday, Behar, the night of of the termination of the holy Sabbath: there came [to see me] OMR S.D.M. with his brother-in-law S. Moses Yedidiah Pinto, [also] called Finzi, and he is a widower. And we spoke concerning matters of *mussar*[18] until five and a half hours [of the clock].

During the day we visited S. Gedalia Senigallia, for he was sick. And he asked [of us] for the 'release of curses' [?] and [also] to recite the Confession. All those present had grown sick of trying to make peace between him and the [community] officials, the elder S. Joseph Del Vecchio and S. Barukh Solomon Pinto: and they told me to try.

Iyar 17

Monday, the eve of Monday: I spent four hours with the elder

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15 This is Freimann's emendation of *Mi'l'Vecchio*, the Hebrew *mi* for 'from' or 'of' replacing the Italian *de*. R. HYDA refers to him in later passages as OMR SDM.

16 This term (correctly copied from the autograph) is quite unknown; its meaning is also obscure, translating roughly as 'from one among your captives'.

17 'Sharpness' (> pepper) - the specialised analytical and dialectical style of identifying problemata and disparities of the *halakha* in various subjects and then removing the difficulties by revealing fine structure in the underlying principles.

18 Lessons concerning ethics and morality drawn from the holy texts.

aforem. His head is iron mixed with rock - I achieved nothing. In the morning he was waiting for me by the door of the synagogue and he said to me that during the night he had thought about my words. But I did not [even] turn my face towards him since I was wrapped in my *tsithith* and wearing *tefillin*; and he thought that I was angry with him. He was very much affected [by this], and he went to bring my coat; after the prayers, he came to my house and brought with him his colleagues. And they agreed to make peace under certain conditions which were written down; and they donated some small amounts, on [that] Monday and on Tuesday, for my mission.

Iyar 18

The eve of Tuesday: we read out the conditions to S. Abraham, the son of the aforem. S. Gedalia - and he was extremely difficult indeed! But I girded myself with strength, and with the help of the Al-mighty I was successful - and he accepted everything[19].

Iyar 19

The conditions were written down in Italian and the signatories were I, the junior, and OMR SDM. It was signed and delivered in the hand of the said Rav to await the time they would receive the edict from the Pope - for the matter had already been presented in [the Court of] Rome. And this was miraculous - being [thus] able to mediate between them: for the noble[20] S. Moses Ha'im Cohen had been busy with this [matter] and had sent S. Rossi [as his deputy] and 'he had hauled up [but] a shard'; but the L-rd guided the merit through my humble hands.

Now, this S. Gedalia was almost nearly dead - but out of his joy he rose up and became cured of his illness. I went to see him and he was walking around in the house - blessed is G-d!

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19 On behalf of his father.

20 The term *sar* (= prince or minister) used here and elsewhere probably indicates the leader or most prominent member, of the community rather than an official position.

Iyar 20

Thursday: I received a letter from S. Jacob Minervi [saying] that I should stay with him in Ferrara. 'And the house of Jacob' [comprises] the *g'vir* Zalman and his sons, S. Moses Yedidia, and S. Isaac and S. Abraham and the *g'veret Judita*, the wife of Moses, daughter of S. Elisha Rossi: they all have the fear of Heaven, knowledge of the Books; and they are kind people, and they did great things for me.

Iyar 24

Monday, Ba-midbar: I journeyed [from there]; and S. Moses aforem. sent the beadle of the Synagogue to accompany me to Ferrara. He had hired a coach and four horses; and most of the holy cong. accompanied me; and S. Shabbetai Shemariah Fano[21] and another escorted us five miles. The beadle of the congregation is Abraham Isaac Shemaya - a good man - and he had been instructed by the said Moses to pay all expenses; and he was my guiding light.

Towards evening, that young man of perfection S. Benjamin Solomon and his brother Nehemiah, the sons of the *g'vir* Jacob Minervi, came out to meet me. And we passed through the gates of Ferrara in peace through the efforts of my good friend S. B.S.M.[22] - for I was in great anxiety about this because of my writings. And the holy One, blessed be He, in His mercy spared us to enter there in peace, 'without accident or misfortune'. We stayed with the said *g'vir* S. Jacob; his gracious wife, Mistress Rica, wrought wondrous acts of kindness upon kindness towards me; also her sons, S. Joseph and S. Menahem, and the aforem S. B.S.M.

And there in Ferrara was a flaming fire between the entire holy cong. and the noble S. Moses Ha'im Cohen concerning the tax; and the Pope and Cardinal Borghese had entered [the dispute] as well as many ministers and sages and emissaries, including S. Amron and S. Morpugo - 'and they hauled up but a shard'. And they urged me pressingly to intercede.

Sivan 8

Sunday, Nasso: I was *Sandeq* for the son of S. Solomon Moses Caballero; and they called the child Ha'im Yosef David.

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21 v. p.72.

22 Benjamin Solomon Minervi.

Sivan 14

Saturday: we heard evil tidings concerning Mantua, on Friday, where two weddings had taken place in one building. At the later one, just when the bridegroom had given the betrothal [ring], and the Hakhamim present had gone into another room for the signing of the *Kethuba*, and they had just commenced the 'Seven Benedictions' - for our many sins - the floor of the room collapsed and fell with all the people on it to the storey below; and that second floor fell through on to [yet] a third storey below. And there died, 'with stoning or strangulation', 65 souls of Israel, and among them the bride, her mother and her sister. And 30 people were injured, among them the bridegroom. Now, the g'veret Signora Esther wife of S. Pinhas Ha-Cohen was there: but one of the servants had come by and accidentally pushed her, and she got annoyed and went out of the house - and then immediately after the house collapsed. Her brother-in-law S. Israel while on the way to the 'Seven Benedictions' remembered that he had to write some important missive and turned back! And this was a 'trembling before the L-rd.' And we all felt ill at this evil news. May G-d deliver us and all Israel from evil decrees; may thus be His will.

Sivan 19

Wednesday, Be-ha'alothekha: I went to the noble S. Moses Ha'im; and we sat discussing how to settle between him and the whole holy congregation, in utmost secrecy.

Sivan 27

Friday, Shelah: some of the community leaders came to see me concerning 'our secret', and I was sullen and annoyed. That morning I was unable to get out of bed. I suffered from vomiting and diarrhoea and fever; and I was in distress all day long.

Sivan 28

Saturday, the holy Sabbath: we prayed the evening service at home. And I ate a little. In the morning I forced myself, though suffering greatly, to go to the Synagogue. And by dint of great effort I managed to eat two meals, just a small amount; and the vomit and the diarrhoea continued.

Sivan 29

Sunday, Qorah: I was in distress all day through my illness.

Tammuz, New Moon

Monday, Qorah: I went to the Synagogue in great pain. And they kept begging me to take a doctor; I had declined [till now] for various reasons. [But now] there had came from Livorno S. Moses Cohen, a grandson of Hakham Rabbi Eliezer Ha-Cohen. He showed me his family genealogy - attested to by the old rabbis of *Aram Tsovah* [= Lebanon], and among whose archives it was found - going back to OMR Samuel Ha-Cohen of the Beth Din of the RaShBA[23] in Barcelona: and this doctor gave me a medecine three times and the vomiting ceased. On that same day, the *g'vir* S. Hakham Rabbi Aaron Samuel Hai Cohen came from Mantua to visit me and he invited me to his house in Mantua.

Tammuz 2

Wednesday: the doctor gave me *rabarbaro* [= rhubarb] and the 'exiting' ceased. I ate [just] a little meat and toasted bread soaked in wine, 'for the hand had failed' and I had no strength. Later I went by *calesso* to take a walk round the walls with my good friends the brothers [sic] S. Minervi and his grandsons ytv.

Tammuz 3

Thursday: I went to the Synagogue and recited the benediction *Hagomel* [... who deals bountifully] etc.' Praise t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

Tammuz 6

Sunday, Huqat-Balaq: I did not want to eat meat, so I just [ate] some soup and bread soaked in wine. Later, I went to visit a place where they make silk. There are huge boiling cauldrons, and in them small spools of silk, some yellow as egg-yolks, others white: they pull out the threads of

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23 R. Shlomo ben Abraham ben Aderet, began 'reigning' in Barcelona 5040 (1280), d. 5070 (1310).

silk and then clean them and then spin them, extremely finely.

Tammuz 9

Wednesday: I saw, in the garden of S. Elisha Mi-adumim[24] rows of *fragola* [=strawberry]; and this is an excellent fruit, abundant in Italy.

Tammuz 10

Thursday: they called a meeting of the community Council and they read out the *partidos* [=decisions] finalised by the young man [secretary?] on the tax of HR M.C.[25]

Tammuz 13

Sunday: Pinhas: there was a meeting of the *facitori* [=Government executive officers] and they gave permission for the community Council to effect the settlement.

Tammuz 14

Monday: there came [to Ferrara] the Archduke of Milan[26] and his wife the Duchess, daughter of the Duke of Modena, and the Princess of Parma [Maria Amalie], sister of the said Archduke - children of the Empress Maria Theresa - to visit their brother the Grand Duke of Tuscany[27] and his wife [Marie Louise] daughter of the King of Spain. These above-mentioned are brothers of the Emperor and all children of the Empress of Hungary. The said Archduke arrived in a *bucentorio*[28] from Mantua - and this *bucentorio* belongs to the Signor[e ?] Cohanim[29] and S. Pinhas Ha-Cohen accompanied them!

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24 De Rossi.

25 V. Iyar 24 .

26 Ferdinand: Beatrix his wife.

27 Leopold II.

28 This cannot be *Bucintoro*, the state barge of Venice referred to later in the narrative; perhaps this diminutive form is used as a name for this pleasure yacht.

29 Probably HR A.S.H. Cohen of Mantua referred to above.

Tammuz 15

Tuesday: I had a talk with the bachelor Abraham Bianchini and made him agree - on oath - to take a wife within 6 months! I had been rebuking him for some two hours in the presence of HHOMHR Solomon Zamorani, the doctor, ytv.

Tammuz 16

Wednesday: I went to the community Council and I put them on oath concerning the settlement I had arranged with the Rav Moses Cohen. They signed, and I signed. And we sent for the noble, the Rav M. C[ohen] asking him to come; and he brought his own document signed by his hand and the hand of his brother S. Aaron Hai, and I also signed on it. I then spoke on [the subject of] peace and He who makes peace. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e. - for Thou hast wrought a *FeLA(e)*[30]: Ferrara, Lugo, Ancona - for the Holy One, blessed be He, in His mercy helped me to establish peace among them, as described above.

Tammuz 19

Saturday: I called for the Hakham Solomon Lamprunti to come to me and, once more, the community officials. And I was, [at that time], in the house of the Rav M.C. And I [also] called S. Solomon Fazzini and S. Jacob Minervi and S. Judah Bianchini; and they all came and the agreement became public knowledge. That evening the Rav M.C. and S. Pinhas from Mantua came to visit me in the house of S. Minervi.

Tammuz 20

Sunday, Mattoth: towards evening I felt great pain in my abdomen. And all through the night, till 5 hours [of the clock], I was in great pain; but then HQBH sent His word and healed me.

Tammuz 21

Monday: the *g'vir* Aaron Hai, brother of Rav M.C., and S. Arye

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30 *Pele (fele)* = miracle.

Samuel, the son of Rav. M.C. came to visit me.

I made peace between S. Isaac Ra'iti [Rieti] and his son; and they made a dispensation for me to eat meat[31], since I was ill. May the L-rd heal me, with a perfect healing - [the one who is] always ready for His service and His fear; so may it be His will.

Tammuz 22

Tuesday: the Rav M.C. made a banquet for me; and there came OMR S. Lamprunti, and the Hakham R. I. Pesaro and S. Elisha.

Tammuz 23

Wednesday: the officials informed me they were not going to pay for my 'food for the journey'. But finally I departed in peace with everything necessary [for the journey].

Tammuz 24

Thursday: I prayed in the morning with *minyan*, then I travelled in the *calesso* of the Rav M.C. and I was escorted by S. Arye Samuel, S. B.S. M[inervi] and S. Isaiah Ha-Cohen Vitali as far as Fellonica. There we were met by S. Pinhas who was going [back] to Ferrara. I travelled in his *calesso* as far as Sermide and from there we went with S. David Grigo to Revere. And there we had our chest sealed by the Customs.

Tammuz 25

Friday: we journeyed on and came in peace to Mantua. And immediately the rabbis came [to meet me]. I stayed in the home of S. Cohanim[32] ytv.

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31 Evidently R. HYDA had made a private vow, for some reason, not to eat meat: there must also have been a third person to effect this release from the vow.

32 See above Sivan 29. A curious use of the plural form.

Tammuz 26

Saturday: the [community] officials came to visit me; then I went to [visit] the rabbis. I saw in the house of the Rabbi Saraval a bible with commentaries printed in Costa in the year 5265 (1505): this had been printed by people who were expelled from Spain. It contained new *Haftara* passages.

Av 7

Tuesday, Va-et'hanan: there came to visit me rabbis sent by the Council to ask me about the communal fast they had taken on themselves and which they wanted to defer. And I worked hard to get them to agree not to change it. And the Rav and doctor OMR Israel Gedaliah Cases and HR Yequtiel also agreed; and as for the rest, 'their mind was annulled'.

Av 9

Thursday, the day of Tish'a B'Av: the Rav I. Saraval preached, and made very honourable mention of me - for I had said that the holy cong. of Mantua was an estimable one! And he chastised them saying he would have 'contentment of the spirit' if they were to conduct themselves with holiness in the manner laid down by the ReM'A[33] and the RaMaZ[34].

Afterwards, in the home of S. Sulam the Rav HR I.G. Cases preached all through the night of the Sabbath: he would start with an introduction [of a bible passage] explaining it fully, then go to a quotation from the related *Midrash*, then he would point out minute details of difficulty in this text and explain these: he would then follow the sequence of the *Midrash*, statement after statement, and link the whole beautifully. And the following was the custom in the Synagogue: after prayers, for one hour, the rabbis and all the other [present] would learn *Eyn Ya'aqov*[35], each person taking a *masekhta* [= tractate] 'of his heart's desire'; and the preacher for each Sabbath would [then] commence giving mussar continuing with a

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33 When spelled as here with *ayin*, R. Menahem Azaria of Fano (with aleph, R, Moshe Isserles of Cracow).

34 R. Moshe Zacut, b. Amsterdam 5386 (1625): became Rav in Venice, later in Mantua; d. 5458 (1697).

35 An anthology of Aggadah and homily extracted from the Talmud.

subject in his [chosen] passage, then going to the Parasha [of the week], everything being beautifully connected.

Av 12

Sunday, Eqev: there was a meeting of the community Council. Although they are hard people, and the [tax] decree aforementioned brought new burdens - in addition to widows and orphans whom the holy cong. was obliged to support - nevertheless, through the efforts of the *g'vir*, my host, S. Israel who was the leader of the congregation, they donated a fine donation. Thanks be to G-d.

Av 13

Monday: accompanied by the *g'vir* HHOM the Hakham R. Aaron to a factory of the clothes that they wear. I saw the many gradual steps - from the time that the wool is cleaned, the different kinds of work that are made until it is woven and reeded and trimmed - all with much toil, needing 70 craftsmen being busy with it, and using many kinds of instruments.

Av 14

Tuesday: we went to the Virgiliana. There I saw canvas [being made], and rice being grown, and stallions for stud, beautiful and high. When I saw the canvas, it was after it had been soaked, and the strands beaten; and it had the appearance of grasses. Then they dry them and twist them. I also saw there a corn granary of huge proportions. And they have there a new instrument for doing six kinds of sifting. While travelling on the way I saw plantations of various kinds of melons.

Av 15

Wednesday: I visited R. I. Saraval. He showed me books of the Karaites; and *Mishnayot* with the commentary of R. Obadiah of Bertinoro and of R. M[aimonides] in Latin, all with illustrations[36].

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36 Surenhus, Amsterdam, 1698-1793.

Av 20

Monday, Re'ey: I was accompanied by S. D.H. Ariani to Bozzolo. An hour or so later S. Mordecai Finzi arrived there. And then -in a state of great excitement - arrived his wife and brother-in-law [saying] Abraham the Idiot *que estropasa a la servitud*[37] and had dared to offer tobacco [snuff] to S. Nehemiah, the brother of the g'veret; and she was quite distraught. After Minha we went to Rivarolo and we stayed with S. Joseph Ha'im and his brother.

Av 22

Wednesday: I went to visit a *filatura* [=spinners factory] for silk belonging to S. Finzi. They told me there that the wood used for heating the *galita* [?] makes a difference: for some woods produce better silk, and *moral-wood*, whose leaves is food for the silkworms, is the best. The water must be very clean, fit for drinking. I [also] saw leather tannery there.

I wrote to Colorno and sent [the letter] with a gentile. They sent me 2 *pezzas*. I wrote [back] on their [own] letter [saying], "I declare: I 'do not want this blessing, and it is departing [from him][38] ' - the two *pezzas* are for you". And I returned them. But afterwards I was distressed that I had written to an entire holy cong. in such a manner; and, furthermore, perhaps they would send this letter to Mantua - 'and enough would be the shame'. By the mercy of G-d, they then sent 3 pezzas - with a post-script written on the [same] letter which they returned. P.t.L.f.h.i.g.

In the evening I travelled with the young man Moshe Menahem Finzi to Bozzolo. At the gateway of the courtyard [as we were leaving] I was much distressed because the horses refused to go out even though they were hit with mighty blows. Eventually they went through. I was afraid to travel - but I was too embarrassed [to admit it], so I went. And thank the L-rd we arrived in Bozzolo, at the house of S. Mordecai Finzi.

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37 Had been making trouble among the servants and being cheeky to S. Nehemiah.

38 Psalms 109:17. Meaning 'from me'.

Av 23

Thursday: I travelled to Mantua, and when I arrived I found a letter from 'the delight of my eyes', S. Raphael ytv - 'a remedy against the poison'[39].

Av 24

Friday: we were [discoursing] together on various matters when [I heard] a child in that vicinity had died. I had, perforce, to tell S. Aaron KaTs[40] and he left the house. [Later] that day I was with S. Aaron and some boys [discoursing] in [the tractate of *Baba*] *Qama* which they were learning; and I argued it [with them] for some two hours.

Av 26

Sunday, Shof'tim: I went, accompanied by S. Aaron, to the Palacio Te. And there are paintings of warriors and Bela Giudita [?] and, likewise, stone statues of people. There are many chambers [galleries ?] high up towards the ceiling, with carvings and paintings - beautiful to behold, and especially to those knowledgeable in the art of painting: the English come here to copy their likenesses. And there is a room of echoes which they call 'the Echo', made mathematically so that if a man stands in one corner and another in the corner opposite diagonally, and they speak very quietly, [yet] they can [readily] hear each other. Between the corners is [a distance of] 50 steps and a half; and we measured it in the *arsum*[41] of Mantua and there are 21 or thereabouts. There, too, is a cave with unusual stone pictures which in former days had been an artificial water [fountain], but now the pipes are broken; and it is ancient, more than 400 years old. They told [me there] that in Milan there is an 'echo [chamber]' where the sound can be heard 7 times; and in Athens, 13 times! And all this is [done] with the science of mathematics.

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39 Job 11:9 *'Aruka me'erets'* = longer than the land; but also, aruka = healed, eress = poison. It is not clear what the 'poison' is.

40 *Kohen Tsedek* = righteous priest; a common sobriquet acting as a surname. This is possibly S. Cohanim (Kohanim) referred to earlier (Tammuz 14). Could also be identical with R. Aaron (Av 13). (Kats is usual Ashkenazi form).

41 A local unit of length? Perhaps a corrupt. of *misura*.

I also went to visit a paper factory. There I saw the powerful jets of water whose power knocks hammers against cloth rags for hours until they become dissolved. Then they put it all into a pool of water with lime and it all becomes like 'soft' water; then they spread some of this 'soft' water in a vessel and they spread a cloth and on it another cloth separated by a cloth [?] and so on many times until they touch the ceiling. After that they put it into a large bowl and they spread it out. And many are the works that it needs! - and all done by the rushing of the water. On this journey, too, I saw *'albianas'* trees[42].

Av 28

Tuesday: I went to the General Council [of the Community] and I performed for them 'release from the curses' [?]. The rabbis were there, and they agreed to release the 'bans'[43] of the *prammatica* [custom ?], both unintentional and deliberate, and the unintentional 'bans' of the *casella* [box ?]. And I spoke *mussar* for a little while, and I found favour ... Thanks be to G-d.

Av 29

Wednesday: I fasted with them on the Communal Fast which they had taken on themselves because of the decree: 'and the evil will not rise [nor] the trouble twice'[44]

Ellul 3

Sunday, Thetse: we set out in the *calesso* of S. Cohanim, with S. Aaron, HR Yequtiel and S. D[avid] H[a'im] A[riani], to Verona [and we lodged] in a gentile inn outside the *ghetto*. The said *g'vir* had to pay out much money there. Rav Menahem Navarra had [also] come there with some *g'virim*[45], but they returned to Mantua later that day.

Later, I entered the ghetto [to seek lodging] in the tavern [of one]

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42 Unknown; perhaps a species named after Alboin, king of Lombardy (561-573).

43 *Herem*: excommunication or similar sanction. An obscure passage.

44 A hybrid of Jer. 51:64 and Nahum 1:9.

45 The reason is not disclosed.

Gershon. On the way there way I looked [back] and I could not see Abraham behind me! So we[46] got out, and we sent a rider on horseback [to find him]. After about a half-hour he came along saying he had lost his shoe and had gone to find it! - and similar nonsense of his. Blessed be the L-rd that I had noticed quickly and nothing had happened to him.

Ellul 6

Wednesday: I went by *calesso*, together with Moses David Virlingo, to the Giardine Gazola: very beautiful. Then I went to a place they call an *arena*. It is an ancient place, an [open] field, and surrounding the whole place there are 45 steps across the entire width of the field round about each side. When the Emperor Giuseppe [Joseph] II came there they made sports there, and 72 thousand people may sit right around the space. There are cave-like enclosures used by the Romans for keeping wild animals, and anyone sentenced to death would be brought there and torn to pieces by the animals. Outside there are 72 shops behind the structure aforementioned. I also saw the market-hall where they hold fairs - a beautiful structure which has 7 doors, all of them visible from the centre; and opposite the main door, at the end [of the hall] sits a tribunal of judges for [the benefit of] the merchants. I also saw there an *horloge* that could be seen from the outside. I went up and saw that it occupied a whole room - huge machinery, with an iron [shaft] going through the end wall to show the hours outside.

Ellul 7

Thursday: I went, together with S. Qalman Greno to the gardens of the councillor Conte Giusti in order to deliver a letter from the *g'vir* Pinhas de Abraham Ha-Cohen; and he gave me much honour. I saw there the *giardino* - beautiful! The upper part is a hill, and it ends, at the bottom of the hill, in undulating lowlands - a garden of extreme beauty, in which is a lake with fish. And they have there a small echo-chamber; and also a small *gioco di acqua*[47]. There is also there a *labyrinth* - having the meaning of *imbroglio*.

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46 S. Cohanim was presumably still with him.

47 Ornamental fountains and waterfalls. See p. 71.

This is the 'convoluted garden' referred to in *Mesillath Yesharim*[48]; and in this garden there are 80 little paths which confuse the walker.

Ellul 12

Tuesday, Tavo: I had great trouble with the Parnesssim of the *Kollel* and of the Ashkenazi Synagogue; I spoke hard [words] to them and in the end we came to an agreement. Among them was the son of S. Tsemah - a relation of the 'officer'[49]. I went to him day after day; and by dint of much beseeching his father sent me a little *pan di Spagna* [= Spanish bread ?] - but nothing more - and after all this effort!

Ellul 13

Wednesday: I journeyed [from there] in peace; and I took with me *servito maestri* [= the main course ? - food?]. And I arrived in Montebello.

Ellul 14

Thursday: we came to Vicenza and stayed there overnight; and by the middle of the day we arrived in Padua. In the gentile guest house [in Vicenza] we had forgotten a tin cup; and, additionally, as a result of the bad arrangement in our basket, a knife had cut through a tin flask containing ink and the ink spilled over everything in the basket. On top of that, the lock of the basket had become turned [jammed] and we were obliged to spend money to break it [open]; also, part of the glass of my *horloge* [watch] became broken. May it be the Will that these things should serve as an atonement [for our sins].

Ellul 16

Saturday: I partook of all three meals with the *g'vir* Israel, and his sons Jacob and Meyer Trieste. And 'the house of Jacob'[50] is Signora Rica,

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48 Author R. M.C. Luzzato.

49 The remark appears to be cynical, but the reason is unclear. The 'officer' in this context probably refers to the father.

50 Ex. 19:3 'the House of Jacob' refers to the womenfolk.

the sister of Signora Esther, wife of S. Pinhas Cohen of Mantua; and they are the daughters of S. Ezriel Bassan.

In the morning I was [present] at the sermon of HHOMHR Shabbetai Ha'im Marini. Afterwards he came to dine with me together with the Rav - pious and outstanding in wisdom and piety - HHOMR Rabbi Jacob Hazaq, may the Merciful One guard him and protect him[51]. I prayed *Arvit* in the Ashkenazi Synagogue. During the day the Rav and the Parnesssim had come to visit us.

Ellul 18

Monday, Nitsavim: accompanied by S. Meyer Trieste I went to the place of the *estudio* [= university] where they give the 'crown' [= degree] in medicine. It is a grand building, with beautiful pictures and gardens and walls. In front of the stairway is a picture of a woman who had studied and was 'crowned with the crown' of medicine - one such [woman] there was, and she became famous. Up the stairs, on the right, is an elegant and beautiful room with cabinets all around; in these are arrayed stones of every kind, among them stones found in the sea or that the sea had washed up on to the shore; and various *agitas* [agate ?] stones and the like - each one placed in a *cassetta abanus* [= windowed case], with a plaque below on which is written each stone's description and where it was found, which country and so on. Beyond them are cabinets containing arrays of different metals: silver, gold, copper, tin, iron, and a magnet, and bronze - all different sorts from different countries, everything ordered and with descriptive notices for each thing; and beyond these are cabinets containing many kinds of stones formed by crystallisation from the waters of rivers, seas and streams, and after these is a place for the professor [to sit]. Further on there is a goat and a deer - whose flesh and bones have been taken out and the skins embalmed and stuffed - standing up as if alive. Yet further on are cabinets with embalmed embryos, and birds and fish of every sort and every colour from various countries; and arrays of pearl and coral of many kinds; and various crystals for the study of science. And everything is so well-arranged: sapphire, emerald, diamond

51 R. Jacob Raphael Hezeqiah Forti (= Hazaq).

- with descriptive plaques; and everything clean and neat. I also saw there a *balena*-fish [=whale] in its entire form - just the bones, for they had removed all the flesh and fat. And other such things of a scientific nature, many of them.

In the room oppposite is where the Jews receive the 'crown' of medicine[52]. There are likenesses there of the 'doges principes' of Venice formed in marble beneath [each of] which is a plaque bearing the name in gold letters, and his dates - something beautiful. And in the middle rooms below there is a room where they demonstrate surgery; and it is darkened, and surrounded - in a manner similar to the *arena* in Verona - by rows [of seats] so that students can observe. And there are further rooms for the study of the different sciences; with a raised place where the master gives the lessons, and benches, in great number, for the students. The buildings are [altogether] beautiful with carved figures, and walled gardens of different types.

I also went into a very large *palacio* with a large room with [many] seats and other effects where litigants can argue their cases, recorded by notaries and advocates. This room is of very large size and elegant. On its four sides are beautiful courtyards; and on the right of the doorway there is written in square letters 'Honour the One G-d'[53]; and I could read it with a *cannocchiale* [=telescope]. The courts of the medical and science [faculties] abovem. are called Bò: and the reason is that the taxes paid to the Government by cattle farmers was sufficient for the upkeep of the [faculties] of science, surgery and medicine.

[From there] I went to the *Giardino Pappafava*; there is a *labyrinth* there, very large indeed - the one I saw in Verona compared to this was like a monkey compared to a man! And there are chambers and gardens, and ⌜ouches all made of grass [?] - beautifully arranged; and lakes, and a park in the middle, and kiosks, everything beautiful and pleasant.

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52 Without having to make the Hippocratic oath.

53 It is not clear in what language.

Ellul 20

Wednesday: I left Padua and came to Fusina; and from there to Venice by gondola. Thanks to G-d, no *esbirro* came near: for they make laws [here] for searching the clothes [of strangers ?]; and this was a miracle.

I took a room in the house of M[istress ?] MZT[54] Ibn-Yaqar, daughter of HR Abuhav grandson of the Rav [author of] *Devar Shemuel*[55].

Ellul 28

Thursday, Ha'azinu: I went, with our friend, that perfect Hakham, Abraham Jonah, may his light shine forth, to the Plaza San Marco. And I entered one of the palaces and saw some of the rooms and the *magistrados*. They say that there are 72 *tribunales* [=lawcourts] there - and this is something staggering. There is a clock and [figures of?] two black slaves strike it [on the hours]. And there are two monuments to San Marco and, behind, magnificent buildings and shops stocked with silver and gold and jewels and pearls - many and wonderful. And there is there a *ponte* [=bridge] and on it, on each side, are 12 shops - on the bridge itself!

In the evening we went to a very beautiful *giardino*[56], and in it are many chambers and tables with vases upon them - all made of plants[57].

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54 Possibly Mazal-Tov; an unusual name, as is the surname.

55 Written by his grandfather of the same name, of Venice; the leading Italian rabbi of that time.

56 The repeated reference to 'chambers' in the gardens are possibly bowers or arbours.

57 The bowers, perhaps.

Year 5537 [1776-7]

Tishri

During the Ten Days of Penitence I occupied myself in private meditation. Thanks be to G-d.

Tishri 11

Tuesday, Ha-berakhah, the day after [Yom] Kippur: I went by gondola, together with S. Daniel Tolentino of Ragusa, to Riva Alta, which they also call Rialto - [which is] a centre of commerce - and to the Banco di Giro[1].

Tishri 17

The first day of *Hol Ha-Moed* [Monday][2]: I went to visit an arsenal with S. Menahem Ashkenazi of Costa. We stayed there for 3 hours looking around at the things a kingdom requires - defying description! In short: anyone wishing to conduct a war, whether on the sea or on the land, can find there 'from head-band to shoe-lace' - planks, ropes, cannons, sails, nails of every sort; and weapons of every kind can be found there in abundance; and likewise everything that is needed in a ship, both in making it and sailing it: all its instruments, ropes, spars, sails, [hatch] covers, weapons of destruction, 'fire and sulphur' - everything can be found there. There are permanently two and a half thousand artisans and workers there, 'eating of the king's bread', [on duty] day and night, without cease, each man to his craft; and many ships and all their equipment and numerous cannons, everything prepared and ready. There are four splendid halls exhibiting various kinds of guns, cleaned, polished and gleaming and many suits of

1 Interestingly, the term *giroconto* is currently used meaning 'bank clearance'.

2 Succot beginning with two festival days in the Diaspora.

armour of different kinds. There, too, are warehouses full of different kinds of wood for use in the ships; and smiths making cannons, and many stores full of guns and other equipment, and many furnaces all blazing at once for all the work. And there they keep the *Bucintoro*[3] in which rides the Principal Doge to bless [betroth] the sea with his ring each year [as if] saying she is still a virgin, and no man has yet taken Venice. This ship is gilded [decorated] all over with hundreds of pictures and patterns and devices and symbols; and there is a book printed which tells of all the devices and symbols which have been gathered together in this small boat. There are some very large ships there, and we went aboard one and went around in it - it has cisterns of water, and stores, and even a place for a garden; and it can hold 800 'of its mercenaries within itself' and their princes. And there are many other ships, lying ready. There are also pools of fish. The whole is roofed over so that the workers can continue with their work 'through the summer and the winter shall it be'. Outside, there are roads and circuses - a veritable city provided with everything necessary for the fighting man, by sea or on land, ready and ordered and tidy, each thing selected and separate from the other. In order to see [all] these things in their immense entirety we were walking round for 3 hours without respite. In front of us children were playing, [climbing] one on top of the other [?]. And S. Menahem abovem. gave some 26 *litras* to the man guiding us.

Tishri 27

Bereshith, Thursday: I went [again] to the Plaza San Marco[4] with S. Daniel abovem. and we went up to the *campanile* [= bell-tower] right up to the place where is the bell. And the whole of Venice in its entirety can be seen from there. And we [also] went to the *zecca* [= mint] and I saw them minting *ducats*. I also saw the library there; it is very small, but there is a room there full of marble statues, men and women, and statues of birds trampling a man and a child, and statues of warrior women - amzing things! At the doorway of the *zecca* [itself] are marble statues of giants - wondrous. In the Plaza are statues of four horses in bronze, and to anyone looking at

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3 *Bucentaur*, the state barge of Venice.

4 For some reason R. HYDA always refers to *Han* Marco; perhaps an unwillingness to accord him the title of 'saint'.

them it seems as if they are talking. At the end [of the Plaza] are two monuments: one San Marco, one of the four founders of evangelism and this statue is a winged lion - and they say this is the protector of Venice. On the other monument is an image of the deity of Genoa, and at the time of their victory over the Genovese they set an image of their deity opposite San Marco, and San Marco turned around presenting his back to him to say that he reckons him as nought and rules over him.

Heshvan 3

Wednesday, Noah: I went to [visit] the printing press 'Bragadin'[5] which is under the control of S. Gad ibn Samuel Foa. I saw several rooms where they pour letters of both the square and of the *Rashi* type with many workers. Prince Bragadin takes 200 ducats a year [of the income ?] and 300 for the rent of the buildings. S. Gad abovem. has a weekly outlay of 160 ducats for the rent and wages of the workers.

Heshvan 4

Thursday: accompanied by S. Daniel abovem. I went 'on dry land' to the Plaza, for about an hour and a half, to see the thoroughfares, markets and squares: all full of shops laid out with every kind of merchandise, pearls, vessels of silver and gold, forgers of iron, sellers of fruit - and everything neatly set out. And they say that this is [only] one of the hundred markets in Venice. Everything is in nice order: every trade, every business there is in the world can be found here, everything arranged with neatness, harmony and order.

Tishri 5[6]

Friday: there was a quarrel between the said S. Daniel and S. Gershon Bianchini of Ferrara concerning the purchase of wool: S. Gershon, the purchaser, had some complaints. So I wrote two lines to S. Solomon Fazzini and to his son HR Mordecai ytv; and they straightaway sent him [back] the money in entirety.

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5 Founded 1550 (Freimann).

6 This entry and the next are, for some reason, out of sequence.

Tishri 14

Sunday, Va-yera: the Hakham R. Jacob Burla went to the community Council and they gave him 24 *zecchini* and six [more] for expenses.

Heshvan 24

Wednesday, Haye-Sarah: I went by gondola to see some important gentile merchants in order to take to them letters of recommendation that I had with me. And they accorded me much honour.

Kislev 2

Wednesday, Toledoth: in the evening [of Tuesday] HR J. B. came [to see me] since he would be departing [in the morning] before prayers. After having had [my] *Birke Yosef* in his possession for some days, and returning it as he was on the point of leaving, he had chosen just then to take issue with what I had written in [section] *Yoreh De'ah*, paragraph 13. I answered him after a fashion, but I was annoyed that he had kept this until the very time of his leaving.

In the morning, during prayers, it came to my mind that there was nothing in his argument; I was distressed because he would surely already have departed and there was nothing I could do. But after prayers, just as I was coming [out] I found him just setting off. I accompanied him and explained to him that his difficulty was actually not at all difficult and [that] the question was indicated in the last appendix [of the book].

Kislev 7

Monday, Va-yetse: I went in the evening to the community Council and told them of the troubles of Hebron. I also told them that they had taken the 'holy' money sanctified for Hebron out of the *zecca*[7] for the purpose of their [private] debts. So seeing that they had profited from 'the holies' now that Hebron was in danger they were obliged to return favour for this 'benefit of good'. And, furthermore, they [the monies] remain in the

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7 The meaning here is probably 'cash-box' or similar rather than 'mint'.

secah[8] and should take a half-share in any business. They then said, "You do not find yourself [9] in the *seca* but in the community Council!" - for they do not trust them, but they said they would look into the matter.

I also spoke to them concerning the sale of 'ordinary'[10] wine in the *ghetto* by gentiles; and people were buying [this wine] from them for *Qiddush* and the 'Four Cups'. Besides being a 'vain benediction' this is a 'profanation of the Name': for if a man sin in secret he bears his own sin, but with great openness, in the Jewish street - this is a profanation of the religion and law of Israel. As for myself, I saved my own soul. And they responded that they would see to remedy it.

Kislev 18

I wrote to Verona, to the Parnesssim, of blessed memory[11]; and I wrote to 'that man'[12]. He answered with unsavoury words; and he was brazen-faced as to speak slightingly of me. 'And he shall reckon with the Owner'[13]. And then suddenly, on the Sabbath-day, Shevat 24, he died. The authorities decreed that his head should be opened [for autopsy] - may the Merciful One deliver us ...

Teveth 17

The day of Friday, Va-yehi: I was *Sandeq* for the boy Abraham ben Kolonymus Joseph Hai son of the *g'vir* Abraham Franco Almeida, with exceptionally great honour. T. to G.

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8 This must be the *zecca* of before although the spelling is slightly different. In the next reference to *seca*, the meaning is the trustees who could act independently of the Council.

9 The original Talmudic expression, 'finding one's hands and feet' has a slightly different meaning, namely, finding one's balance or position.

10 I.e. even though there was no known idolatrous use.

11 This is one of several indications that R. HYDA wrote long after event described.

12 Who, alas, remains nameless.

13 Lev. 25:50.

Teveth 18

The day of the holy Sabbath: the whole day I was guest of the *g'virim* Almeida, for they arranged the banquet for the *B'rith* on the Sabbath.

Teveth 25

Saturday, Shemoth: I prayed in the Levantine Synagogue in honour of the child's father, the *g'vir* Jacob Ha'im Vivante ben Judah. I spent the night of the h.S. in a villa, and the next day at dinner with the Rav Calimani and the *mohel*, the great *g'vir* S. Isaac ben Menahem Treves. The meal began two hours before nightfall and finished two hours after dark. [It was my usual custom] in Venice to stay at home, and I went to [visit] no *g'vir* until he had [first] come to me, except for someone on the community Council and the outstanding *g'vir* Daniel ben Jacob Bonfil - and [now] the *g'vir* Isaac Treves aforem. [Even so], I only ate [with them] at the mid-day meal - one day with S. David Uzziel, whose wife is the sister of Signora Giudita and Signori David and Isaac Cohanim of Ancona; and one day, [again] at mid-day, with S. Almeida aforem.; and the two banquets of the *B'rith* abovem. On the nights of the h.S. from Heshvan onwards I used to go to the *g'vir* our good friend S. Ha'im Ha-Levi ytv of Bosna [Bosnia] - and he wrought excessively wondrous kindness to me both with his person and with his money. That perfect Hakham HHR Abraham Jonah[14] ny, came to [see] me every day after prayers for some two hours and we would read from *Birke Yosef*. The *g'vir* HR Abraham di Menahem Curiel ytv did me great honour and was unfaltering in his affection for me; and the *g'vir* Gad bkh[15] Samuel Foa ytv, the printer, also showed me extreme friendship. The scribe S. Muggia the elder was also a boon companion. So, thanks to G-d, I was able to conduct all my affairs with great honour. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.h.k.e.f.e.

And also the *g'vir* Vidal Angel inclined kindness towards me; and so, too, the three great *g'virim* S. Treves, S. Bonfil and S. Vivante showed their wondrous kindness with respect and affection: may G-d reward their deeds - may thus be His will.

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14 Chief of the Beth Din in Venice; *nero ya'ir* = may his light etc.

15 Curiously this unknown abbrevn. *bkh* is used here instead of *ibn* used earlier (see p.93). Possibly it means *bekhor*, the first-born son.

Teveth 27

Monday, Va-era: I travelled from Venice with S. Manasseh Valmarin, S. Eliezer David Cohen and Signora Nita and her brother-in-law. From the house right to the sea-shore we were accompanied by our good friend S. Ha'im Levi, S. Mehahem Vivante, HR A. Jonah, S. Vidal Angel and others. From there we were escorted as far as Mestre by Signori Moses and Solomon Pessah and S. Jacob Ha-Levi, and we came there in two gondolas. And [here too] the grace of G-d was strongly with us - as it was when I entered Venice - in that no *esbirros* came to search our clothing. And then we travelled in two *calessos* to Conegliano; on this journey I was afraid of the river crossing, because they had greatly frightened us [of this] when we were in Venice. But, t.G. we crossed easily.

Teveth 28

Tuesday: after prayers the Parnesssim of Conion[16] gathered, and the Yehidim; but all they gave was 'drip, drip' - a tiny amount. Only S. Calimani, one of the *g'virim* there - he has regal houses and his wife is pious, almost crazy! - donated, by the standards of that place and 'the laws of miserliness'[17] in which they are well versed, a large donation. The said lady[18] and her brother-in-law stayed there; but we travelled [back to Venice] with S. Valmarin and S. Cohen.

Teveth 29

Arriving in Fontanafredda we came to a gentile tavern and stayed there overnight. And we awoke before daybreak - and everywhere was full of snow. We set off, but the 'windows' and 'storehouses' of snow opened up and began emptying forth! Because of this the *vetturinos* lost their way and we had to turn back. We were obliged to hire two gentiles to seek out the way for us; and with the help of the Al-mighty we came in peace to the

16 This seems to be a contraction Conegliano.

17 Laws of *Qemitsah* concern the small portion removed for burning on the altar. Hence 'miserly'.

18 Signora Nita.

town of Valoasone. Since that morning and until 21 hours[19] we had not gone more that 10 miles: however - blessed is He who redeems and saves!

Shevat 1

Thursday, New Moon: we arrived at night in the town aforem.; and the hostess of the tavern was 'of the daughters of the leech' - 'evil and sinful' and abusive and she took much money.

The weather was very cold and the snow some two cubits deep and we [again] lost our way. There were also rivers to cross. We hired two gentiles, and we crossed the two fords at Tagliamento with ease and we arrived safely in the town of Codroipo. Because of the surfeit of snow both lying on the ground and still falling, we took two fresh horses and we arrived safely close to nightfall in the town of Udine. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Shevat 2

The eve of Friday: we slept in the town of Udine; but in the tavern 'they were excessively sinful' and took much [money].

In the morning we departed; and we crossed a ford called Torre with ease. And we came to the town of Friuli Imperiale. On the way there stands a monument of marble: on one side is an image of the deity of Venice, a winged lion with its lion's head towards Estado Veneto; and on the other side, with its head turned towards Friuli Imperiale, is engraved a two-headed eagle. This is the device of the queen, Maria Theresa Regina di Ungheria Imperatrice, and her sons the Emperor Joseph, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Duke of Milan and her sons-in-law the King of France, the King of Naples and the Duke of Parma. She has another son, an archduke of some other place.

We arrived at the village of Nogaredo, where there is a Customs; and they opened the *baule* [=trunk], but with courtesy and sympathy. T. to G. And on the way there is a small hamlet called Jerusalem! We arrived in the town of Gradisca and I lodged with S. Samuel Hai Morpugo.

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19 Possibly meaning 21.00 hours; but, more likely, a period of 21 hours. They had got up before morning, say, 4.00 a.m, so this would be 1.00 a.m., i.e. during the night, which would still be consistent with the next entry in the diary.

Shevat 3

Saturday [eve] : after the evening meal of the h.S. the g'veret mistress of the house, wife of S. Samuel was seized with the travail of birth pangs; and we [sic] were in distress all that night and most of the [next] day. [Then], at Minha-time she gave birth to a boy. But she was near to death - the *yoledet* [20] was in agony, and the after-birth stayed inside until Sunday morning; and we were all in great distress. That night I made [for her] a *pidyon* [= redemption] and poured out my soul for her to be saved. Blessed is the L-rd who saves!

And I saw there [the book] *Ma'aseh Ephod*[21] on [Hebrew] grammar, in manuscript: it has a long and splendid Introduction on the necessity of endeavouring to study this [together] with the scriptures. And the RaMDaL[22] quotes from it in *Derekh Ha'im*[23]: he quotes [for example] that they called the scriptures *Miqdash 'Y-H'* and not *Miqdash 'H'* [24], because in the Diaspora the Name is not complete - in a manner of speaking. [The Introduction] also expounds on the nature of methods for perpetuating one's learning also quoted by the RaMDaL: this is a fine Introduction. Now in the town of Tunis they call the scriptures *makshia*; and I had asked them, 'What is this name?' And they did not know, only this is how they called it since ancient times. It is clear that this is [the phrase] *Miqdash 'Y-H'* and the name had become corrupted in peoples' speech.

I also saw in Gradisca *Sefer Ha-Peliah* - and the *Sefer Ha-Qanah*[25] - hidden mysteries and many subjects [discussed] in 'the secret way'; and it is in manuscript. I have seen this [book] in a number of places but this one has the Introduction complete. And I also saw there the *Sefer Ha-Qanah* printed in Wilmersdorf on the hidden things in *Q'riat Shema*.

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20 English lacks a word for 'a woman giving birth'.

21 R. Profiat Duran: (see also Book I p. 124 [46]).

22 R. Menahem di Lonzano.

23 Section IV of the first part *Yad 'Ani* of his book *Sh'tey Yadot*.

24 Ex. 15:17. Y-H here represents the unusual spelling A-D-N-Y.

25 The *Book of Wonder* is actually part of the *Sefer Ha-Qanah* so called, possibly, after the author R. Elqanah ben Yeruham ben Avigdor of the family of R. Nehunia ben HaQanah of the Talmud. It is also possible that *qanah* [= rod or rule] denotes the Holy Writ and thus may be the origin of *canon* [< Gr. *kanon* = rule]. See also *Shem Ha-Gedolim* p.118 (86) and p.129 (71) for a discussion as to the precise authorship.

Shevat 5

Monday, Bo: I dined with S. Menasseh Raphael Morpugo, brother of S. Elia.

Shevat 6

Tuesday: I departed from the abovem. town and went to Gorizia; and I was escorted by S. Rabbi Samson Tirani, the grandson of the author of *Shemesh Tsedaqa* [R. Samson Morpugo]. And I was guest at the home of S. Asher Morpugo.

Shevat 7

Wednesday: there arrived the wife of David Almeida and her children. Her husband had turned apostate in Venice, and they were running away to Amsterdam. T. to G. that I was not in Venice then.

Shevat 10

Saturday, the holy Sabbath: I ate the 'Third Meal' with the *g'vir* S. Samuel Hai Morpurgo.

Shevat 12

Monday, Beshalah: I dined with S. Barukh Pinqirali, son-in-law of the Rav OMR I. Formiggini ny - with great honour; he invited many guests and made a great feast.

Shevat 14

Wednesday: I travelled by *carrozza* with the son of S. Rabbi Isaiah Senigaglia. After about half a mile I was taken in a *calesso* by S. Jacob Cusin and we were [then] taken in a post-[chaise] to Trieste. I stayed the night in his house. I learned that a day or two before the Rav Mass'oud Bunan nrv[26] had come from Vienna; and I was distressed.

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26 An emissary from Tsefat (Freimann). *'Natreh Rahamana U-farqeh'* - may the Merciful One guard him and redeem him.

Shevat 15

Thursday: 'the morning dawned and they sent' - the Parnesssim - a sedan-chair to take me to the Synagogue! After prayers the Rav HHOMR Mass'oud accompanied me to the house of the Rav OMR I. Formiggini nrv who had received me into his house. He stayed there until mid-day; then came the *g'vir* and head of the community, S. Marco Levi[27] together with his grandson S. David Levi, and S. Jacob Cusin.

Shevat 16

Friday: that night [Thursday] I went to visit S. Marco. And he is very sharp; but I answered him with his sharpness. And they told R. M. Bunan to go to another synagogue and honour them: for the synagogue he had first come to was [too] near to the house of the Rav where I was [staying].

Shevat 17

Saturday, the night of the h.S.: the Parnesssim came: S. Marco, S. Lapron[28], S. Treves; and S. David aforem. was there the entire mealtime serving me. On the day of the h.S. they gave me great honour in the Synagogue; and S. Jacob and S. David came for the meal.

Shevat 18

Sunday, Jethro: I went with S. the said David Levi in a *carrozzo* to visit S. Joachim Hierschel and S. Jacob aforem. and S. Lapron.

Shevat 19

Monday: R. M. Bunan came to [see] us and he stayed for four hours. And he told us that he would not accept less than a thousand florins. And the Rav R. I. F[ormiggini] spoke sternly to him. And I was altogether very embarrassed.

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27 According to Freimann he was also a director of the assurance company Assicuranz in 1783.

28 Freimann amends this to Alpron.

Shevat 21

Wednesday: in the morning the Rav aforem. departed without getting to his hand more than 30 *zecchini* - with the *qupa*[29] and everything - and something like 6 more *zecchini* from the *g'virim*.

After he had gone, my good friends S. Jacob Hai Cusin and S. David bar Calman Levi aforem. came [to see me] and under their direction - with the permission of S. Marco - I arranged all the documents and S. David dispatched them with his servant. I sent information through him to the Council that I am not asking for any more than in the *qupah* - just with a slight increase of the amount in the *qupah* - and they should give me permission to collect from individuals; and this found favour in their eyes. So I went with the said *g'virim* to the 12 *g'virim* of the Council, and all of them were wonderful in doing more than their custom.[30] But the first and prime force in everything was S. Marco who sent me a large vessel full of coffee and chocolate - and in it 9 *zecchini*! Because of him the others conducted themselves magnanimously. I was, indeed, treated with great honour. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

Adar, New Moon

The Friday of Mishpatim: HR A. Revah [Re'ah] arrived from Vienna; and he straightaway came to see me and told me all that had happened to Rav Mass'oud: burning the ears!

Adar 2

Sunday, Terumah: the night of the termination of the holy Sabbath I was party to the *veglia* [vigil on the night before the circumcision] for the child of S. Halleluj-ah[31] Ha-Levi and his wife, the sister of S. David aforem. And next day I went to the feast amidst great honour; and I ate meat.

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29 The official collection for (in this case) Tsefat; this is a more-or-less fixed amount and he did not succeed in bettering it.

30 It all depends on the approach!

31 Laudadio (Freimann).

Adar 3

Monday: I was invited by S. Isaac and S. Samson Levi, the sons of S. Calman, brother of S. Marco. And he [sic] invited the Rav and his uncles and their brother [?] S. Graziani, and S. Isaac Levi of Gorizia and his wife Sa. Hannah, the sister of S. Marco, who all came - with the midget-woman Maranzina - to the circumcision celebration of the child of S. Halleluj-ah.

The said S. Samson spoke to me concerning the 'plague of the beard' - [that] of S. Zekharia Padova which the [community] officials of Modena had ordered him to remove under instructions from the head [of the community]: for they suspected him[32] and the beard would lead to a 'profanement of the Name'. And they [forcibly] shaved it off! And he left their place reviling them with oaths and curses and caricatures. He likened himself to a rabbi studying and writing and the Parnesssim of Modena one in the likeness of a dog and the rest as various brutes. That night I spoke with him and rebuked him sternly but he remained rebellious: may the L-rd return him to repentance for the sake of the rabbis his ancestors zlhh.

Adar 12

Wednesday, Tetsave: I journeyed away in a *carrozzo* with six horses together with the *g'virim* my good friends, S. Jacob and S. David aforem. who had wrought wondrous kindness. And at the customs of San Giovanni, evil people - G-d save us from them!

Adar 13

Thursday: we arrived in Gorizia at nightfall and we lodged with the outstanding *g'vir* S. Isaac Ha-Levi, uncle of the abovem. S. David. I straightaway went to visit S. Barukh aforem. son-in-law of the Rav HR I. F[ormiggini] and S. Asher Morpurgo. And there came, too, my good friend the Parnesss, S. Ventura Hafets[33]. After the prayers the abovem. good friends escorted us to Gradisca, to the house of S. Samuel Hai Morpurgo.

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32 He is clearly a dubious character and would shame the community.

33 Freimann identifies him as Ventura Gentilli. The name Hafets is very old and according to Eisenstein ('Otsar Israel', v. Yatsliah ben Hafets) derives from the Arabic *hafz*. The Ashkenazi form of the name is (Yasha) Heifetz.

And S. David dined there; but S. Jacob had *yorzeit*[34] [that day]. After the meal they went [back] to Gorizia; may G-d reward their deeds and their charity, may it thus be His will.

Adar 15

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: I dined at the house of S. Jacob and S. Manasseh Raphael Morpurgo.

Adar 17

Monday, Thissa: after prayers I gathered the Yehidim of the town and warned them not to eat of the *shehita* of David Morpugo: for thus had R.I. F[ormiggini] declared: He is not expert and not sensitive [to test the knife], and they should not rely on the credentials of a *shohet* where the Hakham [endorsing these] is not himself a *shohet* of the *peqia*[35].

I departed [from there] in peace, escorted by the [prominent] householders S. Samuel and S. Joel, brothers of S. Manasseh. They told me that they had [made] a loss of 60 *ungari*[36]; therefore, they had exchanged nearly 100 *pesetas* which was contraband. Now S. Joel was riding a horse and had girded [it] on its back and so, too, had he done with the gentile attendant; and we went in front. I was distressed by this, and about the customs, and about the rivers we would have to cross by ferry-boat - the Torre and another - for when there is much rain there is danger. But t. G. we passed through easily and without discomfort.

We arrived in Nogaredo and S. Samuel went in front through the customs and cleared us through: and they did not search [us] at all. And we

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34 A rare instance of Yiddish usage (*jahrzeit*): the anniversary of the death of a parent. Some have the custom to fast.

35 Talmudic word meaning 'bundle': perhaps the meaning here is 'fraternity' or 'society' of licensed *shohetim*.

36 The text reads 'Si. Ungari' in R. HYDA's usual style for *signor* (but Ungari would be a new name). The translation given is probably right, where 's' (*samekh*) = 60 and the surplus letter *yud* is a *lapsus calami* (although elsewhere the Spanish plural form *ungaros* is used). Even so, the syntax here remains a little awkward: 'the loss in them' (rather than 'the loss to them').

left the province of Imperiale and entered the province of Veneto; and there S. Joel was waiting girded with a *chimir* with a value of 319 [Spanish] *pesetas*. Blessed is He who redeems and saves.

Adar I 18

Tuesday: we came at nightfall to the town of Chavres which is near the big city of Udine and we stayed in the house of S. Solomon Capriles. He alone lives there; and for the Days of Awe he gathers a minyan and feeds and supports them! That night I straightaway sent letters to San Daniele [saying] that they should send a donation.

S. Solomon and his wife the g'veret - who rules with might! - Signora Bienvenida, greeted me with welcoming countenances and very great honour and brought me 'into the chambers of their kingdom' - a most magnificent house, well-built and beautifully wrought and furnished, fit for a Principal! I stayed there in great comfort of the spirit two days and one night. May G-d pay them their reward.

Adar I 19

Wednesday: I travelled to Conegian, accompanied by my assistant Eliezer Ashkenazi. We crossed the [River] Tagliamento in four places: at the first a gentile led us through with us in a *carrozza* ; at the second we crossed without help; and at the last [also] with the ferry-boat. And t. G. we crossed very easily. The day was as clear as the sun, neither cold nor hot: and it is now two months since we have had a day like this. Praise to G-d, may He be blessed.

Adar I 20

Thursday: at nightfall we arrived in the town of Sacile and we journeyed on before daybreak. We arrived in Conegian in time for [morning] prayer and we prayed in the synagogue; and I was called up to the Torah. We then journeyed on and arrived in Mestre towards the end of the day. We went on to Venice on a barque rowed by four oarsmen. And, blessed be G-d, we arrived in peace and we were not bothered at all by the *esbirros*. And I came to the house of S. Mazal-Tov ibn Yaqar with whom I had stayed before. Thanks to G-d may He be blessed.

Adar II New Moon

Piqudey, Sunday: I set out to [go to] the barque for Modena[37] and was escorted by my good friends as far as the barque. We arrived the same day in Polesine which is about half-way to Modena; and there the *corriere* [= boatman] changed boats and loaded all the merchandise on to another barque.

Adar II 1

Monday: at night [Sunday] to Ponte di lago Iscuro [?] where we stayed till morning. 'And when the morning dawned' came along our good friend S. Benjamin Solomon Minervi, together with S. Hanania Cohen Vitali and Aaron Isaac Roco, and took me by barque to Ferrara. S. B.S.M. is a man of valour and he took charge of all the clothes [baggage] and we did not [need to] see [to] them at all. Once we had reached the gate of the town their own *calesso* came and brought me with great honour to the house of the *g'vir* S. Jacob, father of S. B.S.M. I said my prayers and then straightaway went to the Principal[38] S. Moses Ha'im; and I gave my *complimento* to the womenfolk. And I was given honour by all the leading people of Ferrara - visits, *mitsvoth* in the synagogue: may G-d reward their deeds.

While there, both the first time and on the present visit, I saw a number of books in manuscript: the Decisions of Rabbenu Isaiah [of Trani] on a large number of tractates: *Sefer Ha-Pardes* ['The Book of the Orchard'] by Asher bar-Ha'im, a pupil of the RaSHBA on the laws of Benedictions; a commentary of most of the RIF [R.I. Al-Fasi] by Rabbenu Benjamin Ha-Rofeh [the Physician]; a commentary on most of the *Shulhan Arukh* by R. Isaac Levi del Vali; and many Responsa of the *Ge'onim*, in manuscript. In the city of Mantua, I saw the book *Al-Fasi Zuta*[39] in manuscript; the book *Goren Arnon* [a commentary] on the Torah in 8 parts in the manner of

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37 By way of the River Po.

38 R. HYDA uses *sar* [= minister, chief] to mean, as here, the leader or president of the community; but sometimes just for a distinguished person.

39 By ReM'A Fano (v. p.58 [1]).

40 *Peshat* (direct), *Derush* (homily), *Remez* (allusion), *Sod* (secret).

'PaRDeS'[40] by Rabbi Eliezer Nahman Foa, a pupil of the ReM'A; the book *Beth Menuhah,* part of the [book] *Sefer Ha-Batim* of the Responsa of RaShBA[41] in manuscript; collected Responsa of world-famous *Ge'onim;* commentaries on the SeMaG[42] and on tractates *Nedarim* and *Bekhorot* by the RaMBaN [Nah'manides]; a folio [of commentary] on several tractates by R. Hananel bar-Samuel and a folio [of commentary] on several tractates on old parchment by the *Rishonim*[43]. In the town of Pesaro I had seen all the 'Ten Sayings' of the ReM'A; and in the town of Trieste I saw *Shiboley Ha-Leqet* Part I and Part II[44] and the book *Haze Ha-Tenufah*[45]; and many other books of Responsa by the Rabbis of Trabutoo and R. Dayana; and Sh-UT.[46] *Afar Ya'acov*[47].

Adar II 6

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: I dined with the Principal S. Moses Ha'im Ha-Cohen together with my dear friend HR I. Pesaro and S. Joseph Menahem Minervi the elder son of S. Jacob.

Adar II 7

Sunday, Vayiqra: S. Minervi invited S. Aaron Hai, S. Aryeh Samuel, Hakham Joseph Carpanetti and HR I. Pesaro and his son-in-law and other relatives. The entire [meal] was of cheese dishes.

Adar II 9

Tuesday: we departed from Ferrara in peace and went by *calesso* together with S. Judah Hai Della Vida, S. Joseph Menahem Minervi and Aaron Isaac as far as the city gate. From there we travelled by barque with

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41 *Book of the Houses,* ed. R. Ha'im son of R. Moshe ibn Habib.

42 *Sefer Mitsvat Gadol* by R. Moshe ben Jacob of Coucy.

43 Talmudists of 11th to 14th century.

44 An famous anthology of Responsa of Rishonim.

45 By a pupil of the illustrious RASH (ROSH), R. Asher ben Yehiel.

46 *She'elot u-Teshuvot* = Problemata and Responsa. This abbrev. will be employed henceforth.

47 V. *Otsar Ha-sefarim,* Ben-Jacob p.445 no.489.

S. B.S.M. and S. Cavalieri: for he was going to his daughter-in-law in Reggio. After an hour and a half we arrived at Ponte di Lago Iscuro and from there we went to the *piuta* [=river-boat] to continue on our route escorted by S. Caballero and S. B.S.M.

And we went through the customs at Bondeno - one of the remaining provinces of the Pope. They asked if we had with us any merchandise. We replied that we did not and they went off.

Adar II 10

Wednesday: we came to Finale [nell' Emilia] and the *chiusa* [=lock-gates] were closed; this is a place where they dam up the water: and when the *corriere* comes 'what was closed is opened'[48] and the waters rise and the barque passes through. There is a decree that they must be opened by nobody but the *corriere* except if the Minister gives permission and that is why we had to wait. Then came along S. Solomon Ventura and took us to his house; and we slept there.

Next day we went by another *piuta* because the *chiusa* was closed. And perchance we met there the daughter-in-law of the Rav OMR J[acob] L[evi] of Florence and her mother, the wife of HR Moses David Vali zlhh, and S. Jacob Shalom and his wife Venturina. I wished to go in a *piuta* by myself; but they pleaded that the abovem. [?] should [also] come; and out of respect for the said Rav, my good friend, I was forced to agree. S. B.S.M. had paid for the *piuta* from Ponte to Finale but he told me that S. Cavalieri could travel with me for free to Modena[49].

In the middle of the journey, while we were passing through a 'gathering of waters' held back by [sluice] gates, the rope of the *piuta* snapped through the force of the [rushing] water and we were in danger of it turning over with us with the rushing strong waters. But G-d in His mercy saved us and gave strength to the sailors who soon tied it up, with Divine providence. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

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48 Talmudic description of child at birth: 'the opened becomes closed, the closed opened'.

49 He had presumably paid for their journey ahead.

Adar II 11

The eve of Thursday: at three hours in the night[50] we reached Modena. The gate was closed. But S. Jacob Shalom aforem. knew one of the ministers who lived just outside the town and through his intervention he succeeded in getting the city gate opened. And I went to lodge with one Malakh[51] but straightaway came the *g'vir* S. Haim bar Mordecai Sanguinetti and took me to his house in great honour. The next morning after prayers I went by *calesso,* accompanied by the aforem. *g'vir,* to the barque to fetch my baggage; and because this *g'vir* had a prominent name he was able to avoid searching of the clothes.

Adar II 13

The day of the h.S.: the rabbis and the *g'virim* came to visit [me]; and Rav Ishmael Ha-Cohen dined with us.

Adar II 14

The day of Purim: at the festive meal I did not feel well.

Adar II 15

Monday, Tsav: in the evening came the elderly *g'vir* S. Calman, father-in-law of the *g'vir* my host, together with his daughters-in-law, g'veret Miriam - who is a widow and sister of S. Cohanim of Mantua -and the daughter of S. Joseph Morpurgo.

Adar II 16

I went to visit the rabbis, the [community] officers and the *g'virim* together with S. Raphael the son of my host.

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50 Possibly meaning three hours after nightfall.

51 This w. [*malakh*] means 'angel' but is probably a name.

Adar II 20

Saturday, the night of the h.S.: S. Moses the son of S. Calman dined with us; and in the day-time S. Calman and the Rav I. Cohen came to dine.

While in Modena I saw the Decisions of the Rav Me'iri, six volumes, and the *Sefer Ha-Kavanot* [Meditations of the ARI zl] according to the Order the NaSI[52], and also his *Siddur* [Order of Prayer]; and also some notes on *Shulhan Arukh* sections *Pessah* and *Trefoth* apparently by the R. I. del Vali; and a wonderful book on practical Cabbala by the great Rav OMR R. Ephraim ben Elijah KaTz of Ostrog [in the Ukraine] where he served as Rav and achieved great things. And I saw a number of books on Cabbalah in old compilations[53] and a large manuscript *Siddur* [arranged by] OMR B[enjamin] C[ohen] zlhh of Reggio, with special prayers in *Targum* [Aramaic]. I also saw a wonderful book on practical Cabbalah by that keen-minded Rav OMR Moses Lipschitz of Chintschin [Ukraine] and some of his [other] writings, for he, too, had spread much Torah there in Modena.

Adar II 24

Wednesday, Shemini: I went to a *bibliothetica* together with S. Ha'im, my host, and S. Azariah bar Abraham Nathanel Sanguinetti. It consists of two splendid halls with marble pillars and beautiful sculptures; and all the books are bound well. And there are there sixteen volumes of the book *Or Yaqar* by the RaMaC [R. Moses Cordevero] ztl on the *Zohar and Tiqqunim* and *Adarot* [?]; and the *Sifra D'Tseniuta*[54] and the *Sefer Yetsira*, and they were [both] written in Tsefat in the year 5342 (1582) by the ReM'A zl[55]. And it is written by the Rav YaSHaR[56] in [his] *Metsaref Le-Hakhmah* [about the ReM'A] that the ReM'A [once] sent a thousand *zecchini* to the widow of

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52 R. Nathan Shapira Yerushalmi (Ashkenaz), died in Reggio. His work, also in six volumes, is called *Me'orot Nathan*.

53 It was the ARI zl who compiled Cabbala material from afresh according to his system.

54 *Book of Modesty* commentary by the ARI zl on a section of the *Zohar*. The *Sefer Yetsira* [Creation] goes back to Adam. (*Tiqqunim* = *Tiqqune Zohar*).

55 see also p.106 [39].

56 R. Yosef Shemuel Rofeh [Delmedigo] of Candia (Crete).

the RaMaC zl to enable his books to be printed. And I saw there, too, the *palazzo* and the *gabinetto* [=study] of the Duke - a beautiful and grand building with statues and busts; and rooms paintings, noble and splendid. I also saw the garden, beatiful and ordered; and the driveway leading up to the palace and the ascending [steps], delightful to behold.

The *g'vir*, my host, and his sons and the sons of his brother S. Yom-Tov and all his household, and the *g'vir* his father-in-law - all wrought wondrously great kindnesses with me; and they also endeavoured in [the matter of donations] for the *kollel* and private [gifts] and they added from their [own] bounty. Also S. Moses aforem. did me great honour and friendship; and especially, the pious and learned S. Azariah bar Yom-Tov accorded me much honour and great love; similarly the bachelor, G-d-fearing and intelligent, S. Aaron Ravigo was mightily friendly to me and gave me books as presents; and so, too, S. Abraham Nethanel who copied for me several folios of the writings of the RaMaZ zl. I also saw there several books by the Rav [author of] *Ma'avar Yaboq*[57] in his actual handwriting: a commentary on *Tiqqunim*[58], *Shemen Mish'hat Qodesh* [by R. Shelomo Malko Aharon] and *Shetil Poreah* [by R. Aharon Barakhiah di Modena].

The entire Sanguinetti family are G-d-fearing and intelligent and most of them wrought wondrous kindness with me; so too did other *g'virim*. May G-d repay their deeds: may it thus be His will.

Nisan 1

Tuesday, Thazri'a, the day of New Moon: I went with the young students abovem. to the garden of a city councillor who knew them; and I recited there the benediction over the [new blossoms of the] trees. And I saw there a *pavone* [=peacock] - something wonderful, and the female is almost black; and also a peacock entirely white, and the female is white; and also a *pappagallo* [=parrot], green and small.

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57 R. Aaron Berekhia b. Moses of Modena.

58 By R. Abraham (others say Samuel) del Vecchio: notes on the RIF.

Nisan 4

Friday: I travelled to Reggio with my good friend HR Azariah Ha'im bar Y.T. abovem. and his deputy S. Raphael Mordecai Sa[59]. I lodged in the house of the *g'vir* S. Benjamin Moses Foa[60]; and they did me great honour. I saw there [the books] *Otsar Ha-Kavod, Me'irat Eyna'im* in manuscript; a *Gemara* [Talmud] on parchment printed in Soncino of tractate *Berakhot* with the [commentary] of the *Mordecai* [61] [bound] in the place of the RoSH and without pagination - there are some ninety leaves and it was printed in the year GeMaRA[62]; and an early TUR[63] printed in the year 5235 (1475); and a bible with *Targum* and RaShI on beautiful vellum printed in Lisbon in the year 5350 (1590). At the home of R. Israel Bassan, I saw a collection of lengthy Responsa in manuscript and amongst them the signature of Our Holy Master [R. Joseph Caro] and OMR I. Colon[64] and of the Rav [author of] *Gidule Terumah* and of the Rav Israel Benjamin. I also saw there letters of the RaMaZ to his grandfather the Rav OMR Israel B[enjamin] C[ohen][65] - those very same ones - and also to other Italian rabbis, on 'hidden things' [i.e Cabbalah], legal matters and homilies; and I read them all. I also saw there a receipt for money from Hebron for the year 5403 (1643) and its signatories were OMR E[liezer] ibn Arha and MZH[66] OMR Abraham Azulai ztl and the Rav Joseph son of HHOMR [Samuel][66a] Hezeqiah

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59 Sanguinetti (v. supra Adar II 16). The transl. 'deputy' is for what looks like *sheney'o* = 'his second' [?].

60 R. HYDA in *Shem Ha-Gedolim* has a special entry for his name p.132 [107] and refers to him in glowing terms in p.46 [115].

61 The classic Talmudic commentary bound with most editions by R. M. bar Hillel of France.

62 This is, in fact, the first printed Talmud; the coincidence [?] of the year 244 of the 5th millenium (5244/1488) with this Gematria value (3 + 40 + 200 + 1) is remarkable.

63 Precursor of *Shulhan Arukh* by R. Jacob son of the ROSH.

64 Author of one of the most authoritative set of Responsa, comprising 197 'Roots' or 'fundamentals', and known as the MaHaRIC.

65 In *Shem Ha-Gedolim* R. HYDA refers to letters written by RaMaZ to his pupil Rav B.C. If his grandfather's name (not known with certainty) are also B.C. this would be highly fortuitous.

66 *Mori Z'qeni HaRav* - my teacher, my grandfather the rav.

66a *Hezeqiah* is in the text here, but *Shem Ha-Gedolim* only gives *Samuel.*

Abuhav. There, too, I saw *Pa'neah Raza* [part] of a large stack of manuscript[67]; and a folio *Ets Ha'im* by the Light of the Diaspora Rabbenu Ha'im bar Nissim which is [a set of Halachic] Decisions in civil matters; and also laws set out as Poems[68] by Rabbenu Hai Ga'on, in manuscript; and the book *Hesed l'Abraham*[69] with extensive emendations in the handwriting of R. B.C. and I copied most of the emendations. I also saw there a letter written by the rabbis of Jerusalem, OMR I. Tsemah, OMR I. ibn Jameel and OMR A. Hanania and others with them, on the subject of the sons of Moses. They had sent it through the Rav Ha-NaSI[70] , an emissary from the Holy City, and the Rav Ha-NaSY died there in Reggio. I could recognise most of the signatures signed on the letter and I copied them.

Nisan 10

Thursday, Tahara[71]: the *g'vir* S. Ha'im came and took me from there [Reggio] to spend the Festival [of Passover] in his home, [in Modena].

On the day of the holy Sabbath I went to hear the sermon of the Rav Ishmael. On the eve of Pesah I fasted, and spent most of the day lying down out of weakness. Then I went for a dip in the *miqvah* with my good friend the young S. Aaron Ravigo ytv.

Nisan 15

Tuesday, Aharey: 'the night of the sanctification of the Festival' - 'the L-rd was with me and my help'. And I held forth on the Exodus from Egypt until two hours before 'the miracle'[72]. Thanks be to G-d. And I drank 'the four cups' of muscat wine - very good! - which S. Raphael Morpurgo

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67 *Otsar Ha-Seforim* (Ben-Jacob) [1045] suspects some excision in the printed version.

68 *Shaarey Mamonot* (civil laws) and *Shaarey Shevuot* (oaths): but Freimann queries their authorship. Other *Rishonim* used poetry as a medium, e.g. Rabbenu TaM on grammar.

69 By R. Abraham Azulai.

70 V. p. 110 [52].

71 'Purity' - eulogism for *Metsora* dealing with plagues and impurity.

72 *Ha-ness* is doubtless a pun on *Hanets* = sunrise.

had given me in the town of Gradisca. On the day of Pesah I was called up to the Sefer Torah; and this was so every Sabbath and on the Sabbath of *Hol Ha-Moed*; and on the seventh day I read the *Shira* [Song of the Sea].

Nisan 19

Saturday: I went to visit the Rav Ishmael. He read out to me a Decision on the question of 'the Breached Gate' [?]; and I refuted his arguments.

On the eighth day of Pesah I saw, in the house of S. Meir Ravigo, the *Sefer Elimah* [by R. Moses Cordevero]; *Aishel Abraham* parts 2 and 3 [by R. Abraham Broda]; the commentary of Rabbenu Isaiah on the Order [of Mishna] *Mo'ed*[73] and that of the RIAZ[74] on part of it; the *Sefer Ha-Temunah, large [format]; Hesed l'Abraham; Zaharey Hamah* part 2 ; *Remez Ha-Romez* [of RaMaZ]; *Or Ha'Hamah*, two parts [by R. Abraham Azulai]; *Sefer Ha-Bahir*[75] *Sefer Erkhin* out of the anthology of the *Zohar*: all this in manuscript. And in the evening the Rav David Cohen ytv preached a fine sermon.

Nisan 24

Thursday: they brought before me a peacock! Its wings are more than 3 cubits [= 1.7m] in length with patterns of colour and its body is *azul* [= blue] and it has a crown on its head of 4 upright feathers: the colour of its head is deep blue, and the [tail ?] feathers are high and have coloured patterns. May His Name be praised.

S. Meir Ravigo showed me a picture of Sh.Ts.[76]: a splendid and very beautiful picture, with his black beard and, at one side, a crown and a trumpet.

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73 Probably R. Isaiah the First of Trani, author of *Tosefoth RiD*.

74 R. Isaiah *Aharon* [= the last] *Zikhrono li-vrakha* [of blesssed memory].

75 By R. Nehunia ben Ha-Qanah of the Talmud on Cabbala.

76 R. HYDA's praise of Shabbetai Ts'vi's picture seems rather astonishing. The episode is indicative of the early apparent innocence of this movement in the eyes of many people.

Nisan 26

Saturday: I went to visit H.[77] Ishmael and I rebutted his Decision concerning *inculation* [=grafting of trees]. And I wrote a Response on another of his Decisions - five pages - on the question of annullment of betrothals[78].

Nisan 27

Sunday, Qedoshim: I travelled to Reggio with my friend S. MaHSI[79]. And for 7 miles we were escorted by 5 sweet boys of the family of Rav Sanguinetti and S. Solomon Judah Ha-Levi ytv.

I had brought with me to Reggio a manuscript of the *Teshuvat Ha-RaShBA* [Responsa of R. Shlomo ben Aderet] that was in the possession of the Ma'amad [=synagogue council] of Modena. I copied some of it and then sent back the book.

And I lodged in the house of the noble S. Moses Benjamin Foa.

Nisan 29

Tuesday: I heard thunder as I was reclining by the window: but I was not afraid, T.G. And I travelled on to Guastalla.

Iyar New Moon

Wednesday: I spent the night in the house of R. Barukh Ha-Levi. After [morning] prayers travelled to Mantua with Isaac Basiloa; and I stayed [there] in the house of S. Cohanim. And also eating there was the Rav Mass'oud Bunan[80]!

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77 Hakham?

78 This appears in R. HYDA's *Responsa 'Ha'im Sha'al'* Part 1 Sec 10.

79 This appears to be an acronym, possibly for *Morenu* (our Master) Ha'im Sanguinetti.

80 See p. 100.

[Iyar] 1

Thursday: that [Wednesday] night during *yeshiva*[81] had some trouble with the said Rav in a learned discussion; and I spoke hard words to him!

Iyar 3

Saturday: the night of the h. S. I was in pain at the table; and I had to leave the table to relieve myself. I then returned and when I left the table I was feeling better.

Iyar 4

Sunday, Emor: I went to Virgiliana with my especial friend S. Aaron and I stayed there. Towards evening there came [to see me] S. Aaron and Signora Esther and their daughter-in-law[82] Signora Berakhah Shoshanah and Moses Jacob Vapolia and S. D.H.A.[83]. They all went back, but S. D.H.A. stayed there overnight with me.

Iyar 5

Monday: Signora Shoshanah and S. Menahem[84] came to dine with me; but they found that I had already eaten and gone to sleep.

In the evening S. Aaron and R. Yequtiel and Signora Esmeralda came to see me and afterwards went back.

Iyar 6

Tuesday: in the evening S. Israel and his wife Signora Miriam and their 'son of old age' Isaac Ha'im, came to visit me. S. Israel took me for a walk beside the river, and I saw the *bucintoro* in which the dukes go cruising. It is beautiful: but when the dukes [use it] they drape it in silk and tapestries and mirrors and *boro* [or *buro* ??] and silver vessels etc.

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81 A session of talmudical study.

82 Kallah may also mean bride or future d.-in-law.

83 David Ha'im Ariani (Freimann).

84 Presumably her husband. The order is interesting!

Iyar 7

Wednesday: at mid-day S. Aaron, Signora Esther, R. Yequtiel and S. Benzion Raphael Peritsi came to dine with me, and they stayed three hours. Signora Esther had brought with her some sweet-meats; and they did me great honour.

Iyar 8

Thursday: I ate and went to sleep. But the food made me ill. [Then] S. Aaron and S. Senigallia came to visit me; but I was [still] sick. After they left I vomited much.

Iyar 9

Friday: I felt ill from the beginning of the night; and I slept through the night without having recited 'the reading of the *Shema'*. After three hours of the day I got up feeling weak; and at mid-day S. Aaron came and took me to Mantua.

Iyar 11

Sunday, Behar: I went for a dip in the *miqvah* in the house of S. Cohanim. Then I went by *carrozza* to 'The Place of the Living' [= cemetery] to the tombs of the ReM'A and the RaMaZ, of blessed memory. I prayed there, then I went back and 'dipped' again, with the help of Heaven.

Iyar 12

Monday: letters arrived from Livorno, and amongst them a letter from my son ytv and some others [for me]. I had many troubles; and I felt ill. I discussed with S. Aaron all my affairs and the matters of the festival [?] at length; but it was of no avail to me.

Iyar 13

Tuesday: I visited the *casino* [?!] outside the *ghetto*. And they gave me a letter from my son HR Isaiah ytv [saying] that he wanted to come. But since I was unwell and the 'blackness', too, had come over me - it was almost as if the world had grown dark around me.

Iyar 15

Thursday, Bo: HHOMR I. Bassan arrived and lodged there. And the 'blackness' grew and I said I was ill and did not not wish to eat [anything].

Iyar 17

Saturday: arriving at the table I saw they had placed two large chairs opposite each other for the said Rav and for me, the junior. But I wished to sit next to the aforem. Rav - below him; and I insisted. Then S. Israel recited the *Qiddush*, and the aforem. Rav the Grace after the meal. And they were successful, with wisdom, in getting him to go to the synagogue of the Ashkenazim.

Iyar 18

Sunday, Behuqotai, the night of the termination of the Sabbath: I saw there a model of the Mishkan [Sanctuary], complete with the clothes of Aaron - something beautiful. I was ready to depart for Guastalla but S. Aaron, with various arguments, kept me [from going]. But I was ill [that] '*LaG Be'omer*'[85] with 'blackness' and a very powerful headache.

Iyar 19

Monday: the doctors told me that I must let blood; so I let myself be bled. But the small amount of meat that I ate affected me. I slept but woke up with a headache. And in the evening the Rav Doctor[86] came [in order] that I go [for a walk ?] with him. But after Minha I perforce had to get up

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85 The 33rd day is always Iyar 18.

86 Possibly a courtesy, like the German *Herr Doktor*; but possibly he was a rabbi too.

[to go] to the Council [meeting] with the trustees S. Israel and S. Moses Ha'im Sulam, and the aforem. Rav, and the Rav Solomon Raphael Vivante, and the Rav Yequtiel. Then I, together with the trustees, performed a 'release' for the three aforementioned [?] from all the *haramim*[87] , in order that they should themselves be able afterwards to give permission to receive on the 13th day of Sivan [?].

Iyar 20

Tuesday: I slept after the meal; but I got up [afterwards] full of evil 'blackness'. The weather was rainy and they wanted to keep me [from going]; but I forced myself to travel on to Virgiliana. And there I was - amidst heavy clouds, and in my black mood! But R Yequtiel had stayed with me.

Iyar 21

That night I sent a dispatch to Ferrara to my son aforem., and to the noble S. Moses Ha'im, that I was travelling to Revere and that I would wait there for my son ytv.

Iyar 23

Friday, Bo: my son, ytv, arrived in Virgiliana, for thus was the desire of S. Aaron[88]; and he came, too, and his wife the g'veret Signora Shoshanah and his grandsons, S. Menahem the bridegroom[89], and S. Moses Jacob and his retainers. [Altogether] we were a *minyan* on the Sabbath and we 'sabbathed' there in joy. And S. Aaron ytv wrought wondrously. And also 'will I say to tell' some of the kindnesses of the *g'vir* - 'he is Aaron' - and the trouble he took over me: [entire] *megillot* could not contain them! He gave me many gifts; wherever he went he persevered in writing letters on behalf of my mission; he accorded me great honour; he toiled with his own self and with his money for me; and he assumed all the responsibility[90] for the

87 *Herem* can mean excommunication or some other execration; this passage is obscure.

88 Rather than that he should go to Revere.

89 Or newly married.

90 'Attached himself to the thickness of the shaft'.

printing of my small book *Rosh David* (Mantua, 5536/1776). And also the g'veret, his pious wife, and the g'veret Signora Esther wrought wondrously; and the [other] *g'virim* - 'rulers of the hosts' - S. Israel and S. Pinhas; and also the ladies - Signora Rica, mother-in-law of S. Aaron, and the g'veret Signora Miriam wife of S. Israel, all excelled in their kindness and truth. I am unworthy of all the kindnesses which they did with me, 'in the general and in the particular and in the general'[91], on both occasions when I was guest in their house, with every honour and love - wonderfully! May G-d repay their reward with great wealth and honour and length of days and years and tranquillity; and may their seed be blessed and may he fulfil the desires of their hearts for their good, and may the glory of this great household of theirs be perpetuated and established until the coming of Shiloh - they [together] with the great house of Ferrara - with everything of good, for eternity, selah! and everlasting.

Iyar 24

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: after prayers S. Aaron said to me, [just] after *Aleynu* [the closing prayer], that I should preach; so I preached for about an hour.

Iyar 25

Sunday, Ba-midbar: at mid-day came R. Yequtiel and the ladies, Signora Esther, Signora Berakha Shoshanah and Signora Esmeralda; and we dined. And I gave my son tyv 7 *zecchini*; and [then] my son ytv travelled [back] with R.Yequtiel and the ladies by *bucentorio* to Mantua. Then I, together with my dear friend S. Aaron and my friend S. David Ha'im Ariani made our way to Guastalla. The road was rutted and muddy and we arrived at Guastalla an hour and a half into the night. We stayed in the gentile guest-house *'Moschina'*. In the morning we went into the town to pray; and after an hour that we spent in prayer, my dear friend S. Aaron returned to his house in peace.

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91 *'Klal u-frat u-klal'*: a standard Talmudic method of Halakhic analysis.

Iyar 26

Monday: I lodged in the house of the *g'vir* Joshua Cohen and his son-in-law HHOMR Barukh Ha-Levi. I saw there, in the abovem. town, the book *Qodesh Hillulim* and the book *Hallel Gamur* and the book Halleluj-ah in manuscript written by Rabbi Mehallalel *Halleluj-ah*, the Rav of Ancona in the year 5420 [1660]. The book *Qodesh Hillulim* is a straightforward explanation of the Bible; *Hallel Gamur* has 65 sections; *Halleluj-ah* consists of poems and writings[92].

Iyar 27

Tuesday: I bought a *calesso* with the help of *g'virim* from the four townships[93]. In the evening I went to inspect a *Sefer Torah* which the [local] *M[oreh] T[sedeq]*, son of the beadle of Ancona, had said may possibly be faulty: and there was no trace of doubt!

Iyar 28

Wednesday: I went with S. Isaac Menahem Shabbetai to the town of Brescello where there is a small settlement [of Jews]; then I immediately continued on my way. Just as I was leaving the city gates some gentiles called out that the wheels of the aforem. *calesso* I had bought were broken and one could certainly not go on with them. So we called some artisans to see 'if these words stand' and 'the majority verdict' verified this! So I was forced to return to the town of Brescello. I was much distressed; and I began 'reckoning reckonings'[94] in addition to my other worries. They told me there that I had been enormously swindled and that it is a 'void sale'. They were amazed that S. Joshua and his son-in-law R. Barukh and S. Isaac Ha-Cohen had bought it. I was agitating whether to sell it or exchange it - and I tried all the variations [?]. In the end I decided to give it to a craftsman to repair its wheels: and so I did. This delay caused me great distress on account of the [approaching] Sabbath and [Feast of] Shavuoth. For where should I stay? - it would be a great burden on such a small settlement; and

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92 *Kethavim* could be letters or, possibly, essays.

93 Presumably Mantua, Reggio, Guastalla, and Virgiliana.

94 Ex. 35:32 Counting the cost.

the way was wearisome for me. But what is the point in going on writing my thoughts - and here am I blackened with great black mood.

In the evening I was going for a short walk, but they told me that the Governor of the town wished to speak with me, so I returned. I had a conversation with him concerning the gentiles living in the holy city of Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established.

Iyar 29

Thursday, Bo: S. Israel Cases, was my host, it being that S. Isaac Menahem aforem. was his grandson and had brought me into 'the House of Israel' - even though neither he [S. Cases] nor his son S. Joseph ytv were [actually] staying in the house. That night I was enwrapped in anguish and sorrow - the 'blackness' increased. But I will thank the L-rd for his kindnesses, for in the morning I arose feeling easier.

Sivan 1

Ba-midbar, Friday: I saw in the town of Brescello - which is in the Dukedom of Modena - a commentary on the *Shulhan Arukh, [Section] Yoreh De'ah*, by the Hakham, HHOMR Solomon 'Sha'ar Aryeh', the brother of OMR Rabbi Samuel 'Sha'ar Aryeh', in manuscript - [entire] from the beginning to the end. There, too, I saw a commentary on the *Halakhot* of the RIF on [the Talmudic tractates] *Megillah* and *Pesahim*, in manuscript, by Rabbenu Judah Al-Madari[95] and it was very, very old, and very tattered. I saw that he [the author] was constantly quoting the words of the *Ge'onim* Rav Sa'adia and Rav Dosa his son; and Rav Sherira and Rav Hai and others like them; and I saw there the Halakhic Decisions - in manuscript - of Ben Elisha[96] on the first two chapters of *Qiddushin* - and there is written that he [the author] has already written [this] in the commentary of 'the subjects' and 'annotations' [?]: and I think that I saw a mention of the *Beth Joseph* but I do not know if this was someone else's annotation, and I do not know his name or the name of his town or his time. I saw there, too, a number of tracts, in manuscript, on ancient Cabbalah and knowledge of the Holy

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95 Hitherto unknown (Freimann).

96 No entry in Shem HaG. nor in Ben-Jacob.

Names and a commentary on 'The Chariot'[97]. And there I saw the poem Rav Sa'adia on the number of letters [in the Torah], and this is already in print. It is written there that once R. Sa'adia, in a jocular mood, asked of a tailor, "How many stitches have you sewed to-day?" He answered, "Do you know how many letters there are in the Torah ?" And the *Ga'on*[98] was very distressed because in all his days no-one had ever asked of him [something] he could not answer until now. This caused him some distress for some time as he could not arrive at the number: until an angel came and revealed it to him, and he rejoiced greatly at this.

Sivan 2

Saturday: there was rain in torrents and it was very dark.

Sivan 3

Nasso, Sunday: the night of the departure of the Sabbath S. Israel Ha'im Cases came to see me and he said to me that I should stay there over Shavuoth since on account of the great rains I would not be able to cross the River Taro. [At first] I was happy; but afterwards I 'thought [second] thoughts' and I was distressed.

Sivan 6

Wednesday: the night of the Festival I with S. Ha'im David Ariani ate by ourseleves, just a little and, praise to G-d, we sat up all night. In the morning I 'dipped' and read the ten Commandments in a *Sefer Torah.*

Sivar 10

Be-ha'alothekha, Sunday: I travelled with S. Abraham Levi Mintz and S. Me'ir Joseph Cases and R. Joseph Benjamin Uzzimo and we arrived at gentile inn, near the town of Parma, that was called *'Portone'*. As we reached the door of the inn we found that the iron [rim] of the wheel of the *calesso* had come off; and it was miraculous how the wheel had survived. S.

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97 Ez. chap. 1.

98 Not R. Sa'adia Ga'on but R. S. ben Joseph author of Bekhor Shor (Freimann).

Abraham went to Parma and hired a gentile with horses to go to Fiorenzuola, and we were accompanied by R. Joseph Benjamin aforem. - poor and downcast and low-spirited, but he worked [served ?] with all his soul.

We passed through the [Jewish] settlement in Borno; but we did not even have a drink of water. We just prayed Minha in the synagogue and off we went. We reached Fiorenzuola at nightfall. The Trustee of the Province[99], R. Samuel Ha'im Fontanella, received us into his own house. And there was such a gathering of the worthies of the town that I did not get to sleep until two hours after midnight!

Sivan 11

Monday: we journeyed from Fiorenzuola with the aforem. *vetturino*. While on the way I searched for my *escatola* [= satchel] of money and I could not find it. I thought it might have fallen out on the way, and Abraham [my attendant] went back about a quarter of a mile - and he found it! P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

In the afternoon we arrived at Piacenza. Two Jews from Fiorenzuola had also come there: and they told us to beware, for the River Trebbia had risen very high and it was dangerous to cross. I told them to tell the coachman. He replied that he was not a fool and we would not [attempt to] cross unless there was a safe fording-place. But, praise to G-d, we passed through 'as [smoothly as] skimming off a hair[100]': for the said River Trebbia was calm. T. to G., may He be praised.

Sivan 12

Tuesday: the evening before Tuesday - at an inn in Castel San Giovanni; and in the day-time at an inn in the town of Voghera. That same day we arrived in the town of Tortona, and we found there [waiting for us?] many 'appointed men' and 'rulers of ten'[101]. We went to an inn but they would not accept us. So we went back to another inn but they laughed and mocked at us. We [eventually] alighted at another inn, where

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99 R. HYDA's own praise rather than an official title.

100 '..from the surface of milk' (Tal. Ber. 8a - so smoothly passes the soul in death).

101 Petty officials?

we were surrounded by officials and they were jeering. But the innkeeper took us into a room and told us[102] to lock the door. But as I entered they prevented us from locking the door. And for some little time we were in distress until the innkeeper pleaded with them; then we locked [the door]. But again, later, came another officer to molest us and to ask for wine. And we were obliged to lock the door again; and he went off. Blessed is He who redeems and saves.

Sivan 13

Wednesday: this was a very hard day. At the beginning of the day we crossed a ford with the horses. But in the middle of the river all the clothes which had been [stowed] beneath the carriage were all washed away; and they [the horses] did not want to move out of the river! And we remained there in the river, in distress, until some gentiles came and waded into the river and took us out on their shoulders! And afterwards, by dint of great effort, they pulled out the horses.

Later we reached Novi - and that is where the high, difficult hill begins. By joining [and pushing] with the horses we went several miles on foot. And we were in great distress on account of the ascents and descents. While going up one gradient, one of the leather support-straps of the *calesso* broke, and we were tilting and [in danger of] toppling over with the *calesso*. We cried out, and the *vetturinos* climbed down and saved us. They repaired the *calesso* with ropes, but in spite of this it remained shaky and we were distressed. This hill is about 27 miles long! And Abraham lost a shoe. And the *vetturino* was also in danger of his life, for all his bones were broken[103]. But, blessed is G-d, we arrived safely at the town of Campo Maroni, near Genoa.

Now, we knew that Hakham Rav M. Bunan and HR A. Revah had yesterday left the town of Genoa and gone away; but [nevertheless] for everything[104] I give thanks and praise for His delivering us from all evil and bringing us [to our destination] in safety and for returning us to our health: P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

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102 The abbreviation here 'a.l' could also be rendered 'we told him'.

103 Probably figuratively.

104 No doubt they would have been helpful.

Sivan 14

Thursday: we arrived towards the evening at an inn in the village of Campo Maroni. After praying we travelled to Genoa which is 8 miles away. The road is good and wide; and for about 6 miles there are, on both sides, mansions and pleasure palaces for the summer, delightful to behold and beautiful, for the gentry of Genoa. We arrived there [in Genoa] 3 hours before midnight. I lodged in an inn just at the edge of the town - after entering [going past ?] the first guard post and one doorway: and it is called *'Ostaria del Papa'* [the hostel of the pope].

I sent a note with the *vetturino* to S. Moses Foa. I waited [for him] there downstairs. And there with us was a priest engaged in 'lice, filth and refuse'[105]. After two hours S. Abraham, the son of S. Foa, arrived and we went [together] to the Customs: and His mercies were mighty - for they did not look for anything, but only opened the trunk. We then entered [the town] in peace: P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e. And we were guests of S. Moses Foa; and I straightaway found [waiting for me] 3 letters from my friend S. Raphael tyv, and some Italian letters [?].

On the Sabbath a son was born to S. Samuel Yedidya Pinqirali.

Sivan 17

Shelah, Sunday: I visited the *Gabbay* [=senior warden] S. Abraham Solomon, the brother of the [said] child's father, and also the Parnesssim S. Joseph Montefiore and Abtalyon Ravenna.

Sivan 18

Monday: I visited the learned S. Benjamin Foa. He showed me rings with diamonds, sapphires and emeralds; and he mentioned, casually, that what he had shown me was worth about ten thousand *zecchini*.

Sivan 20

Wednesday: I was aware that S. Benjamin had withheld [the money] they had agreed to give from the coffers of the *qupah*. And [when] he came

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105 One can only conjecture on the nature of the priest's activities.

to me I spoke hard words to him; and he shook and trembled but denied everything.

Sivan 22

Friday: I received a letter from my dear friend S. Raphael and [other] letters from Livorno - and a letter from my daughter [saying] that Isaac, my grandson, had arrived in the *lazaretto*. And I gave praises - because I had been hearing [reports] that his mother had sent him in the care of this [particular] ship-owner some months ago; and they were saying that the sailors had taken him to Zante [Zakinthos]! And I was very distressed.

S. Gabriel sent word that he [now] wanted to print [my book] so I revised [the manuscripts] and sent them off.

Sivan 23

Saturday: after the evening prayer I went to a villa in the [grounds of ?] the house of 'the father of the child' [?]; and he told me to say a sermon. On the [spur of the] moment I got up and preached for about a half hour. In the day-time I preached in the synagogue before the [reading from] the Sefer Torah. And they promised a handsome donation. T.G.m.H.b.b.

Sivan 26

Qorah, Tuesday: we set out in the *feluca* of Domenico Mugnone Genovese Mahirishi [?!] - which has 12 oars - in order to go, with G-d's help in safety, to Nizza [=Nice]. We stored the *calesso* and [other] things [in the *feluca*]. I was escorted [to the *feluca*] by S. Moses Foa and his son, and Simon Foa, and Abraham Foa the *shohet*, and Abraham Ha'im Barukh.

As a consequence of all the vicissitudes I had experienced, my health had undergone a change; and I was now so troubled by sickness, and an ache in the head and in the heart, that I could neither eat nor study at all.

Three hours after noon we arrived at the Porto Noli and we disembarked in order to stay there overnight, for we had thus agreed. After three hours there I felt myself recovered from the turgidity and pain of the sickness, and close to nightfall I ate and drank some coffee. And, blessed be G-d, I was restored to my usual strength. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

Sivan 27

Wednesday: we slept in a gentile inn in the said Porto Noli. 'And as the morning dawned' we arose, for the owner of the *feluca* had several times warned us that he wished to get up and set off early. So I got up that morning [early] and prayed - the shortened version - and after wards we went down to the sea-shore. And we saw the sea was 'raging incessantly'; for during the night, after 3 hours [after midnight] a storm had blown up: they had to pull the *feluca* up on to the strand. We went down afterwards several times - and they were all sleeping inside the beached *feluca*! So we went into into the aforem. town to stroll. We went into a garden going right up on to the high hills - the entire hillside planted with vines and other trees - all part of the Genoan hills[106]. And at the foot of the mountain they pointed out chestnut trees to me.

Sivan 28

Thursday: the evening of Thursday we slept in the aforem. gentile inn. I got up late, and immediately the *patron* [=innkeeper] came and hurried us to set off. Six hours before noon we departed. But the wind was [still] strong, and I was troubled by the [high] waves of the sea. However, the wind was in our direction and G-d in His mercy wrought so that we reached Nice in ten hours in safety. And I wrote a note to the *g'vir*, the perfect Hakham, man of lovingkindness, HHOMR I. Provencal ny.

We disembarked, and I unloaded my clothes and the *calesso*: and this was 'shattered limb from limb'; and gentiles there had to repair it. After an hour the said HR I. came with his son-in-law the perfect Hakham, our good friend HHOMR S. Hassan - and many with them. They received us in peace into their house.

Sivan 29

The Sixth Day: I sent off the letters of the gentile merchants[107] and three of them came to visit me.

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106 Appenino Ligure.

107 Of Genoa, to other merchants in Nice.

New Moon, Tammuz

Saturday: The Parnesssim bought for me an *aliyah* to the *Sefer Torah*[108]; and Opening of the Ark was bought for me [as well] by S. Salvador Cohen.

In the evening I gave a sermon for about an hour and a half, in Spanish, on the happenings in Erets Israel and on the [weekly] *Parasha, Qorah*. The Hakham Joshua Margolis, their Hakham, did not come [up] to speak.

Tammuz 1, Huqath

Sunday: I visited all the *g'virim* - but not the Hakham. They formed a committee and they resolved to give a total sum of 30 *zecchini*. And I 'spoke hardly' to the Parnesssim and told them to give me a reply on Tuesday.

Tammuz 2, Huqath

Monday: in the evening I went for a stroll on the new promenade they have made there which they call the '*Terrazza*'. It is very beautiful - yea, delightful! - there, by the sea shore, at the departing of the day. It is all 'enclosed by a rampart' and with walls on two sides, for a great distance.

Tammuz 3

Tuesday: I went to visit the gentile merchants who had visited me!

And I sent for the entire committee to come to me. And there I 'spoke hardly' - and softly - until they agreed to 45 *zecchini*. And then individuals donated 'each according to his blessing'. I wrote it down in the *pinqas* and they signed. But I did not want the signature of the 'Moreh of the place'[109].

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108 It is even now customary in some places to make some payment for the honour of being 'called up'.

109 The Teacher i.e. Rabbi. This is a pun on *mareh maqom* = 'place-guide' (book reference). No reason is given for his displeasure with the rabbi. Perhaps the meaning in the earlier passage is 'the Rabbi did not come to his (R. HYDA's) sermon' on New Moon.

Tammuz 7

The day of the holy Sabbath: I preached in the morning - by order of the Parnesssim! - ethical and moral reproofs.

Tammuz 8, Balaq

Sunday: we departed in peace from Nice and we were escorted by HR I. Prov. and his son-in-law and Shabbetai Viterbo and other *Yehidim*. But S. Ezekiel Crémieu and Moses de Monteux and Jacob Ha-Levi delayed their own way 8 days in order to accompany us as far as Avignon. They travelled with us, and after about 2 miles we crossed the River Var. It was swollen and half the *calesso* was submerged together with all the clothes and the outermost books that were in the trunk. And all our food and conserves were flooded and rendered soggy. But blessed is He who saved us.

And so we came to the border of France. In the customs 'they opened and saw' and they searched. In the afternoon we came to Antibo [Antibes]. We ate a meal there and we took four horses from the *Poste* for my *carrozza*. But after going two hours, in the middle of our journey, and about an hour before we would reach Napoule[110], one of the wheels of the *carrozza* broke into little pieces! And we were greatly distressed because we were far from any habitation.

But after this happened, and the kindnesses of G-d will I relate, the members of our escort were 'a comfort to the soul' and they made wondrous suggestions; but finally - G-d sent us a *carretta* [= cart] and they loaded on to it the seats of the *calesso* and all our trunks and all our things, and Abraham went on to it. The frame of the *calesso* and one wheel of the *calesso* was left behind in the field. I and S. Ariana mounted their [?] *carrozza*, and S. Jacob took 'horse and carriage' and we went back to the town of Cannes worried, but trusting that G-d will have mercy on us and provide us with good and successful notions in order to serve Him. May it thus be His will.

Tammuz 9

Monday: we slept in Cannes and stayed there till mid-day. We

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110 Mandelieu la Napoule.

discussed various angles; but in the end, because our companions were in a hurry, it was not possible to [wait and] have the wheel repaired there in Cannes[111]. So we decided to leave the *calesso* there and S. Jacob, when he would return there in peace, would bring it back to Nice and sell it. And I was very much distressed.

At mid-day they brought for us a *calesso* from Antibes. But when I saw I was dismayed because there was no room to put our things; and I was worried. They were very much distressed, and I, too, was embarrassed by this. So I forced myself to accept, and out of respect for them, that I would [have to] leave my carriage there and ride on in this one they had brought. The journey was very hard - over mountains, with ascents and descents, and forests - until we arrived safely, an hour and a half after nightfall, in the town of Fréjus. There were many travellers in the inn and there was a great discomfort.

Tammuz 10

Tuesday: we went through a forest - 'a place ready for disaster'. Just an hour and a half before we passed through they [villains] had thrown a wagon-driver into the deep waters and he was drowned; others say he was pulled out. And it is but a few days since they made raids on the robbers and they caught 11 of them. But, blessed be G-d, we passed through safely without 'adversity or evil mishap'.

Tammuz 11

Wednesday: we arrived in the evening at Brignole and there, too, it was very crowded because there were more than sixty wayfarers.

The next stage of the journey was tiring because one travels for 8 hours without a break, and the sun was burning down. At mid-day we arrived at an inn on our road named *'Piegeot Peager'* on account[112] of the Customs post there. But all the inn-hostesses - for they are all women - have a good disposition and are respectful; and everything is clean and tidy.

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111 To bring outside craftsmen would take too long.

112 Perhaps from *piege* = trap; *peager* = tax/toll collector.

Tammuz 12

Thursday eve: we arrived at the large town of Aix. When the morning dawned we travelled to Avignon with a good vetturino. On the way there were Customs posts, but we gave them money and they did not open our trunks.

We crossed from the territory of France and came to the border of Contado which is under the Pope's rule and was given to him by the king of France. We crossed the River Durance three times and then we sat [rested ?] for two hours before going on to Avignon; and we arrived as night was falling.

Tammuz 13

The eve of Friday: we reached Avignon as night was beginning. We were received by S.[113] Isaac de Monteux into his house but they sent food for us from the inn[114].

The synagogue there is beautiful and splendid. The rite of the region is mostly Sephardi, with some changes in the prayers and the Reader wears a white robe to pray. And they all shout out the benedictions and hymns; and even one individual benediction they would divide between two people. And the *teyvah* [reader's lectern/dais] is placed at the end[115] of the congregation like a separate and higher gallery across the entire length [width?] of the synagogue - something very strange.

Tammuz 14

Saturday, the Sabbath-day: after [the reading from] the *Sefer Torah* on the *teyvah* most of the congregation went to visit a woman who had lately given birth, and this was the day they were going to put the child in its cradle[116]; and they immediately returned. After prayers they invited me to go with them and place the child in its cradle. This [child] was the son of

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113 Seigneur?

114 Unless explicit described as 'gentile inn' we may assume it was Jewish.

115 Apparently at the back - most unusual.

116 For the first time, presumably. This custom is now unknown.

the daughter of S. Michael Rouget my old friend: and we sang together. And he had done much for Hebron - [in] *louis d'or*!

Tammuz 15

Sunday, Pinhas: my host S. Isaac de M. was urging me to go to the holy. cong. of Carpentras but I kept refusing.

Tammuz 16

Monday: I agreed to go. Just before nightfall the innkeeper brought the evening meal. I was angry with him because he spoke in a disrespectful manner. And also my friend S. H.D.A. [Ha'im David Ariani] was annoyed - but I do not know about whom or what: and he began to weep and would not eat. So neither of us ate and we went out to ride in the calesso. Now S. Isaac wished to ride in the calesso, but I said there was no room. Then my good friend his brother, S. Abraham, said that he would take his brother's horse, and he and R. Elijah, son of R. Jacob Speier of Prague [would ride together]. So we rode off in the carriage. And I was discomforted that we had parted with them in anger and that I [seemingly] did not wish them to accompany me: and this is a great embarrassment for an emissary.

When we reached half way and they had [still] not come I was very distressed: and I prayed with a tearful heart. Then they arrived, on horseback: and I ran towards them and spoke good words to them.

We came to the gates of Carpentras but they would not let us enter until the Parnesss, my dear friend the perfect Hakham HHOMR M.D.R.M. nrv[117], came to meet me, and then we entered with the carriage. The *goyim* acted viciously, shouting and insulting and even throwing pieces of old fruit into the carriage, until we reached the *ghetto*. We were received by my dear friend the said *g'vir* into his house; and straightaway all the leaders of the community came, and I spoke some 'words of Torah'.

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117 Freimann identifies him as R. Moshe Ben R. Michael - 'D' being erroneously copied for 'B'. The standard abbr. nrv = *natreh rahamana u'farqeh*.

Tammuz 17

Tuesday, the fast-day: after prayers I was taken by R. Joseph de Milhaud to his house where he showed us [sic] the Introduction to his tract *Otsroth Yosef*. He [also] remarked to me that he had confuted 'with confutations' - may the Merciful one deliver us! - Rashi, R. Elijah Mizrahi[118] and the RaMBaM. I said to him, "Not confutations - difficulties!" But he said, "Look - Rashi explains [the verse] '..and if he leave his father HE WILL DIE' as referring to Benjamin; but I explain it satisfactorily as referring to Jacob!" I answered him with ample reason; but he would not accept. I explained to him [again] that Rashi is obviously right.

Then he went on to say that neither the RaMBaM nor the RABaD[119] correctly understood the explanation in *Torath Cohanim* [=Midrash Leviticus] [on the verse] 'Thou shalt not work with him with rigour' (Lev. 25:43): He [the master] should not say to the slave (for example), "Keep digging under this vine until I return" (i.e. just to keep him busy) - which the RaMBaM explains[120] as keeping him waiting excessively [to prolong his work], and the RABaD also explains as keeeping him waiting excessively; but he [R. J. de Milhaud] explains: that if the slave is engaged in digging under the vine, he [the master] should not require him to have it finished before he returns (i.e. excessive exertion). And I began to explain to him that the RaMBaM is right and his own explanation was not right.

Later, Rabbi J.D. Crémieu came to take me to the Governor[121]; and I went with him and with my dear friend S. Rabbi Moses. I showed the Governor a reccommendation [written] to him from Cardinal Borghese and he read it in a low and husky voice. He said that if ever I required anything I should tell him. They [my two friends] then asked of him concerning my friend S. D[avid] A[riani] whether he may wear a black hat [!]; and he replied that he should ask the Magistrate. So R. J.D.C. went to the Magistrate - and he granted permission.

When we returned that [aforem.] author came and held forth: [With

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118 Famous commentator and expounder on Rashi.

119 R. Abraham b. David of Posquieres, an incisive and critical commentator on the Code of Maimonides: a contemporaryof RaMBaM who acknowledged his greatness.

120 Hilkhot Avadim I, 6. Not quite as stated: refers here to 'unlimited work'.

121 Probably meaning the Prefect (Head of a Department).

reference to the passage in Mishnah[122]: '..until Abraham our father came and received reward against all of them' - [here 'reward' means] 'the punishment', in the same way as Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai said, "I could free the entire world [from the day I was born until now] from punishment: for we find [elsewhere, too] the term 'reward' for 'sin'[123]. But I was vehement against him and told him that this cannot be so, and it is not true.

After that, [people] came for the *yeshivah* [=study session]. They were reading [the Mishnah][124] : 'One who tastes a bug in his mouth [should spit it out regardless..]' on which the RaMBAM comments 'because it is filthy'. And he said that he [the RaMBaM] means both on account of the *issur* [prohibition] of eating insects as well as the filth. But I argued against him in a loud voice because it is clear that the RaMBaM is referring to even such circumstances where no *issur* exists[125]. We later argued about several other matters. Finally, he showed us the Mishnah [Ter. 1.4] '.. they contain their own *terumah*'[126] which ROB [Rabbenu Obadiah of Bertinoro][127] explains: 'that is to say, there is *terumah* in the olives but not in the oil'. And he insisted on explaining that [the interpretation here is]: the *terumah* of the olives is 'IN THEM', meaning, the olives from which he had withdrawn these (i.e. the remaining olives have been rendered fit); but therefore [by the same token] the *terumah* of the oil resides also in the olives which were crushed and from which it emerged (and the oil is therefore also fit), and that ROB was not correct. And I was talking to him with sweet reason but he was shouting and saying that his words were 'the law of Moses': and he swore that he had 'aimed at the truth' and that this was the 'truth of the Torah'....

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122 Avoth 5,3 '..the generations before Abraham provoked anger before Him, until Abraham etc.'

123 Avoth 2,1 '..weigh the reward of committing a sin against its loss'. The suggestion is that Abraham was receiving not reward that they had all forfeited but was bearing their punishment. A dangerous idea.

124 Terumoth 8,2.

125 A Cohen is allowed to spit out Terumah (thereby 'wasting' it) if he becomes 'unclean' or tastes anything 'filthy'. R. HYDA is simply saying this applies whatever the filth.

126 Tithing olives on oil has no effect (Hillel); but Shammai holds *Terumah* takes effect in the olives themselves.

127 The classical Mishnah commentary.

We left there; and [when I got home] the venerable R. Jacob of Prague[128], - a man of great modesty - came to see me with my good friend the perfect Hakham Mordecai Crémieu. We relaxed for an hour and a half and after that I went to sleep.

As soon as I arose - that author came and demanded of me the explanation of[129]: '...and if I for me alone - what am I?' And I said to him, "Tell me." And he replied, " If I am for myself BUT NOT FOR OTHERS!" to which I said "Good". Then he went on to ask me, "What is the difference between *mip'ney* and *bish'vil* as in the Mishnah[130] *mip'ney goyim .. mip'ney listim* [because of *goyim* or robbers] and *bish'vil ha-holeh* [because - or on account of - the sick person] etc."'. And I said, "Tell me". He replied, "*Mip'ney* signifies fearing, now, what may happen [later] as in 'and he [Moses] feared *mi'panav* [from before him (the serpent)]'; while *bish'vil* signifies [something] expected to come, as if there is a path [= *sh'vil*] for it to come!" And many other such things [did he say]. And I stayed silent.

Tammuz 18

Wednesday: that author aforem. came [to see me]! In a friendly and careful manner I rebuked him over not doubting his opinions and being so sure that 'the great ones' had erred - and similar words of chastisement. He became angry.

Tammuz 19

Thursday: on the eve the Council of Parnesssim and the sages met concerning my mission. I spoke 'hard and soft' - but they were very hard!

In the morning the said author came again and asked me about [the variations] in the language of Rashi: [in some places using the rhetorical question style] 'what does this teach?'; while [at other times] 'what is the reason?'; [and yet other times] 'and the reason is - what?' I was greatly distressed, because I did not know what to answer. He guessed [the exasperation of] my mind and became annoyed that I did not place much

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128 Father of R. Elijah Speier mentioned above.

129 Mishnah Avoth 1,14.

130 Sabb. 2,5. When it is permitted to extinguish lamps on the Sabbath.

value on his words and such like...And many other things [did he ask] so that I became very annoyed.

Tammuz 20

Friday: I returned home from *Arvit* [evening prayers] in a black mood over the questions of the said Council. I spoke hard to my good friend, His Eminence the Parnesss; and he tried to pacify me. Next day I wrote letters, until noon. At noon that author came and brought a tract on which were endorsements from OMR R.Y.T.[131], and HR Jacob Hazan, R. I[saiah] B[assan], R. Yaqar [Gerson], R. M[ass'oud] Bunan and R. Abraham Revah; and he told me to study it. It troubled me greatly, and I could not sleep; and I was almost ill.

Tammuz 21

Saturday: I dined at the table of His Eminence the Parnesss, nrv. in the evening I preached in the synagogue for about an hour and a half.

I [realised I had] lost the *tabacchiera* [= pouch] of money given to me by the widow of R. I. Perets in Ancona.

Next morning, after prayers, I received a visit from that author, and R. Mordecai, and R. Moses bar Joseph de Roco Martineau. And I discoursed on words of Torah on various subjects, with the help of G-d.

Tammuz 22

Sunday, Mattoth: the pouch with silver was found! And I implored R. M. d.R.M.[132], who was a dear friend from old [concerning my mission]. But now he spoke hard words to me, [namely,] that the emissaries think of them as village folk; and that they conduct themselves in the town of Carpentras as if they were in the garden of Eden, eating and drinking[133]; and that if the whole community would donate according to their estimation, as R. Mordecai had done - he donated a [whole] franc[134] - there

131 R.Yom-Tov El-Gazi.

132 R. Moses de (i.e. son of) Michael.

133 Living it up on the public purse.

134 This is almost certainly a cynical remark, though not indicated in the text.

would be no money left in Carpentras. And he told me several times that such was the custom of the emissaries - "... and you should deal much wiser in the matter of your mission!" - and similar piercing words. He [also] said to me that for 'food for the way' [= travelling expenses] 12 *soldos* would suffice. The end was, he hardened his spirit and strengthened his heart and would not agree to any of the things I had asked. And he said that he had taken much trouble on my behalf and that he could not carry people on his shoulders and similar. And in the matter of food, too, there was parsimony with the most rigorous exactness; and he stipulated that I had to pay 12 *soldos* for the washer-woman; and he [also] said to me that on one occasion I had eaten a third [of my total allowance] and similar things. Nor would he make any advance from the *qupah* until R. Mordecai came and would say that he would lend me 100 francs. The end was, I suffered 'bitters' and he has not yet given any donation, neither did he say he would give.

Now that author wished me to study what he had written in his book *Lehem ha-Panim*[135], and I studied it. Then I went to his house and refuted his words; and he had no answer. Then he asked me to give an endorsement on his book, in the same way as OMR R. Y.T. and HR I. B. and HR M. B. and others had given endorsements. I replied that I was not worthy to do this. Later, he came to me again saying that the [text of the] *Tosefta*[136] that I had shown him concerning the interpretations of OMR R.M[oses][137] and Rashi, is corrupted. And he began raising various other queries of nonsense. I did not reply and remained silent; then I went outside and left him.

Tammuz 24

Tuesday: that author came again and I gave him back his volume; and he said nothing.

That evening I [again] implored R.M. d. R[oco] M[artineau] but it availed nought: he only turned back to say some hard things.

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135 Not extant. Several other authors use the same title.

136 Collection of Tana'ic dicta not edited together with the Mishna and not so authoritative. There is no prior reference to this.

137 An unusual form of address for RaMBaM.

Tammuz 25

Wednesday: after prayers we went by *carrosse* [= coach] to Avignon with R. Mordecai Crémieu and R. Moses ben Joseph d.R.M.[138], and almost the entire way we were discussing words of Torah and *dinim* [= religious laws]. Just after we reached the pathway [leading to the house of our destination] and the coach turned, the horses stumbled and the coach crashed! And blessed is G-d that this did not happen when we were on the highway.

I arrived at the house of S. Isaac de Monteux and the house [soon] became filled with the Yehidim; and I began to speak about my mission. In the evening S. Solomon Roqeah ben Massoud, who had been in London and France[139] came and made me a *complimento*[140] and stayed, talking, for some 3 hours. He told me that S. Jacob Franco had died in London, 'leaving over life for [the rest of] Israel'. He [also] told me that S. Menahem Asher of Costa - who had been together with me in Venice - had adopted the French dress, complete with *galon*[141], had shaved off his beard and learned to speak French, and spent much money in Marseilles giving parties each Sunday for gentiles and Jews; and that he had gentile instructors for the French language and music and such like.

Tammuz 26

Thursday: after going to pray with my host S. Isaac, this was a hard day: for he would not give me anything from the *qupah* saying that there was nothing there, and that people owed him money - and in any case, it is unheard to take [from the qupah] on account in advance[142]. Truth to tell, all

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138 Freimann identifies this d.R.M. as de Roquemartine.

139 They were in Provence.

140 Introduced himself.

141 Galloon - lace and frills.

142 It should be remembered that each large community maintained a special *qupah* reserved for Hebron or Jerusalem etc.; the funds in a given *qupah* were added to periodically until collected by a *shaliah* [emissary], in this case, Rav HYDA. As is apparent from the narrative, there was usually a shortfall of the expected amount. Taking 'on account in advance' meant that at the next collection emissaries must expect less: their shortfall would have to be made up by individual donations, making things more difficult for everyone.

this distress and worry and embarrassment of [collecting for] the mission - the emissary being regarded like one of the common people, instead of being like a king - is for the [following] reason: HR Bagio[143] had oppressed [people] greatly: for after taking what he had found in the *qupah* - [amassing] 13 years[144] - his eye was still not satisfied - and he took on account in advance a sum so large that [even] in 10 years 'its deficiency could not be filled'; and after that he would burden individuals with outrageous demands; on top of that he would swell the signature list for the 'Yeshiva [Knesset Israel, Hebron]' with men, women and [even] youths[145], staying in each town for a very long time going around from house to house, until the [dignity of the] mission was reduced to such a measure that it seemed in their eyes like a low thing and a heavy yoke and they were ready to repudiate it. In truth, I had suffered much [as a result of such behaviour] in many communities. Now here I retained everyone's friendship from my previous mission; but I, the junior, while still retaining a [good] name in spite of all this, did not receive the same honour as then, in a number of aspects.

I sent and called them all to a meeting. Elijah Roget Ravel came and said to me that they all had in mind to give me 4 *louis d'or*. I scolded him and said to him, "Are you the [representative of the] *kollelut* of Avignon - or have you got an authority from me?" - and other rebukes. And I sent [him to say] they should all come. And they came. I told them to give 50

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143 It is not clear whether the letters HR here stand for the common title 'Hakham Rav' or the initial letters (disparagingly) of this emissary's name, Ha'im Raphael - probably the latter. HR (!) Bagio, together with R. Isaac Ze'evi (see *Sheluhey Erets Israel*, Ya'ari, Mossad Rav Kook, 1977 p.588) had been an emissary a few years before in Italy: while the latter lay recovering from illness in Torino, HRB came to Provence.

144 Again, it will be remembered that Rav HYDA's last visit to Carpentras was in 23 Heshvan, 5516/1756. It was not until 13 years later, in 5529/1769 (Ya'ari ibid.) that HRB visited Provence. Such long gaps between the visits of emissaries were not uncommon. In *Sheluhey E.I.* (p. 854) Ya'ari quotes from an entry made by R. Jacob ibn Tsur of Fez on the *pinqas* of the illustrious emissary for Hebron, R. Isaac Ha-Cohen: '...among all our troubles...those people who donated then have all died...for it is more than 24 years since no emissaries from the land of Israel have come..'

145 Meaning, probably, that he coerced everybody into giving money.

'*louis d'or*'; but I was not obeyed. So I got up and went to another house; and they got up and went. And I was very distressed. And I lifted my eyes to Heaven - that He give me 'wisdom, understanding and intelligence' and good grace and good behaviour, for I am greatly oppressed, 'and in Thy lovingkindness do I rejoice': and that He help for the honour of His Name and grant me success in everything I do for His service. May He be blessed. 'And in the going up of the Minha'[146] I went to the synagogue in a sullen mood and with a tearful heart and I prayed to G-d that he deliver me from quarrelling. When I came out I made a detour so as not to pass by the [houses of the] *g'virim*. Later, R. Elijah [Speier of Prague] came to tell me that at mid-day the wife of Elia Roget Ravel - who was the chief among the opposers [for increasing the donation] - had been taken ill and was in bed with fever, fear and trembling. He himself had then gone to each one [of the Council] to try to persuade them to agree to what I had asked; and they had agreed. They sent to him saying they had acceded to my request and would I give permission for them to come [to see me]. I replied giving permission, so they came and I received them 'with a friendly countenance', and all was peace.

Tammuz 29

Sunday, Devarim: whilst I was dining Elijah Roget came. I begged him to advance [me] money from the sale of the house in which the Hebron fund had a share - some 50 francs. He refused. So I said to him, "Now shalt thou see'[147] - I will tell S. Yohanan Dalpuget, and he will agree even though his brother has already lent [me] 50 francs!" And S. Yohanan did agree, and I blessed him. Elia[148] donated one *louis d'or*; but I did not acknowledge this well at all.

Av 1

The day of Monday: the Parnesssim brought me 'food for the way'

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146 Kings I 18:36. i.e. at the time for the Minha prayer.

147 Num. 11:23.

148 The R. HYDA uses various spelling with *heh* or *alef* and without the final 'vav.

[expenses]; and I told them to add to it but Aaron Roget refused. I left the money lying there. As they would come and go they could see [each time] that the expenses-money was still lying there and they would say, "Take the expenses-money!" And I would reply, "I will not take" - until 4 hours later when they returned and added another *louis d'or* [when they found] the money was still lying there.

Av 2

The day of Tuesday: during all these days I tired with my efforts to obtain [further] donations - from men, and from women. I summoned the *shohet* and he said he would give 50 francs. I replied, "That is too little," but he said that he was unable and absolutely refused to give more. I said to him, "Bring me your slaughtering-knife [for inspection]." He [went and] brought [instead] R. Elia who came and sat down right next to me[149]. I scolded him and said, "You go away." Then he [the *shohet*] 'was seized by great trembling'; and he sent to me two of the *g'virim* with his *samkha*[150]. But I said to them, "The *samkha* is not proof for me: I want to see the knife, no matter what."

Next morning he brought the knife to me, just as I was leaving. I said to him,"It is good and correct." And he gave me 18 francs; but I said to him, "I do not want to take them - give them to [the] Hebron [*qupah*]. And so he gave them to the Hebron *qupah* .

And many other vicissitudes did I experience with all of them - but I left in peace with all of them, with the help of the Name, m.i.b.b.

Av 3

The day of Wednesday: all the donations and collections were completed, and everything was written down in the book, with the help of Heaven. But I did not want to journey off because it was the third of the month [?] - of Av[151]. On Wednesday G-d would help us for the sake of His holy Name.

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149 Something of a *lèse-majesté*?

150 Document of ordination.

151 Not regarded as a propitious month.

Av 4

The day of Thursday: after prayers we set off from Avignon for Cavaillon. We were escorted by R. Elia Speier, S. Elia Dalpuget, Ss. Joseph David and Yohanan [de] Monteux and Elia ben Baban. We arrived before noon and I lodged in the house of S. Israel Ha-Cohen.

The synagogue there is similar to those in Carpentras and Avignon. In all these communities mentioned there is, beneath the [main] synagogue, another synagogue for the women; and there are openings in the floor of the [upper] synagogue through which they can see the Sefer Torah. They also have a man as *Hazan* who leads the prayers for the women in the local tongue [French].

Cavaillon has a community of less than 30 householders. The women and the children are out in the street all day, shouting and laughing - the noise can confound one! I rebuked them over this. They have there as their Rabbi R. Moses of Apt [Opatów, Poland]. And he had said [to them] that he 'had sat on the throne' of *hora'ah*[152] [before that], having been Rav in Germany: and that he had taken issue with the Ga'on OMRR Hillman[153]; and they had wanted him to be the *Rosh Yeshiva* in Frankfurt-a.-M.; and that the rabbis of F.-a.-M. had said about him that he was *baqi* [=having perfect knowledge] of all the *Poseqim* - and other such exaggerations. All this was told to me by R. Isaiah, a friend of his.

Av 6

The day of the h.S.: R. Moses preached; and he mentioned me in an off-hand - off-foot! - manner. After prayers I did not 'turn him a smiling countenance'. And the g'virim came and dined with me: R. Abraham, R. Gad, R. Samuel, and R. Gad and R. Michael Bedarrides, and my host, R. Israel. All these are the *g'virim* of the town with the exception of R. Michael who is elderly, and he is the *Hazan*. And they are all of the family of Bedarrides, except for R. Israel who is a *Cohen*. Their *shohet* is Isaac Dalpuget [and he] and S. Joseph Ha'im Lunel, and also R. Moses of

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152 Issuing halakhic direction.

153 R. Samuel Hillman was Av Beth Din in Metz: to be his opponent implied high scholarship.

Apt, all dined [with me] in the morning; and some of them also joined me for 'the Third Meal'.

Av 7

Va-eth'hanan, [eve of] Sunday: after *Havdalah* all the said *g'virim* came and we settled the donation of the *kollel* [the general fund for E.I.] and of the *qupah* [for Hebron] - and *ts.l.*[154] - [all] with smiling countenances and words of peace: may their reward be doubled by Heaven!

Next day they began arranging for the donations of individuals; and this was [too] with happy countenances. And [here], too, there was not so much toil and I did not have to entreat. At mid-day the [following] *g'virim* dined with me: Gad ibn Moses, Samuel ibn Isaiah, Samuel ibn David - all of them of the family of de Bédarrides - and my host S. Israel. May G-d reward their deeds.

Av 8

Monday: in the evening there came R. Judah Ashkenazi ibn R. Pin'has and some of the *g'virim*, and R. Isaiah; and I spoke some words of *mussar* and praise of the dignitaries.

Av 9

Tisha B'Av: in the day-time I felt weak from fasting. After synagogue, the rest of the *g'virim* who had [just] arrived from the fair at Salon, came to pay me their respects; and they made a contribution.

Av 10

The termination of T. B'Av: that evening some 10 *g'virim* came to dine with me. And they were wonderful in the demonstration of their tremendous friendship: theirs was a labour of love! May G-d repay their reward. After the meal I spent some two enjoyable hours talking with them with words of *mussar* and love.

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154 Probably stands for *ts'vi la-tsaddiq* = glory to the righteous.

Next day nearly all the *g'virim* came to dinner - with great pomp. I learned that each one of them had paid the host of our inn liberally for his meal. The *g'vir*, the Parnesss Gad de Bédarrides bar Moses wrought wondrously, and he gave me 6 *rizas*[155], worth about 12 francs. And he hardly moved away [from me] day and night. Also the *g'vir* Samuel ibn ha-g'vir Isaiah de Bed[arrides] showed me wonderful friendship, and he gave me a flat [folding ?] *tabacchiera*; also R. Judah ibn R. Pin'has gave me a silken purse. The entire community - rapt with joy and love, and awe and honour - wrought wondrously.

When the time came that we were ready for departure, there arrived [in Cavaillon] R. Reuben - the author[156] - and his brother, from L'Isle; and he immediately came to see me, and I received him warmly. Then we departed in peace [for L'Isle].

At the entrance to the town they took me in to a large garden called a *bosco*[157]; and there I saw chestnut trees and pistachio trees; and they gave me some fine, freshly-growing pistachios and I recited the *she-hehiyanu*[158].

All the women of the community were standing outside the town to accompany us in - and to receive a blessing: and I recited for them [the benediction] 'He who blessed [our fathers]...' And also multitudes of gentile women were respectfully watching. Ten young men - married men and betrothed to be married - rode before us on horseback as a squadron, while I rode in a carriage with R. Isaiah - the elder and *g'vir* - and R. Israel Ha-Cohen, [one of the prominent] householder[s]. On the outside of the *carrosse* there were seats for four [more] and there were 3 other full carriages - it seemed as if there was not left behind even a single householder in the congregation, with the exception of Samuel de Bedarrides whose wife was ill, and the beadle who was very old: and they had all come with joy and gladness and great love.

We arrived at the synagogue of L'Isle and the few *g'virim* there came out to meet us. I lodged with R. Moses ben HR David de Milhaud, his soul now in Eden, whose wife is the daughter of R. Ezekiel Crémieu

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155 Possibly rix-dollar, worth about a reichsathaler.

156 Possibly R. Reuben ibn Tsur, father of R. Jacob (v. p.140 [144]).

157 Bosquet = grove [?]

158 '...who has given us life...' the benediction over new fruits.

who had escorted us from Nice to Avignon; and straightaway the house and my room filled with the holy cong. of L'Isle and Cavaillon.

Av 11

Thursday: contributors began coming and people who had a will from a deceased relative [leaving money] for Erets Israel bringing the money [with them].

Av 12

The sixth: in the eve there came some *g'virim* and Yehidim and I spoke concerning the mission - 'walking uprightly and telling troubles'[159]; and they went out to discuss and I sat there. After *Arvit*, R. Moses ibn Michael de Beaucaire came and brought [me] on behalf and his sons 4 *louis d'or*.

Av 14, Eqev

Sunday, the night of the termination of the Sabbath: after *Arvit* the Council met in the synagogue precincts and I related to them about our great misfortunes[160]. On Sunday evening the entire Council came to me and we made a good settlement, with the help of G.m.H.b.b. And then [individual] donators came, men and women: may G. grant them life and protect them.

Av 16

Tuesday: R. Isaiah, ms[161] of Cavaillon, came [to see me] bringing 3 melons, a gift from Gad ibn Moses de Bedarrides, the Parnesss. He told me

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159 Isaiah 33:15 - a slight misquotation *magid* instead of *dover* - both meaning 'speaking'. The pun is on *mesharim* = honesty > *metsarim* = troubles.

160 Principally the crippling burden of interest on the loans made by the Arab landlords to pay their high rent.

161 These letters *mem, samekh* remain puzzling.

that when I was leaving the town, the lady of the house had run[162] to the city gates; and she was carrying a pair of scissors which had pierced her thigh a depth of one and a half inches[163]; she had lain in a *p'at*[164] bed but had now got up and was in the hands of a physician. I suffered very, very great anguish over this. "And my prayer to you, O G-d! I beseech you, do not turn towards my evils but make it so, for the sake of your glory, that I shall be successful and blessed in every place that I may be; and blessing should follow my feet and your Torah should not be profaned through me, Heaven forfend - do so for the sake of your Name; do so for the sake of your Right Hand; d.s.f.t.s.o.y. Torah; d.s.f.t.s.o.y. Holiness[165]."

Av 17

Wednesday: five hours after noon I travelled off in the *carrosse* of my good friend R. Ezekiel Crémieu and his partner R. Moses Cavaillon who had come from Beaucaire, and I went to Carpentras in their company. Also accompanying us were R. Moses d.M., my host - and with their children [sons ?]; and we arrived at the time for *Arvit.*

Av 18

Thursday[166]: As soon as they [sic] arrived our good friends R. Mordecai, R. Solomon, R. Moses and R. Joseph Ha'im came along. I went to *Arvit* just as I was, with a bundle of *louis d'or* in my bosom. Now that author mentioned earlier [R. Reuben ibn Tsur] gave me "*Shalom*" in the synagogue, and also his son, but they did not come again to visit me. After prayers R. Mordecai and his father R. Abraham came [to see me]; so I did not go to the *yeshiva.*

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162 To see him off and, apparently, had stumbled and fallen.

163 'Fingers' which means 'thumb-widths'; so 'inches' is more or less correct.

164 A totally mysterious word. *P'at* = 'the edge of'.

165 A long line of initials in the text. The familiar phrases are from Selihot.

166 The same evening of their arrival.

Av 21

Sunday, Re'eh: I went to the *yeshiva* as directed by the Parnesss; and B.I.[167] R.M. d.R.M.[168] and that author began to ask me questions - childrens' questions - on Rashi. I said to them, "Let us begin to learn at the place where you are learning." Then I began with him some 'sharper' study, with all the patience and concentration that he could [muster]. After we had finished he[169] said, "And what do you say to the expression *'et ha-berakhah'*[170] rendered in the Targum as *'yat mevarkhaya'*, [which Rashi explains as] - 'the blessers'"[171] . So I rebutted him. Then he said to me, "You do not want to listen to words of Torah!"

I replied, "Do I, then, occupy myself with idle things?"

He said to me, "No, [but] you belittle me and you do not not speak to me gently [as befits a scholar to a colleague]."

I said to him, "I hold you in great esteem."

He said, " We do not have [here] vanity and pride."

I asked him, "[What do you mean] - what have I done to you?"

He: "You belittle me in that you do not listen to my words. Is it because we are humble people [here] 'and we appear in our own eyes like grasshoppers so we thus appear in their eyes'?"[172]

I said to him, "Behold - they can all testify that I have spoken and discoursed with you!"

He replied "[All] I know is that you belittle me...." And he went on in that vein; and I stayed silent. And I said [to myself], "May this be an atonement for my sins."

That day, too, saw but trivial donations - many brought [as little as] three francs, and some only two. The Parnesss said, "Take them!" - and it was good [advice]. I took them for I knew their parsimony - 'they do not

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167 Almost certainly *B'ney Israel* = the children of Israel. (See what follows).

168 R. Moses de Roco Martineau (v. Tammuz 21).

169 Probably 'that' author.

170 'The blessing'- Deut. 11:29 (et forms the accusative case).

171 This is the classical interpretation, for it is those who are giving the blessing who are standing on (facing) Mount Gerizim, not the 'blessing' itself (if we take the literal translation). Apparently, 'that' author was not satisfied!

172 Num. 13:33.

want to give, nor do they want others to give'[173]. Also many [other forms of] *kilioth* [=miserliness] did I see; but I had forbearance and I said to myself, "May this be an atonement for my sins: may G-d have mercy on me and set me straight in all matters with every good inspiration that I may be successful in everything; and that we may return in peace, and that I will be uplifted to rejoice in the joy of the [coming] Festival for the sake of the glory of His Name Raphae-l - who has healed all my woes; and may we now have ease and deliverance. May thus be His will."

Av 23

Tuesday: it was my wish to depart, and *g'virim* and Hakhamim came to escort me. But I thought that I would go to that author and make peace [with him]; and so I did. I found him - he and his son - and we took leave in peace, and they escorted me. I was [also] escorted by the Parnesss R.M. de .R.M. and his brother's son, R.M. de .R.M. and R. Solomon and R. Mordecai in two *cabriolets.*

We arrived safely in the afternoon in Avignon. I immediately sent off an *espresso*[174] to Marseilles to bring my *Birke Yosef*; and they brought them just prior to 'the Reception of the Sabbath'.

Av 28

The night of the termination of the h.S.: after midnight I heard sounds of crying and shouting and was afraid. Then I heard they were calling me and I arose in a panic. And I saw Abraham, [my attendant] coming [towards me], crying! I asked him, "What is the matter?" And he replied, "They have cut and broken my hands!" I said to him, "Wait and do not be afraid, until I have washed my hands." Then I said to him, "Look, your hands are all right - go in peace, and do not sleep without a lamp." But because of his commotion the entire household had woken up, and Joseph David[175] came and asked me what this was [all about]. And I told

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173 Avoth ch.V, mishnah 13.

174 At this time there was an inter-city express *diligence* service operating in France.

175 de Monteux; R. HYDA had stayed with the family on the earlier visit.

him that this had already happened to Abraham in Tunis and Livorno. Indeed, on one occasion in Livorno I had descended [downstairs] with S. Gabriel, - may G-d grant him life! - at midnight and we had opened the door - and there he [Abraham] was: he had got up from bed and [stood there] howling just like a dog, and he became violent as if he would do murder! S. Gabriel 'had no spirit left within him'[176] - his mother upstairs was calling out for her son, and just nearby was the wife of Aron Assagioli who was with child - after 14 years! - and she had just been 'seized with the pangs of travail'. I shouted hard at Abraham. Then I went in to pacify the expectant mother and S. Gabriel and his mother. And then I slept.

Av 29 Shof'tim

Monday: preparing to journey with me to Nîmes were: Abraham Carcassonne, David Dalpuget, and Joseph David [de] Monteux and his brother when, just at the time for our departure Job [?] de Monteux, their uncle, died; so we had to delay. [Finally], Elia Ravel, R. Elia Espeier [= Speier] and Elijah Moses came with me to Nîmes [instead of the de Monteux brothers]. One has to cross the River Rhone twice, and A. Carcassonne came with us as far as the river's edge the second time; but Michael Roget [came with us] as far as Villeneuve. We feared trouble on this second [crossing] because on board the ferry were [our] two *vetturos* [= vehicles] and [another] wagon laden with wood, and many people, and there was a very strong wind; but we crossed safely. Isaac Jesi had come from L'Isle to accompany me and he came with us [all the way] to Nîmes. Michael Roget came [with us] up to the gates of Villeneuve, and he succeeded in getting us through the Customs without our baggage being opened.

Ellul, New Moon

Tuesday: we arrived in Nîmes at nightfall and we were received by R. Moses, the son of Joseph Damiah [?] of Carpentras. There, too, was our good friend R. Gad - only he told me that he must leave the next day

176 Did not know what to do.

because his daughter was ill: may G-d heal her with a complete recovery. I was [also] distressed on account of Elia Ravel who had come with us and had fever and felt ill. But, b.h.[177], he arose in the morning and went [back] in peace to Avignon together with R. Elia [Speier] and the lads[178]: may G-d lead them safely.

In the morning we went to a synagogue, a mile distant from the house of R. Moses, and which is in the house of Judah Eliezer of Mannheim. And there was a struggle to get a *minyan*! Afterwards, in the house of R. Moses, some individuals came to bring donations. After that we went together with R. Moses and the bachelor-g'vir Joseph Carcassonne and Mordecai [de] Monteux to see the spring which rises at the bottom of the mountain there. They have made large [reservoir] pools; and there are beautiful buildings, and statues and other constructions from the time of Titus and Nero. Their 'house of profanity' [temple] is a ruin, but it was a beautiful building. From inside the doorway to this place stood a hundred thousand people when, two months before, the brother of the king of France had come [here], when they had adorned the place magnificently. And there is in Nîmes an ancient palace of the Emperor Nero.

In the afternoon we dined at the house of R. Moses Damiah; and with us there together dined the *g'virim* Moses de Cavaillon, and Joseph Carcassonne and Isaac Jesi our friends. At three of the clock we rode off with S. Isaac Jesi to go to Lunel, in peace. And S. Isaac had wrought wondrously on our behalf, both with his self and with his possessions: may G-d reward his efforts.

Ellul 1

Wednesday: at nightfall we arrived safely in the town of Lunel - an ancient city where used to live the [famous] RaZaH[179] and Rabbenu Jonathan Ha-Cohen and the 'Sages of Lunel' who argued with the

177 *Barukh Ha-Shem* = may the (His) Name be blessed.

178 Those mentioned above without the title Rav.

179 R. Zerahiah Ha-Levi, known as the *Ba'al Ha-Maor*, one of the early Talmudic commenators [Rishonim], as is the next-mentioned personality.

RaMBaM and questioned him and he answered them. But it was only afterwards, on the day that we journeyed [from there] that we saw, half a mile further on, a place they call 'Old Lunel', and it appears that that is where these aforem. *Ge'onim* dwelt.

That same day, at noon, we arrived at the town of Montpellier where Jews have settled recently. They took me to an inn where there was no separate room: and I declined. Then Bezallel Dalpuget said that if I wished to go to his house that was in order. So I went there - food would be sent from the inn like 'the Four Congregations'[180]; but, they told me, they had instructed the innkeeper not to spend many expenses and one [meal] would suffice. And also the said Bezallêl is wealthy indeed in possessions, but a great miser - and so are most of the Yehidim. Now there is a person there whom they call 'Mordecai the Ass' as a nickname: and I say, 'not one ass of them ...' - 'but the entire congregation'!

Ellul 2

Thursday: I went to the synagogue established by the deceased Melinde [?], and his widow supports the synagogue. They conduct themselves according to the rites of 'the Four Congregations'. After prayers I drank chocolate with the said widow together with some of the Yehidim.

Ellul 3

Friday: after drinking coffee I told D.H.A.[181] to [go and] take off his clothes[182]. He said he would go, and I said, "Go in peace." I knew that he was going to the inn because S. Jesi[183] did not want him to stay with him. And, in truth, I was very distressed: may the Merciful One....[?]

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180 'The Four Congregations' are: Carpentras, Avignon, L'Isle and Cavaillon - the probable meaning here is 'in huge quantities' i.e. sufficient for all four.

181 This is probably Abraham, his attendant; DH is mysterious.

182 To change for the Sabbath [?].

183 Who had accompanied them from Nîmes and Lunel.

Ellul 4

Saturday: after prayers a number of Yehidim came to the house. And I sermonized them about kerchiefs and similar things which they should not carry about in the town, which has no *eruv*[184]. Some of them accepted this - and I gave a blessing to each one that did!

They say that the [name] Montpellier means: mountain - *mont* and *pelier* - pillars.

Ellul 5

Sunday, Thetse: after praying in private a number of Yehidim came [to escort me on my way] a distance of one *parsa*[185], while Elia Petit accompanied me on his horse all the way to Pézenas. S. Isaac Jesi, after going a *parsa*, returned to his home. He had spent 6 days with me and done me much lovingkindness. May G-d reward his works with a plenitude of wealth and honour and fear of Heaven: may thus be His will.

We arrived at Pézenas in the evening and there came out to meet us Gad de Bedarrides and three others who lived there. And we were received by the said S. Gad in his guest-house.

Ellul 6

Monday: in the evening [before] I made peace between the said Gad and Jonah de Cavaillon and Moses Menahem Roget with whom they had been quarrelling. B. be G.

[Next day] all the Jews there - all four or five of them - came and escorted me as far as a *parsa*. S. Michael de R.P[186]. was overwhelming in his kindness in everything, and he came all the way to Narbonne. While still a *parsa* away, towards evening, S. Judah Valabrègues and R. Abraham ben Gad de Bedarrides came to meet me in a *calesso* and I got up next to them. We arrived in Narbonne while the sun was still high, and S. Judah brought us into his house with great honour.

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184 Cordoned off to make a single Sabbath-area.

185 One parasang = 4 mil = 8000 cubits: about 2.8 miles.

186 Or 'F'. Unidentified.

Ellul 7

Tuesday: in the evening all the nobles of the town of Narbonne came, and the ladies - hosts upon hosts! - to see me; and they did me great honour.

[The next day] the said S. Leon[187] with the said R. Abraham and some of the Jews of the *contado*[188] there accorded me great honour and donations - even though their wives had [already] made donations the previous night. May G. reward their efforts; m.t.b.H.w.

Now that day, a half hour before dawn, my carriage had set out with Abraham. But I, together and S. Arian journeyed off an hour and a half later, together with S. Leon and S. Abraham aforem., in a carriage called a *cabriolet* until we reached my carriage: then they went back in peace. At mid-day we arrived in Mèze and we ate there. And one hour after dark we arrived at the town of Carcassonne. We went to a gentile hospice; and that woman of wondrous evil asked six francs for three beds, without any food. But with entreaty we agreed on five. And we sent for some coffee, and they brought 3 *tazas*[189] for 18 *soldos* - something extraordinary! - but I had to pay. This also for the good.

Ellul 8

The day of Wednesday, Thetse: we reached the village of Alzonne at noon: a gentile hospice.

Ellul 9

Thursday eve: Castelnaudary, a gentile hospice - a fine one, and they agreed to 3 francs. In the day-time we ate at the gentile hospice *'Villefranche'*.

Ellul 10

The eve of the sixth: we were in Castanet. They were good [to us] - but it is a village in which nothing is to be found! In the day-time, at nine

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187 S. Judah.

188 Purse, cash (Sp.) i.e. community treasurers.

189 Cups (Sp.)

of the clock, we entered Toulouse, and at the Customs they wanted to open up all our clothing. But G-d in His great mercy made so that they did not [in the end] open anything, and they saw nothing. When I showed them the *passeport* from Avignon and Montpellier they were respectful. At one of the gates I wanted to give them some 4 *soldos* for a drink - as is the custom - but they refused [to accept]. A little further on, though, others came who were abusive and demanded 12 *soldos*; and I gave it them. Then they wanted to open up the clothing. So I climbed down from the carriage and showed them the *passeport*, and they did not open anything. Their officer told them to return the 12 *soldos*; I wanted them to keep them, but he refused. And this is lovingkindness from on high. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

We found there a Jew, Moses Ashkenazi - for there are a few poor Jews there - and they took us to their inn where they gave me a beautiful room. B.b.G.

We were fortunate [in being able] to pray on the Sabbath with a *minyan* because there were few wayfarers. I received the entire 'SheMA'[190]; I had to pray *Shaharit* and *Musaf* as the Reader! Afterwards I preached to them some words of *mussar* and correction. B.b.G. But the *shohet* there was from Rodriguez [Spain] and I did not want to eat of his *shehitah*.

Now, when I had climbed down from the carriage [on arriving] I had given into Abraham's hand a small bag containing a night-robe, a *fazzaletto* [=handkerchief] and a purse of *toton*[191]. The eve of the Sabbath I looked for it and could not find it - because he had dropped it in the street[192]! I was distressed, especially about the hat [that was also in the bag], for it is a large *fez* which is not obtainable. On that eve of the Sabbath I wore two *baretas*[193]: but on the day of the h.S. I had aching of the eyes. And I was distressed because I could never find, no matter how much money I was prepared to spend, [a similar *fez*] to replace [the one I had lost]. But I will give mighty thanks to G-d - for a gentile had found the bag lying [by the wayside] and had given it to the *vetturino*. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

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190 Shaharit, Minha, Arvit - all three prayers.

191 Perhaps *toston* = 50-cent Mexican coins. The Mexican *real* was widely-used trading currency: perhaps, too, the *toston*.

192 This Abraham, like the first attendant, appears to be a *stet*.

193 Berets or caps: two could be formed into a larger sort of hat for the Sabbath.

This city of Toulouse is, it might appear, the city of the *Rav Ha-Maggid* zl[194]; for - so they say here - there is no town in Spain with a name like Toulouse; and it could be that the Rav was born in Toulouse and went to Spain, which is very nearby, to study and there he was a colleague of the RaN [Rabbenu Nissim]. But it has now become clear that there is, indeed, a 'Tolosa' in Spain and therefore the *R. Ha-Maggid* is from Tolosa in Spain.

This Toulouse is a large city and it has a very beautiful, wide bridge with wide causeways on the two sides for people and in the middle for wagons. Yet with all this there are no proper gates to the city: just one did I see, of wood, broken and in pieces - a disgrace! And so it is in all the cities of France - lacking beauty and the appointments of a city, and many derelict buildings. The reason for this is that it is a broad kingdom: not like in Italy and elsewhere where each small section of land is a dukedom or republic or suchlike. This city of Toulouse is the capital of Languedoc and has its own parliament. The Jew who is established there is one Abraham Moscato from Livorno who has a wife in Bordeaux: they have been separated for 25 years! He told me that [this is because] she had committed adultery and bore a *mamzer*. He desires that she should give him a *get* [= divorce] but she refuses; so I should try and do something in Bordeaux. I answered that when I reach there I would examine the roots of the matter and tell them what to do according to my limited capacity.

Ellul 12

Sunday, Tavo: we journeyed in the morning; and at mid-day we ate a meal in the town of L'Isle [Jourdain], at a gentile hospice.

Ellul 13

Monday: we arrived at Gimont in the evening, at a gentile hospice, and they were good [to us]. Next day we were in Auch - a town with a strange entrance-gate and architecture; and in the gentile hospice they were wicked. We forgot there a knife given to me by Ha'im Belila - worth more than two francs!

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194 'The Rav - Preacher': R. Don Vidal de Tolosa (Catalunya), authoritative expositor of the *Mishne Torah* of the RaMBaM (Code of Maimonides).



A French *diligence* of the late 18th century.
[Reproduced with the permission of the Musée de la Poste, Paris]

Ellul 14

Tuesday: we arrived at the town of Mirande at night [Monday]. We stayed in an inn - small and cramped; and my attendant had to sleep outside. Next day, at noon, we were in the town of Rabasteug [de Bigorre], in a gentile hospice.

Ellul 15

Wednesday: the eve of Wednesday we arrived at the town of Tarbes. Now in Toulouse they had told us that the Customs were wicked and extremely rigorous. I was apprehensive, for if they would open the trunks it would be difficult to put them in order again, especially since we were entering at night. And G-d in His great mercy was merciful to us - for not even one of them said anything to us: 'and towards the children of Israel barked not [even a dog].' P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

The following day was very tiring because we had been in the carriage since before daybreak and until an hour after noon. We had a meal in the large city of Pau. This is a city more orderly than the rest of the provincial towns of Languedoc - but without gates, or municipal appointments. We did not stay more than two hours, then straightaway we mounted the carriage and stayed thus until an hour and a half into the night.

Ellul 16

The eve of Thursday: we arrived in the little village of Orthez and we travelled around until we found a small village inn. In the day-time we came to the even smaller village of Puyoo: but the inn [there] was new and spacious.

Ellul 17

Friday, the eve of Friday: we came to the town of Peyrehorade and the Jews took us to their quarter. There are 7 poor householders, and they said that the *Gabbay* had died and that the *qupah* had been stolen from the synagogue. They offered me coffee and fruit. I sent an *espresso* to the Jews of St. Esprit, near Bayonne, to inform them that I would be coming to their town the next day: may G-d in His mercy lead us safely b.h.b.[195]. M.t.b.H.w.

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195 Could be anything - possibly *beyn ha-brioth* = among people.

Next day, two hours in the afternoon, the son of R. Jacob Attias[196] came to meet us and told us that we would be met by the dignitaries of the town. An hour later I entered the town with R. Abraham Leon and his son and some people living near the town, and I was the guest of S. Solomon Alvirez. R. Attias, the Parnesssim and some *g'virim* came as soon as I arrived.

Ellul 18

Saturday, the h.S.: I prayed in the great synagogue; and they call it *'Parnassal'* [?]. After the prayers S. Abraham Nounez took me to his house, which is below in the courtyard, and I recited *Qiddush* there. Then I went with him to visit the 3 Parnesssim and also S. Samuel Alexandro n.E.[197] - in whose house I had already been the previous time - and to the house of Gabriel Lopez nearby.

I was a little unwell that Sabbath, especially with the 'black sickness'[198]: may G-d in His mercy heal me with a perfect healing. I also had a pain in the right leg from a blister. I was very worried about this, but I did not want to let a doctor see it lest - Heaven forfend! - he would make it worse: for in those towns a wound in the leg is dangerous [?].

Ellul 19

Sunday, Nitsavim: in the morning I prayed in the 'Brandon' synagogue and afterwards S. Patto invited me to drink chocolate. Then I went to see S. Abraham Nounez and discussed with him the matter of my mission. He then came back to my house, alone with me, to tell me all his own thoughts [on the matter].

I also went to visit the widow of S. Isaac Tavares whose husband had done me much kindness on the previous occasion. Then [I went to see] S. Abraham Levi. After that I wrote letters to the Parnesssim. And in the afternoon came S. Soares, S. Benjamin Louis [Nounez] and S. Mordecai Lopez Fonseca. These last two spoke much about the poverty in the town, and the debts and so on, with strong arguments. And I replied with

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196 Freimann's 'David' confuses him with the son of R. J. Attias of Bordeaux (p. 170)

197 *Nishmato Eden* = his soul [now] in Eden.

198 Probably meaning depression.

temperance and humility. I then went with them to pray Minha. S. Benjamin gave a discourse there on [the subject of] when Rabbinical laws require stricter sanctions then Biblical laws. R. David Levi put in a question; and I answered it. S. Benjamin, too, was 'peppering' me - and the whole congregation intently[199] listening: and G-d in His mercy gave me 'answer of the tongue' to 'pepper' back!

After *Arvit* the Parnesssim came. S. Benjamin consulted me on whether it was permissible for the congregation to recite loudly [together with the Reader] during the Repetition [of the Amidah]; they were also [in the habit of] saying [the priestly blessing] 'O G-d and G-d of our fathers, bless us with the three-fold blessing...' I told him that the law required them to be silent: save that individual [worshippers] may accompany [the Reader] in a whisper without [formally] saying the closing phrase of each of the benedictions, as was written by OMR M [?] concerning the Benediction 'One of Seven'[200]. S. Patto was also there and he quibbled about it being a fine custom; I answered him according to his style.

B.b.G. - the pain in my leg has gone. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

Ellul 22

Wednesday: they were complaining that I had not gone to visit the *g'virim* - and one of them had said, "I am not going to see the emissary until he has done his duty!"

I at once went to see S. Julian, one of the leaders of the community. And he brazenly suggested that all my credentials were false. I answered him according to his style, [but] with good sense. Afterwards I went to all of them [the Parnesssim]. I had heard that they found my staying there a burden, since they had to pay for my lodging - especially S. Benjamin Louis who was one of the leaders of the community and the greatest *g'vir* of them all. He is [surely] the greatest boor and miser of them all! - with weak hands/ and broken legs/ for the purpose of my sojourn/ and of my mission; and a sign for this thing is [the very word] *'NaBaL'* [=boor], the

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199 'Mouth to mouth' i.e. hanging on our lips.

200 The shorter form of grace. Freimann gives a correct reference for this (Beth Yosef, TUR Orah Haim, Sec. 268) quoting R. Eliezer b. Joel Ha-Levi. But 'M' is puzzling.

initials of 'Nabal Benjamin Louis'. Also in cohorts with him, Fonseca, Robles, Julian; and the sign [for this is] '*Bi-FeRoaH resha'im*[201]', the initials of Benjamin, Fonseca, Robles, Julian. May G-d cause them to return with repentance. So there was I, made ill by their words of mischief/ and 'insolent conduct'[202] - 'for they fear not the L-rd etc.' I was quite ill all that week: may G-d heal me with a perfect healing.

Ellul 25

Saturday, the h.S.: I prayed in the evening and in the morning in the Great Synagogue. After prayers very many *g'virim* came and began asking me philosophical questions about the soul, reward and punishment. And G-d in his great mercy gave 'answer of the tongue' and I answered them.

Ellul 26

Sunday, Ha'azinu: a large Council meeting gathered - some twenty-six *g'virim*. I went to meet them, and I put forward my arguments and then left and went to the house of S. Nounez. After I had been there some two hours, S. Nounez arrived and they set the table for me to eat there. I pleaded with him to tell me what they had concluded. He told me that they had decided to give me 1200 l.[203] and that I should pay for my own lodging. And my anger grew hot; and I refused to eat there and went out alone. One of the Parnesssim of the charity committee came along my way to walk with me but I told him I did not wish it.

I encountered other Parnesssim [later] and they tried to concern themselves with me but I did not show them a welcoming face. Then they came up [to my house] and sat down; and they told me [again] what they had all decided. I replied that I would not accept. They tried to discuss it further but I refused, and they went away. S. Patto and S. Isaac Brandas

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201 Psalms 92:8 'In the flowering of the wicked'. The final 'h' in *bi-peroah* must be replaced by the Spanish 'j': R. HYDA writes Julian as Hulian.

202 Tal. Sabb. 77b 'Goats (*izzey*) walking'; also *az* = insolent.

203 This *litre* is a provincial name for the *livre*. The name is found in Ketuboth of the Alsace-Lorraine region.

who were there tried to pacify me; but I told S. Alvarez to fetch me a post-chaise for me to leave at once. At this news there was confusion, and they convened another meeting for that evening.

At three hours [in the afternoon], the son of S. Tavares' daughter came [saying] that I should go to the one 'who allocates clothes for the needy'. I went, taking a book with me [to study there], for I did not wish to speak with anyone - standing greatly aloof! And they convened [another] meeting, and they sent 8 of them as *deputados* to appease me, together with the two heads [of the community], Levi and Julian. They discussed with me all their arguments. But Julian spoke intemperately and said to me, "Let G-d judge between us and you!"[204] Then I spoke hard [words] to him; 'and I opened my mouth' against Benjamin Louis; and I spoke against [all of] them 'with a tongue speaking haughtily' - but I took a little care to be tactful. But they were [still] brazen-faced in holding to the original amount. I adjudged that it would be not be beneficial to abuse them, so I asked them to take donations in the synagogue. They began discussing it - and the matter is still hanging. 'One thing I ask from the L-rd': that he should grace me with wisdom to behave, and that He should put goodness into their hearts and return them to repentance. May thus be His will.

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204 Cf. Gen. 31:53.

Year 5538 [1777-8]

5538, Tishri: the year of 'T-Ts-L-I-H in your ways'[1].

Tishri, the Ten Days of Repentance: I saw no-one and I stayed in solitude as much as possible. On Rosh Ha-Shanah I prayed in the *'Parnassal'* Synagogue. The Parnesssim came to accompany me [home], but I merely gave them a little bow. The night of Yom Kippur I was with Abraham Nounez, resting on a canape.

Tishri 12

Before Rosh Hashana I had heard a quarrel between the said Abraham and his wife. I rebuked him strongly [to make up the quarrel]. He accepted on condition his wife would make an oath on the Sefer Torah[2]. And so it was done - his wife took an oath before me and before R. Jacob Attias and R. Abraham de Leon on a Sefer Torah, and the conditions were signed on a document. But his heart 'was going in blackness and without light' as will be explained.

Tishri 20

Now, I already thoroughly understood his mind and his trickery and his lies. He came to see me, and his mother followed him in. She had never come to me before, and I understood that now it was for the purpose of talking against her daughter-in-law. I told him that he was committing a great sin in 'bringing forth against her an evil name' - [namely,] that she wanted to poison him! And, furthermore [I told him]: that she went hungry and thirsty[3], but that she [nevertheless] 'stood in her faith and

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1 Deut. 28:29 The *gematria* value of *tatsliah* (you shall be successful) = 5538.

2 The details will emerge shortly.

3 He did not provide her with her needs.

righteousness'; and that he used to beat her; and that he had [even] hired [people] to kill her - and similar abominations of his; and that he had deceived me and had caused her to swear on the Sefer Torah in vain. I told him that G-d would 'avenge her vengeance'. He answered me that I [should] look upon him as an embittered soul. I replied that I look upon him as a hypocrite showing saintliness but underneath deceit - but I had recognised it and proved it; he had deceived [previous] emissaries, but I had seen through him. And I shouted at him and at his mother. Then he became meek, and began asking for new conditions. I consented to him and appeased him. and he gave his word that on [Sabbath] P. Noah, when his son would be [ready for] 'completing the count'[4], he would take her back into his house. Then I sent for his wife and warned her; and she accepted everything.

Tishri 21

The eve of the Day of Hoshana Rabba[5]: he [the abovem. Abr. Nounez] sent a letter to S. Solomon Alvarez - my host - that it is inconceivable that she return to him: but I will say no more about this [now].

It has already been said above that Joseph Julian and Abraham Levi had set themselves against me - and now Abraham Levi was also refusing to pay up what he had promised to the *Yeshivah* with vain excuses. And G-d so wrought that during *Hol Ha-mo'ed*[6] both of these had cut their beards - and they are the heads of the noteworthy *g'virim* of the congregation! The Council met and Julian went: and he greatly abused the President, S. Soares. And they made a decree against them [saying] that they must be respectful and that they must stay at home[7] and each of them must pay a small fine. They tried to stop this decree of the Parnesssim but were unable.

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4 The 8 days for circumcision.

5 The seventh day of Succoth: work is permitted.

6 Although certain kinds of work are permitted on the five intermediate festival days haircutting and shaving are not.

7 Not attending any meetings of the Council for a certain period.

Tishri 23

The night of the second Yom-Tov day[8], Simhat Torah: the Parnesssim S. Louis and S. Fonseca came and were with me for two and a half hours. I spoke to them concerning Nounez - the entire chapter of events[9] - and they were astounded.

The next day Ab. Levi sent saying he had re-considered and now realised that he was obliged to pay what he had vowed, and that 'he would pay of the best' [so] that he would continue to be a Parnesss, and he was appointing his relative as *Gabbay*. I replied to him that I had already appointed as *Gabbay* S. Abraham Patto!

Tishri 24

The day of the h.S.: I prayed [in the evening] in the 'Brandon' Synagogue in honour of the 'Bridegroom of *Bereshit*', Moses Silva Valle, the son of the daughter of S. Isaac Nunes Tavares from whom I had received kindnesses on my first journey. Next day, S. Abraham Levi came to dinner and argued against the appointed *Gabbay*, but to no avail. After Minha, S. David Silva invited me to see his garden and into his house; and I went and they did me - and all the others who came - much honour.

Tishri 25

Sunday, Noah: S. Ab. Levi invited me to his house to drink chocolate, and he gave great honour. His friend Julian was there too. In the evening the Parnesssim and the *Gabbay* came and sat there more than two hours deliberating. I repeated to them that they should know that everything Nounez was saying about his wife - [namely,] that she wanted to kill him, and so on and so forth - were lies, and he would give account for it; and I expanded on these words in his eulogy [?]. And the discussion lengthened from subject to subject; and they [eventually] gave the money in a most honourable way. They [also] told me that they would pay my lodging - which was costing more than 300 francs - and that I could stay securely, if I so wished, until the following week. I told them what had

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8 The night after Shemini Atseret following Succoth.

9 *Prashat ha-ibbur* = crossroads, hence crisis; also *parshat* = chapter.

happened to me with R. Moses Robles, an old man of 80 years who thought of himself as a Torah scholar: [for] he was a wealthy man!

Now this man kept coming to see me. He praised himself on being well versed in the Bible and able to make fine perceptions - not like those who [just] pitter and patter. He had noted that in one verse of six words, four were the same word, namely: 'Sing to the L-rd, sing! - sing to our King, sing![10]' He had also looked and ascertained that the [Book of the] Prophet Jeremiah has 51 chapters but [nevertheless] contains more [words] than Isaiah which has 66 chapters - and similar trivialities, and stories and self-praises. He showed me an *ethrog* [=citron], two years old, full of [gnarled] nodules; and pulling at his beard - 'dried up, dissolved, ugly'[11] - said that in his opinion one may make the benediction over it [on Succoth], and what did I think? I said to him, "This is 'a fruit of a beautiful tree'[12]." Another day, he told me that the Rabbi had told him not to carry a walking-stick on Yom-Tov, but that he had made light of this [matter] for he [the Rabbi] did not know that 'once carrying has been permitted for necessity..(it is also permitted for non-necessities)'. I told him that the prohibition is not because of 'carrying out' but because of 'workaday things' as Rashi has explained in [Talmud] Betsah p.25. Behold, too - both the RaMBaM and *Shulhan Arukh* utilise the principle of 'once carrying has been permitted etc' yet they both rule that 'the blind man may not go out with his stick'. And he was silent. (There is a more lenient ruling, but where people are unlearned in Torah the prohibition applies since they will become more lax in carrying [even] on the Sabbath etc.).

He also asked me what was the [true] reason for having three meals [on the Sabbath] - for the [reason given] that there are three [mentions of] 'today' [in the biblical verses] cannot suffice because one of these is 'today you will NOT find it[13]'. I explained to him that the three 'todays' was a homily, and the true reason [for having a third meal] is that the evening and morning meals are customary on every day: so how otherwise [without a

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10 Psalm 47 v.7 The constructed Hebrew noun includes 'to' and 'our'.

11 The meaning is not clear; the prev. phrase is, literally, 'he pulled from his beard'.

12 Lev. 23:40 *Hadar* = beautiful; also, 'that resides (from year to year)': the only fruit to do so.

13 Ex. 16:25 The *mannah*.

special Third Meal] would 'the honour of the Sabbath' be recognised? Also, according to 'the Hidden [Knowledge]', there is a more fundamental reason. He also asked what was the reason for saying [the prayer] 'There is none like our G-d etc' [towards the end of the Sabbath-morning service]? And he said that what his explanation was the very truth of the matter: 'There is none like our G-d' is directed against Babylon, since Nebuchadnezzar made an idol; 'there is none like our Master' is against Medea; 'there is none like our King' is against Greece since Alexander reigned throughout the world; 'there is none like our Saviour' is against Edom. He further asked [concerning the Talmudical law[14]]: 'a divorced woman who commits adultery is still permitted to [remarry] her [former] husband'. But, [he argued] this can lead to evil, for a [would-be] adulterer could incite the husband to divorce his wife who may then be promiscuous, while the husband may remarry her[15]; and he answered this by saying that if forbid her to her former husband then [we are ruling that] a harlot is forbidden to an Israelite whereas such a prohibition applies only to a Cohen. And I refuted his words.

Heshvan 1, Noah

Saturday[16], the day of the h.S.: I prayed in the 'Parnassal' Synagogue. And Samuel ibn Ab. Nounez 'completed the count'[17]; but I did not see them there. And I was called up to the Torah. After the prayers I went to the Circumcision; then I visited three Parnesssim, and they came back to the house with me. I went to the 'Brandon' Synagogue to pray Minha, and I was [again] called up to the Torah.

[Afterwards] a number of people there plied me with queries, and I answered them - it happened that already the [very] first day I had spoken to them on the subject of *gilgul* [= re-incarnation]. [I had told them that] the Rabbi Aryeh Judah of Modena, the Rav of Venice, did not believe in *gilgul*. However, he had a neighbour who had given birth to a son who had lived 6 months in great distress; and they had called him at the time of the child's

14 Yeb. 11b, RamBaM Hil. Gerushin 11:13.

15 Contrast Deut. 24:4.

16 The *vav* (day-6) in the Heb. text is clearly an error for *zayin*.

17 V. p. 138 [1].

death-throes, and he had gone in order to recite verses [from the Psalms] as is the custom. In its death-throes, this 6-month old, diseased and canker-ridden child had opened its mouth and recited *'Shema' Israel H.E.H.E'*[18], and died. And his eyes saw this, and from that day on he believed in *gilgul*. And I [also] told them that behold! - R. Menasseh ibn Israel, was the greatest of philosophers and he had proved the matter in his book *Nishmat Ha'im*.

Heshvan 2, Lekh-lekha

Sunday, the night of the termination of the Sabbath: Ab. Nounez sent asking whether I would agree to his coming and giving the donation for Hebron - for he had promised 12 *litras*[20]. I answered that I would not 'see his face': if he had promised a donation he should give it to the *Gabbay* for Erets Israel, but it will not go into my pocket.

In the morning every one who was on my signature-list came to escort me, and I journeyed off in peace: and some 100 people came with me a long way! After [they had turned back], S. Jacob Chevasse the *Gabbay* of the congregation, and S. David Rodriguez the *Gabbay* for Erets Israel, and S. David Gomez Silva continued escorting me for some two miles; then, for a further six miles, came S. Moses Patto, S. Mordecai Fonseca the Parnesss, and S. Isaac Rordeqguez (Rodriguez?) Brandas, on horseback..

Heshvan 3

Monday: we lodged that night in the village of St. Vincent [de Tyrosse]; and we had a meal during the day at a gentile inn in the little village of Castets.

Heshvan 4

Tuesday: we came that night to the village of Laharie; the people there are evil and wicked. And we had arrived there some two or more

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18 *Ha-shem Eloqenu Ha-shem Ehad.*

19 The famous R. Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam.

20 Possibly the reichsthaler; the *Rheinischer litre* appears in some *Ketubot* of the Alsace region. see also p. 161 [203].

hours after dark. Next day we ate a meal in the village of Labouheyre, at a gentile inn.

Heshvan 5

Wednesday: we came that night to the village of Aumure [Aumereux?] and during the day to the village of Auvillon [?]. We had been travelling for some two hours after dark when, coming towards us, [we saw] the Hakham R. Mordecai Tamah and S. Benjamin Abraham in a *cabriolet*. I got out of my carriage and went with them[21].

Heshvan 6

Thursday: two hours after nightfall we entered Bordeaux and we went to the guest-house *Cardoso*. And straightaway several of the nobilities of the town came to visit [me].

Now during that evening in Aumure I had searched for my little *siddur* [prayer-book] that I kept in my pocket and I found the pocket, torn and no *siddur*! And I was very distressed, because in it were written down various things and also parchments with Holy Names. The Parnesssim came to visit [me] during the day, and also some of the *g'virim*. And there were two *Sofiales*[22] who had come there about their troubles - and they talked much; but that evening they brought me the above-mentioned *siddur* - and it was a miracle!

Heshvan 7

The Sixth-day: I visited the *Gabbay* S. Lopez, S. Lamira, the Parnesss Rodriguez and S. Alexandro. After I arrived [home] several *g'virim*, came [to visit me].

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21 A cabriolet is a single-horse carriage and usually has no more than two seats.

22 There were a considerable number of Jews living in Bulgaria at this time and there were many pogroms. This may be a reference to Jews who had fled westwards from Sofia.

Heshvan 8

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: I prayed in the 'Hevrah' Synagogue which is above the guest-house. And S. Oliviera bought 'Opening of the Ark' for me, and I immediately went up.

After the prayers very many Yehidim and *g'virim* came. After Minha the Parnesssim of the T.T.[23] came with R. David Attias to go to the T.T.: and there they read from the Scriptures and a chapter from the RaMBaM. The entire house was filled 'to the brim' [with people who came] to see me; and many donated to the T.T. [as a token of thanksgiving] for my having arrived safely in peace.

Heshvan 9, Va-yera

Sunday, the night of the termination of the h. S.: I became aware of the sound of a tumult in the city concerning 'the second letter about the son of the ruler' which is something impossible; and they wanted to say this is a falsehood[24]. They told me that 'hosts upon hosts' [i.e. everyone] was talking about it; and I was distressed. May G-d save us from slanderous words, and may He bring us forth to light and honour and great success; may thus be His will.

S. Isaac Lange came [to see me]. I talked to him about the fear of Heaven: for he had boasted that he feared Heaven. I indicated to him, with a casual wave of the finger, that he knew nothing about the fear of Heaven - but courteously. He submitted; and he invited me for a meal. But I said to him that eating was an animal act, and it was not fitting to honour an important person with animal acts! He pleaded with me that I should [at least] visit him. And I told him, "Thus have I spoken - I will surely visit you, if G-d wills this for us." [?]

That same day, after prayers, I went to the *Gabbay* of the community, Solomon Lopez who does not believe in our [ancient] Rabbis zl[25] for he regards humself as a philosopher and a mighty ga'on etc. I told

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23 Talmud Torah school? Possibly TT used for *Tomkhey Torah* = supporters of the Torah [scholars], or charity fund.

24 No details are given, but this is clearly some kind of libel against the Jews.

25 I.e. in the Oral or Talmudical Law.

him that the room I had in the house of Cardoso was too small, and that it was near the kitchen and the woman and her children and her women friends talked from early morning until midnight, and I was very uncomfortable; [and that] the *g'vir* Hafets Hesed Daniel Astruc had invited me to his house: and would there be any trouble about this? He told me there would be no trouble and he would do as I ask.

That evening they invited me to the Talmud Torah where they were testing the boys in order to pass them up to a higher class. Among our many sins, they learn only the Bible text in the T.T. - they do not want them to learn Rashi because he quotes Midrashim and explanations of our [Talmudic] Rabbis zl.; and neither do they want [to teach] RaMBaM. Woe to those eyes that witness thus[26]! 'May the sinners cease...' I went there unwillingly to hear the lads of Israel - [merely] 'chirping'. Afterwards I went to the house and paid Cardoso. He impudently demanded a huge sum - and I had not eaten [anything] on the Friday, nor any evening, and on Sunday there was hardly anything for me to eat. Finally, to maintain dignity, I gave him 39 *litr.* for 4 days; then I went to the aforem. S. Daniel and he received me with great honour.

Heshvan 11

Tuesday: they convened a meeting and I went there and 'spoke to their hearts'. Towards the end of the day, the Parnesssim and the *Gabbay*, David Lamirde [or Lamira - see above] came and said they had made fifteen hundred *litr.* [only ?]. I rebuked them with gentleness and said that I did not want them; and they went away. And [later] that day they were speaking 'out of their middle[27]'; and no man came to see me. And I was in distress that night and the [following] day and the night before Thursday; for I did not know 'how the matter would fall'.

Heshvan 13

Thursday: in the evening S. Alexandro came together with two of the Parnesssim. I spoke with them showing a little sadness; and then they left.

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26 In modern parlance this is reform Judaism.

27 Tal Git. 14b Gross men with coarse voices; slanderous talk.

That day, the Rav Aryeh She'altiel and his son Judah came to see me. They told me that in Livorno HR M. Bunan had quarrelled with HR A. Revah, and that he had also quarrelled with HR J. B[urla]; and HR J. B. had quarrelled with HR S. Meyuhas and they had been abusive - and had said [these things] before the *g'virim*; and Hakham Franco had also abused the HR I. B. and written bitter things about him to Costa. HR S. Meyuhas had wished to go to Amsterdam as an emissary of Jerusalem; but they had written from Jerusalem [saying] that the sages [there] had quarrelled, and so OMR Y.T. El-Gazi and HR I. Meyuhas had fled away and gone to Tsefat. And all these things had become known among the *g'virim*.

Now, in truth, each tiny detail of these matters 'make the eyes fade and make the soul sad', and are a profanation of the Name and of the sages of Israel: and as a consequence - among our many sins - whosoever bears the name of 'emissary' 'must bear the abuse of mankind'. The whole [affair] lacks the diplomatic behaviour referred to [elsewhere in this narrative]; 'and sufficient is the shame...'. May G-d save us from shame and from all embarrassment, and may he light our eyes to go always in the ways of righteousness for the glory of His Name: may thus be His will.

Heshvan 14

The Sixth-day: I saw [here] a book of *Seguloth* [Secrets], in manuscript, in the hands of our good friend HR M. Tamah, well and clearly set out. I also saw the book *Kether Shem Tov* [The Crown of a Good Name], written on parchment, by the Rav and Ga'on the author of *Migdal Oz*[28]. This is a commentary on *Sodot Ha-RaMBaN* [Secrets of the R.]: and there are written many secret things that he received privately from his great teacher, 'the Greatest of the Generation', the RaShBA nr[29]; and he mentions in it OMR Judah the Hasid nr. At the end [bound with the book] there is a *quntras* [=booklet, pamphlet] by Rav Ha'im Elia Halfan, in a very ancient manuscript, and it says he was of the generation of OMR I. Abravanel: and

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28 In *Shem Ha-Gedolim* R. HYDA identifies him as R. Shem-Tov ibn Abraham of Spain.

29 'N.E.' (*nishmato Eden*) is expected; 'n.r.' is mysterious: the next personage, R. Judah (of Paris - v. *Shem. Ha-Gedolim*) has the same 'n.r' so this is unlikely to be a slip.

he writes 'bitter things' against him over his book *Ateret Zeqeynim* in which he questions our Rabbis zl. He also 'struck venom with the rod of his mouth[30]' against the RaLBaG [Gersonides], and also against *Sefer Ha-Iqarim*[31]: and he writes that we must not do as the *goyim* but that every smallest detail of our Torah is fundamental and basic; and he praises highly Rav M. Reccanati and also discusses Cabbalah at length. And what he wrote about *Ha-Iqarim* so too did the RadBaZ write in his New Responsa .

Heshvan 15

The night of the h.S.: after Arvit, the Parnesssim and worthies of the Sefardim came to see me; and to begin with I [merely] showed them a 'stormy countenance'. But afterwards a discussion ensued on philosophical questions bordering on heresy - and then I [really] spoke my fill; and they went away in peace.

Next day I went to the Synagogue of the Avignoises: and there praying [as the Reader] was R. Jacob Attias - who had come from Amsterdam - 'lengthening the toil', with great heaviness. Then we were joined for dinner by HR M. T[amah] ytv. After Minha I went to a meeting of the *Gemilluth Hassadim [*Committee*]* and they donated in my honour to the *hevrah*[33]. When I came home the heads of the Avignoise Synagogue, together with S. Alexandro, came [to see me]. After that I ate a 'S. G.'[34] with our good friend abovem. [R. M. Tamah] and S. Benjamin Abraham.

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30 Isaiah 11:4. *Erets, eress.*

31 R. Joseph Elbo (or Albo), 1425, dealing with fundamental principles.

32 *She'elot U-Teshuvot RadBaZ* - part 2 (Venice), part 5 sec. 1413 (Warsaw). (See Freimann).

33 This 'association' or 'organisation' appears to be the town's own *Gemilluth Hassadim* Fund to which the individual members are contributing 'in R. HYDA's honour' (this seems a little strange!)

34 Freimann renders *Se'udah Gedolah* = large meal; but the *gimmel* might well signify 3, i.e. the Third Meal.

Heshvan 16

Sunday, Haye Sarah: after Havdalah, Jacob Azevedo came to see me - 'a man learned in evil[35]' - together with his two sons - apostates, and profaners of the Sabbath in public. I suffered some distress from his visit; and I contrived things so that he [soon] went.

Later I went to drink chocolate with S. Samuel Astruc; then I went to dine at the home of R. M. Tamah - *pladonios* [?] and fish - together with Isaac Rubereau [Rovero ?] who had changed his name to Jacob Attias Vessegre [?].

Heshvan 17

Monday: I went by coach, accompanied by HR M. Tamah and S. Israel Astruc, to see some gentile merchants for whom I had brought with me *recommendations*; and S. Israel paid for the coach.

In the afternoon I went together with the HR M. and S. Daniel [Astruc] to the estate of S. Abraham Grades, an honoured person in the royal Court of France, a man of great wealth - several millions - a philanthropist towards the gentiles and the State. He is always ready for their service and he had become famous: and he is one of the greatest apostates, not believing in the Oral Law and eating of the prohibited foods - in public. It once happened that a priest came [to him] tell of a certain gentile had died and, at the time of his death, had made *confesso* that he had stolen from the said Abraham Grades 20 thousand *litr.* and that they should return them to him. And Abraham replied that they should divide [the money] among their churches and their poor folk; thus did his name become great - in abominations! And he once lent 100 thousand *litr.* to a certain minister when he was hard-pressed - and then wrote him over all his possessions in America, making him the inheritor. These are just some of his ways.

But at this time he was [in] low [spirits], afflicted with illnesses. We went to see him; and he did us very great honour. His brother-in-law and nephew took us around the garden. It has a large lake of spring water, with fish, and other 'delights of this world' in abundance: of flowers and trees

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35 Jerem. 4:22.

from America, and plants and a variety of lilies. [From there] I could see nearby the 'portion of the field' belonging to S. Daniel, his close neighbour.

Heshvan 18

Tuesday: R. David Attias came in the morning; and he said to me certain things 'lacking spices'[36]. And I sought some pretence to get back at him. Just then came S. Israel aforem., and I spoke some hard words to him; and he [R. Attias] joined in in defence of the said *g'vir*. 'Then did my anger kindle on that day!' I said to him, "What concern is this to you?" and words in a similar vein. S. Israel was 'angered even unto death'[37] [by this] and would have left; but I shouted at him to sit down. But R. David left. Then I told S. Israel that I was [really] friends with him and I had only done this 'in front of Israel[38]'; and I pacified him. Afterwards R. David sent to [appease] me a cake of almonds. I sent it back.

Heshvan 19

Wednesday: the brother-in-law of Abraham Grades, Monsignor (sic), spoke to S. Alexandro and the leaders of the committee [saying] they should do as I ask in the name of the *g'vir* his brother-in-law. Now I know that many of them agreed to this. But that rascally *Gabbay*, Solomon Lopez - his wife had never in her life made ritual immersion, and he had [thus] been putting into practice 'the chapter of the eight vermin[39]', children of a *niddah*, making him guilty, too, of several thousand '[sins] of being cut off[40]' for all the times he repeatedly came unto a *niddah*, and neither does he believe in our Rabbis zl whatsoever - he answered [saying] that once a matter that had been discussed was in the written record it could not be reversed. He is also the son of a rascal - his father, who is a churl: and if all the churlishness were ever forgotten from the world he, with his stupidity, could restore it!

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36 I.e. not to my liking; it seems they were offensive, even.

37 At this unexpected and unfounded attack on him.

38 Ruth 4:7. *Lefanim* = in former times; also, in the face of. The hard words were a pretence.

39 Mishnah, Hull chap. 14. There were evidently 8 children.

40 Lev. 20:18.

Throughout Wednesday and the night of Thursday I remained in extreme and unrelenting distress.

Heshvan 20

The eve of Thursday: in my distress I made a 'dream request[41]' over this matter; and in the morning of Thursday I awoke with the verse: 'For G-d will be your confidence and He will guard your foot from snares.' May thus be His will!

During the day Isaac Lange came and I showed him a very 'stormy countenance'; he sat a short while and then left. Then came R. David with the *Gabbay* Picciotto (Peixotto); and he brought with him [just] two *litr.* from the *qupah*: for [he said] Hakham Bagaio had already taken [some] on behalf of the rest of Erets Israel and this was all that was left - and would I sign for it? I refused to take or sign.

Heshvan 23

Sunday, Toledoth: S. Israel came [to me] reporting that they were saying that if I did not take the amount they had donated, then they would make a decision never to give again to any Hakham and such-like. And a letter from S. She'altiel came to mind - that he had heard from a certain *g'vir* etc. And I was extremely troubled; and I accepted everything as 'atonement for my sins'. I decided to give in to them for the sake of G-d's glory. Then the 'Ramathi'[42] and S. Israel got up and went to S. Rodriguez to say that I had agreed. Then this latter came up to me and I spoke to him in a harsh manner, with gestures. But in the end I told him that I will agree to whatever he will do.

That [previous] night of the termination of the Sabbath a letter had arrived for me from my dear friend S. Raphael ytv, saying - among other things - that from the 5th of Tishri he had received a packet of fruits of the New Year; and ANI[43] had written two lines there, and they were hard and

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41 A Cabbalistic procedure used, evidently, only in extremis.

42 A reference to Samuel Astruc (cf. Samuel I 7:17).

43 Not clear what this means: this word cannot mean 'I' because 'written' is in the 3rd person, and the text style indicates an allusion or initials. An obscure passage.

bitter words, for I had sent the letter with the post and he had had the brazen face to put it in the packet [?]. 'Just come and see' how great his brazeness and wickedness and stupidity! May HKBH grace me with wisdom and understanding and guard me from the evil-doers; for, indeed, I suffered great anguish from all around. May He, in His mercy, have mercy upon me among his many mercies: may thus be His will.

During the course of the week I visited some of the Sephardi *g'virim* and the Parnesssim. I spoke gently [with them] and they received me with welcoming countenances. They [also] came to visit me - and also the *Gabbay* - twice.

Heshvan 26

Wednesday: at noon I lunched at the house of my good friend S. Israel Astruc, and from there we travelled to the *Sheva Berakhot* of the son of David Lamira and the step-daughter of Samuel Pereira. And most of the guests were *goyim* and *goyot* of the nobility of the town.

Heshvan 27

Thursday: I went to the bourse with 'the Ramathean'; and I saw [on the way] the shops were adorned with with all kinds of beautiful decorations.

In the evening I went with Solomon Foa to [see] the son of Jacob Raphael. This latter had formed a union with a *goya* and she had given birth to his son, and they had sent him to Amsterdam and had him circumcised. He had become a great philosopher; and he [now] asked me many questions on matters of religion, and he also raised a number of subtle points. I answered him on everything.

Heshvan 28

The Sixth-day: after prayers in the morning I went to the *Gabbay* and took the money they had donated; and from there I went to [see] Samuel Astruc, and I took 100 es[44] which was in his possession from the

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44 Possibly the silver ecu (e's) of France, but also possibly Spanish escudos.

Yeshiva of the K.I.[45]. Afterwards I went to the Peixottos; and there I found S. da Viena and S. Bahissa the officials of the said Yeshiva and I took the money they had in their hands. In the evening 'the Ramathean' came [to see me] and he told me that S. David Ariani[46] had decided to return home. And I spoke a number of good words to him, until he agreed [to stay]; and 'too short is the scroll' to contain this story - may G-d grant me good sense and set me in all things with good reason. After this S. Isaac Alexandro came, bringing me a *recommendation* and a donation of 3 *louis*.

Heshvan 29

Saturday, the night of the h.S.: I prayed Arvit in the *Ateret Zeqeynim* Synagogue, which is [also] called the *'Congregation des Deux Pays'*. In the day-time, after prayers, the Avignoises came to plead with me that I should speak with S. Shalom, who was their *Gabbay*, but [who] had resigned through some pique some 6 months previously; Moses and Solomon Petit had been filling this office [in the meantime]. And he came to see me that evening. Even though I was in a black mood, and also feeling a litle unwell, I controlled myself and spoke to him until he agreed to return to being Gabbay; and everyone was happy.

Kislev, New Moon

Sunday, Va-yetse: in the morning I drank chocolate at the home of S. Judah and Ha'im bar-Mordecai who are called [by the name of] Lange. At noon I dined with our good friend HR T[amah] nrv who was wonderfully kind and exerted himself on my behalf, [both] with his self and his money.

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45 This could stand for Kolel Yerushalayim or, possibly, Knesset Israel the name of a synagogue or congregation. The word yeshiva could have its simple meaning of 'a sitting' or 'a meeting' (occasionally found elsewhere in the text) or, possibly, the colloquial meaning of 'Talmudical Academy'. In the light of previous comments of R. HYDA on the local level of Torah study, it seems unlikely that there was a Talmudical academy here, and what is probably meant is a meeting of the officials in charge of the charity funds.

46 R. Haim David A. of Carpentras (v. p. 133) who had been accompanying R. HYDA.

Kislev 1, New Moon [2nd day]

In the evening I went to [see] Isaac Lange; and I found him as he was saying Grace after Meals - 'whose gift is small but whose abuse is great'[47]. When I entered he stretched out his hand and handed me two ES - which are 12 *liras*[48] - but I returned them. He then said to me that he would sign [for an amount] on the [promissory] list of the Yeshiva, and he got up to take a pen. I said to him, "How much will you sign for?" He said, "Six *litras* each year". But I objected, for in the past he had signed for 50 *litras* for each year. Then his wife began saying that her husband was not a wealthy man, and such like. I got up to go, but he brought me back saying he would sign for ten; but I refused and I got up and went back to my house. And he followed me but I told him that I did not want his signature, and that he and his wife had been disrespectful to me. In the end, he did sign for 20; and I made him *Gabbay* of the Committee, and with him S. Judah Segre, S. Caleb Fonseca and S. David Astruc. And S. Caleb brought his wife [to me] in order that I should perform an 'revoking of curses' on her behalf; and I did so.

Kislev 2

The eve of Tuesday: Ss. Solomon and Moses Petit came [to see me] and I began to speak with them on the matter of the accord [reached a few days earlier regarding S. Shalom, the *Gabbay*]; and S. Solomon agreed to come to the Synagogue. I asked him to forgive Jacob Naquite; and out of respect for me he forgave him. I was ready to depart in the morning, but all night long it had rained. Also, during the latter part of the evening S. Israel Paix brought me a piece of Indian canvas as a gift - and this could be dangerous at the Customs. After prayers in the morning it was still raining heavily, and my host, the *g'vir* S. Daniel, advised me not to travel in such difficult weather; and also on account of the said piece of cloth, he urged me to stay until the Sunday that is coming in peace. I believed this would

47 In some Sephardi versions this phrase is included in the passage of the fourth paragraph: '...and may we not need [the favours of] men for their gift etc.'.

48 This is probably the old French *livre*, a silver coin worth 20 sous; the ES coin is thus worth 120 sous.

be the best for me for 'all delay is for the good' [?]. May the A-lmighty bless us with His blessings and grant us success in Torah and the Mitsvoth, and wherever I turn may I prosper and whatever I do may be crowned with success; may thus be His will.

Kislev 6

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: in the morning Ss. Solomon and Moses Petit came [to the synagogue; and I went up to the *teyvah* [= reading-dais] together with S. Jacob Naquite and I told him the formula he should recite for the pardon and afterwards I gave a blessing to the whole holy cong. After Minha, at a meeting in the house of S. Daniel, I preached for about a half-hour about 'peace': and I spoke favourably about the *g'vir* S. Daniel and also spoke 'the good' of HR 'Ramathi'.

Kislev 7

Sunday, Va-yishlah: I travelled away in peace and we were escorted by all the Avignoises - 'the majority is like the whole'. After crossing a river we arrived at an inn; and most of them were still with us! After that we were escorted till mid-day by HR Tamah ytv, and S. Israel Astruc, David and Elia and four more Astruc boys, S. Moses Carcassonne, three Lange boys, Jacob Naquite, two Segre[s], Benjamin Ab[raham]. and S. Todros - a total of TOV [= 17] people. We lunched at mid-day in a gentile inn in the village of Cabon Blanc.

After that S. Israel, Carcassonne, the four Astruc boys, one Lange, one Segrc went off; but the rest stayed [with me]. We crossed another river; and blessed be G. that it was a holiday and so the rivers were quiet, and we crossed it - leisurely and relaxed - in quite a short time. After that we came to the village of St. Andre de Cubzac. The gentile inn there was good and spacious; and they hired ten beds and [we] ate and drank in friendship. There S. Segre made the resolution no more to drink 'their common wine'[49]; and Ss. David and Elia Astruc and S. Langue took it upon themselves [always] to have the Three Sabbath Meals, and we rejoiced with

49 Because there is idolatrous use, all unsupervised gentile wine is forbidden by the Talmud.

them. They spent much money there; they also bought Abraham [my assistant] a pair of shoes. May G. reward their deeds.

Kislev 8

Monday: we slept there in that gentile inn in happiness and friendship; and in the morning we continued on our journey in peace. At mid-day we arrived at a dreadful gentile inn in a small village; and they were wicked people.

Kislev 9

Tuesday: we stayed overnight in a gentile inn in the village of Chevanceaux. Tuesday day-time we arrived in the village of Barbézieux, at a gentile inn.

Kislev 10

Wednesday: in the evening in the town of Angoulème; by day, the village of Mausle, and they were good [to us].

Kislev 11

Thursday: in the evening in the town of Ruffec; and we departed before daybreak. There is a Customs-post in this town; but, b.b.G., we entered in peace, and left in peace 'and no [untoward] word spoken'. It was a day of frosty weather and it was very cold; and I suffered great discomfort nearly the whole of the day. At mid-day, in the town of Chaunay, the chain of my *horloge* [= watch] snapped and I was [further] distressed. May it be His will that this should serve as an atonement for my sins: may thus be His will.

Kislev 12

Friday: in the evening we were in the town of Vivonnex; and by noon next day we had arrived at the large and ancient city - about which is written in their books of history that Alexander of Macedonia had conquered - called Poitiers, but which had formerly been known as Gaul. We went to to a gentile guest-house, and the hostess was an evil woman who haughtily and abusively demanded 26 *lit.* I began to plead gently, but

she grew angry and told me to go. I said to the coachman, "Let us go to another guest-house." He replied that he knows them all well as wicked people demanding huge sums. In the end she agreed to take 14 lit. An hour or so later two other Jews arrived - S. Ab. Ashkenazi and S. Reuben who had met me in Toulouse; and I was happy [to see them]. They said to me that if they had known [about my arrival] they would have taken us to their room; but it was now 'nothing more after the event'. A little later, some lads came along. We were just finishing the Arvit prayer when two more boys came [completing the *minyan*, and I was able to recite *Qadish* and *Barkhu* [Bless etc.].

Kislev 13

Saturday: in the morning a *minyan* arrived and I - I, the junior, led the prayers as Reader. Then I read the weekly Parasha from a Bible[50]. After the prayers I preached some *mussar* to them. Praise be to G., and greatly did I rejoice, that I was granted the merit of being able to pray with a *minyan* and find some fellow-Jews. And we prayed Minha, and Arvit on the night of the termination of the Sabbath: b.b.G.

Kislev 14

Sunday, Va-yeyshev: we departed in the morning. At mid-day, we came to a gentile inn in Chatellerault. There are factories there that make iron vessels, and whenever a traveller passes through, the gentile girls crowd before him this one holding a knife, that one a pair of scissors and so on, should he wish to buy.

Kislev 15

Monday: we spent the night in a gentile inn in Port de Piles. There is a Customs-post there but, thanks to G., they did not search us. But the host of the inn was a rascal and spoke harshly to us and took much money. During the day we arrived at a gentile inn in the town of Dibon [?]. The weather at the time was extremely cold and I sufferred greatly from the

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50 There was no Torah-scroll available.

journey - it was necessary to start off early and arrive early because the days were short; and in those towns it was very cold[51]. T. G. on most days the sun shone but, although it was bright, the bitter cold overpowered the sun[52].

Kislev 16

Tuesday: the night of Tuesday we spent in the large city of Tours, in a gentile guest-house; and the day in a gentile inn in the village of Amboise.

Kislev 17

Wednesday: that night in a gentile guest-house in the town of Blois; and by noon in the day-time in a gentile guest-house in the town of Beaugency.

Kislev 18

Thursday: by three hours after nightfall we had reached the large and ancient city called Orléans. 'Long ago in Israel existed'[53] here one of Our Masters, the Tosafot-Authors, the 'RI mi-Orleans'[54].The lamps of its streets can be seen two hours away. We arrived there tired and weary. Then the host of the guest-house harassed and troubled us by asking too much money - "... that is what all the merchants pay!" I pleaded with him until he reduced the amount somewhat.

When we left the guest-house in the morning we rode in a carriage, going straight through the city - taking nearly an hour! And we travelled all that day without stopping.

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51 Probably meaning the lodging places.

52 The rare term *heress*, normally meaning a 'shard' is used here for the sun; cf. for example, Men. 110a where 'the City of *Heress*' = Beth Shemesh. The normal use often relates to the shards of refractory materials used in smelting.

53 Ruth 4:7.

54 Often quoted and popularly called thus: actually, R. Jacob of Orleans.

Kislev 19

The Sixth-day: at nightfall we reached the town of Toury. But there, also, the wicked hostess of the guest-house harassed us and took even more than the guest-house in Orléans!

We drove off before daybreak. Everywhere was covered in snow and the cold was intense indeed. And [some of] the iron shoes of our mules broke; but there were some blacksmiths nearby, who repaired them.

Our souls grew weary with the cold; and how much was the suffering of my assistant Abraham, who was walking on foot[55]. An hour in the afternoon we reached the town of Étampes, and we stopped there in a large guest-house which was used by the people of the *diligence*[56].

Kislev 20

Saturday: we 'sabbathed' in the said guest-house in relaxation and tranquillity; but it was very cold!

Kislev 21

Sunday, Miqets: we departed after praying and arrived that evening in the town of Longjoumeaux. There was a fair in the town and they would not accept us in two of the guest-houses. In the third one [we tried] they gave us, 'with hauteur and contempt', a small dirty room and asked a high price; but we had to accept their demands.

Kislev 22

Monday: in the morning we set out for Paris. My heart was 'frightened and trembling' about the garments - because there they ferret and search 'from the head-band to the shoe-lace' - in case they should Heaven forfend! - harass us: and would that it were only the mixing-up of the clothes and 'little things do they steal' or 'scatter around' and such-like[57]

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55 To fetch the blacksmith? - though this would not have been the only odd thing he had done.

56 Stage-coach drawn by 4-7 horses.

57 This and the phrase about 'stealing little things' are in Aramaic and look like quotations but the sources are unknown.

We arrived at noon. And the guards treated us with great honour. One took the key and opened some of the packages, but just 'a fleeting glance over everything suffices'; and they did not open the large *baule*[58]. I offered him some money, but he refused to take it. We took a *carrosse* and we [eventually] arrived at the house of the eminent S. David Naquite. He was not at home but his wife, 'a woman of valour', received us gladly. After a little while S. David came home; and I went with him to the two rooms [in a nearby house] he had hired for us. Later, the *g'virim* came [to visit me]; may G. reward their deeds with scholarly sons and long life, wealth and honour, for everlasting, Selah! in eternity.

This city of Paris is the metropolis of France and it is a very large city: they say that it is 15 miles in circumference. The thoroughfares and the streets are wide, so that two carriages may easily pass even with people on both sides. It stands on the River Seine which provides its water. There is a wide, long bridge over it called 'Pont Neuf', that is, *ponte nuovo*[59]. And feet do not cease from walking over the said bridge all day and all night. There is a *religio* [= church] there called *'Samaritana'* all surrounded by water[60]. They say that there is not a second in the twenty-four hours of the day and night that there can not be found on this said bridge a white horse or a priest or a harlot.

The city is beautiful, and everything can be found here. But everything is expensive - except for harlotry which is cheap, and flagrant. They say there are thirty thousand common whores, inscribed in a register, besides tens of thousands that are not for the passing public. There are many academies, and many *fabricas* for every kind of thing. The Jews dwell in peace; there are many Ashkenazim, and many Portuguese [who have come] from Bordeaux and Bayonne, and many Avignoises. Some cong-egations have prayers [only] every Sabbath. But there is no [central] Congregation, just for the most part wayfarers and merchants [who have come] there. And the synagogues there are not 'privileged'[61] existing only by a miracle.

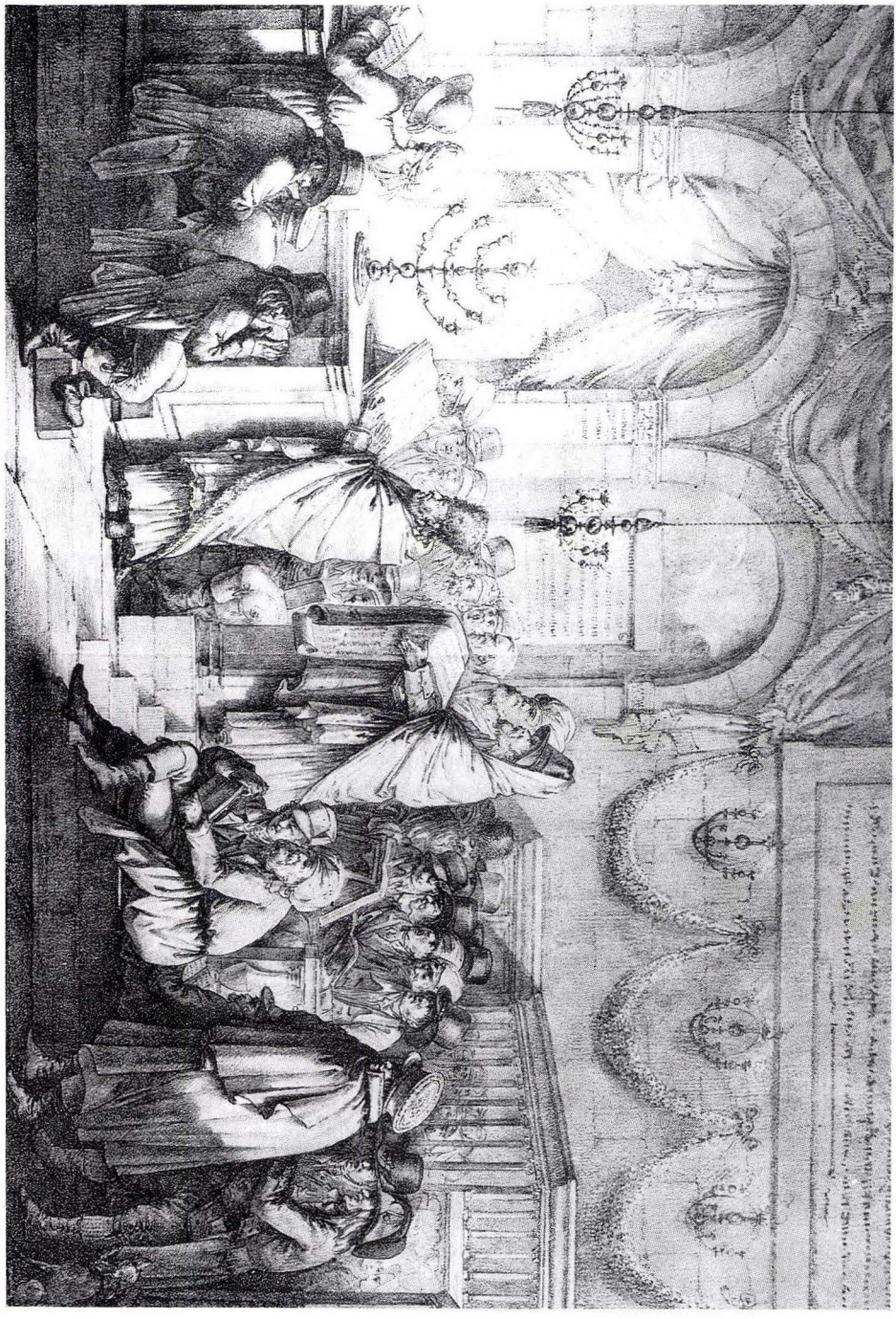
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58 Trunk. The w. looks Spanish, but may be the Italian *baule*.

59 Or possibly the Spanish *puente nuevo* is intended.

60 This appears to be the Notre Dame cathedral.

61 I.e. not receiving royal or municipal support.



The Synagogue in Paris.

Kislev 24

Wednesday: in the evening S. Israel Birnal de Valabrègue came to see me. He has a stipend from the King of twelve hundred *litr.* each year and he has the title *'Interprète du Roi'* because he says he knows all the languages of the Orient. He also considers himself as a Rav and Decision-maker, cantor and expert in every branch of knowledge. He does know their names! He prides himself that all bring him their letters [to translate].

He came to me three nights in a row. The first night he recited his own praises in learning; the second, how praiseworthy his going to Amsterdam; the third, how all the *dames* write to him, and the academics consult him. Now on this third night he was boasting mightily, and during the course of this he mocked at S. Mordecai Ravel [who was also there]. And S. Mordecai reviled and vilified him and told him his true 'praises' - but enough of this.

During the day a S. Fabry came to see me - a gentile scholar from the Academie des Sciences. He questioned me deeply in various disciplines and in practical Cabbalah; and I answered him.

Kislev 26

The Sixth-day: I went to visit the said gentile and stayed there two hours. He showed me a book in which was written, in French, the names of the angels with their signatures and signs; and 'dream requests' and imprecations - all in French! And this gentile welcomed me glowingly. I had gone there with S. Mordecai Ventura [because] he was well-versed and expert in languages; and he took much trouble on my behalf. May G-d reward his works.

Kislev 27

Saturday, the holy Sabbath: in the evening I went for the meal to the *g'vir* David Naquite, and the Parnesssim of the Synagogue and several Yehidim [also] came there; and it is a long way to walk. And they did me much honour. Afterwards we dined there, together with R. M[ordecai] Ventura and R. Mordecai Ashkenazi from the town of Havre-de-Grâce in France. The host did us right proudly; his wife, too, is a 'woman of valour'.

Next morning we went to the synagogue. And they sang songs in honour of the *Hevrat Gemiluth Hasadim* [Benevolent Society] which they had just then founded; and they set my name as their head. They also bought for me the *mitsvah* of opening the Ark and carrying the Sefer Torah; and they donated much oil [for the lamps] in my honour.

[After prayers] I dined with R. David. Dining with us were S. Elia Perpignan - a brother of the mistress of the house - and his wife between whom there was a great quarrel: they were still 'sliding down'[62] and they had asked me, in Bordeaux, to make peace between them.

After the meal we went to the synagogue and they told me to preach. So I preached a little of 'rebuking chastisement' and also in praise of the *Hevrat Gemiluth Hasadim*. Afterwards[63], they made contributions for me of their own volition, without asking me. May G-d reward their works.

Kislev 28

Sunday, Va-yigash: S. Elia Perpignan and his wife came to me. And I gave the woman a *'Shema' Yisrael'* to swallow[64], a *segulah*[65] - as used by the ReM'A zl[66] - for they were in fear that she contemplated apostasy, Heaven forfend! I spoke to them to make a lasting peace[67].

Afterwards , R. Mordecai Ashkenazi and R. David Naquite came [for me], and I went [with them] to the house of an important Ashkenazi noble; [but] he said he would come to visit me and would [then] give a donation.

Kislev 29

The eve of Monday: S. Abraham Vidal and S. Moses Perpignan came [to see me] and they gave a donation for Hebron in a most honourable way.

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62 I.e. things were getting worse.

63 Either after the termination of the Sabbath or by promises.

64 This is written on a small piece of paper and screwed up into a pellet.

65 Literally, 'a treasure' or 'hidden thing'. Hence in Cabbalah a secret formula or prescript for some special ceremony.

66 The renowned R. Menaham Azariah of Fano, Italy. See p. 72 [14] .

67 This is the literal translation: it is not clear whether this is reporting that 'lasting peace' ensued, or whether it merely describes what R. HYDA told them to do!

I must make mention here of the Divine favour that I have such a good name [amongst the people]; and they hold me in importance one hundred times more than I know I deserve. And I have constantly told them 'that I am a simpleton' - and they think this is just out of humility. Even among the gentiles - 'the sages of Edom' - have I become famous, and they ask the Jews about me: and this is something amazing! And whatever things I say to them they consider as something 'more precious than rubies'! But these very things are His great works, 'from the dung-heap doth He raise up the poor man, to set him among the nobles'.

And how very precious, too, were the kindnesses of the people of Avignon and the holy cong. of Cavaillon etc. - for wherever [in any distant place] even one of them is to be found, I was sure to receive great honour and success. Behold! - these are the seven townships of France that I encountered and they were as beacons of light: the district settled by 'the Four Congregations'[68], Nîmes, Montpellier, Pézenas, Narbonne, Bordeaux and Paris. 'These are they' that refreshed my spirit and honoured me with great honour and worked for my success with their bodies and with their money; they did not cease from showing me affection and honour - something extraordinary.

'And David blessed' them and all their household; may G-d reward their works, and may their recompense be wealth and honour and life and holy progeny; and may G-d save them from all evil, and may the merit of the Land of Israel be a safeguard over them and their seed, 'they shall be verdant and fresh' from an abundance of evrything. AKYR NSV[69].

The same night the great *g'vir*, S. Peixotto came to see me; and he spoke to me about his wife, asking me to get her to agree to take a *get* [divorce]. He promised a thousand *escudos* for Hebron if I would undertake to do this. I replied, "If you wish to make peace, I will do this without taking payment, for everyone knows your wife to be a virtuous woman. You may ask any conditions you like, and I will try to fulfil them; but [for me] to make a separation - that would be a 'profanement of the Name'."[70]

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68 Avignon, Carpentras, L'Isle, Cavaillon.

69 *Amen, keyn yehi ratson* (may thus be His will); *Netsah Selah Va'ed* (Ever, selah!, always).

70 I.e. a shameful thing, even though legally in order.

Then I told him that according to the law it is forbidden to divorce a faithful wife; and she is a mother of children, and a first wife... And much more in this vein did I tell him: one other man [in a similar situation] had promised me four *louis d'or* if I would sign the decree written by a famous Rav giving [permission for] the marriage of [a certain] Israel Vidal to his second wife; and I had said that even though the decree was probably in order, in the eyes of the public it would [nevertheless] appear as 'profanement of the Name[71]'. I did not therefore wish even to see the decree, let alone sign it. May G-d help us in all matters concerning the glory of His Name; and may all our deeds be for the sake of Heaven, to satisfy His spirit: KYR ANSV.

Teveth, New Moon 1

Wednesday, Va-yigash: I went to [visit] Monsieur Fabry[72], the gentile intellectual aforem. He showed me a book written in French, a shortened version of 'Divine Cabbalah'. This commenced with the Divine Name of 72 letters[73] [on the rod] with which Moses smote to bring the Ten Plagues in Egypt; and it confused the matters by associations with the planets. I said to him, "You should know that this concerns a branch of practical Cabbalah; moreover, the ten plagues were not brought by means of this Name. Neither is there any connection with planets."

And this gentile accorded me very great respect; and he gave us [gifts of] chocolate and a Spanish fan. It was still snowing, and he then took us to the *bibliotheque* in a carriage, but it being the end of their year there was not to be found there even one of the custodians. So we went back.

I then went with R. Mordecai Ventura to the home of Elia Perpignan and talked with his wife. I spoke to her, at some length, 'words of chastisement'. Then her husband came home. I arranged that he should give INTO HER HAND sufficient for all the household expenses that they needed, so that she should be the mistress of the house. And I strove with all my might to make peace between them.

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71 The exceptional circumstances allowing marriage to a second wife without divorcing the first (e.g. mental derangement making impossible formal acceptance of the divorce) evidently did not exist here.

72 The text reads 'Fabir', but this is obviously the Fabry above (p. 187)..

Teveth 2

Thursday: that evening I happened to mention HR M. T[amah] and praised him, whereupon up stood against me a young man present, a Portuguese named Jacob Lopez Laguna, and said that he knew he was not a correct[74] person. And I was greatly distressed. Afterwards, I questioned him carefully, but he was extraordinarily adamant, and he told me explicitly that he knew it from him, personally and from his[75] own mouth, that he studies the books of Voltaire, and that he believes in nothing [sacred] and so on. He also told me about a very respected person here in Paris who, at the table of our host [gives the impression that he] does not drink 'their common wine', but that afterwards he had accompanied him to a *gentile auberge* [=tavern] and there he had drunk [wine], and had done so many times. I was indeed distressed about this for a number of reasons; if it is true may G-d bring him to complete repentance: may thus be His will.

During the day we went to visit S. Peixotto, who lived far away. It has already been mentioned earlier that this is a very large city: they say there are 950 streets, and that there are more than fifty thousand carriages and more than a million people. They say a day will not suffice for making a round of the city on foot, going right around it. And after all that - he was not at home!

In the evening I went by carrosse with Hananel de Milhaud and his son to visit S. Lipman Calmira: and he is an Ashkenazi who, in his youth, had been a servant to the *g'vir* Soasso of the city of Hague in Holland. He then became a merchant and had so prospered that he was now Baron de Picquigny - that is to say, the overlord of the town Picquigny - by buying the town, for the sum of a million and a half francs, from the successors of its previous owner the Vidame[76] d'Amiens. That means that he is also the *'Defenseur'* against the English - for that is the duty of the Baron of Picquigny! But he has great privileges at the royal Court: for King Louis XV, who had just died, had a concubine for whom he [Lipman Calmira] had rendered certain services, and she had obtained this elevated

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73 Other Divine names have 4, 12 or 42 letters.

74 The w. *kasher* in the text is so much more expressive.

75 R. Tamah's. The meaning is obvious, but Freimann quotes a differing opinion!

76 A title used for a bishop's deputy; but also for a minor noble.

position for him. And so we went to see him, and he greeted us with a 'glowing countenance'. He gave us a donation of two *louis*. And I spoke good things, both to him and to his son, about S. Benjamin Abraham of Bordeaux - for he was their relation - and he is *dal ve-halakh*[77][?] . They said they would send him a donation.

Teveth 3

The Sixth-day: we went together with the gentile S. Fabry to a library of manuscripts. Although it was not an appropriate day, he is an important person and he obtained permission and they opened it for us.

They have there several thousand manuscripts of every branch of learning. I saw there a Bible of parchment written in the year 1061 to their reckoning - which, [reckoned] from to-day, comes out as 717 years since it was written - and it looked new. There are several hundred of our books in manuscript: there is a [commentary of] RaDaQ[78] on Tehillim containing more than in the printed version, and we saw, explaining [the passage] 'seek purity...',[79] a tract larger than half a *pliego*[80]. There are many books on natural science, philosophy, mathematics, *evronot*[81], and ancient Cabbalah; books by R. Joseph ben Kaspi and [by] the son of R. Isaac Israel author of *Yesod Olam* on the ROSH[82]; and several books of the SeMaQ[83], and other such [manuscripts] that have already been printed. There, too, they have the *Shiboley Ha-Leqet*

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77 Poor and *halakh* : the latter term looks like a construct from the verb 'to go', but the origin and true meaning of the phrase remains obscure. *Halakh* occurs in the Midrash of Ezra IV as the name of a tax; the meaning may possibly be 'poor and oppressed'.

78 R. David Qimhi (Kimche).

79 Psalms 2:12.

80 Sheet (Sp.).

81 From *avar* = past [?]: perhaps meaning 'histories'.

82 *Yesod Olam* = 'The Foundation of the Universe', on mathematics, especially in relation to calculation of the calendar (Paris Codex 1068/72). R. I. I. wrote this in honour of his teacher, the illustrious Rabbenu Asher.

83 *Sefer Mitsvot Qetanot* (the Book of Minor Precepts) by R. Isaac of Corbeille, son-in-law of the famous R. Yehiel of Paris (d.1286). In 'Shem Ha-Gedolim' R. HYDA refers to many editions of this book with diverse commentaries by many later authors.

Part I[84], and *Sefer Yere'im*[85] complete: it contains [only] 464 *mitsvot* , but it states there that he [the author] is following the counting of the *mitsvot* according to the order of R. Yehudai Ga'on and the BaHaG[86], only sometimes he joins two *mitsvot* and counts them as one; and also the book *Nimmuqei R. Isaiah* [Deliberations of R. Isaiah] [of Trani] the 'First on the Bible' - and he dissents a little from RaShI.

Teveth 4

I ate all three meals on the holy Sabbath in the house of the *g'vir* David Naquite, in great honour. [Both in the] evening and day-time, S. Abraham Vidal and S. Mordecai Ventura partook with us.

Teveth 5

Sunday, Va-yehi: I went to inspect the Decree regarding the dispute [concerning the second marriage of Israel Vidal]. I had read no more than the *She'elah*[87] when I saw that the matter was not so[88]; and perhaps therefore the ruling should be changed, only the signature of the Head [of the Beth Din] would mark him as 'one who has erred'[89]. Only, the titles are many and it seemed that they were written in by the scribe - on the orders of the Deciding Rabbi - taking a large bribe, and that someone else had signed there[90]. They offerred me a large donation if I would sign it but I distance myself from this and similar debasements which might be written in the Decree.

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84 Author R. Zedeqiah b. Abraham the physician: a commentary on the Tur.

85 Author R. Eliezer of Metz: on the Mitsvot.

86 *Ba'al Halakhot Gedolot* = the unknown 'Owner (Compiler) of the Great Laws'.

87 The formal opening statement of query or litigation presented for a rabbinical Decision.

88 As they had earlier described to R. HYDA.

89 A serious discredit to a Dayan. There are some obscurities in this passage: for example a pair of letters 'R-Sh' rendered (hopefully) here as 'Head' (an *aleph* is missing) may be initials of the signing rabbi.

90 The flow of the text is uncertain and the meaning is a little obscure.

Teveth 6

Monday: I drank chocolate with Solomon Ravel. Afterwards I went with R. David Naquite to Jacob Goldschmidt, an Ashkenazi *g'vir* and noble. But the weather was bad and snow was falling and we could not [easily] find a coach. [When we] eventually [arrived there] he behaved like an Ashkenazi - all of them full of prevarications and excuses[91]; but in the end he gave 12 francs. We then went to visit S. Jacob Pereira who had come to my house five times; and he is noble and worthy. There I found a letter from my good friend [?] written with humility and respect etc.; and I had great pleasure [from it].

Teveth 7

Tuesday: in the evening I received a visit from the Marquis de Thumey [?], a man of learning and of great honour, and another honoured gentile, Vabati [?] Italiano. They stayed some two hours, and I was answering all their questions. Finally, the Marquis asked me to bless him; and I blessed him, and also the other gentile: and it was something amazing.

That day, in the morning, S. Fabry sent a fine carriage for us to go to Versailles and we went together with S. Ventura. He had sent a sword for S. D.H.A. [?], but I [just] put on my good clothes and we went to Versailles by the Rue des Neiges [?] Versailles-Severeux, where S. Fabry stopped at the house of a woman relative of his. They received us with cheerful countenances and gave us chocolate to drink. Then we went to the royal Court; the gentile went in first and I followed.

We entered a chamber, beautiful and splendid with many columns gilded all around supporting huge lamps. The ceiling was ornamented and decorated with pictures; and there [high up] was a gallery where courtiers were standing. We passed through many more rooms - regal rooms - and [eventually] we entered the Council Chamber. There at the top was a gilded *baldaquin* [= dais (Sp.)] ornamented and decorated with regal opulence, where the king sits on his royal throne, with the ministers below

91 The Ashkenazi reader must recall R. HYDA's treatment at the hands of the German (Ashkenazi) Jews and we must forgive his little pique.

him in the Chamber. Then we went into inner chambers. We stood at the beginning of one chamber and, after a while, passed through some high-ranking ministers and among them was the king's brother, Monsieur [le] Comte de Provence - who is called just by the title Monsieur! - and the younger brother, Monsieur [le] Comte de Artois. They stood next to me for about five minutes - and then the king went through! And I recited the 'Benediction over a King': he was wearing a simple red [costume] with a blue *heraldin* [= chevron or emblem] with the royal arms.

Shortly after the king had passed by, a minister came up to Monsieur Fabry, who was at my side, saying that the king had asked of which country I was the ambassador! And he answered, "He is not an ambassador, only a visitor from Egypt who has come out of curiosity." After that we left; and all those around were showing great deference - some of the *dames* who were passing by made *reverencia* according to their custom.

We arrived at the house of Monsiuer Fabry's relative where they did me great honour. They gave me a gift of a porcelain *finjan*[92] and saucer which Madame Comtesse de Artois had given M. Fabry's relative as a gift; on the *finjan* was inscribed the arms of King Louis. He [sic] also gave me some *cajas* [= cases] for putting papers inside such as chronicles [for safe-keeping]; these *cajas* are of glass and look like cloth [?]. He then asked me what I would like to eat and I replied, "Eggs - fried by my assistant." They set the table and we sat down. I ate a little bread and two fried eggs; and I recited the *zimmun*[93] and Grace After Meals. Then I prayed Minha; and we rode off in the carriage.

The countryside was covered in snow. The aforem. gentile told us there were wild animals [on the royal estate] but because of the snow they were kept locked up 'in a chamber within a chamber' and it was therefore not possible to see them. Around the gardens is a distance of twenty-one miles, but now in winter, and with all the snow, we could not see anything.

We arrived safely home. The gentile insisted on paying for the carriage - this is wondrous, the favour which G-d gave me in his eyes! I

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92 A coffee cup or jug (Ar).

93 If three have eaten there is an introduction to Grace. Perhaps Abraham was the third man.

give thanks and praise for all His kindnesses, may He be blessed. And the relative of this gentile and her daughter asked me to bless them. I went a little nearer to them, and I blessed them; but I did not want to place my hands on their heads: and this is amazing - praises to the L-rd m.H.b.b. who has made His own Name great, for I am void of everything. I am unworthy of all the kindnesses, for we have been overwhelmed by His kindness; may His Name be blessed and exalted for ever!

Teveth 9

Thursday evening: the Marquis de Thumey came [to visit me] with the Marquise de Crau; and she sat by me and asked that I should pray for her. She then told me that she was studying the Bible and that she had seen angels and other manifestations: and when they were of the 'other side'[94] she would spurn them. She donated a *louis* for Hebron! And she mentioned the *Ba'al Shem*[95] of London; and she also said that a certain Jew had given her a book on the Cabbalah; and she talked about various other things - remarkable! I answered her according to her style. She then told me that she was a very important lady and that she had saved many Jews from the Inquisition in Avignon, and that she was the daughter of a Marquis and that her husband was a Marquis.

And all this nonsense talked by this gentile woman and many other gentiles was due to that so-called *Ba'al Shem* who, in his arrogance and wilfulness, revealed Cabbalah practices and incantations to many nobles, both men and women, for self-aggrandisement. Many people had asked me about him - and I told them...

Next day I went to the *Bibliotheque* of manuscripts and I copied some of the 'Deliberations' of R. Isaiah[96] on the Bible. Then I looked around all of it; there are many chambers full of manuscripts in all languages, in all branches of learning and every religion. Among the

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94 Cabalistic language for the powers of evil.

95 The illustrious 'Ba'al Shem Tov' [= The Possessor of The Good Name], founder of the Hassidic movement, should not be confused with this gentleman. He was a wealthy Jew, an architect, who lived in London and dabbled in the Cabbalah. He was a follower of Shabbetai Ts'vi.

96 V. p. 193 .

manuscripts from China there is a long book, with wide pages made from palm-leaves, beautifully set out in a clear script. They say there are some 50 thousand and more folios of manuscripts. I did not visit the *Bibliotheque* of modern [books]; but 22 years ago I had gone around the whole of it. It is something wonderful - befitting the hand of a king. They say the Paris Bibliotheque is the finest and greatest in the world.

Teveth 10

The Sixth of the Week: I went to collect from some of the signatories who had made promises for the Yeshiva K'nesset Israel in Hebron.

Teveth 11

The holy Sabbath: I spent both night-time and day-time in the house of R. David Naquite, in great honour; and S. Abraham Vidal and S. Ventura came to dine with us. May G-d reward their works.

Teveth 12

Sunday: we departed in peace from Paris, and we were accompanied by some of our friends in a carrosse - S. Solomon Ravel, R. David Naquite, S. Hananel and many of the Sephardi boys - to the outskirts of the city. In the afternoon we arrived in the town of Louvres [and stayed] in a gentile guest-house.

Teveth 13

Monday of Sabbath Shemoth[97]: we stayed overnight in the town of St. Louis [Senlis]; and we rested at mid-day in Gournai. Snow everywhere.

Teveth 14

Tuesday: we lodged overnight in the town of Roye, in a gentile guest-house. With G-d's help, we were able to recite the Blessing for the

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97 'Sabbath' here means 'week'. R. HYDA varies his style: here the style continues 'the Third-Day of Sabbath' etc., but henceforth this is rendered simply as 'Tuesday' etc.

[New] Moon: for it had until now been obscured and snow was falling, and this was an opportunity for saying the blessing.

Next day at mid-day we were in the town of Peronne; and our hearts were fearful about the customs and the deranging of the clothes in the trunks - for it would take several hours to restore and re-arrange.

Now, I had a recommendation to the Governor; and after we had arrived at the inn - [chosen], in the manner the coach-men, to be at the edge of the town - immediately on entering the inn I showed them the letter[98]. I had to walk a long way with snow falling on me - everything was covered with snow - and I was in distress both on the way there and the way back. I arrived at the Governor's [house] - with the snow [on me scattering] on the table near him! He read the letter and gave me 24 *sou*. But I handed them back to him; and I spoke to him in Spanish - for I could tell he knew a little: "No, my lord; this *recommendation* which I have brought is from the Marechal-Comte de Maillebois of Paris, and it is a demand [for privelege] for me from any town or customs."

He answered, "I do not know to whom to write." Then he said to the gentile who had accompanied me, "Tell the customs that they should not mistreat me."

I left there with disappointment; for in Paris the gentile, Monsieur Fabry, had told me that he knew that even when trunks are inspected and sealed in Paris, it is their custom in the town of Peronne to break the seals and to search 'a diligent search'[99] and I therefore did not seal the trunks in Paris. I returned to the inn, tired and weary, and I could not eat.

Shortly before our departure one of the customs men came wanting to inspect the clothes, so I handed him the keys. I also handed him the *passeport* from the King of France, and he raised his hat and began to read it. When he read my name he raised his hat and said, "You are honoured by the King: there is no need to inspect your clothes!" And then he left.

As we were leaving the town, standing by the gate of the customs were some seven *goyim* from the customs office and they made *reverencia*, with their hats in their hands; and we passed through in peace. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f. Blessed is the G-d of salvation.

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98 To ask for directions to the address; and perhaps to impress.

99 Psalms 64:7.

Teveth 15

Wednesday: we came to the village of Spehy and we lodged in a gentile guest-house. I have seen nothing like it in any of the towns of France - 'it is the plague'[100]; but they were good gentiles.

Next day we had a meal in the town of Cambrai. It was very windy, with snow and rain.

Teveth 16

Thursday: we arrived in the town of Valenciennes, one side of it the border of France. It is a fortified town and it has - like Péronne - three [draw]bridges which are raised at night. In Valenciennes, these are both at the entrance and exit gates of the town; and they are also mighty gates - as for a border town - such as we did not find in any of the other towns of France that we had passed through.

As we entered the town the customs [men] came; I showed them the passport and gave them thirty *soldos* and they let us through in peace without unpacking the clothes. But then they led us to a large courtyard where other [customs men] wanted to unpack our clothes, and I said, "Here are the keys, but [first] take a look at the passport and see that I am not a merchant, and that I possess several passports, and especially this one from the King!" There happened to be someone there who could speak Spanish, and he spoke to them; and they took the passport from the King and read it, and they sent us off in peace. But they took another 24 *soldos*.

We went from there to a gentile guest-house; and they did us great honour. I had the letter from Monsieur Comte de Maillebois of Paris to the *commandante* of the town, and I sent it [to him]. He sent back his compliments [saying] he is ready to grant my request. I asked for a *recommendation* to the *commandante* of Brussels and he straightaway sent it. On the day we left the town they asked for passports to leave - for that is their regulation here, not to allow anyone to leave without a passport from the *commandante*. So I showed them the letter from the abovem. *commandante* and they allowed us to leave. But afterwards some other [officials] made trouble for us; in the end they let us go in peace.

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100 Lev. 13:55.

After [going for] an hour there was another guard-post, and they also demanded [our passports]; but they finally let us leave in peace. A mile further on there is a guard-post with the flag of the Queen of Hungary; these are the towns of Flanders. They wanted to unpack our clothes, so I descended to them and showed them the French passports. They replied gently, "This is not France - and here we are under the Queen." I told them that I have passports from [other] imperial ambassadors, and I showed them. After some discussion they finally let us go in peace.

We came to the town of Mons. And there are German garrisons there; and *pontes* [= drawbridges], fortifications and citadels with many German soldiers. And on many occasions the guard-posts, both entering and leaving, asked for customs-duty, and my name, and the name of my home-town - as in Italy. I showed them the passsports, and they let us go in peace; and they never unpacked any of the clothes.

Teveth 17

The eve of Friday [Thursday evening]: we arrived in the village of Soignies. The people of the inn were good, but poor, and did us honour to begin with, at night-time. But in the morning, when we were leaving, they made trouble for us and broke their agreement and asked us for a *litra* and a half more. We [finally] departed in peace. In truth, the innkeepers in France were good; and if some of them did ask for much, nevertheless they did not go back on their words. But as for the Germans - 'their mind is rather on the *prutah* [=farthing]'[101]; and this all based on their miserliness.

We saw there - as we had already [seen] in Flanders - small carriages being pulled by five or six dogs! At mid-day on Friday we arrived at the city of Brussels. At the city gates I showed the passports and they were respectful to us and did not unpack the clothes. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f. As we drove through the city in a carriage we could see that this is a beautiful city, composed of beautiful buildings and beautiful streets. There is a large *plaza* [= square] in which stands the palace of the uncle of the Emperor[102]; and by

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101 Tal. Qiddushin 48b.

102 Francis II, formerly Duke of Lorraine, and husband of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, was the Holy Roman Emperor at this time; Belgium was then part of the Austrian empire. The Emperor's uncle is the brother of Maria Theresa's father, Charles VI.

the door of the palace is [a statue of] him riding a horse, in heavily gilded copper - very beautiful; and all around the palace are [smaller] *palacios*, all very beautiful buildings. And they say that there are large *fabricas* of every kind of skilled work - rubber, tiles, yarn; and everything is fine and beautiful.

We went to the house of a Jew, Lipman Nathan, [in] Rue Botiche [?], where he had been living with his wife for some years, and I brought him a *recommendation* from S. Solomon Perpignan. He told me they had no room, so we went to a gentile guest-house, Hotel Royale, and we 'sabbathed' there in a beautiful room. Blessed b. G.

Teveth 19

Sunday, Va-eyra: I went to the Ashkenazi abovem. and he told me that he had spent quite a lot in expenses on my behalf for the Sabbath, and why had I not come to eat? I replied, "Why did you not invite me to come?" He answered saying that I should have come of my own accord; and I replied that 'such is not done in our place'[103]. And I was distressed as I walked [back].

Now there happened to be [staying] there an Ashkenazi Torah-scholar, R. Elhanan bar Matthias who, like me, was going on to Holland. And I asked him to travel with us, for neither of us[104] knew the French or German or Dutch languages, and we have before us much travelling. May it be His will that this will be for our good and our peace; may thus be His will.

On Sunday morning the inn-keeper harassed us and went back on his agreement with us: and, perforce, we were charged 15 *litras*. Then we rode off in a spacious *carrosse*. I told my assistant to come and sit next to us; but he swore that he would not come. I forebore his sulkiness. He had also left behind two pairs of shoes and socks at the inn, and they are not obtainable in these places. May this also be for the best.

Teveth 20

The evening of Monday: we arrived in the large city of Anvers [Antwerp]. On Sunday we had eaten in the beautiful town of Mecheln: some 300 people had gathered in the square to look at us, and Abraham

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103 Gen. 29:26.

104 R. HYDA and his assistant.

talked to them. They laughed at him but he did not care. In the city of Anvers, the mistress of our lodging-house was one of the 'pious gentiles of the world', and she was respectful and compassionate of manner.

We were desirous of hiring a coach to go to Moerdijk; but they wanted much money, for the ways in Holland in winter are very bad - earthen [tracks which become] soft mud, and six horses would be needed. I attempted to reduce from the amount they were asking, but the coach-driver refused to listen and went off. Then I reconsidered the matter - 'I thought about my ways'[105] - and I had no choice but to send after him: and they went four times, but he would not come; and I was distressed. Then, about an hour before noon, he came; and we reached an agreement.

We saw [later] that the way was indeed foul and perilous; but with the six horses we succeeded - by a miracle - in reaching Moerdijk three hours after nightfall: for, as we neared the town, the coach sank into the mud, and the coach came perilously close to overturning, with all the baggage, on top of us, and the night was pitch-black. And He, in His mercy, eased our darkness and we arrived safely.

Some three hours after leaving Moerdijk is the end of the towns of Flanders. The Germans call this region Brabant. And there 'they came out standing'[106], the Imperial guards - to ask about our passports and our baggage; but, b.b.G., we were sent off in peace and they did not inspect our clothes. 'Blessed is he who favours the guilty with kindness, Who favoured us with every goodness'. I am unworthy of all the kindnesses: may the Name of the L-rd be blessed from now and for evermore, for He has overwhelmed us with His kindness and the truth of the L-rd is everlasting - Halleluj-ah. The L-rd will accomplish that concerning me; O, L-rd, thy lovingkindness endureth for ever; forsake not the work of Thine own hands[107].

Teveth 21

The eve of Tuesday: we arrived in peace in the town of Moerdijk, in Holland. We had to cross a river in a sailing-boat, but in the morning the wind was so strong that we had to wait until two hours before mid-day.

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105 Psalms 119:59.

106 Num.16:27. - standing in a haughty manner.

107 An assortment of well-known verses.

We made the crossing in a half-hour, but the approach into the town was iced in - formidable! - and the ship could not pass through. So we went by *ca'ique*; and the sailors had to break the ice with great force using wooden poles tipped with iron, and they leaned their weight on them to push the *ca'ique* along. And we sat there for about a quarter of an hour thus. P.t.L.f.H.i.g. for saving us!

We arrived safely at a village where we wanted to hire a *calesso*. But they said that the ways were bad and we would need four horses, and that it was the regulation in that principality to pay 12 florins for each 3 parasangs - and a little over. And I implored and begged but it did not help. When I [agreed and] was preparing to ride I found that the carriage was an open one. I said that I want a *calesso*; but they could not find a calesso so in the end they covered the wagon. It was, in truth, a rough journey. But in two hours we arrived at a hotel.

Teveth 22

The eve of Wednesday: we arrived at the village of Puttershoek. We came into a gentile inn, and they gave us a beautiful room, clean and elegant - only the inn-keeper wanted four and half florins even though we were not eating or drinking. We argued with him; but he said that was the rule in Holland, and no less. And I was distressed at this 'pile of money'[109] that was being spent on the journey - with no pleasure, only discomfort. May the Omnipresent have mercy on us in His bountiful mercy and declare, "Suffice!" to our troubles, and pour blessings for us with dignity so that we may serve him with awe in the rejoicing of the Festival[110], with His help. May thus be His will.

In the morning we crossed a ford in the river. There was ice at the sides and they were cutting it away. B.b.G that we passed through safely. From there [we took] an uncovered wagon, and they demanded 20 *florins* to travel near to Rotterdam, as far as the river [Schelde]. And I grew weary of pressing them - with strong words and with pleas - but it did not help, for the gentiles in these villages are wicked.

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108 Small boat (Turkish).

109 Tal. Yeb. 61a.

110 It is not clear which festival is being referred to.

The next morning when I awoke it was raining and a strong wind [was blowing] and my heart dropped to think about this journey: for I knew already yesterday that we would not find even a wagon that was covered. So we rode off in a wagon; and the first hour the sun shone, but the second hour a strong wind blew and there were drops of rain. 'And G-d saw our affliction' and the rain stopped; and also in the third and fourth hours the wind dropped a little.

We reached the river and there we took a ferry-boat and we arrived in Rotterdam safely. We were quickly found by R. Izak Goldsmid who welcomed us into an inn-house. R. Izak and his wife remembered me from my previous visit there - 22 years before! And my spirits returned and I began reciting, "Blessed is the G-d who has saved [us] from the manifold troubles of this journey." P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Before Minha I went to visit the Rav. He told me that R. Abraham Ze'evi, an emissary from Hebron, had been there just five months ago. I told him that I was the emissary for the towns of Italy, on my way to Amsterdam: would they agree just to pay for my lodging? But he answered me with harsh words: I am the emissary of the Sepharadim and they should pay; and since I had come here from Paris, I should pay for lodging here - and so on. I got up and went to the synagogue. After Minha I agreed with R. Izak aforem. that I would pay [?] the expenses of my food and lodging till after the Sabbath - for the river was now frozen over and boats could not pass. May the L-rd lead us in the paths of righteousness for His Name's sake: for His mercies do not cease, and He in His mercy will help us for the sake of the glory of His Name; Amen. May thus be His will.

Teveth 24

The Sixth of the Week: in the morning Isaiah Caranfil [?] of Amsterdam - who had been sent by R. David Cohen Azevedo especially to see me - came with a letter, in most cordial terms, from my dear friend Raphael: and I was delighted. There was also a letter from my good friend S. Aaron; and a letter from OMR A. Ze'evi nrv , the emissary for Germany who had gone to Amsterdam and had stayed for a year. He was still there, and this distressed me for a number of reasons, of which I shall write later.

Teveth 25

The holy Sabbath: they called me up to the [reading of the] Sefer Torah at the fourth [*aliyah*], following the Rav. After Minha I went to visit the new Parnesss; and I had the 'Third Meal' there together with S. Ariani and Isaiah aforem.; and they gave me great honour. There happened to be there a pedagogue, R. Izak Cohen; and he gave me a small book he had published.

Teveth 26

Sunday, [P]. Bo: after prayers I went to the aforem. new Parness, R. Moses Espringer[111]. He accorded me great honour; and he called for the beadle and trusted friend, R. Hirsch, who is a Torah scholar. He sent to the owner of the guest-house R. Izak [Goldsmid], born [in?] Hischmidt[112] - who had asked for 12 florins for 4 days' lodging - and asked him to deduct this from his obligations to the community; and he accepted this. He then gave me 'provisions for the way' and a gift for the attendants. And he gave me a gift out of his own pocket; may the G-d reward their deeds.

At mid-day I sent my two trunks and S. Ariani's clothes with Abraham to the boat for Amsterdam. After three of the clock I, together with S. HR A[braham] and Isaiah, went by coach to the village of Dragehave[113] in order to leave from there by ship for Amsterdam.

Teveth 27

The eve of Monday: we found in the village of Dragehave a Jewish householder living there with his family. On each holy Sabbath a *minyan* came there to pray and they had a Sefer Torah. We stayed there some three hours and they regaled us with chocolate and other delicacies. When the time came for the departure of the ship - three hours after nightfall - we boarded the ship, and we went and sat in a corner. There were two *goyim* there from Piemonte, and I was delighted to be able to talk with them in Italian. Halfway on our journey we disembarked to go into a village to

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111 Probably the Germanic name Springer in a Spanish form.

112 Perhaps he had changed his name.

113 S'-Gravenhage.

warm ourselves. Indeed, I suffered from the cold; and every bit of wind there was came through the cracks.

Morning dawned and we arrived safely in Amsterdam. We went into a gentile inn and waited until the city gates were opened. We [then] took a coach and went to the house of an Ashkenazi, R. Jacob, in the thoroughfare of Brede Huisstraat[114], where S. David Cohen Azevedo ytv had hired two beautiful rooms for us in accord with [my request in] my letter [to him]. Soon afterwards the said S. David came [to see me], together with S. Menahem Ashkenazi of Constantinople who had been with me in Venice, and S. Yehiel Salem the son of the Rav ytv. Then I went to pray; and I met 'him whom my soul loveth', that perfect sage HR A. Ze'evi ytv, the emissary for Germany. And even though it occurred to me that the presence there of the said HR A. was not so good [for me], nevertheless, since he is a modest man who fears Heaven and knows me well, and he behaved towards me with great respect - I, too, 'my covenant was with him'[115]; and we were together day and night. I asked him, too, to accompany me on a number of visits - so that altogether I had [both] delight and help from him by virtue of his upright qualities - 'for they are living'[116].

Teveth 28

The eve of Tuesday: I went to the Rav Solomon Salem and he received me with great honour and 'with a welcoming countenance'. I was there some three hours [discussing] general matters and Torah subjects and then I went home by *salia*[117]. Next morning I began receiving visits from the *g'virim*. The visiting continued until the Sunday of the following week, until practically all the Parnesssim and the *g'virim* and the heads of the Yeshivoth had all visited me! Even the Ashkenazi Parnesssim sent representatives to present greetings on their behalf.

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114 This is the closest Dutch literation, but there is no such street. In all probability the Joden Breestraat is intended, now called Breestraat.

115 Malakhi 2:5. We remained good friends.

116 Ex. 1:19. 'For they are lively': this w. *haya* can also mean midwife (and in that context has that meaning).

117 A chaise or similar: possibly from the Spanish *salir* = to set out or 'sally forth'.



Rabbi David Azevedo.

Teveth 29

The eve of Wednesday: I went to visit the Ga'on R. Saul[118] son of the great G[a'on] R. Heshel[119], son of the G. R. Jacob; and the brother of the G. [R. Saul] is the G. R. Tz'vi Abraham Berlin[120]. They are the sons of the daughter of the great G[a'on] MaHaRaTz[121]; and the sons and sons-in-law of the said R. Saul are rabbis - so that on all sides there is a 'chain of pedigree'. He welcomed me warmly; and he showed me two [conflicting] passages in the *Magen Abraham*[122]: one of these he had already queried and discussed in his [own] book; the other having not yet been printed. I gave him the answer straight away, and from then on he gave me great honour. Later I went to the house of R. David Cohen Azevedo aforem. There I found his son, R. Daniel, was there with an Ashkenazi *hakham* and pupil of R. Jonathan[123]. He lost no time in setting a query before me; and I gave him an answer and he accepted it. Then I discoursed in the subject of *huqah ve-torah*[124].

Next day there was a 'Seven Benedictions' [marriage ceremony] for the son of S. Leveau [?], scribe of the holy cong. They sent a *salia*[125] [for us] to go to the 'Seven Benedictions' and we went to the bridegroom's house. And all the Parnesssim came to welcome me. Then they went to pray Minha; and we went to the house where the bride was [waiting] which was

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118 Freimann gives extensive bibliography concerning him.

119 This is the illustrious grandson of the illustrious R. Heshel of Cracow.

120 Not mentioned in Shem Ha-Gedolim; possibly the same as R. Zvi Hirsch Berlin whose commentaries appear at the back of all modern eds. of Talmud.

121 OMR Tz'vi Hirsch Hayoth: his important notes are also found in all modern eds. of Talmud.

122 R. Abraham Abele (Gumbiner) of Kalisch (1635-1683); Halakhic authority usually printed with the *Shulhan Arukh*. R. HYDA mentions in Shem Ha-Gedolim that early publications of his works contained textual errors. R. Abraham Abele of Vilna, an immense Torah scholar of the 19th century and author of many famous works, does not appear to be related.

123 R. Jonathan Eyebeschütz of Altona. The Ashkenazi hakham is later called the '*Polacko*' (from Poland)

124 Any of several Talmudic discussions (e.g. Qiddushin 14a) on the significance of these terms in the Torah.

125 See above p. 206 [117].

a private house. The [aforem.] Rav Salem arrived there and did not greet me warmly. Then the bridegroom arrived from the synagogue; and the said rabbi arose and honoured the *Hazan* [= cantor or reader] Gomez [with conducting the proceedings ?]. He passed right in front me without making any acknowledgment and went right to the front, without hesitation or politeness, and recited the Betrothal Benediction and the Seven Benedictions. Then they showed him[126] the ring [for the formal approval] - and he still did not see fit to 'see my face'. After that he passed directly in front of me with his back turned and gave great honour to the Parnesssim, with me behind [him]. Then he went straight out and rode off in a *salia*. I was left full of embarrassment for I had been virtually shamed. After that I went home on foot; 'and my anger was burning within me'.

That evening he sent his son [saying] he wanted to come [to me] that night. But I told him that I was going to see the *g'vir* S. Isaac Texeira de Matos who was my friend. I went there after Minha; for he was ill [and could not come to see me].

Shevat, First Day New Moon

Thursday: in the morning the Ga'on R. Saul came to see me and asked [me] to send him [a copy of my book] *Birke Yosef*. And I received great honour from him.

Shevat 3

Saturday, the evening of the h.S.: I dined with R. D. C. [Azevedo]; but next day I declined and dined at home. And crowds upon crowds came to visit me.

Shevat, the night of the term. of the h.S.

Sunday, Be-shalah: I went to see the Rav Salem, and we were [treated] there with honour. Then I ordered a *salia* to come and take us home. Next day Rav Salem came to visit [me] and showed friendliness; and I accorded him

126 This is probably referring to the Rav.

great honour. The night before I had gone to see the President [of the community] and had given him the credentials of my mission.

Shevat 5

Monday: I commenced my visits to the Parnesssim and travelled by salia. And they all accorded me great honour. They asked me about the Marquis of Paris, and I related to them about the experiences I had with the gentiles in Paris; and this was astonishing in their eyes.

Shevat 7

Wednesday: R. D.C.A. sent me an money account. There was written that he had bought for me a *borno toton* [?] for 7 florins; there also was written that he had given a *zecchino* for going and announcing about my arrival; and payment for the fish he had sent me; and the cost of postage of two letters. I was very annoyed about all petty details: and I poured out my wrath on Isaiah[127] [saying] he gave [too much] advice, and that he is lazy and that he had become a *yaran* [?] and similar. That evening the said [R. D.C.A.] came and told me he had made a mistake of 3 florins concerning the *b.t.* And I did not say a word to him but kept my temper.

That evening OMR Leib the son of the Ga'on R. Saul - they are both Torah scholars - came [to visit me] and accorded me great honour. He gave a gift of a book his father the Ga'on, nrv, had just published.

Shevat 10

The night of the h.S., P. Be-shalah: I stayed at the house of the Parness, the *g'vir* Moses Gutieres - I together with the HR. A. Ze'evi and the HR A. Ha-Cohen, and they accorded us great honour. Afterwards they read the Portion in a Torah scroll and I read the Song: for this is the custom amongst many of the *g'virim* - they keep a Sefer Torah with veneration in a [special] and very beautiful ark with silver ornaments, and on Sabbath nights they read the Portion in it.

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127 The self-appointed assistant.

128 Ex. 15.

On the Sabbath day at Minha R. Salem preached on the [Talmudic interpretation of the verse: 'If you will go with me...'[129]: [Sermon 1]. He managed to spread this sermon to occupy half an hour!

Shevat 11

The night of the term. of the h.S., Sunday, [P.] Jethro: I went to the home of R. Salem with HR A. Ze'evi nrv; and we stayed some two hours [talking] in Torah subjects and personal narratives.

Shevat 12

Monday: in the evening R. Salem came to visit me and stayed about 3 hours.

Shevat 13

Tuesday: in the evening I went to visit R. Moses Alvarez, a brother of S. Solomon of Bayonne, and my good friend his son, R. Joseph who is R. Salem's son-in-law.; and they accorded me much honour. From there I went to the home of R. Salem; and they were discussing the topic in *Hamaniah*[130] on taking the law into one's own hands. I sat down, and then quoted to them the words of the MaShaL[131] and of the BaH[132] and of OMR Joseph of Trani and the responsa of RaShBA etc. - a miracle!

Shevat 14

Wednesday: During the day I went to see some important merchants, Herneka Op [?] Gevalt. I was accompanied by S. Medina and S. Samuel [de] Mesquita in a carriage; and they received us with honour.

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129 Judges 4:8 Baraq speaking to Deborah. (Sermons are collected at the end of the book).

130 'One who sets down [an article in a public roadway]': Tal. Bava Kama ch. 3.

131 *Mishneh Le-meLekh* (R. Judah Rozanes), v. p.34 [42].

132 R. Joel Sirkis, one of the great Halakhic authorities of the 17th century.



Rabbi Sh'lomo Salem.

Shevat 15

The eve of Thursday: they invited me to the Ma'amad and they told me what they had agreed to give for the *kollelut*. I answered them with humility and courtesy: and the matter is still in the balance.

Next day I went to visit Ha-Rav Salem, the Parness S. Carasato, and S. Isaac Texeira; and I spoke [to them] at length on the matter of the mission.

Shevat 17

The night of the h.S.: I was with S. Zalzedo, the President [of the community], and we dined there.

It snowed during the day. I preached at Minha-time for more than an hour, but they said they enjoyed it - praise to G! H. Salem was present, and the synagogue was full to overflowing.

Shevat 18

Sunday, night of the termination of the S.: I was at the house of H. Salem; and he talked praising his own sermons and his erudition etc. When he 'began reigning' in Amsterdam, [he said], he had preached on the subject of the kingdoms of Saul and David and similar things; and [he also talked] about his sermons [Sermon 2] and he concluded:

'And he [Saul] told nothing concerning the kingdom etc.' because this [anointing] had come through a man in whom he did not fully believe, and he was afraid the things Samuel had promised would not come about and that he had only 'trusted' Samuel out of respect. Now this seemed to me to be an allusion: for the *g'vir* Samuel Ximenes[133] had schemed against the rabbinate and had remained 'closed up'[134] for forty days.

He also showed me a very ancient document which contained a Lament composed by the RaN[135] in the year 5130 [1370] on the Destruction; and Don Isaac Levi [Abravanel] had returned with a similar composition and the RaN had written to him [saying] that the choristers of

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133 Book 1 p. 96.

134 Excommunicated?

135 R. Nissim of Barcelona.

the city had praised his Lament more highly. He [Don Isaac] had replied that he does not understand his words since he knows no choristers there, unless those that had died had come back to life. [Also written there was] that while sitting at his table, he [Don Isaac] praised himself saying that if he [the RaN] was as proficient in Torah as he was in poetry then he [Don Isaac] were greater than the RaN; but his wife said, "Do not say such things, for the stature of the RaN is greater than yours!" Now a bearer of this tale came to the city of the RaN, Barcelona, and told him all this. The RaN replied to him in gentle terms but 'behold, there is rebuke in his mouth' over 'his growing [great] from venom'[136] [claiming] skill in songs and over his disparagement of the choristers of Barcelona; but he paid tribute to 'the house'[137] of Isaac - 'the helpmeet against him'! After that, the brother of the RiBaSh[138] also 'launched his quill'[139] with poetry in rebuke to him. And there was almost a real quarrel - 'one fanned the flames, then came another and fanned them'[140].

I also saw there in Amsterdam *Yalqut* [=anthology] *Ha-Makhiri* in manuscript on Proverbs, compiled by R. Makhir bar-Aba Mari[141], who is mentioned in *Sifthey Yeshanim*[142]; and it is almost the same as the *Yalqut Shimoni*[143].

I also went to see the Courts of Justice which they call *'Casa de la Villa'*[144]; and there are statues, fruit-trees and historical scenes [painted] on the walls of the buildings, and among them the story of the two harlot-women who came before Solomon which is in a large *sala* [= hall]. And there are various houses and chambers at its sides used for different purposes, among them a bank, money exchange and rooms for the judges.

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136 Mishna Pe'ah I, 4 'things that grow from the ground', *erets* > *eress*.

137 Wife.

138 R. Isaac ben Shesheth, famous pupil of the RaN and Talmudic authority.

139 Strictly, *Qesset* = inkwell; *qeshet* = bow.

140 Tal. Bava Qama 59b.

141 Brother of Isaac, author of *Sefer Ha-Ittur*.

142 R. Jacob of Romrug, popularly known as *Rabbenu Tam*, grandson of Rashi.

143 The well-known anthology of Midrash.

144 R. HYDA's Spanish rendering for the Town Hall.

And in the great *sala* the floor is paved with pictures showing the science of astronomy - everything is beautifully ordered.

On Tuesday of P. Mishpatim I went to visit S. Raphael the son of S. Moses Mendes da Costa who was my *padrino* [=patron] on my first mission.

Shevat 19

Monday: I visited the Parness, Abraham Texeira, who was against me at the Ma'amad of [last] Thursday eve. On the Friday his eye began to give him pain, but he received me with great honour. After that I went to see S. Isaac Texeira and S. Aaron Lombruzo and S. Medina. Then I went to the house of S. Gutieres; his wife came out to the doorway of the courtyard to make 'complimento' on behalf of her husband, who was not at home.

Shevat 20

The eve of Tuesday: I went again to H. Salem and the conversation came round to a question he had been asked concerning the scriptural narrative that Joab had waited 6 months before killing 'the males of Edom': why does the Scripture not use the name Amalek, as the Talmud [Baba Bathra 21a] quotes him [as saying] 'the males of Amalek'[145]? I answered that he [Joab] had not intended to fulfil the particular commandment of 'erasing Amalek': Joab's intention was to destroy Edom entirely and [the tribe of] Amalek with them. It is also possible [I said] that Amalek dwelt apart from the rest of Edom and he [Joab] only acted against Edom: only King David, peace on him, asked him what was the reason he had spared the women and Joab's answer was that scripture specifies *zekher Amalek* so Moses learned that in the case of Edom only the males are to be 'erased'. This is the simple interpretation, and it found favour in his eyes. Then I asked him the question asked by R. Ha'im Abulafia [on the Talmudic query] 'I might have thought [remembering] with the heart would suffice?'[146] Both he and the *hakham 'Polacko'* had grown weary attempting to find an answer, without success. Then he expounded on

145 Deut. 25:19 *Zakhar* = male; *zekher* = memory.

146 Meg. 18a On the verse 'Remember what Amalek did etc.'

the Parasha of Jethro. And I said something on the verse[147] 'When they have a matter etc.' - 'and on something that is pure, pure[148] etc.'.

Shevat 21

Wednesday: in Holland this day is observed as a day of atonement and fasting; they say many prayers of penitence, and they call it the day of *Biddag*[149]. Even among the Jews sermons are preached, both by the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim; and H. Salem preached on the verse 'At all times should your clothes be clean etc.'[150] [Sermon 3]. Afterwards, blessings were recited for the municipal body of the town and its Principal, his wife and family, and all the officials.

This was the essence of the sermon but it took him three-quarters of an hour to say it - and it was cold! Only about half the number of people came as on the Sabbath.

Shevat 22

The eve of Thursday: I went to visit D[avid] C[ohen] A[zevedo]. I found the Ashkenazi *hakham*[151] there, and I said to him, "Open up your mouth!"[152] So he quoted, "We have learned in the 'House of Elijah'[153] that he [an incarnation of Elijah the prophet] met a certain man and asked him why he did not occupy himself with the study of Torah? And he replied, 'I do not have the intelligence etc.'[154]" Then I said to him, "And what will you say about the woman whom Elijah met[155] and asked her, "What about

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147 Ex. 18:16.

148 Seems to be an adapt. of the Talmudic prayer (Ber. 27b) 'I shall not declare what is pure, impure etc.'. The meaning here is not clear.

149 'Prayer-day' (Dutch).

150 Eccles. 9:8 ff.

151 V. p. 208.

152 Jocular invitation to commence discussion of a Torah topic.

153 Name of a tractate of Baraitha (unwritten, not like the Mishna).

154 This seems to be an excuse by the reluctant Hakham.

155 This is at variance with the Talmud account (Sabb. 13b) which does not involve Elijah.

[your relationship with your husband] in the [seven] days of your cleansing?"; for you can see from this story - [by her earlier lament over her dead husband]: Is it not written in the Torah: 'for she [the Torah] is thy length of days'[156] - that a difficulty now arises against *Tosefot* in *Qiddushin* in the discussion on 'time-dependent positive commandments'[157]? " Then I put to him a certain difficulty that had been worrying me on the subject of *Tefillin*[158] and gave him three solutions. I further cited certain difficulties in the law that a house shared by a Jew and a non-Jew is freed from the obligation of *mezuza* [on the doorpost]: and I brought evidence from the *Mordecai*[159] at the end of the first chapter of [the tractate of] *Avodah Zarah*; and also from the words of the M'ADM[160]; and also my own exposition of the views of the *Mordecai*. And the said *hakham* commented, "This is truly what the Torah says." Then I proceeded to bring more evidence from the words of the TaZ and ShaCh[161]; and I showed him a 'Mordecai' in [tractate] *Hullin* agreeing with the ShaCh.

Shevat 23

The night of Friday: the Ashkenazi *hakham* came to my house and praised my exposition of the *Mordecai*. He then related some exaggerated stories about a [certain] Rav Riznitz [?] suggesting that he possessed the 'holy spirit' and knew exactly what was happening anywhere in the world no matter how far away. He concluded [by telling me] about a Jewish boy who had seduced a gentile maidservant and whose father then asked [that rabbi]

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156 So why did he die young?

157 Tosefot explains that the 'long life clause' obligates women for other *mitsvoth*, though not Torah study. The nature of the difficulty is not clear; the interested reader may delve!

158 This is a 'time-dependent positive commandment'.

159 R. Mordecai ben Hillel whose authoritative Decisions are bound with most editions of Talmud.

160 *Ma'adaney Melekh*, a little-known work on a few Talmudic tractates by the famous Mishnah exegete R. Yom-Tov Lipman; in later editions the title was changed to *Ma'adaney Yom-Tov*.

161 *Turey Zahav* and *Sifthey Cohen* by R. David b. Samuel Ha-Levy and R. Shabbetai b. Me'ir Ha-Cohen, the principal commentaries on Shulhan Arukh.

whether he should send him away [for fear of vengeance from the gentiles]; and he [the rabbi] had replied that there was no need, for he was just a boy. But after a while they got hold of the boy and burnt him: and on that same day he [the rabbi] asked that they prepare burial-shrouds for him because the boy was claiming retribution. And then he died immediately. The name of this Ashkenazi hakham is Rabbi Ts'vi and he is a pupil of Rabbi Jonathan[162], and it is because of this that the Ashkenazim have nothing to do with him[163]. He was formerly Rav in Bolekhov [Poland], but another had usurped the rabbinical post there with the aid of government pressure, so he had fled here; and he wanders around 'seeking bread': may G-d have mercy on him.

Next day towards evening the doctor S. Moses Rodriguez together with our good friends, S. R[abbi] Joseph Alvarez and the doctor S. Emmanuel Capadoce[164] [came to see me]. S. Rodriguez told me that he had tried hard to get S. Aaron Capadoce to be my *padroni* and he had agreed; and that he would seek yet another. This is indeed miraculous, for all the emissaries strive and strain greatly for such [help], beseeching many *g'virim* who refuse them, and they have to ask R. Salem to go exert himself and seek on their behalf, and this had come to me without toil and pleading. This is all the more wonderful since at the present time a number of households had 'gone down' and there is worry about the money-prices that were dropping in London. But S. Rodriguez made some successful achievements for me the following week: he also gained the help of S. Moses Soasso, son-in-law of the *g'vir* S. Isaac Fonseca. This, too, is a miracle: P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e., He in his mercy will bring the matter to conclusion with good and great success. M.t.b.H.w.

Shevat 24

The eve of the h.S. [P.] Mishpatim: I dined in the house of S. Medina. His wife is the sister of S. Samuel Bueno de Mesquita, my good friend; S. Samuel often eats there, and I had a pleasant time. I saw there a 'Twenty-Four'[165], with the *Masora* beautifully written on parchment in the year

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162 R. Jonathan Eybeschütz of Altona.

163 V. Book 1 p. 83.

164 He was Court physician to King Louis Napolean.

165 Books of the Testament.

5059 in the town of Lourdes by some [unknown] person who had broken his leg and gone there for a cure; and it is truly beautiful writing; there are also some notes on grammar.

Next day [in the synagogue] I was called up to the Sefer Torah [at the verse] 'And to Moses He said, Go up...'[166]. I was given great honour; and I made a donation, as is customary, of about 13 florins.

Shevat 25

The evening of the termination of the h.S. [P]. Terumah: I visited the home of H. Salem. He showed me a number of his writings; and I had something to say about all of them.

Shevat 26

The eve of Monday: H. Salem came to see me and I accorded him much honour.

During the day I went to visit two gentile merchants with S. Medina. Later I suffered from headache and I did not go to Minha. It was the same all that week - I just managed to go out for prayers.

Shevat 28

Wednesday: the *g'vir* S. Aaron Capadoce came to visit me and accorded me much honour and *complimento.*

Adar 1, New Moon

The eve of the h.S., Terumah: I dined with the doctor S. Moses Rodr'guez and also there were our good friends R. Joseph Alvarez and the doctor S. Capadoce; and they honoured me greatly.

Adar 2

Sunday, Tetsaveh, the termination of the h.S.: I was at the home of H. Salem and we became involved with the commentary of the *Mishneh Le-*

166 Ex. 24:1.

melekh[167] on the laws of Nazarites; and I found myself arguing against him in everything he said - but respectfully.

During the day I visited his son-in-law, my dear good friend HR Joseph Alvarez, who was suffering from a headache; and both he and his household treated me with great honour. In the meantime, the *g'vir* S. Moses de Isaac Israel Soasso, my second *padrino*, had come to visit me and found me not at home. So 'he ruled and wrote' his name on a piece of paper and left it for me. For thus is the custom here for 'all who come within the gates'[168]/ and the man is not at home / 'let it rest'/ 'this his name'/ on a small paper card / 'and it shall be for a sign'/ 'that he has appeared in his glory'/ and this is reckoned as/ 'a visit by the one seeing'/ 'the inside of the house'/ [as if] 'in the presence of its owner'[169].

When I came home I saw the card and I was very distressed that I had not been there [to receive him]. A little while afterwards some *Sofiales*[170] who had been in Bordeaux came to visit me. They were full of praise for themselves - the honour they had received in Bayonne because of the wonderful way they helped Abraham Nunes in that matter of his wife; and they brought me a letter from him. After they left to return to Bordeaux the *Gabbay*, Solomon Lopez, told me that he was distressed that discord and unpleasantness had come out of this - against his will - but that I was not to blame, only the Ma'amad[171], and he had told them to 'keep the peace'. But I was delighted when they had told me that in Bayonne and Bordeaux and Paris they still spoke about with me with affection - this is honour to the Land of Israel.

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167 V. p. 211 [131].

168 Gen. 23:10.

169 A jumble of verses and Talmudical references to (a) Ezek. 34:12 *ke-vaqorath* = inspection or visiting, but *ro'eh* (= shepherd) has *ayin* replaced by *aleph* > 'one who sees'; (b) tithing must be done after harvest home i.e. 'seeing the inside of the house'; in the presence of an owner of a borrowed or hired article there is reduced liability.

170 There were a considerable number of Jews living in Bulgaria at this time and there were many pogroms. This may be a reference to Jews who had fled westwards from Sofia.

171 It seems that those other people had also come to Amsterdam for finanacial assistance and that they were disappointed by the response: R. HYDA's prior claims could deplete theirs.

Adar 3

Monday: the eve of Monday I visited HHG[172] Saul. He accorded me very great honour and as we conversed he put a question to me, by the way, concerning the respect to be accorded to a Rav and also a query by the *Shevuth Ya'aqov*[173] concerning a 'youthful scholar'.

Adar 4

I was again at the house of H. Salem and in our discussion the [well-known] difficulty posed by the *P'ri HaDaSh*[174] on the subject of 'the two gifts' [?]. Then I responded with a question from the topic of 'vows and oaths'. He then argued using the question posed in the Talmud[175] 'who are those who were slain by the Romans?' But that is no argument at all.

Adar 5

Wednesday: I spent that evening with S. Prados. The two son[s] of S. Judah also came there; also there were the brothers of S. Mesquita, and we spent a pleasant and decorous time till about nine of the clock. When I came home they told me that S. Ido had left a message saying that I should go to H. Salem again on the morrow after Minha and he would then take me to see S. Aaron Capadoce; but I sent to him saying that he [S. Ido] should come to me on the morrow. Next morning a messenger came repeating these same things in his name; but I would not listen. Later, Ido himself came to see me and I told him that if S. Capadoce, the padrino, will allow me to come to his house I would go [immediately] in a *salia* because after Minha I have other things to do. And the discussion went on, but I was speaking remotely[176]. Finally he said to me, "I will come and fetch you". I replied that I did not want to trouble him, but he insisted and I told him to come.

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172 Ha-Rav Ha-Ga'on. v. Teveth 29.

173 Probably the recently published Responsa of R. Richar of Metz. (A commentary on *Eyn Ya'aqov* has the same name).

174 R. Hezeqiah Da Silva, 5419-5458 [1659-1698], v. Shem Ha-Gedolim - 'his Fruit [=*p'ri*] is food for all Torah scholars'.

175 Bava Bathra 10b.

176 Not paying much attention.

That same day I attended at a circumcision ceremony of [the son of] HR Benjamin; and other rabbis of the [local] congregations were also there. Straight after the ceremony I left with the Rav of the Ashkenazi community. I had handed three florins to the father of the child, for this is the custom here when one goes to a circumcision, and they are needy people. And even though this [amount] is customary for wealthy people to give, because of the fact that he had pressed me to be the *Sandeq* and I had declined - and also my good friend HR A. Ze'evi ny had told me that he gives thus for his own private reason - I felt myself obligated to do likewise.

Adar 6

Thursday: just after nightfall S. Moses Soasso, the second padrino, came in a carriage with S. Ido and they took me to S. Aaron Capadoce, the first *padrino*. Already there were S. Lindo and S. Doctor Capadoce. Rav Salem arrived soon afterwards and I went to meet him and accorded him much honour; and he, too, returned me even more.

Then S. Lindo began discoursing about secular books: and I was able to comment on everything! They then brought various delicacies to the table: and for each [separate] thing that they would give at a time S. Capadoce the doctor [would hand it] to me and S. Ido to Rav Salem. We sat there talking half after nine hours. Then we - I and R. Salem - went back by *carrosse*. He wanted that first I go to my home but I contrived so that we went to his house [first]; and so it was. We parted in peace and I arrived at my home in peace.

Next day I received visits from S. Rodriguez, S. Gutieres and S. Doctor Capadoce and [succeeded in] speaking 'to their hearts' - to each according to his manner - with Divine help. That same day I distributed letters concerning my mission which had been printed by 'a man appointed to the task'[177] who took 4 florins for it. He also delivered them to every house - and even to each of the occupants in a household - and thus went out some 570 letters!

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177 Num. 16:21 i.e. a professional.

Adar 7

Friday: S. Doctor Emmanuel Capadoce came with many questions; and I answered them all and he thanked [me].

Adar 8

The night of the holy Sabbath, *Sabbath Zachor*[178]: we were at the home of the *g'vir* S. Isaac Gutieres together with HR A. Ze'evi and HR A. Ha-Cohen[179]. S. D.H.A.[180] did not want to come until, through great effort, I appeased him. The said S. Isaac gave me a small *atias* [?] prayer-book as a gift; and we were all happy. Next day HR Salem preached before the Reading of the Torah. And this is the essence of his sermon which took three-quarters of an hour [Sermon 4].

Adar 9

Sunday, Thissa, the night of the departure of the h.S.: I visited R. Salem and we were discussing general matters for I did not wish to talk Torah. But S. Daniel Azavedo showed me a text of Maimonides concerning the removal of the ash [from the altar in the Temple]. And then R. Salem said that the text was correct: I think that the said [Rav] put S. Daniel up to showing it to me!

Next day my friend R. Joseph Alvarez, son-in-law of R. Salem, visited me and told me that everyone - the young, the old, men and women - were talking about me. But I am innocent of any crime.

Adar 10

Monday: an hour before noon Ss. Moses and Aaron the padrinos arrived in a carriage, all carved and ornamented, belonging to S. Capadoce; the carpet on the floor must have been worth many florins, and the

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178 Deut. 25:17 The S. before Purim.

179 V. p. 210 (Shevat 10).

180 The 'H' here represents *het* which should perhaps be *hey* : in that case this is David Ha-Cohen Azavedo and the incident on Shevat 7 is the subject of this appeasement.

carrosseros [= coachmen] were in beautiful livery and fine new cloaks, and the attendant of the aforersaid [padrinos] S. Eliaz dressed in a hood and with new galloons on his legs. Solomon Levi Maduro in front of him 'going round the doors'[181]. I was dressed in most of my Sabbath garments. I and S. Soasso sat in the best seats - for this was S. Capadoce's coach - and we drove to the house of S. Crasto, the Parnesss: and with great friendliness and honour he signed for 50 florins. After that we went to S. Jacob Texeira, the son-in-law of S. Ximenes who in the previous year had inherited four *toniles* [barrels-full ?] each of a hundred thousand florins. When he saw us, though, his 'bones were seized with trembling' and he began to present us with complaints that S. Crasto had not behaved correctly. He was a Parnesss, and it had never been heard of that Parnesssim should start off [when raising money] because by doing so they obligate the people - and other such dreamt-up items of *politico*[182]: and, moreover, he should have consulted two or three others before signing and this is disrespectful: furthermore, how dare he sign for 50 - for now he could not sign for he had no strength, and so on. And all this with a scowling angry countenance full of anger.

S. Aaron, 'a man amongst men', overthrew and rebutted these puny arguments - 'children of weakness'[183], theses on the chapter 'The Great Miser'[184] and pretexts 'of hardship and withering'[185] - baseness is his [business]. Only through great importuning and appeals to friendship and honour did he [eventually] agree to sign. And he signed 'in trembling and sweating and quaking': for wrathful indeed [is he] - 'all variants of names for misers can he quote'[186]; no secret of baseness is witheld from him, and the

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181 Usual meaning 'beggar'; perhaps the meaning here is a flunkey who opens the doors.

182 Meaning 'sophistry'.

183 Contrast Num. 13:28.

184 Chap. 3 of Talmud Menahot *Ha-Qomets Rabba* the major (rabba) chapter, in contrd. from the smaller chapter 2, concerning the act of *qemitsa*, that is, the 'handful' (removed from a meal-offering for burning on the alter); the word is also used for grasping or miserly.

185 Psalms 92:4 'On the ten-stringed harp (*assor*) and the lute (*nevel*); *atsur* = oppressed, *navel* = withered, also *naval* = scoundrel or degenerate.

186 A complex pun within a pun: Tal. Hullin 18b R. Judah is so pedantic in his learning that he quotes even the variants of names of authors of Talmudic dicta. Embedded is the Talmudic comment on Num. 13:33 'men looking like grasshoppers (*qamtse*)'.

rules of meanness are fluent and ready in his mouth; thirteen camel-loads of *trefah*-queries[187] can he rule leniently but, in contrast, in the 'laws of obscurity'[188] he has succeeded in adding thirteen camel-loads of 'principles and particulars', 'augmentations and exclusions'[189] of miserliness! Nevertheless, despite himself he had to sign because in the summer-time he lives in a house in Marsche [Marken ?] owned by S. Aaron Capadoce and he had asked him to make certain repairs and building: S. Aaron had declined, so now he did this [signing] in order 'to have a mouth'[190]. But it is still miraculous, because one of the principles of a skinflint is that if he sees a future situation [developing] obligating him to give, he acts according to present conditions; but if by looking ahead this would give him an excuse for not giving, then he tells everyone that 'he is a wise man who can see the future' [?]. So here is the wonder - that 'he forgot his learning and overlooked the chapter' of avarice.

But let my mouth now speak thanks and praises to G-d for all that G-d hath favoured me - for before my arrival here the *g'virim* were in calico[191]. And one old *g'vir*, Thales [?] da Costa, had once said, "Emissaries - 'the chapter of their coming'[192] I do not learn! Especially since we once sent for one to become the Rav of our congregation and he refused; therefore, not one dignitary among 'the elders of the gate' should agree to become a *padrino* [for any of them]!" But when I arrived G-d gave me favour and they did me much honour; and without any effort [on my part] I had padrinos from among the greatest and wealthiest prominent members of the holy cong. and 'the nobly-born of the nation'[193]. In addition to this, all their business was now in the stock market and S. Capadoce was the leading

187 Hull. 95b Seeming to imply that this man is easy in matters of piety but observes carefully the 'laws' of avarice.

188 Tal. Ab. Zar. 41b *Hilkhot Imm'um* = laws of emergency; same root as 'dimness'.

189 Modes of Talmudical analysis.

190 To speak from moral high ground.

191 And the market collapsed.

192 Chap. 6 of Yebamoth 'He who comes'.

193 The Spanish *de la nacion*, preceded by an obscure word, *u-me-ha-veyihus* which looks like a corruption of *u-me-hame-yuhas* or *u-me-ha-yihus*.

figure holding a stock of thirty *toniles* in his own name and for the orphans of his brother-in-law S. Elisha Pereira. Everyone says that there is no one like him in these things - even S. Soasso, who is from a wealthy family, and the wealthy S. Fonseca who is one of the leading traders. Other emissaries had toiled long, they and intermediaries, including the Rav, before settling the matter of *padrinos* - not always of the most prominent. And all this when times were uncertain, and they were all suffering hardship because their activities were in shares and their capital was in London where the markets were at rock-bottom - for London was in chaos as a result of the war of the Americanos who had rebelled[194]. So these indeed are His mighty works, these indeed are his awesome ways - 'for from G-d hath gone out this thing' within 25 days of my coming here that S. Aaron had agreed to become my *padrino* without any trouble; and on the forty-second day from my coming I had gone with them for signatures. Praise the L-rd for He is good f.H.k.e.f.e.

Later we went to the house of S. Isaac Texeira, and even though he had been [lying] ill in a sick-bed for more then ten days, he received us and his son-in-law took the *pinqas* to his bed-room for him to sign. Then we went round all the houses of the men of the Ma'amad; but none of them was at home - or perhaps some did not want to receive us. So we left [visiting] cards in each house.

Adar 11

Tuesday: I returned from the synagogue with pains in my stomach. I had diarrhoea and was 'depressed and sullen'. I did not go for Minha but prayed at home. And similarly was my spirit anguished for HR A. Ze'evi was setting out on a journey and I wanted to escort him off; but 'bonds fell about me'[195].

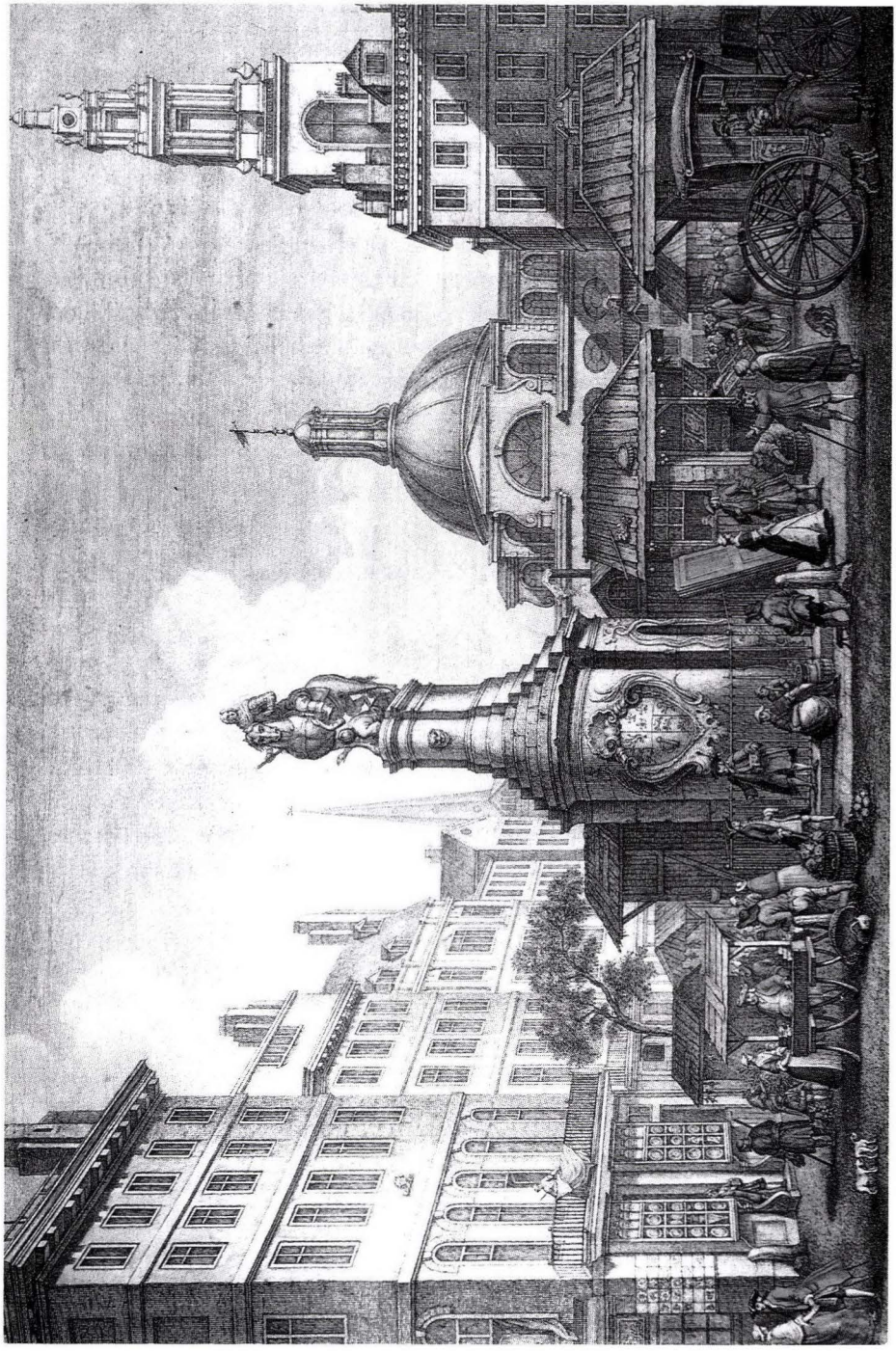
Adar 12

Wednesday: at nightfall I forced myself and took a *salia* and went to the city gates to escort the said HR A. May G-d lead him in safety and

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194 The American Revolution 1775 - 1781.

195 Psalms 16:6 *Havalim* = shares; also ropes.



The Stocks Market, London.

send him success in every thing and return him safely to his home with all his desires [fulfilled]. May thus be His will.

Now the said HR A. Ze'evi had appointed HR Aaron Ha-Cohen - son of HR Joseph Ha-Cohen of Jerusalem who had published *Divre Yosef*[196], *Zevah Ha-Shelomim* by his teacher R. Moshe Galanti and *Sha'are Yerushalayim*[197] - to be the Moreh [or Rav] in the town of Angora [?]. This son of his had been to America twice and he told me that he had found out that H. M. T.[198] had bought a *mulatto* [slave] there: she was a *goya* born from a negress and a white and she became his concubine and bore him a son. Even here in Amsterdam these are shocking tidings. And about HR H. M. [?], too, there was gossip that he had been involved with women, and there exist here *confites*[199] with writing inside of adulterous and salacious material which he possessed and had given to someone and so on. May G-d save us from such gossip so that the Name of Heaven should not become profaned through us.

Adar 13

Thursday: I fasted the Fast of Esther; but I was 'weak and broken'.

Adar 14

Friday, Purim night: they read the *Megillah* in the synagogue word for word and everyone could hear distinctly. I was reading from a beautiful *Megillah* - good writing, spacing and ornamentation - given to me as a gift from my dear friend HR Joseph Alvarez. I dined with him at the banquet in the day-time. Both he and his wife, and his father and mother, had prepared a wonderful and excellent meal: beautiful and immaculate, with all kinds of delicacies and muscat wine. I had a happy time there.

And on the Purim day R. Salem sent [me] a very large *pan hispanjado*[200], *portuguales* [= oranges] and lemons; I sent him a variety of

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196 v. Ben-Jacob p.104 probably #82.

197 v. Ben-Ya'aqov p.603 #1101, #1102.

198 Freimann suggests Hakham Mordekhai Tamah.

199 Sweets [Sp.]. Perhaps meaning rock-candy.

200 Should probably read *espanjado* = sponge bread or cake. The Spanish-Portuguese Jews evidently maintained all the old traditions.

finest sweetmeats. S. Medina and S. Mesquita sent [me] dairy foods and wine and S. Rabbi David Cohen Azavedo sent me a set of *Humash* [bible] in five volumes, beautifully bound and which had just been printed: it carries the title *Ezrat Sofer*[201].

Adar 15

The night of the h.S.: I spent this with the R. David aforem. and also there were HR Ts'vi the *Polacko* previously mentioned[202]. We had enjoyable time talking about words of Torah and other topics.

The Sabbath day was very cold: and they drew out the service at great length - as is their custom here. And I suffered greatly from the cold etc. When I arrived home I still felt unwell. Our host himself brought to us[203] dishes of food for our meal; but I told him that this was demeaning to him that I would join him at his table. He replied that it was not dignified for me to sit with the women and children and although I implored him he refused. And this was Divine providence because I felt quite ill and ate little, then, wrapped in my *samarra* I slept. But I still felt 'weak and broken'. I went to Minha then returned home and drank some tea.

Later I went to the house of the Rav OMR R. Saul nrv who had invited me for the 'Third Meal'. The Rav, his son, and all his household received me with great honour. Then they went off to pray Minha in his own synagogue there so I accompanied them and they called me up to the Sefer Torah. Afterwards we ate at his home together with his wife - she was a second wife - and his daughter-in-law, wife of R. Lev nrv, at the table. There were also a number of scholars there including R. Leib Rides[?]. I said the Grace after the meal.

Adar 16

Sunday, Va-yaqhel: The Rav kept me there and after Arvit we went back to his house. They had there a table on which was a model building, some two cubits high, of the royal courtyard [of Ahasuerus] with Mordecai,

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201 Or *Ezrat Ha-Sofer*, with commentaries ed. by R. Judah of Pisa.

202 Shevat 20.

203 R. HYDA's attendant Abraham (p. 170, Teveth 20) is probably the other person.

clothed in Persian [garb], sitting in the Royal Gate; and there was a palace with Esther inside on a couch with Ahasuerus and Haman falling on it; and on the other side of this tableau, the street ouside with Haman hanging [from the gallows]; and all around the model figures of soldiers surrounding it; and there were beautiful pictures with many colours. Now all this had been made, with the greatest skill, completely out of sugar! The work alone must be valued at many *sequini*[204]; I think this must be a gift that a group of dignitaries had sent to the Rav. The whole table was laden with delicacies, fresh fruits, cheese - on which was written 'Kosher for Passover' - and models of pickled cucumbers, out of sugar! It was a veritable 'table of kings'.

Soon, other scholars and dignitaries began to arrive, and the Rav began discoursing in words of Torah. I, too, spoke 'with what [accomplishment] the L-rd favoured His servant'. Then came all kinds of musicians; and the Rav said these were indeed like the 'lute and the lyre'. Then up rose from among this company 'one of the empty-headed churls' and gave a mock sermon: and he recited this in the holy tongue [Hebrew] in ragged rhyme [Sermon 5].

After some hours the Rav took us upstairs and we dined there at a magnificent banquet; but I was careful, because I really could not eat but I forced myself to eat a little bread and chicken. Grace After Meals was given by the Rav to S. Hakham David Azavedo: and he commenced by saying "With the permission of that outstanding Rav, the renowned Ga'on, the host[205]; and with the permission of the perfect Hakham S.D.R.[206]". After Grace we went downstairs. Then came all kinds of musical performers - beautiful!

The Rav sent for a *salia*, and we arrived home near to midnight. There we found a multitude of men and women and all kinds of music, and among them a group wearing masks, dancing and revelling. Then yet others arrived wearing all sorts of masks - *hagrin* [?] and *turkus* [?] and many more. But I went straight up to bed. I had stomach pains, but because I had

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204 The Turkish gold *sequin*, probably.

205 A rather daring improvisation of the usual formal form 'the host'!

206 This is certainly R. Saul mentioned previously. D.R. is puzzling, perhaps *doresh reshumot* - 'expounder of the occult'.

been careful they were only slight; and after midnight I slept well. In the morning my stomach was still upset and I continued to feel out of sorts for several days.

Adar 18

The night of Tuesday, Va-yaqhel: I spent this with R. Salem: I had to go there because I was feeling in weak spirits.

Adar 19

Wednesday: I heard 'an echo murmuring' and [saw] the town was gloomy - as a consequence of the drop in the markets in London. Word went around that the *g'virim* had suffered great losses. And this was a double blow to gentile and Jew alike - of the order of hundreds of thousand of florins and everyone suffered losses. S. Aaron Capadoce, who is the Head of the *Actionistas*[207] was 'twice hit'. As a result of this confusion I could achieve nothing in the matter of my mission. Moreover, there were people who were 'whispering and murmuring and complaining and growling' [against me]: some, because I had not visited them; others - a second [sin] - because when the Hakham Isaac ibn Dana [Abendana] de Breto died, the Honourable Officers in Constantinople had sent for me by express to the holy city of Jerusalem, and I had refused to come[208]: they then invited the Rav OMR H. Abualafia zl - who was then in Salonika - but he [merely] sent them a reply and went to Izmir. HR Salem had just had his [book] *Shoneh Halakhot* - printed there, and they took him [as Rav instead]. This refusal to come to them was such an indignity that now anything served as an excuse 'to brandish a spear', like my going to Egypt [then]. And there were others who were displeased with the printed letter, saying that it sang my praises; and since I had distributed it, it was not fitting that it should praise [me], especially since it described me as *divino* - that it to say, heavenly - and this is not right. And so on and so forth to a degree that as I heard all these things and saw the matter was getting ridiculous, my distress increased and my darkness turned to blackness; and for many reasons I passed that week in distress.

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207 Head of the Stock Exchange?

208 See Book 1, p. 146

Adar 22

Saturday: no-one invited me for Sabbath evening but I did not want to make this publicly known so I ate all three meals at home. Thanks to G-d.

Adar 23

Sunday, Piqqudey, the night after the h.S.: all night long they were celebrating in the streets with masks and other nonsense for the Purim which had just passed - as if the whole city belonged to them, with a great commotion in the city streets. Most of them are Ashkenazim - for there are more then three thousand Ashkenazi souls in Amsterdam. The city is free for them[209] but they take too much, as if they were the rulers and kings of the land - something amazing!

Adar 26

Wednesday: I spent this with the *g'virim*, the sons of S. Judah de Prado; and I was honoured there. During the day my frend S. Alvarez came and related some 'cobwebs' [of gossip] woven by his brother-in-law in honour[210] of his father[211] regarding the slander they had believed about me [namely] that I had been disrespectful towards him. There was no truth in it, but I still was most distressed. In addition I was distressed about the stock-market of which there are three kinds in London: bank shares, annuities and the [East] India Company. The capital stays fixed but they [the holdings] are traded and sometimes 100 [units] of the Company can be worth 200; and the annuities and bank [shares] each 100 worth 130 or 150. At this time, with the English in much trouble and involved with wars in America where they had rebelled against them, and Spain and France also in trouble, the Company [shares] had dropped to 150 and all the others from 100 to 60: this is a terrible loss. They also conduct business of 'air'[212]

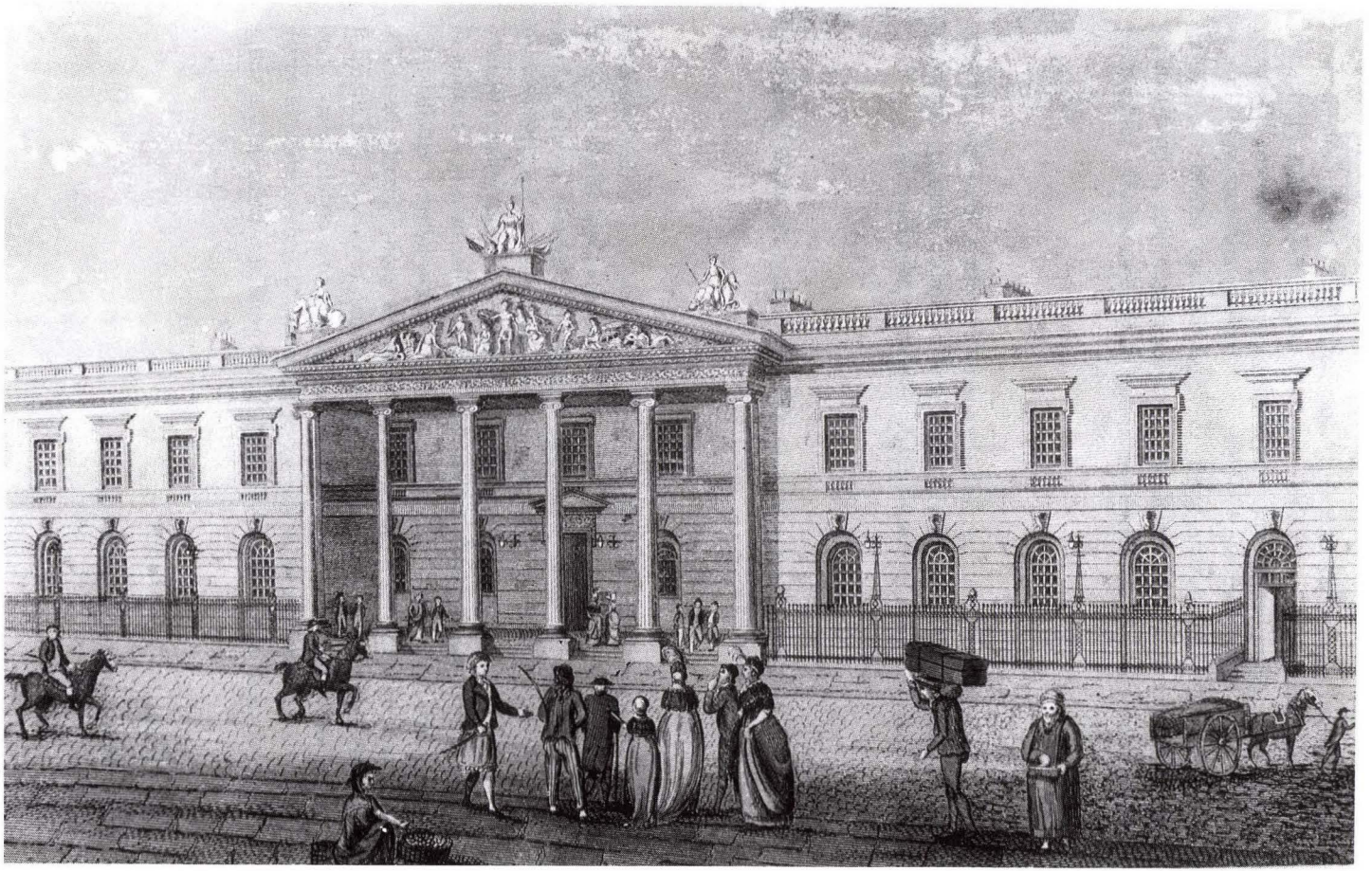
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209 No ghetto.

210 Probably cynical.

211 See entry under Shevat 13.

212 Insubstantial (cf. Yiddish *luft-gescheft*): futures trading.



East India House, London.

where one buys for one and a half per cent and sells several thousand pounds sterling at a rate of for each hundred RM[213] 150 in three month's time: when the time comes, if the rate drops the seller gains but if it rises he must make good the shortfall and the buyer has profited the difference. Thus many households went to ruin with tragedy and confusion since [a value] of 100 had become worth 60. And this had caused one gentile [broker] to crash for 300 thousand: and all the *g'virim* were in great trouble both on account of their own losses and of their losses with the said gentile broker [?].

Adar 27

Thursday: I went to visit some gentiles with S. ibn Dana: Britano, Pibelsman [?], Carlo Vernandi. They did me much honour, especially Pibelsman who gave me two pounds of home-made chocolate.

Adar 29

Saturday: I spent the Sabbath at home. During the night I was in an extremely bad mood.

Nissan 1

Sunday: the night after the h.S. [P.] Va-yiqra: I visited Rav Salem and he told me some amazing tales. One gentile who had killed an ox by hitting it and the earth swallowed him [?] up. Another gentile whose granary was swarming with mice gave instructions to burn the granary with the mice and was immediately struck dumb. A certain villager found a lump of rock salt in his flour from which the whole town had months of sustenance in a famine year. Once a flock of storks killed a female [stork] that had brooded on a goose's eggs. Another crafty gentile bought a thousand gold coins from the king, ground them to powder and mixed it with various spices and fine earth. Then he went to a certain town where there was a man skilled in the art of covering [?] and he smeared [small pieces to look like sweets]; but he had first gone around to all the shops

213 Some measure of quantity.

that sell spices, medicines and similar things and sold them this earth saying this is [special] earth from his town: he gave it some name and sold it cheaply so that every shop was selling it. Then he went back to the said artisan and said to him, "Look, I have a secret and I have found no man discreet and trustworthy as you to whom I can reveal my secret. For I know how to make alchemy: take a half-pound of that stuff (that he so named) and mix it with spices of such-and-such, then put it in fire and straightaway will gold come out from it!" He then asked him, "Do you wish me to send and obtain some of that compound for you?" He replied, "Yes"; so he went and bought some and - gold of several coins' weight came forth! His eyes lit up. He repeated this twice more. He [the artisan] was so grateful that he taught him the art of covering and although he said he had no use for it he tried almost by force to teach him! Soon afterwards he travelled away.

Next day I went with the *padrinos* for some 3 hours; but most of the householders did not receive us. May G-d bring this to a good conclusion; may thus be His will. We had gone first to R. Salem and the *padrinos* said to him that it would [indeed] have been [more] fitting to come to him on [this] Sunday with all 'the elders of the gate' and he replied, "I do not suspect you at all of intending to slight me!" After that we went to the community officials and then to other individuals. When we were not received we left a card as a record of our visit.

Nisan 2

Monday: [On the evening] I went to S. Isaac ibn Dana and he had gathered a large company - some 24 souls - of his relatives and friends. We were there some 3 hours smoking and drinking tea and eating light refreshment and such-like. I spoke about [the bad conditions in] the Land of Israel and about 'the five species [of corn]'[214] and related matters. Then I said to them, "I am distressed by your behaviour - for if you think all this is exaggeration and lies how can you regard yourselves as G-d fearing and Torah scholars? And if you take it as the truth why are your closed hearts not torn open to the warmth of your mercies? And if you say times are

214 The lack of these? The five species of grain are wheat, spelt, barley, oats and rye.

difficult why do you not close up your 'dough'[215] for your *comedias* [= entertainments] and other delights?"

I spent the day going around [to people] with the padrinos and, again, most of them did not receive us so mostly we left cards.

Nisan 3

Tuesday: we went in the evening to see the Ga'on OMR S[aul] nrv, and I spoke to him concerning the Ashkenazim; but I saw that he seemed cool and frosty.

Nisan 4

Wednesday: in the evening S. Capadoce arrived in a coach and we went to see S. Moses Soasso. Later, R. Salem arrived and I accorded him much honour. We both returned to my house and from there R. Salem left for home.

Nisan 5

Thursday: accompanied by my host[216] Jacob Melikman I went to visit R. Joseph the new Parnesss, and Leib Norben and Preger [sic] and then R. Zanwill, son-in-law of R. Toviah. Some people complained that I was late in making these visits; but I answered them according to their fashion.

Nisan 6

Friday: three hours after noon I went to the house of the GOMR S. nrv in order to accompany him to the consecration of the new synagogue which the Ashkenazim had built and to which I had been invited. We [?] went together with him into their Council chamber and already there were R. Salem and three of the Sephardi Parnesssim S. Mendes, S. Soasso and S. Zalzedo and their Parnesssim. At four of the clock their[217] Trustee stood

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215 The same American-English pun!

216 *Ba'al Ha-bayit* also means 'householder' i.e. a respected person so he is not necessarily the host of R. HYDA.

217 An unusual title and not used: possibly what we would call the president.

up and read from a scroll summoning the Rabbis of the two congregations; then he called some of their Parnesssim and the three Sephardi Parnesssim, and then me. We all went to their old synagogue where they chose [individuals] for holding a Sefer Torah and for taking taking them out and returning them to the Ark. They chose me to take a Sefer Torah from the Ark. Then the trustee stood up and called for the two Rabbis to walk with the person carrying the first Sefer Torah and that I should walk with him who was carrying the second Sefer Torah and so on, for all seven: and we walked thus to the new synagogue. Then they commenced to sing the songs that had been composed by their Rabbi and the service arranged by him. They then made 7 circuits [of the *almemar*]. The trustee read from a scroll who should be holding each Sefer of the seven for each circuit. For each of the first [three] circuits they gave a Sefer Torah to one of the Sephardi Parnesssim. At the end of the circuits they sang the poem composed by the Rav OMR S. The entire [service] had been printed and copies were distributed to all present. They then called the Rav OMR S. to replace the first Sefer Torah in the Ark, the second, R. Salem; the third, me; the fourth, the Rav OMR S., the fifth, R. Salem; the sixth, me; and the seventh, the Rav OMR S. Then the GOMR S. stood up in the synagogue and preached: [Sermon 6].

"... And I bless you all [continued R. Saul] that may it be His will that the Divine Presence should dwell on your works, and I on behalf of all of you will pronounce the benediction of 'Who has sustained us in life...'." He then pronounced the blessing 'with Name and kingship'[218]. R. Salem left at about six of the clock.

The Sephardi Parnesssim then remarked to me that we should pray Minha and Arvit there; and so we did. To begin with R. Salem had been sitting on the left of the Rav OMR S. on the Rabbi's chair; but after R. Salem left, the Rav OMR S. called to me to sit in his place.

Nisan 7

Saturday, the night of the h.S.: I prayed Arvit there. And they drew out [the service] with their songs: 'beneath all three did the venom

218 To include the phrase 'L-rd our G-d, King of the Universe' - the entire Benediction is normally reserved for formal liturgy; this was a somewhat secular event.

tremble[219]', according to their custom of singing with three voices or more - *Qabbalat Shabbat, Qiddush* and *Yagdil.* We left there at 8 of the clock. Next morning R. Salem preached in the Sephardi synagogue; and here is the essence of his words: [Sermon 7].

This is the sermon, more or less in its entirety. He had just now woken up to mention me and my mission at the end of his words; and had this not been the [Sabbath] of *Be-shalah*[220] it would have been of some benefit [?]. However, it does appear that this was so ordained beforehand, on account of a letter he had received from the 'princes of the hosts', the officials of Costa who were urging him this way[221].

Nisan 14

The holy Great Sabbath[222], Tsav: I ate unleavened bread - but only at night: in the day-time I ate rich bread [leaven].

I was annoyed and angry that it not enter the hearts of any of them to invite me for the night of the Passover: I was used while in Italy to multitudes fighting over who should have me as guest but here - no sound or utterance, not even a hint!

Nisan 15

The night of the Passover: we made a Seder by ourselves. The truth is, I was not feeling too well; but I said nothing that night, and during the Seder itself I felt 'middling'. During the day a few of those 'among the names' came to visit me: but a child could count them.

Nisan 16

I went myself to visit the rabbis and some of my friends; and likewise each day of *Hol Ha-Moed*[223]. Also, R. Salem came to visit me

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219 Clearly an *eress-erets* pun but the source is not known.

220 Commencing at Ex. 13:17.

221 Presumably they, too, wished to send their emissary.

222 Immediately preceding Passover.

223 The intermediate (work allowed) days of the Festival.



Exterior of the Portuguese Synagogue, Amsterdam.

during *Hol Ha-Moed*: it was a wintry day, with snow, and he came in a *salia*. We discussed the question of reciting of the *Hallel* on the night of Passover: for R. Abraham Fidaneq[224] expresses surprise that in Sec. 487 the *Shulhan Arukh* quotes the custom of the Sephardim to recite the 'Hallel' in the synagogue, but this is not mentioned in *Beth Yosef*[225]. So I told him that it is, indeed, mentioned in the *Beth Yosef* - but in Sec. 443! I also told him that Rabbi Joseph Cohen, Head of the Beth Din in Tunis, had found a support for this custom in [the Talmudic tractate] *Erkhin [*or *Arakhin]* but that I had refuted this, as I have written in *Birkey Yosef*.

Nisan 21

The night of the h.S., the Seventh-day of Passover: I did not feel well, and during the day-time, too, I was in a black mood. Most of the Festival the attention to my matters was 'cold and frosty' because S. Aaron Capadoce was so busy with his affairs - and he had also lost 14 thousand florins in shares - that he was negligent in helping my collection. Many people were offended that he did not approach them - especially S. Isaac Gutieres. So I went to visit him: and flames were leaping from his mouth against the *padrinos* and their neglect and woeful conduct towards me! He gave the appearance of being solicitous about me; but I had already had experience of him and knew he was not to be trusted - except 'as a man of words' for reviling others. Since the night of Sabbath *Zakhor* he had turned away his eyes and never visited me and had distanced himself from me exceedingly; although that night he had invited me for Passover 'he annuls it in his heart and that is sufficient'[227]. But, truthfully, I was distressed concerning the matter of the *recolte* [?], what with S. Aaron also being in pain with rheumatism all through the Passover and not leaving his house. And S. Soasso had said he would make efforts [on my behalf] but he, too, had trouble with his legs and did not go out during Passover. And I was

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224 Not found in Shem Ha-Gedolim.

225 R. Joseph Caro is the author both of this clasical comentary on *Arba Turim*, forerunner of the *Shulhan Arukh*, and of the latter.

226 The Sabbath preceding Purim Deut. 25:17-19 is added to the reading.

227 One who is unable physically to destroy his leaven on Passover.

devastated. 'To Thee I lift up mine eyes, Who dwellest in Heaven. In Him does my heart trust and I have been helped'. He will [continue to] help me for the sake of His glorious Name: Amen, may thus be His will.

I was in addition annoyed and angry about the antics of Abraham[228]. He had gone out one night close to midnight, and had gone to S. Azavedo's house and banged on the door until they opened it. Then after midnight he had come home. On other nights he had wandered around in the streets like a madman shouting *Ya fatah, ya razaq, ya 'aleem*[229] as do the lame and blind Ishmaelites in Arabistan. Just imagine how a man is regarded who does such crazy things in Amsterdam. And as for his gluttony and greed 'for drawing wine into his flesh' - he drank all the wine we had in our bottles leaving hardly enough for *Qiddush* and *Havdalah*. He would also stand there, when an important person arrived, performing *ceremonia* like the ladies in our land [saying] "*Venga en buena hora*"[230] - 'and there was embarrassment enough'. He would also peer through windows to hear what people were saying; and other idiotic acts in the house of S. Azavedo and the house of S. Benjamin; and everything caused my heart anguish. He is not worth talking to: I quote about him the verse 'if you will grind up a fool...'[231]. And he answers back brazenly. May it be His will to shorten my exile and build for me 'a faithful house'[232] and rescue me from such things and their like, for I can no longer bear these troubles from within and from without. But I thank His blessed Name for everything: blessed is he who grants good to the guilty and Who has done me only good.

Nisan 24

Tuesday, Shemini: I went to visit R. Salem and also to comfort S. Aaron Lombruzo whose wife had died. In the evening I received a visit from the GOMR S. and his son; and we enjoyed discussing Torah for nearly 3 hours.

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228 R. HYDA's wayward assistant.

229 'O, victorious one, conqueror, mighty one' [?].

230 'Come in good time'. (Probably the only Spanish sentence he knew).

231 Prov. 27:22.

232 He had not yet re-married.

Nisan 25

Wednesday: Rabbi Hirsch of Bolekhov related to me that he had heard from the mouth of 'a teller of truth' that the Ga'on OMR Rav Heschel, in the year 5408 [1648], went to Vienna. The Head of the Beth Din there at that time was OMR S[heftel][233], author of *Vavey Ha-Amudim*, and he did not pay much heed to R. Heschel. R. Heschel asked him to explain a certain passage from the *Tosafot*[234]; he replied he would study it and give him a reply. He studied the passage 'but could do nothing'[235]. He fasted and wept and prayed until there came to him in a dream the father of the said [R. Sheftel], author of Sh'LaH[236], and explained the words of the *Tosafot*; and he warned him to take care in honouring Rav Heschel because his is the soul of Rabbenu Tam[237]. Afterwards the Rav OMR S. sent to R. Heschel to come to his synagogue and accorded him great honour and told him the explanation of the *Tosafot*, whereupon R. Heschel declared in a public oath that this could only have been a revelation from Heaven.

He also related to me that R. Heschel was once engaged in studying the Halakha and on reading a certain statement by MaHaRSA became so incensed that he threw the book on the floor; and he was distressed that people spoke so highly of the MaHaRSA and how mistaken he [R. Heschel?] had been. It so happened that there was a young lad there and he engaged him in discussion which led eventually to his mentioning the words of the MaHaRSA and the lad remarked that perhaps the intention of the MaHaRSA are such-and-such. The Rav was confounded, for he realised that the MaHaRSA was correct. He vowed never to write another book since even he had not succeeded in grasping the MaHaRSA's words and had been disrespectful to him, and thus should his own book be treated.

He further related the Rav ShaCh[238] had once run for 6 hours by the

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233 Son of the *Sh'LaH* - see note 236 below.

234 The classical 11th- and 12th-century Talmudic analysts.

235 'Could not find his hands' - did not know how to tackle the problem.

236 R. Isaiah (Ha-Levi) Horovits author of the authoritative halakhic work *S'hney Luhot Ha-Brith* (also v. Sermon 10).

237 The illustrious Tosafists, grandson of Rashi, R. Jacob ben Me'ir, b. Ramerupt [Romrog] 4860 [1100] - d. Troyes 4931 [1171]. *Tam* is a surname.

238 R. Shabbetai Ha-Cohen, one of the classic and authoritative commentaries on Shulhan Arukh.

R. Heschel's coach showing him his manuscript of the ShaCh; and he [R. Heschel] had told him he had made a certain error, but nevertheless, he should carry on writing. He also declared that the ShaCh knew the divine 'Name of Writing' and he used to speak and the pen wrote of its own accord, and because of this he was able to write so many books. All this he had heard from *Ge'onim* - these 'veritable words of truth'. And I too have heard similarly that the ShaCh knew a divine 'Name for Seeking' enabling him to make immediate references.

In the evening, before, Minha, I went to see S. Moses Soasso and stayed there until Minha-time pleading with him to help with the collection. And he is as sweet as honey - soft, of noble descent,shy and charming. After Minha I went with S. Azavedo to the house of S. Isaac Pasquale; and he accorded us very great honour. We were joined there by S. Isaac Ha-Cohen Belinfante the cantor; and he was extolling the praises of a book he was writing of stories, songs, and a lexicon of rabbis, authors and their biographies[239].

Nisan 26

Thursday: R. Salem came in the morning and stayed about 3 hours recounting stories of his activities while in Bialogard [?].

After Minha I went to the personage R. Jacob Segal; and he is a scholar.

Nisan 27

The eve of Friday: I went to visit a wealthy gentile merchant, Vernandi, in S. Medina's carriage accompanied by S. Bueno di Mesquita. When we arrived there he accorded us great honour and he gave me two letters of recommendation, for London and for Turin. There were a number of gentile ladies there playing cards. When I entered I sat at one end of the room and the merchant came there and greeted me warmly. He was joined by a priest and they asked me about Jerusalem, and whether there is any indication or 'sign or revelation' that this was [indeed] Jerusalem. I gave answers to all their arguments and I think they were accepted. I sat there for a little less than an hour, then the carriage arrived and I returned home.

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239 *Si'ah Itshaq*, 1869.

Nisan 28

Saturday, the h.S.: the Hakham R. David Leon preached for about three quarters of an hour in 'Portuguese rhetoric' and it found grace and favour in everyone's eyes. And this is the essence of his sermon: [Sermon 8].

Nisan 29

Sunday, Thazri'a, the term. of the h.S.: I spent a little while at the home of S. R.D.C. Azavedo to drown my sorrows with him and with his sons. In the morning after prayers - 'trouble sprouting!'[240] - on account of Abraham quarreling with the mistress of the house: he had said harsh words about her husband and his household. And my [own] ears had heard [him], and I straightaway went out to close his mouth - although he did immediately apologise to them. Then S.R. Joseph Azavedo came to tell me about certain things people had said to his father-in-law impugning his honour, which were false; and I had various other minor matters like this [to attend to]. After Minha I recited the Benediction for Trees [in Blossom] in the garden of the said S. R.D.C.

For nearly all that week I was very distressed at the continuation of those circumstances causing S. Capadoce to be 'blackened with a black bitterness'. There was 'no going or coming' [in his house]; neither was it possible to send messages to him. His secretary, S. Abraham de Veiga [?] was of no help - either because he was exceedingly lazy; or because S. Yehi'el[241] had incited him to annoy me and be unhelpful by telling him such tales as, for example, I had been disrespectful towards his father; or that his soul was too pure to be concerned with the honour of the Torah or the Land of Israel. You might well say '(in) the presence of all three'[242] - 'three are the sins': 'behold he is straying' [?]. One day I had gone to see him, about two hours before noon - and he was at home - but he sent to say that 'it was not convenient'. Thus it was altogether an extremely trying week for me. May He who has mercy [etc.].

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240 Gen. 1:11 *esev* = grass; *etzev* = sorrow or trouble.

241 Hitherto unmentioned.

242 Talmudic reference to a three-way agreement.

New Moon, Iyar

Monday: I went to the home of R. Salem and beseeched him to speak to the President [of the community], S. Isaac Crasto to 'settle my dispute'; and he promised me he would do this.

Iyar 1

The eve of Tuesday, New Moon: I spent this with the GOMR S. nrv, and we talked about a matter from a book of Cabbalah and histories and stories of OMR Ha'm Vital - blessing is in the memory of the righteous! - from the 'Book of Visions', in manuscript.

Iyar 3

Tuesday morning just before noon: an oppressive darkness [enveloped me] - I am blackened, 'and getting blacker'[243] because of the troubles in the city and the neglect of the fathers in not begetting offspring, not being concerned with being fruitful and multiplying nor with mating together in order to give birth[244] [as it says] 'and charity will sprout forth'. Like one going out 'to the quiet of the land'[245] I went by coach to to visit S. Texeira but he told me that he was suffering from sickness. So I went home and they told me that in my absence S. Capadoce had come by coach with his nephew the doctor and finding me out had gone away. I was upset and annoyed about this because I had been longing for this [visit] for weeks and now that it had come I had upped and away without seeing his face; I was very distressed. In the meantime Doctor S. Moses Rodriguez arrived looking for S. Capadoce, [whom he thought was] with me, and I told him [what had happened]: and he too was annoyed. Then S. A.d.V[eiga] also came and he also asked me what S. Capadoce had said. I told him [what had happened] and he said it was a pity. But blessed be G-d - for after Minha he came [again] and I discussed my matter with him and he promised to settle it.

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243 *Shahor* = black; *shih'rur* = freedom. 'Freed [from bondage]' is a common phrase. Other 'black' puns are similar.

244 A strange passage of uncertain meaning.

245 Psalms 35:20 The precise meaning here is uncertain as, indeed, is the key word *rigg'ey* in the verse.

Iyar 4

The Friday: I was distressed by a letter I received from my son-in-law, ytv; neither was I pleased with the letter of AHLI [?]. I resolved not to write any letters that week.

Iyar 5

Seventh, the h.S.: for the night-time [meal] I was with S. Joseph Bueno de Mesquita; and his elder son S. David and his wife also came. [Living] there with him were his two [younger] sons, Isaac and Jacob, and their sisters, all five of them, all grown up and pillars of the house. We all sat at the table until nearly midnight.

As soon as we had arrived there Abraham went away [somewhere], and we were anxious. Later [when he came back], he did not want to enter [the house] because he was annoyed with our host. So I went out and brought him in.

The day of the h.S. R. Isaac Cohen Belinfante preached and this is the substance of his sermon: [Sermon 9].

This is his sermon in short; but he lengthened it with rhetoric and elegant phrases.

Iyar 6

Sunday, Aharey, the night of the term. of the h.S.: I went to the house of S. Moses ben Isaac Israel Soasso since this was the eve before the circumcision of his son. There was exactly a minyan and we spent a quarter of an hour there in learning from the holy scriptures and a chapter and some lines from the *Zohar* in the book *Brit Yitshaq* [The Covenant of Isaac] - the shortened version - recently published. Then I took a *salia* and went home and I drank some coffee.

Next morning, an hour before mid-day, I went to the circumcision where I found all the Parnesssim his [S. Soasso's] friends. They made me stay for the meal which was consisted of *botramas* [?] and various sweetmeats. I did not 'wash hands' [for eating bread] but only ate some sweetmeats and chocolate. Only the Parnesssim, the *Hazanim* [synagogue officials] and relatives were invited. The Grace after Meals was recited by Hazan Silva.

Iyar 7

Monday: in the morning R. Ts'vi [of] Bolekhov[246] came to visit me. He told me that the father of his grandfather R. Samuel of Freiersdorf had [once] been in Eisenstadt where there was a *Maggid*[247]. He told me the following: [Sermon 10].

This Monday was a bad day for me because the Ma'amad had turned me away empty-handed on account of a letter they had received from Costa. I could also see the long drawn-out matters of the 'fathers' [?] therefore 'I am brutish and am know not' what to do; only have I trusted and will I trust in G-d - He will take me out into the light for the sake of His mercies and will send us success in all things. Amen, may thus be His will.

Iyar 10

Thursday: The *padrinos* S. Aaron Capadoce and S. Moses de Isaac Israel Soasso ytv came to see me and we discussed the questions of the Ashkenazim and of London. They were very congenial towards me.

Iyar 12

Saturday, the night of the h.S.: I was with the *g'virim* the brothers Ss. Jacob, Abraham Isaac and Aaron de Judah de Prado; and they accorded me much honour at 'a table of kings'. May their reward from Heaven be double.

On Sabbath-day R. David Meza preached and he 'threw stones'! - for his entire sermon was about why 'the evil inclination' is referred to as a 'stone', and he drew this out for about an hour: [Sermon 11].

Iyar 13

Sunday, P. Emor: in the evening the above-mentioned gentlemen [?] and I went by chaise to the Council of the Ashkenazim. We attended at the meeting and there were many discussions and the matter was left for Wednesday.

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246 V. p. 242

247 A *Maggid* is a learned preacher, often itinerant; but here the strict translation is 'he had a '*Maggid*'' meaning a heavenly mentor. This phenomenon is rare but well documented.

When we went out into the street there were some two hundred Jews waiting to look at us!

Iyar 14

Monday: I spent the evening with the Ga'on, Head of the Beth Din of the Ashkenazim[248] and he was exceedingly welcoming.

Iyar 15

Tuesday: I spent some time with R. Salem after Minha.

Iyar 16

Wednesday evening: the *padrinos* came and we went to the Council of the Ashkenazim by chaise and the matter was settled satisfactorily. Thanks be to G-d! The Ga'on OMR S. was there and he had entreated on my behalf and it was written in the *pinqas* that in honour of the Rav and his entreaty they made this donation; for [only] in the month of Adar had the Hakham R. A. Ze'evi, their own emissary, left here and it was hardly two months since his departure. And this is in truth His kindness in giving into their hearts to do me good. P.t.L.f.H.i.g. for His mercy endureth for ever; and blessed is His glorious Name and exalted above all blessing and praise.

Iyar 18

Friday: in the afternoon we went with S. Samuel Bueno de Mesquita (*barur mubri medina*[249]) to the Gardens of the Municipality of the Town[250] for the purpose of obtaining a medicine. Over the entrance is written '*Hortus Medicus*'. Verily, the eye cannot tire of gazing on the beauty and the order and the arrangement of the herbs and plants; and the cleanliness and all the human skill in everything. There is a pot for each sapling and written on it is the name from the catalogue of plant varieties. There are herbs from America, Portugal, Turkey - all in rows 'according to their kind'.

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248 R. Saul (v. p. 236).

249 Sic. A totally mysterious phrase and a rare use of brackets.

250 The Botanical Gardens.

The walls[251] have turret-like [bowed ?] windows and large doors of glass while below is an enclosure where fires are burning and by means of this heating they are able to grow in this cold climate. I also saw there trees of coffee and of tea, and a tree from Portugal from whose trunk they take cork for bottles - for this comes, indeed, from a tree with [ordinary] branches and twigs; also, a fig-tree from America with very wide leaves; and a tree of aloes, which is about the height of a man, the trunk growing each years by the width of two, or one and a half, fingers and, in about 80 years, grows to its full height then producing long branches, several cubits in length in a year, and bearing blossoms; and many varieties of flowers, herbs and grasses - everything beautifully laid out in fine order.

Iyar 19

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: R. David Leon preached the sermon and this is the substance of his sermon in short: [Sermon 12].

Iyar 21

Monday, Behar: I went by carriage with the *padrinos* to see the Ashkenazi Parnesssim but we only found two [at home]; all the rest, we were told, were not at home.

Iyar 22

Tuesday: accompanied by that worthy young man Klonymus, I went to the Parnesssim and some other individuals; and again on Wednesday and Thursday. Some of them donated small amounts.

Iyar 24

Thursday: in the evening I went to the house of S. Aaron Capadoce. S. Soasso also came there and we made an accounting of all the monies that had come in, and it was written down in a book. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.k.e.f.e.

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251 Evidently of the pavilion for tropical plants.

On Tuesday I had already commenced visiting the members of the Ma'amad and all the worthies *de la nacion*; and whomever we found not at home we left visiting cards as aforem.

Iyar 26

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: for the evening meal I was at the house of S. Moses Henriques Medina and I was very happy. Thanks be to G-d.

Next day R. Isaac Cohen Belinfante preached, and this is the essence of his sermon in short: [Sermon 13].

After the prayers, most of the Parnesssim and many of the important personalities came to visit me because they knew I would be be departing in peace [that week].

Iyar 27

Sunday, the first of Ba-midbar: I went by *calesso* together with S. Capadoce to the 'Ma'amad' to give them thanks. Later, R. Salem came to visit me.

Iyar 28

Monday: the GOMR S. came to visit me and towards the end of the day S. Medina came with the carriage to take me to the ship. As I went out of the doorway of the courtyard there were some two hundred people there to escort me. When I reached the boat there were some thirty people waiting there; and I received much honour.

Iyar 29

Tuesday: we travelled by barque to Leyden and this took a night and a day. In the morning we hired a —[252] to go from Leyden to the village of Gillisdam[253] and from there we took another barque to The Hague. There we were met by a carriage sent by S. Pinto and we rode to

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252 There is a w. missing. They probably hired a carriage.

253 Leidschendam?

the guest-house of David Henriques. We were accompanied all the way from Amsterdam to The Hague by the lad Klonymos mentioned earlier.

Sivan 1, New Moon

Wednesday, Ba-midbar: I went to see the *Hazan* R. Solomon Saruco and I handed him all the documents. Afterwards I went to see the Rav, the *Ga'on* and *Hasid* [Pious One], OMR Saul Segal, brother-in-law of OMR S[aul] of Amsterdam - for he married his [R. Saul's] sister, the daughter of the Ga'on OMR R. Aryeh Leib. And they say about this woman that she is very learned and modest and writes poetry. She once wrote a verse and erroneously wrote a *khaf* for a *het*, and when her brother OMR S. wrote pointing her mistake, she straightaway wrote back 'and those that trust in G-d shall exchange their strength'[255]! And the said *Hasid* received us with great honour.

That evening I went to visit R. Moses de Pina, the President [of the community], and the illustrious and noble R. Toviah Boaz who is 83 years old who has been blessed with sons who are the great men of the city, and with great wealth and who is a great and influential personage and friend in the halls of Government. And they inclined exceedingly much kindness towards me.

Sivan 2

Thursday: R. Abraham, son of the abovem. R. Toviah, accompanied by two other dignitaries, came to visit me; also came the said Ga'on [R. Saul Segal] and R. Leib, son of OMR S. of Amsterdam[256], who has come here for a holiday. They all accorded me much honour.

In the evening the *Hazan* R. Solomon Saruco came to see me, and three other *g'virim* also came. May G-d bring this matter to a goodly conclusion; may thus be His will.

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254 See Seligman, *De Hoogduitsche Joden in's Gravenhage*, Van Zuiden, Den Haag, 1923. (Freimann).

255 *Koah* (= strength) is spelled with the two letters *kaf-het*.

256 Namesake of the the Ga'on R. Leib mentioned above.

Sivan 4

Saturday: I dined on the Sabbath-day with the dignitary R. Toviah Boaz, and they did me great honour there. I stayed there [some time], delighting in the company of R. Abraham his son, R. Abraham Nancy, and the young men R. Moses Lehren a pupil of the GOMR R. Hillman and R. Simeon Qa'its-Bayit[257]. We prayed Minha there and afterwards we went to the house of the Rav and then strolled in the garden of the synagogue. And we discussed Torah matters. All the Parnesssim came there to do me honour.

When I returned to my house I was informed that dignitaries of the Portuguese had come to visit me and had found I was not at home.

Sivan 5

Sunday, Nasso: on the eve of the Festival I went to see the Rav. And I performed the ritual immersion in the *miqvah* of the Ashkenazim.

Sivan 6

Monday: the evening of the Festival of Shavuot I sat [up through the night] alone with R. H.D.A[zevedo]. We read [from the Scriptures] as is customary until dawn; and the night was only four and a half hours in length. In the morning we went to the house of the Rav and performed immersion in the miqvah and prayed there. And they called me up to the Sefer Torah.

In the evening R. Abraham Boaz, and many other people accompanying him, came to visit me.

Sivan 7

Tuesday, the second day of the Festival: I visited the Gabbay, brother-in-law of the *padrino*. Then I went to dine with the dignitary R. Toviah. I stayed there enjoying the company of the abovem. young men. Then we went for a walk in the main square which is a beautiful thoroughfare. The entire city is beautiful, and it is like one big garden. In the evening the Parnesssim of the Ashkenazim came to visit me.

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257 Zomerhuizen (v. p.263).

Sivan 8

Wednesday: I went to visit the Ashkenazi Parnesssim and they accorded me great honour; R. Isaac Levi Leyden in particular wrought wondrously. Then I went to visit the Rav and R. Simeon Boaz. I stayed with the aforem. young men till nightfall discussing the subject of the *Ba'al Shem*[258] and similar topics. I was verily delighted by them: they are scholars and keen-witted and of a pleasant nature. Indeed, all R. Toviah's household and grandchildren are courtly. In truth, I received much honour here. May G-d conclude it well.

Sivan 9

Thursday: I went with the Hazan R. Solomon Saruco, in the carriage of S. Pinti[259] the President, to go around to the houses of the Sephardi 'the benefactors of the nation' - but we made nothing! Some were at home and promised donations; others were not at home. We finally arrived at the home of Abraham Ha-Cohen Faro Salazar and his wife donated one florin and he four florins.

He showed us some stones that had issued from kidneys - may the Merciful One protect us! - some of them round but some with grooves. He also showed us a portrait of R. Jacob Sasportas; and all the vessels of the Temple in many models, each one beautifully formed. We then went for a meal at the home of R. Isaac Saruco his [the Hazan's] son. He made a wondrous banquet, indeed - arranged with plenty and with cleanliness. I had not wanted Abraham [my assistant] to come there, for that morning, while sitting in the carriage, I had invited R. David to come[260], and Abraham wanted to come as well; but I told him to stay behind. He brazenly insisted on coming when I asked S. David to go with me - and in the end he followed us on foot! And we were embarrassed. The Hazan

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258 It is not clear whether this refers to R. Israel Baal Shem Tov the founder of the Hassidic movement, or one of several great Rabbis with this title 'Possessor of the (great) Name'. There was also the Ba'al Shem of London who was a controversial figure.

259 Previously referred to as de Pina.

260 Not mentioned so far in the narrative; unless this is the same R. H.D.A. referred to above whom R. HYDA appears to be lodging.

shouted at him but he kept on saying he wanted to come in. Then I pleaded with him to go back; he laughed, but went away.

Sivan 10

Friday: I went with Nehemiah, the scribe, to see the forest near the city on the way to Amsterdam. We walked for about a half hour: it was like a big garden. I then decided to go back because I could not walk any more.

Sivan 11

The day of the h. S.: after prayers I went to visit the Rav whose hand was swollen. There were other scholars there and I said a few words of Torah. In the meantime, the venerable R. Boaz hhad come to visit me, together with some other dignitaries, and found I was not at home; so the young men R. Moses Lehren, pupil of R. Hillman, and R. Simeon Qa'its-Bayit came along to take me back to dine with the said R. Toviah Boaz. They honoured me there tremendously. I said some words of Torah at the table and afterwards we went upstairs and sat talking, mainly words of Torah, until Minha-time. We went to the synagogue of the Ashkenazim for Minha; and they gave me [the honour] of opening the Ark, and also an *aliyah* to the Sefer Torah; and altogether they accorded me very great honour. Then we went down to the garden of the synagogue, and there were gathered Parnesssim and community leaders and scholars. There, too, I spoke for about an hour and a half, words of Torah on various subjects. After that we went to R. Toviah for the Third Meal; and there at the table I also spoke some words of Torah. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

The *g'vir* R. Toviah and his son both asked me to come and live with them, and they would give a 'redemption'[261]; but I declined.

Next morning they honoured me with opening the Ark in the Sephardi synagogue where S. D.H.A. ytv was presenting a Sefer Torah. At the meal afterwards R. Abraham [Boaz] began recounting various stories about China: their customs, and that in their religion the masses serve an idol as an intermediary, but the heads do believe in a single Deity; it is a very large country with a large population, and the king always has ready

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261 Meaning, presumably, a special donation in repayment of this honour.

a standing army of seven hundred thousand men. R. Abraham also said that he has evidence that some of the [Lost] Tribes are in north America, and that a learned [gentile] priest had been there and spoken to them.

Sivan 12

Sunday, Be-Ha'alothekha: in the morning R. Abraham Boaz, together with the said R. Moses and R. Simeon, arrived at my house in a carriage to take me and S. David to the village of Scheveningen on the sea shore. They did me great honour and we spent some four hours there. They told me remarkable things about the *'Ba'al Shem'* of London, Samuel Falk son of R. Joshua Falk - that he wears a coat of gold with letters inscribed that he had made himself; and that he had a sword that could fly; and that he spent much time in forests and by the sea shore in contemplation. He claimed that he was working for the good of the world and that he was descended from the tribe of Judah; and that no-one had been able to do such works for 400 years; and that he was king of the land of Tuval[262] where he [Tuval ?] had gone 'over the paths of the sea'; and that Joseph de la Reina[263] and R. Judah the Hasid[264] had also engaged in matters like his, and similar things of nonsense like having walked in a forest dating from the Six days of Creation. But what is 'revealed'[265] is that he is very wealthy.

We dined with the Hazan S. R.S. Saruco and he honoured us wonderfully. Then he took us up to his chamber and I saw there the book *Hesheq Shelomo*[266], in manuscript, that he had written at the time he became the Hazan in the Sephardi Synagogue of The Hague called by the name 'Honen Dal'. It contains some simple matters concerning customs relating

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262 Gen. 10:2

263 A controversial Cabbalist of the 17th century who made Messianic predictions.

264 'The Pious' - one of the great 12th century (d.1217) scholars and author of *Sefer Hasidim*; J. de la Reina is unidentified.

265 I.e. unlike his Cabbalism.

266 Not to be confused with an important work (a commentary of the Mishnah) of the same name; this is clearly a more dilletantish work.

to praying, and some pieces from the *Rishonim*[267]; and at the end some ideas and responsa of his own concerning the illness of pox, errors in [the writing of] a Sefer Torah, salting [in koshering of meat], and the [correct] reading of [words with] the accent in the final syllable - four or five points, no more.

After Minha we went to the Parnesss Moses de Pinto, son-in-law of Moses de Pinto - and his small son is also called Moses de Pinto! His mother-in-law has an income of sixty thousand florins a year as dividends from investments she has in London. He showed us some of the magnificence of his wealth: twelve chairs, each worth 100 *sequinos*, each embroidered with pictures of the most wonderful tapestry-work and a matching canape worth sixty *sequinos*; a bureau so beautifully polished that he did not even want to tell us how much it was worth; an *espineta* [= spinet], which is a big and wondrous musical instrument; exquisite crystal chandeliers with crowns on top made in London; and his garden, and other things. He regaled us with fruits and delicacies, and everything immaculate. All his brothers-in-law were there, the sons of S. Moses de Pinto, and S. Moses Soasso and S. Isaac Soasso; and the graceful ladies who all honoured us so with charm and welcoming countenances. We sat with the Hazanim until an hour before midnight and then they sent for a carriage to take us home.

Sivan 13

Monday: we visited the dignitary R. Eliezer, son of R. Ber Kahn the illustrious dignitary of Frankfurt-am-Main. Two hours before Minha we went with the Hazan and his son, in a carriage sent by S. Benjamin Texeira, to a [Botanical] Garden. They welcomed us warmly and we strolled around the garden. It is very large and there is a lake with fish; and there are statues in the forms of little boys and girls, one as with a headache, another brandishing a weapon and similar; and growing in it are strawberries, melons, and pineapples from America, grapes and all types of vegetables and beans for the table; and beautiful lilies and other lovely flowers, and various herbs from America and other plants - the eye cannot be sated with looking!

We then returned to the house where we found the table all laden with delicacies: and we recited the benediction [for new fruits] '..Who has

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267 'The firsts' - authors from the 11th - 14th centuries.

sustained us in life etc.' over melon. We were accorded with huge honour. Then we went to the synagogue for Minha.

Sivan 14

After praying Minha we went to Baron Soasso by carriage where were gathered a number of *g'virim* who were his relatives; and they regaled us with great honour at a table laden with delicacies!

I saw there a tiny Sefer Torah two handbreadths in size exquisitely written on shining parchment - something beautiful; and its tiny Ark 'the wood tasting of money's worth'[268] also something beautiful. I also saw a Megillah [Scroll of Esther] in the finest script, the [page] height being less than a thumb. Then we returned home by carriage in peace.

During these days Abraham was causing me annoyance. 'Day and night there is no cease' of his feet pacing over the wood [floor].

Sivan 15

Wednesday: in the morning R. Simeon Kahn, grandson of R. Moses Kahn of Mainz, sent a carriage to fetch me to his house, together with the scholarly R. Abraham Nancy who was the tutor in the house of the dignitary R. T.B.[269]. So I went on the visit and found R. Toviah Boaz there and he did me great honour. His young son R. Joseph [who was also there] asked me a question about whether a tree which had been uprooted with its clod of earth and re-planted was again liable for *Orlah*[270]. I answered him saying that the RaShBA in a Responsum - quoted by Our Master [i.e. *Shulhan Arukh*] in Sec. 294 - discusses this question and that the PMA[271] Part 2, Sec. 85 sides with him to take the stricter course. And he, too, accorded me very great honour. They sent for a carriage to take us home.

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268 A double pun the Talmudic exegesis on Gen. 1:11 that the wood tasted like the fruit, and another Talmudic reference to payment in kind.

269 Toviah Boaz.

270 Lev. 19:23 This law has tremendous implications when planting potted fruit trees.

271 *Perah Mateh Aharon* by R. Aharon Ha-Cohen Perahia of Saloniki. This is a rare work, but R. HYDA in Shem Ha'Gedolim is superlative in his praise for the author. This is a fascinating example of R. HYDA's encyclopaedic knowledge.

Later we went to see R. Isaac Saruco, son of the Hazan R. Solomon; and we found there S. Aaron de[272] Moses de Pinto the *Gabbay* and from there we went to the *gabinete* [study, office] of the Principal[273]. Here are all sorts of insects, birds, fishes and various other creatures like snakes and scorpions, and parrots mostly stuffed, others preserved in *agua fuerte*[274]. He also had larger animals, such as deer, with the flesh removed and the skins stuffed with straw - and they look as if they are about to speak. He also has many varieties of worms and eyes of locusts [?]; and a model in the form of a Chinese palace, and many scientific instruments; mineral ores of gold, silver and copper and a huge magnet; many sorts of sea creatures and stones of every kind cast up by the sea; two embalmed humans made into mummies; and many varieties of herbs. There are many kinds of weapons, and a wooden hand made for someone who had lost his hand and could use this as if it were his own; and a pair of shoes that had belonged to a giant. He has many precious stones - quite large - diamonds, rubies, sapphire, emerald and more than thirty other kinds of gems - and one topaz weighing 12 litres but unpolished[275] and one, rather smaller, formed like a pomegranate, polished worth many *toniles*[276]. And he has a box full of many varieties of spices; and models of many things from China - one in the form of a bearded man looks as if he is speaking; collections of eggs lying in models of the nests and [a further collection of] sea creatures; a huge variety of birds as large as sheep, all stuffed; and many other stones of interesting colours and beautiful shapes formed naturally, one formed as a picture [?] found as a natural stone. The birds and fishes can be numbered in hundreds; the worms and insects in thousands. And there were many plants, large and small; and many medicinal herbs from other countries. And the mummified man abovem. is nineteen hundred years old. All these objects occupy six rooms, large and of medium size. There are also many

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272 I.e. 'son of'.

273 Possibly of the University, as in Padua; though this *gabinete*, as will be seen below, is a public place with a charge for admission.

274 Unlikely to be nitric acid - probably vinegar or formaldehyde.

275 The w. *keli* meaning 'instrument' appears here > 'instruments of preparation' which gives nonsense; if *kaf* is changed to *beth* then *beli tiqqun* = unfinished.

276 This curious w. (Spanish or a similar French w., v. also pp. 224, 226) means 'barrels' or possibly 'tons' or 'loads' (of gold or silver pieces ?).

animals the flesh having been removed to leave their skeletons; and a great variety of objects thrown up by the sea. Some of the rooms have a table in the middle on which are all sorts of interesting objects, all of them most unusual, among them a kind of wood that has turned into stone. The whole is a wonderful collection, arranged in cupboards with glass fronted doors kept locked, and everything is arranged in order. There is more below on this subject.

Now, R. D. Meldola[277] has come here to The Hague for the wedding of his daughter, and he came to visit me. And he spoke 'a mouthful' against R. Salem. He then told me the following:

When the *P'ri HaDaSh*[278] was in Amsterdam R. Isaac Abuhav [Rav of Amsterdam] was a very old man, and the community wanted him to act their Rav, the old Rav retaining the honour of his title which would pass to him on his death. He told them that he did not want to accept gifts, so the community would have to pay him a proper remuneration. In addition, he did not want to be responsible to the men of the Ma'amad in any matter concerning the application of the Law. They replied that they accept that in any matter touching on the Law of the Torah they would not have the right to stand against him; and in the matter of the salary they would increase it, but only to a figure double the present amount. But he insisted on nothing less than one thousand *ducatoni*. The men of the Ma'amad deliberated on the matter and finally agreed to grant him the thousand *ducatoni* that he had asked, and they went, with great satisfaction, to tell him. However, he told them that he still wanted to think about it. The following Sunday he went to the Ma'amad and told them he could not accept; and they began remonstrating with him. Then he replied, "If I accept then [this is what will happen]: tomorrow I will send to all the Yehidim [members of the Ma'amad] that I have been accepted; on Tuesday I will go to visit them; on the Sabbath I will preach; on the Sunday I will announce that my reign has commenced. Then I will say to the Yehidim of the community that they are lax in certain matters and that 'they should repent of their wicked ways'; and I will start by telling the First Parnesss that he has two gentile women in his house and people suspect him and he

277 V. Book 1 p. 87.

278 See p. 221 [174].

should send them away. Then I will tell the Second Parnesss something else and so on with all of them. [This will then appear to you as if] I consider it the fulfillment of my task in [merely] watching everyone else 'sinking in a quagmire of blatant sins'; but what I [really] ask is that I should be able to apply the strictures of the Law of the Torah to refine and purify the congregation of their sins 'and for their guilt shall I castigate them and curse them, saying *Destroy*!' I think that you will all then join against me - and it will be a formidable alliance - 'to drive me from the land'. And who knows 'what will happen this day'. If it is, indeed, the desire of your hearts to 'exorcise the uncleanliness from the land' and to uphold all the edicts of our Sages of blessed memory as they should be, 'then a *ruah HaDasH* [a new spirit] will arise within me to merit such a great *mitsvah*, and I will also be able to immerse myself in the study of the Torah as is my desire in calmness, quietude and tranquillity. This is what 'they see and do' in many holy congregations 'and the merit of the multitude hangs on you'. But I can see in you that all you desire is to gain fame[279], and not 'for the sake of Heaven'; and you want to carry on according to the desires of your hearts without hindrance. Therefore, even if you volunteer 1000 *ducatoni* each year, nevertheless, as far as my request that I may rule on any laws of the Torah without interference, I see that you have not really understood the depth of my commitment." And when the Parnesssim heard these 'words of holiness' they told the Rav PrH, "You are right, and you have spoken truth that you are unable to be Rav in our congregation!" And so he went away in peace.

This is what the said R. David told me, in detail. To tell the truth, I was very pleased 'to see the pleasantness' of the words of the Rav PrH.; and he was right in not being moved by imaginary glory and his eye 'could see in others' that they would not leave their transgressions, and he was able to castigate them with a public rebuke. May his merits help to protect us.

Let us now return to the matter of the *gabinete* of the Principal, for it is indeed something absolutely wonderful. Everything is beautifully set out with order and good taste, something entrancing. And only the little that I can still remember have I described. On each object, the smallest as for the biggest, even the tiniest worms or insects, on each is a small label with its

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279 From having such a personage as your Rav.

number - such that, in comparison, the [museum] chamber in Padua[280] is like an ape before a man; there is nothing like it! S. Aaron de Moses de Pinto, the *Gabbay*, paid two or three florins to the doorkeepers and attendants there.

From there I went to R. Toviah's house and we dined there in great honour; and after that I went to the Rav. After Minha we went for a repast to the house of the said *Gabbay* Aaron de Moses together with his brother S. Isaac and S. Samuel, S. Moses and several others. The table was beautifully laid with various sweetmeats and we ate a little there.

I went again to the Rav's house on Tuesday. He was asleep in his room, and the house-maid woke him up. As he was descending the stairs he fell and he gave a loud cry and I was alarmed. But, praise be to G-d, he was not injured.

I was further distressed that day by a letter I received from Amsterdam [saying] that R. Salem had been telling all and sundry, "You can clearly see that it is because he did not heed my advice that he was not so successful." He also spoke against a certain matter of Law that I had pronounced on; and some other things were written about me. I was 'confused by the tidings': for what he had written about was true 'and I am brutish and do not know'; however, what he had written about me not heeding his advice was not correct, because he had never advised me and there had never been any discussion [with him] upon the matter, as will be clear from what I shall write below. I was further distressed because I lost the money I had put in the lottery; and, moreover, I had received a letter [saying] that in London they would not be prepared to give a penny! And I was indeed distressed; may the Merciful One have mercy on me and make it good in the end. Amen, may thus be His will.

Sivan 16

Thursday: after leaving the Minha prayer I spoke to R. S. Saruco about his neglect of the matter of my mission. And he answered me angrily saying he could not go to the Yehidim for this is not an honourable thing and below his dignity: for he is a respected person and not 'a broken reed', and he had already assisted many and could not approach people with a

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280 V. p.88f.

sword and threaten to kill them to force them to give - and so on, and every word with an angry face and gestures. But G-d in his great mercy was my help and I was able to convince him that I had not sinned with my words and did not intend - Heaven forfend! - to offend his dignity, for I knew he was busy - and so on at great length and with a sweet tongue.

From there we went to the house of S. Isaac de Aaron Soasso, the Parnesss; and there foregathered all Ss. Pintos and Ss. Soassos and also S. Joseph de Pinto who had come from Amsterdam, and S. Raphael de Abraham Mendes da Costa and S. Costa Attias. These last two had come because Madame[281] - the local 'Patron' - was a millionairess, a widow with children, who tried to invest in shares and had lost all her money and more - 180 thousand [florins] most of it [borrowed] from the *g'virim* of Amsterdam. In Amsterdam, too, there was ruin upon ruin: and they wrote to me that S. Capadoce had lost 100 thousand florins. And it is a mercy from heaven that I was not there. So all these people had gathered there at the house of the Parnesss[282]. They served tea and biscuits, but nothing more. And they were all smoking - 'and the smoke was going up' and 'clouds' of talk; I was in discomfort until an hour before midnight when a carriage came for me and took me home, in peace.

Sivan 17

Friday: in the morning the dignitary S. Boaz sent me a lovely *pan esponjado*; and all this week S. Eliezer Kahn likewise sent things to eat. May G-d reward their works; may thus be His will.

Sivan 18

The h.S.: I spent the day-time with R. Toviah, as was my custom, until Minha-time. After Minha we went down into the garden and stayed there some two hours; and I spoke there words of Torah. Then we went to visit the Rav. I ate the Third Meal with R. Toviah and then I went to the house of S. Moses de Aaron de Pinto and there I found too S. Moses Soasso; and they served us with liqueurs of four sorts of fruit.

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281 Mme. da Costa? - their mother, it seems.

282 To discuss the situation?

Sivan 19

Sunday, Shelah: I went in the morning to see R. Isaac Levi-Leyden; he did me great honour, and he gave two *rizas* worth of Indian silk. Then I visited one other Parnesss and a *Gabbay*. I then travelled by *calesso* with S. Isaac the son of the Hazan to visit all the wealthy Sephardim; most of them were out so we left cards.

After Minha I went to see the aforem. S. Moses and found there his brother S. Joseph from Amsterdam and they accorded us honour. He showed me his Sefer Torah. Also there was S. Moses Soasso whose business is wood-working, making many kinds of articles.

Sivan 20

Monday: I visited R. Toviah, R. Abraham, R. Eliezer Kahn and the Rav. Later, R. Simeon Kahn, the son of R. Leib son of R. Moses Kahn, came to my house to make a private donation for Hebron, and he also gave me a very generous donation for [the publication of] *Birke Yosef*: may G-d reward his efforts.

Sivan 21

Tuesday: the Hazan and his son R. Ezekiel Levi-Goldsmid came to visit me in the evening. Next morning I travelled to Rotterdam with the said R. Ezekiel and R. Moses Lehren and R. Simeon Zomerhuizen and we arrived safely. I lodged in a guest-house near the synagogue, owned by the widow Mistress Rachel and her son-in-law Gersuni, in a small street called 'Boompies'. They are good people. After eating, the aforem. [people who accompanied me] departed in peace and I accompanied them to the ship. It was more than a quarter hour from my house to the ship, and I was tired from the walk there and back; but for the sake of the glory of the Name I did this in order not to appear ungrateful. May G-d always help me for the glory of His holy Name; may thus be His will.

Sivan 22

Wednesday: the illustrious R. Ha'im Bresla came to visit me, and also the Rav[283] and R. Ber Kokezh who is the brother-in-law of R. T[oviah B[oaz] of The Hague. Afterwards the Parnesssim came, and the treasurer and R. Israel son of R. Ezekiel.

Sivan 23

Thursday: R. Perets, beadle and trustee of the *'Ish Hessed'* Synagogue came to see me: everything depends in him! Afterwards I went out to look for an *occhial* [spectacles]. In the street I saw a statue of one of their learned men in a robe and holding a book with the pages opened as if he is turning them. They told me he was a great gentile scholar who lived in this city 400 years ago; and he had been a simpleton until the age of thirty unable to read or write a single letter, then suddenly he became learned, with a good memory and a great scholar. Because of his greatness and importance they had made an iron statue in his likeness. The name of this scholar is Erasmus; and he was the head of the new faith in Holland and had worked to establish it. So they had collected money from the gentiles in the towns of Holland and they gave silver, gold and copper in abundance; and they melted this all together and made the statue. He died in Basel. On one side [of the statue] is inscribed in Latin, and on the other side in Dutch, 'The sun rose in Holland and set in Basel'.

At mid-day R. Eliezer Kahn came to see me with his wife and son. The name of his wife - a noblewoman - is Taibche[284]. Also accompanying them was R. Moses Lehren. And they all ate at my guest -house; and they gave me donations. They all went quite soon, but R. Moses stayed until Sunday for my sake.

Sivan 24

Friday: we went for stroll with R. Moses and R. Perets and saw the ships and some beautiful buildings. Then we visited R. Ber Kokezh who is the head of the Ashkenazim in Amsterdam. His son lost 80 thousand in one

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283 R. Abraham son of R. Judah.

284 A real Ashkenazi name from the Yiddish-German *taubche* = little dove.

go; and he came to Rotterdam in order to live more modestly.

Sivan 25

The h.S.: I spent this with the Rav. He sought to support the opinion of the ARI zl - that the *tallith qatan* [small fringed garment][285] should be worn at night - from the Talmudic discussion in *Menahot*[286]; but I refuted his words showing there was no proof at all. He then raised a difficulty from that passage against the established Halakha; and I then brought a proof to the words of the ARI ztl and he countered with another difficulty posed by the *Ma'adanei Melekh*[287] on this topic concerning *tsitsith*. Then I said[288] that the verse 'Go eat your bread in joy etc.' refers to the *halah*[289].

After the meal, the young man R. Wolf and some others and S. Silva came to visit me. Later I went to see the Parnesssim R. Moses Spriger [?] and R. Samson. After Minha I had a meal with the new Parnesss R. Mann; after that we went to the house of R. Ha'im Bresla and we discussed words of Torah.

Sivan 26

The eve of Sunday: R. Perets and his sons came to see me and we sat talking until after midnight. In the morning I went to see R. Israel son of R. Ezekiel and R. Jacob de Vries and they accorded me much honour. Two hours after noon R. Israel summoned a large carriage and a *calesso* to fetch R. Eliezer and his brother-in-law R. Anschel the son-in-law of Nohah[290] and his son R. Solomon Selig, and R. Solomon son of R. Wolf, and Leib son of R. Perets and we all went, together with R. Moses[291], to Delft. From there

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285 A small under-garment worn in the day-time for the purpose of fulfilling the commandment of tsitsith [fringes].

286 Men 44a.

287 The commentary on ROSH (The Halakhic Code of Rabbeinu Asher) by the illustrious *Tosefot Yom-Tov*, R. Y.T. Lipman Heller. The details of this erudite and esoteric discussion is beyond the scope of footnotes.

288 Changing the subject.

289 Given to the priests (Num. 15:20,21).

290 This might be the name of his mother-in-law. The name is unusual - it appears to be a 'femininisation' of Noah.

we returned to The Hague where we prayed Minha, and R. Moses went away in peace but we stayed there until the evening. We would go into an inn every half hour or so and have something to drink; and they spent some 30 guilders on this outing for my benefit. Everyone was in good spirits of friendship - may G-d bring everything to a good conclusion; amen, may thus be His will.

In the coach, the young men and I spent nearly the entire journey back discussing words of Torah. I was able to answer [all their questions] right speedily and I enjoyed myself. The journey back to my house took six hours, and they all came inside with me. There, too, we passed an enjoyable time, and then we prayed Arvit when the time came and all was well. And it is amazing, and miraculous, that when I was here in the winter-time, no one spoke to me - 'Turn away! they would cry'- and on my journeying around [collecting] they would give only one ducat; whereas now, they were wondrous in their honouring of me and their munificence and their giving. Also, R. Moses Spriger told me he had won twelve thousand on the lottery because of the blessing I had given him in the winter. When I had [earlier] arrived in The Hague, I had stayed with R. Isaac Segal-Leyden, and it had entered my heart to give his wife a blessing: on my departure then he had told me that she had never conceived in 15 years, nor had there been any sign of any conception: but as soon as I had blessed her she showed signs of pregnancy; as it is said, [in the Talmudic edict]: 'Let not the blessing of an ordinary mortal be light in your eyes!' But these things are the wonders of 'He who is whole in mind'. 'I shall bless the L-rd at all times; always will His praise be on my lips. I shall call out to the G-d on high, to the G-d who accomplisheth for me'[292]. 'May the L-rd accomplish it for me; O L-rd, your lovingkindness is everlasting: forsake not the work of Thine own hands'[293].

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291 R. Moses Lehrens?

292 Psalms 57:3

293 Psalms 138:8

Sivan 27

Monday: I went to visit R. Solomon and R. Eliezer, and the abovem. R. Israel and R. Jacob Hamburg. They all accorded me great honour.

Sivan 28

Tuesday: in the evening I went to see R. Perets. I was also distressed on account of Abraham who had fallen while carrying the large trunk, and he was ill and lying in bed. We finally had to take him to a doctor who said there was possibly a fracture and he would need straps and these cost at least 60 florins. The Parnesss R. Moses Spriger was present at the time, and said we could take the money from the communal fund; and so we did.

Next day I went to see the Rav; later many people came to see me. In the afternoon some 40 people came and accompanied me to the ship with great ceremony. And they stayed there for about an hour until we sailed away, in peace. I had a private cabin on the ship.

Among those who had come to escort me was the young man Isaac Selig son of R. Perets. I departed from there in great honour. The *Gabbay*, R. Moses Preger, had worked wonders in collecting money from the Yehidim, together with R. Perets; and also the abovem. R. Israel had done wondrously both with his donations and with his attentions. May G-d reward their works and may their righteousness stand for ever; and may the merit of the Holy Land guard them. May thus be His will.

Tammuz 1

Thursday, the eve of the New Moon we had arrived at the edge of Zeeland, which is one of the Dutch provinces. The republic of Holland controls seven provinces. These are: Holland, Zeeland, West-Friesland, Utrecht, Oost-Friesland, Overyssel, and Gelderland. The village at which we were arriving was called Lille and it is at the border of the republic on the other [Belgian] side. Nearby are some houses belonging to the domain of the Queen.

Tammuz 1[294]

Friday: 'the windows of Heaven opened' and rain fell in torrents. But, b.b.G. this lasted only an hour and a half and then ceased. We reached Philipo [?] at the edge of Brabant [province] and hired an open wagon. Two hours before noon we arrived in Anvers [Antwerp]. It did not rain on the journey. And, t.G., the whole of our journey had been smooth and without any troubles - except for Wednesday, the eve of New Moon Tammuz, when we had a short sea crossing to Middelburg, in Zeeland, and I experienced some sickness. But this soon settled. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Tammuz 2

The h.S., Qorah: we 'sabbathed' in Antwerp together with R. Selig 'on the quiet waters'.

Towards noon I discovered that there were other Jewish travellers there, and I gathered them and together we had a *minyan*. So I said some words of Torah and recited *Qadish*. We also prayed Minha and Arvit. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.

Tammuz 3

Sunday, Huqath: we travelled to Brussels with R. Selig and arrived safely well before sundown. And R. Lipman ben Nathan, the dignitary, sent a messenger and hired places for us in the *diligence*.

It was on this day that Abraham chose to excel in idiocy. We had stopped at an inn in the middle of the journey, and it was one of their [gentile] holidays. Abraham was walking up and down, and R. Selig told him to keep still. He grew angry and began banging on the table and he shouted at R. Selig, "The Jewish exile is all because of people like you: for you do not show love for other Israelites!" And he grew angrier and wanted to go back; finally he refused to mount into the carriage and he stayed hanging on to the outside. Thus when we arrived in the town of Mecheln the gentiles gathered by the hundred to look, laughing and shouting. And he was enjoying [this game]; but to me it was like 'thrusts of the sword'. When we arrived in Brussels there happened to be there a

294 The number '5' appears here in the text and is an obvious error.

gentile who knew a little Hebrew and tried to converse with him. And he said to him, "Sir, you are a great ass!" And this was a great danger, but thanks to G. who redeemed us. Later I tried to rebuke him gently [saying] this is an 'unclean' place and there is danger; but his grew even more wilful and angry. Before I had finished rebuking him R. Lipman and R. Selig went out to look in the *diligence* [for something] and he tried to go out with them; and they tried to stop him because his antics would attract more hundreds of people. In the end, I had to go out into the street to bring him away; but he swore to go back. I had to suffer the indignity, in front of that huge crowd, of grabbing hold of him while he struggled to escape, until I placed a 'decree'[295] on him. R. Lipman sent another coach to bring me to his house away from the crowds. But he [Abraham] followed us on foot with crowds of gentiles following him! R. Lipman was furious.

At nightfall we finally brought him into the house, but he said he did not want to sleep inside the house. R. Selig suggested locking the door [to keep him in]. I was very distressed until finally my good friend S. Ariani intervened and he coaxed him to remain inside.

Tammuz 4

Monday: four hours after sunrise we set off in a *diligence* with eight gentiles, men and women. One of them could speak Spanish so I was able to converse with him.

We arrived in Soignies at mid-day. Then he [Abraham], with much spluttering, engaged the gentile in conversation, and said to him, "I am a big merchant dealing in many kinds of garments!" S. David told him to keep quiet but he shouted back at him. Later, when I wanted some water poured over my hands I told him that I did not wish his services; and out of my intense irritation and anger I recited [against him] 'a rememberance of ancestors' and *gevuroth* using every name he possessed[296]. He said he wanted to leave [me]. I then decreed a *herem* upon him, whereupon he proceeded to bang himself on the head with mighty blows in the manner of those evil *mojascos*[297], and he said that I was making vengeful judgments

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295 Some Cabbalistic force, perhaps.

296 *Gevuroth* lit. 'strengths'; some mysterious Cabbalistic power.

297 Pugilists.

against him and someone who was Jewish should not do such things: and that I was very cruel to him and was always goading him; and everything at the top of his voice - and he managed to include S. D.H.A.[298] in his imprecations. It was altogether a hard day for me. I was particularly embarrassed and distressed because there were so many gentiles around; his behaviour could have been a real danger. Thank G-d they were busy with their affairs and the matter was confined among us. But I was very embarrassed by him, and S. DHA would eat nothing in his distress.

Some time later we arrived at the French border and the guards were abusive; and they opened all my *cajetas* [= packets] and they searched our clothes but t.G. we came away in peace. Later, when we reached the *douane* at Valenciennes they emptied the wagon that had brought us from Brussels; and they broke the lock of my large trunk. They began accusing us that some old, but washed, kerchiefs were new; and no spirit was left in me. But then I gave two *litres* to the inspector and he said, "Give them to my colleague." They opened the second trunk but hardly looked at anything. We finally arrived at a guest house in peace. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e. He in his mercy will accomplish it for good: m.t.b.H.w.

Tammuz 5

Tuesday: we slept that night in Valenciennes. In the morning we set off and reached the town of Cambrai before noon. I was very worried about the customs in Péronne because they were known for their wickedness and fastidiousness. We arrived there with plenty of daylight left and they took us to the *douane*. The customs officers remembered me from my last journey in the winter; and they just opened the trunks and had a quick look, then closed them and did not look any further! P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e. and blessed is His glorious Name for ever.

Tammuz 6

The eve of Wednesday: we set off two hours before midnight by *diligence* and travelled all night and all next day, till 7 of the clock in the evening when we reached Paris in peace. We had only stopped for one

298 Ariani.

hour in the town of Pont [St. Maxence]. They took us to the *douane* that evening; and there was a great commotion there because of the many *diligences* arriving from all the towns of France, and the customs men were very busy. I was worried and afraid, but t.G. they just opened the trunks and had a quick look and no more. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e. I then took a carriage and we went to the home of S. David Naquite; but he only came home late at night. So we returned to our lodging house in peace.

Tammuz 7

Thursday: Abraham had lost his *jiram*[299], so after prayers in the morning I sent and they found it in the wagon, t.G. Later, M. Fabry came and took us to the house of a relative and kept me there some 4 hours. He and his relatives greeted me with a very warm welcome and desired me to eat with them. I told them I could only eat eggs which had been fried 'by our hands' and they were understanding. Afterwards I asked the said gentile to tell me in what he believed. And he replied, "In the L-rd, the G-d of Israel!" I pressed him on this and I could see that it was indeed so. So I said to him, "In that case, you should recite both in the morning and at night the paragraph 'Hear, O Israel ...'[300], and you must also observe the seven [Noachite] commandments, and beware of associating other deities of any kind, only and completely the unitary G-d, the G-d of Israel." And he accepted this, and promised me he would pray to none but the one G-d. Later I went to visit S. Pereira.

Tammuz 8

Friday: I felt tired and weary after the strain of the journey. Already on the Wednesday I had found waiting for me a letter from my dear friend, the prosperous S. Raphael ytv, and I had read it with delight. And now, on the eve of Friday, he had sent me another letter! The first was surpassing in expressions of honour and friendship.

Also, as a result of the tribulations of the journey, my large trunk had become damaged; and the spring of my 'repeating' watch broke; and in the

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299 A garment of some sort.

300 Deut. 6:4-9 The *'Shema'*.

small trunk, there were several graphites [pencils] and these had split and become crushed and dirtied a number of my writings as well as other objects. My small white ink-pot, too, cracked and became besmirched and altogether spoiled. So I had to buy a trunk, and I gave the aforem. articles to a craftsman to repair. I was depressed and annoyed - with Abraham, for all his idiocies such as not wanting to go to bed at night and arguing with me. Only today, he had exchanged violent words with the washer-woman. This was anguish for my soul - having to bear his idiocy and his overweening insolence.

Tammuz 9

The h.S.: we spent this with S. David Naquite. S. Abraham Vidal and S. Ventura came to dine with us. Both S. David and his wife spared no effort in the way they prepared huge banquets, with labour of love and great honour. Even though there is a synagogue close by lodging - in the house of S. Hananel de Milhaud - I had perforce to go to the synagogue of the Avignoises because I was beholden to them on account of their [previous] kindness; also, my host S. David prayed there. They honoured me greatly: especially since, when I had been there the first time S. Abraham Vidal had asked me to pray for the Queen to conceive - and she was now 4 months' pregnant. And M. Fabry said to me, "You see - your prayers have borne fruit!" And I answered, "This is not because of my righteousness, but in the merit of my ancestors zl."

Tammuz 10

Sunday, Balaq, the term of the h.S.: after Arvit, Abraham Leon came home with me from the synagogue. This young man from Bayonne always attended on me there; he now lives in Paris. I asked him to buy me some charcoal, whereupon Abraham [my attendant] objected saying, how can I ask him [Leon] to go out and buy when he [Abraham] is always the one who serves me so faithfully, and so does not wish someone else to buy things for me. I was very angry, but I told Abraham Leon not to go and buy it. So I had to go without coffee - because my attendant Abraham wanted to govern my affairs! I did not speak to him the whole of Sunday and Monday, and he did no cooking for me, nor did he even make coffee; so all I ate was bread and cheese. I was further in distress, because all day - until midnight - my attendant was not to be seen, always going around in the streets and squares.

Tammuz 12

Tuesday: I took pity on my attendant and spoke to him and comforted him. But hardly a day passed without him annoying me.

Tammuz 14

Thursday: accompanied by M. Fabry, I went to visit the Count of Maillebois. He gave permission, and wrote to the keeper of the manuscripts in the Royal Library, that I could copy 60 manuscripts. We went there and took, first of all, the Deliberations of R. Isaiah of Trani on the Bible. This is itself amazing to be allowed to take even a printed book, let alone a manuscript, from the Royal Library. Afterwards, M. Fabry again took me to the house of his relative and we had a meal there - eggs fried over the fire by S. Ariani [who had accompanied us] and some fruit. The conversation turned to a discussion of the intelligence of animals and creatures. In the course of the discussion someone told a story about the special barracks in Paris for old and wounded soldiers which was guarded by dogs; and there was one exceptionally big and fierce dog. The keepers allowed no stray dogs in. The big, fierce dog was allowed to go out and roam the streets and he would return and be allowed in, for the keepers recognised him. One day this big dog brought with him a stray dog, very weak and emaciated and was trying to hide him from the keeper. The keeper tried to stop this emaciated dog from coming in, but the big dog rose up against him barking furiously, and succeeded in bringing the other dog in. The keeper turned a blind eye, and the big dog took his weak companion and led him to the kitchens where he kept him for eight days; and he ate and drank until he had become fattened. Then the big dog took the other and led him out; and from that day the stray dog would come at the same time each day and wait for the big dog and they would roam around together. But the stray dog never came in again.

That evening my attendant came to me bringing the case in which he packed his clothes, all torn and ripped. He told me he wanted 5 *litres* to buy a bag. I said to him, "Here you are." and gave him 6 *litres*. He returned later saying he had spent ten [*litres*]. I told him he had wasted money and should return the bag; and then he admitted he had bought it for three, but he had used the other three for repaying a loan or some such story. But it seems he tricked me from the beginning by first buying the bag and only afterwards tearing up his case! And he kept on angering me thus with other

lies and nonsense. It turned out, too, that the bag he bought was too small, and he had to buy another case.

I was further distressed by another matter. In Bordeaux, S. Abraham Grades had asked me whether he was permitted to divorce his wife against her will. I had answered him this was forbidden and he had asked me to put this in writing. I found it difficult to refuse so I wrote that if the wife of one's youth is modest and has no great fault and if one has children from her, then it is forbidden to divorce her[301]. This matter reached the ears of Samuel Peixotto, who has a position here in the judiciary, namely, that there was a man who wished to divorce his wife without her consent. So he appointed an advocate to draw up a 'document of plaint' and included in it what I had written. And he wrote that "...this man is an emissary for collecting money for the poor of the Holy Land, and he was sent because of his trustworthiness and not for his learning; and what he wrote is prompted by considerations of money, or because he knows nothing of the laws of these matters; he does not quote the source, and indeed, this is not to be found anywhere in the Talmud, only is it recounted in the *Aggadah* that if one divorces his first wife 'the altar of the L-rd sheds tears etc.' But we are not entitled to learn *Halakhah* from *Aggadah*[302]. "And there was much more in similar vein. He printed copies and had them distributed in the Parliament - and this was with the advice of one Lipman Calmira, Baron de Picquigny, Vidame d'Amiens who was a *professeur* at one of their churches and goes there to worship and sits at the Mass! And aiding and abetting them was the Rabbi of Bordeaux! - and he is 'PCR'[303] spelling the initial letters of 'Peixotto Calmira Rabba'. And I was very distressed that this had been written and printed and will go around Amsterdam, London and Bordeaux - initial letters spelling 'AVL'[304]. May it be His will that this [distress] should be atonement for my sins: m.t.b.H.w.

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301 V. pp. 189/190.

302 This is, indeed, a good point.

303 Hebrew root meaning 'to become apostasised'.

304 Hebrew root of 'grief' (v > b).

Tammuz 15

The Sixth-day: I was very distressed because I wanted to travel on Sunday morning and Hananel de Milhaud had already gone several times to the *diligence* for travelling to Lyon: he had arranged a price for the baggage, but they had told him they could not tell him definitely until Friday (to-day). However, he had taken his time, and had not gone there before 4 hours in the afternoon and they told him there was no more room. I had already packed and got ready all my things on this Friday so that I could sleep there [near the *diligence* station] on the night of the termination of the h.S.; and I had already written to my good friend Raphael and to Amsterdam, and so I was very distressed. [However], 'all tarrying is for the good'[305].

Tammuz 16

The night of the h.S.: I dined with my good friend S. David Naquite in great honour. But I was annoyed and upset because R. Mordecai Ventura had brought a copy of Peixotto's booklet and was reading to a number of people what had been written there about me; and although he had no intenetion of slighting me, but merely to show what sort of a person Peixotto was, I was embarrassed. And I began to make a reckoning of what sinful things I may have done to deserve this 'measure for measure'. I was also feeling out of sorts having sat up the whole of the night of Friday copying down the 'Deliberations of R. I. of Trani' zl referred to earlier.

In the morning of the h.S. one Israel Birnal came there; 'and his mouth was full of praises' and 'his tongue speedy to talk' about the 'merits of his good deeds[306]' - falsehoods. *Selah.* That evening came along a friend of his, one Israel Vidal. He has a wife in Avignon, Pechonne [?], and she had a German maidservant - her name was 'Tsara' [trouble] - and he had taken her for a wife and got by her two sons, aged 6 and 4. Some say he put them into an orphanage but then took them out. He, too, sang his own many praises, saying he was a Governor and had protection from many high ministers; and everything with pomp and boastfulness.

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305 Source (if there is one) unknown.

306 A forced pun on *ziv'he (shiv'he) shelamav*: the sacrifices (merits) of his peace-offerings (good deeds).

Tammuz 17

Sunday, Pin'has, night after the h.S.: Aaron Roget came to visit. He began holding forth on the vileness and depravity of Paris, overflowing with harlotry; and he even admitted many of his own sins, and talked about others - may the ears be saved from hearing such things! I was much anguished that 'the seed of Israel' was so sunk in this deep quagmire of filth and heathen women. May he in his mercy put into their hearts a desire to repent and become righteous men and redeem our souls for His Name's sake: m.t.b.H.w.

That day I was in distress, too, on account of the fast and the great heat.

Tammuz 18

Monday evening: we rode off in the *diligence* having coming to an agreement with the man in charge.

Tammuz 19

The eve of Tuesday: we found a guest-house near the *diligence*-station, because this leaves early in the morning. We were escorted there by S. David Naquite, R. Mordecai, S. Hananel de Milhaud, and S. Silvera and a number of boys. Arriving at the inn we looked for two *djizmez* [?] which I had given to Abraham to look after - and he had left them in the carriage that had brought us here. As we were talking I suddenly realised - 'and Abraham journeyed' - he was nowhere to be seen! And this was indeed very stupid of him because in the morning we would be setting off and it was now past midnight and he could easily get himself lost - for Paris is a very large city. And this caused me anxiety. S. Vidal *pere et fils* - who is Hananel abovem.[307] - slept in the inn to be there so as to escort us. May G-d reward his labours.

Next day we set off in peace. But we were to spend all that week in discomfort, because the *diligence* only had ten places and we were squashed together and the weather was hot. At noon we stopped in Chailly for a meal at a gentile guest-house. Verily, the French are well-mannered, happy people, and they treated us with respect and friendliness - by the grace of Heaven: may His Name always be blessed.

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307 Hananel de Milhaud; see also next page.

Tammuz 20

Wednesday: we came to the town of Posuryonne [Pont-sur-Yonne], that means *ponte sobre Lyon* [the bridge above Lyon (Sp.)] - for the French language is [often] shortened using just the beginnings of words. That same day we reached Joigny and we ate at a gentile guest-house.

Tammuz 21

Thursday eve: at Vermonton; next day in the village of Houvrai.

Tammuz 22

The eve of Friday: in the town of Arnay-le-duc. We set off again an hour after midnight, and we drove much faster than any time in the previous two days - and we arrived in Chalon an hour and a half before noon. The gentiles who had travelled with us continued to Lyon by way of the river Sâone, but we stayed in Chalon and spent the Sabbath there with His help, m.H.b.b. May He in His mercy continue to help us for the sake of H.g.N. and send us success *ba-kol mi-kol kol*[308]. M.t.b.H.w.

Tammuz 23

The h.S.: we 'sabbathed' in Chalon 'by the quiet waters' in tranquillity. The gentile innkeepers, in the customary manner of the French, are of pleasant appearance and act kindly and with cheerfulness. In addition, I had brought [a gift of] embroidery-work for the host from S. Hananel de Milhaud - who is also called 'Vidal pere et fils'. And they treated us with honour.

Tammuz 24

Sunday, Mattoth: I had eaten something on the Sabbath which had caused me some upset. On the night of the term. of the S. I had a slight fever, and I had to get up because of diarrhoea, tired and weary, weak and poorly.

At mid-day we set off by boat for Lyon. Now, the *diligence* comes

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308 *Kol* = all; these three variants occur Gen. 24:1, 27:33, 33:11 for the 3 patriarchs.

overland from Paris as far as Chalon; it is a covered wagon, holding ten people with 7 or 8 on top; and the boat waits in Chalon to continue the journey to Lyon by river. We had come on Friday's *diligence* and 'sabbathed' here so that we were now travelling together with passengers who had come from Paris on the Sunday *diligence*. As a result, the boat journey was uncomfortable - and we had also been joined by many people from other towns, some 60 souls in all. In the cabin for passengers from the Paris *diligence* we were 'TOV'[309] souls. We suffered greatly from the heat, especially I because of my poorly condition.

Tammuz 25

Monday: it was after 10 of the clock in the evening when we arrived in Macon. I was pushed about by the multitude of people, but I managed to get a lodging with three beds and a RVA [?]. Now since it is customary for a servant to pay less than his master, I told the house-maid there that I would like to pay less for my attendant. At this, my attendant raged at me: why had I said he was a servant so that they would abuse him? And he stormed out in his customary manner talking all the time to himself, and saying that he would pay himself because he did not want to be thought a servant. I observed [the edict of] 'Do not answer etc.' I felt certain he would return to sleep in his bed, even though he had not eaten at the table where some bread and cheese had been laid. After all the discomfort, distress, agitation and weariness [of the journey] I was more than ever distressed by his insolence; not a day went by without him causing me anguish.

Midnight passed and I went to bed. Not two hours had gone by when I awoke and saw that the wax candle was all aflame; so I got up to try to put it right and then went outside to look for Abraham. I found him asleep on a round table at the back of the house. I called him to come inside and go to bed but he answered saying that he was already used to a hard life in everything; and he would not listen to me. It was because I had no scissors to hand to trim the candle-wick, that this had sagged down over the wax, and when I had tried to set it right, it went out. I asked Abraham to go and find another candle. He got up angrily, talking to himself as was his wont; but I did not stop to hear his words of insolence. But I did hear him say in the course of his

309 'Good'; gematria value 17.

muttering that if he was not going to rest he would not allow me any rest either. 'I was as one who hears not'. I sat up till dawn so as to pray early before going down to the boat because of the *tallith* and *tefillin* I would [otherwise] have to wear while standing among all the gentiles and the general commotion. Because of all that had happened, after praying I was exhausted, and my distress was growing and a mood of blackness came over me, so I lay down on the bed to rest. I arose later in the morning in order to go down to the boat [still] in a black mood[310] 'and my countenance was not mine'. Verily, if I were to write the whole story of Abraham, this would require a whole volume 'Abraham'; but I could not waste the time nor would I wish to disclose the full extent of his rascality. But G-d knows what anguish even [writing] this is for me; and I write only to relieve my affliction - as it is written: 'Should a man's heart ache, let him speak it out'[311]. Therefore, 'with my stick [i.e. pen] have I transgressed'[312] [by] 'the coming of the melancholy'[313]. May the good L-rd forgive me; m.t.b.H.w.

When it was day, on the boat, 'many rose up against me' from among the gentiles who had seen him sleeping on the floor - for such things are not done - and that he was also eating bread and onions down in the salon. I was quite ashamed, and excused his behaviour due to the heat and that he had not been able to sleep indoors and so on.

During the day we had a meal in the village of Reyssouse and afterwards re-boarded the boat. Later that same day it happened that at one spot where the water was rushing swiftly, the river bank gave way under the horses that were pulling the boat - and a man was mounted on one of them - and both horses were swept away by the water. The rider was also in danger of drowning - and we were afraid, too, that the boat might sink! But some men came along and managed to save one horse and the man, but the second horse drowned. They brought other horses and we were rescued by the grace of the blessed Name. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e. May G-d accomplish it for the good; m.t.b.H.w.

At 8 of the clock in the evening we arrived in the port of Lyon. There

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310 'Blackened'.

311 Prov. 12:25.

312 Gen. 32:11 Cross > transgress.

313 Psalms 52:2 *Doeg* - the same w. means worry or melancholy.

were women with small boats there to take people further on. And behold, there to welcome us with great honour was S. Benjamin Naquet, Manasseh Veziz [?] and Reuben Moses who had come on a barque, which they had brought from the town to meet the boat, and take us and our baggage on to their barque. When we passed through the customs, by the grace of Heaven, they only opened the large trunk for a quick look and looked at nothing else. We then went to the guest-house that they had appointed for us. Blessed is the G-d who saves; and exalted is His Name beyond every blessing and praise, for always and for everlasting eternity. He will accomplish for the sake of His glorious Name; m.t.b.H.w. and let us say, Amen.

Tammuz 26

Tuesday: S. Elia and the abovem. Moses and Manasseh fetched a *carrozza*, and I went with them to some important gentile merchants to whom I had *recommendation*. They all received me graciously and with great respect. Praise be to G-d.

Tammuz 27

Wednesday: in the morning D. Abraham Perpignan sent a carriage to take me to his house. His brother S. Elijah was also there. I drank some chocolate; and they accorded me honour. They invited me for the Sabbath but I declined because their house was a long way from my lodging.

At mid-day I received a visit from a youth who came from Turin whom they called by the sobriquet Guastalla. Now this youth is 'one of the lads': he walks with his head in the air and arms akimbo, wearing embroidered clothes and coiffured hair as in the manner of *peruque* and powdered all over as is the fashion among the nobles - little Jewishness here / but much wantonness;/ sparing in *mitsvoth* / but liberal in sin;/ mocking at those who study the Torah / but fawning on ladies with all his heart for lust;/ giving to women his strength / and for amusement his money. 'The hour smiles upon him'. He came towards me saying, "I have just come from Turin." I said to him, "Rather than you coming here[314], it had been better to send me some small donation; for the community there

314 At, no doubt, great expense.

is in dire straits and they have sent saying I would not be welcome there." I then asked him about the [Italian] customs and he replied that this is a serious matter and they search the person and his baggage and the vehicle, in all nooks and crannies, and that they are very particular about books. Shortly after that he left. Listening to his words 'I was seized with trembling': for even though I did not have with me the *Gemara* [Talmud] or the *Zohar*, I nevertheless had with me other books. And many confused thoughts were whirling through my brain: 'I was as a man without strength'[315], and I grew increasingly dejected and despondent. May G-d set me right with good thoughts and save me from all loss and trouble [for] 'in Him does my heart trust and I have been helped'; He in His mercy will have mercy on me like unto all His righteous ways: m.t.b.H.w.

Tammuz 29

Friday: because of my great anxiety about my books, and the tidings concerning the rigour of searching and questioning in the Turin customs, I decided it would be best if I stayed [in Lyon] until after *Tish'a b'Av*[316]. In the meantime, I would consider what could be done - especially since these days are [always] difficult ones for Israel; and the journey is an arduous one over high mountains; and the change of country from France to Savoie, from Savoie to Piemonte. 'All delay is for the best'.

I decided not to eat meat that Sabbath, because the *shohetim* there are not reliable concerning 'ordinary wine and their daughters[317]'; and so I bought fish. Reuben Moses invited me to eat at his house as it is near; but since he is a big miser I did not wish to go there. So my Sabbath was 'the blessing of my own home'.

Av 1

Saturday, the day of the h.S.: I went to the synagogue newly-

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315 Psalms 88:5.

316 Exactly 3 weeks hence.

317 Wine not from a guaranteed 'kosher' source. The reference to daughters is gratuitous here; the entire phrase occurs more than once in the Talmud on the danger of intermarriage.

established here in Lyon. There was no proper pulpit, just a stool set on top of another stool. I was annoyed, but because I never speak [secular things] - I say this without oath! - in a synagogue, I said nothing.

And on that h.S., and New Moon to boot, I had hardly anything to eat - just some bread and vegetables: for that fool Abraham spoiled and ruined the fish trying both to boil and to roast it. But for the Third Meal I had some anchovies to eat and they were good.

During the day that young man S. Guastalla came to see me and was closeted with me for some two hours. And I saw in him an extraordinary change - for the better! He was not at all like my earlier judgment of him - he showed good manners and spoke with great respect. He told me he was going to Genova [Genoa] and would return in the middle of the week.

Av 4

Tuesday, Devarim: I received a visit from the brothers Ss. Perpignan, Aaron Ravel and Benjamin de Monteux with his son-in-law Ezriel Crémieu. This latter is as a bit of chaff compared to his brothers R. Solomon and R. Mordecai of Carpentras[318] for all he is interested in are 'the vanities of this [material] world' - gambling, 'the Order of Women'[319], 'the Order of Feasting' - secularised and defiled. Only recently, he had lost six thousand francs in gambling. His father-in-law, who is a very wealthy man, had brought his only daughter along with him - 'a daughter heiress' - and she is modest, and the wife of Ezriel.

I spoke to them about the pulpit [saying] this is disrespectful towards the Sefer Torah; and I told the *Hazan*, S. Azariah Vidal, to recite a *Mi Sheberakh*[320] for me, because I was then and there donating 6 francs towards a new pulpit. After that everyone present donated! And I told the *Hazan*, "Recite the blessing for S. Manasseh de Veziz and S. Reuben Moses for 12 francs from each of them." In this way we collected 120 francs in an instant!

At this time 'a spirit clothed' Abraham to flout me and he ran away as

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318 V. p. 136

319 'Women' and 'Festivals' are two of the six Orders of the Talmud.

320 'He who blessed etc.' the ritual blessing for a donor to charity.

was his custom. I was anxious in case he would get lost or debauched in these strange lands. Eventually they found him, but he did not spend that night with us, preferring to go to another house. I was worried lest he should get into trouble, but I resolved to say nothing, at least until we came to Turin.

In the morning he came to me; and I spoke a little to him, and then gave him a gift of 6 francs.

Av 5

Wednesday, Devarim: I wrote down some things I had [mentally] prepared for the second part of *Shem Ha-Gedolim*[321]. In the evening I felt feverish and my skin felt itchy. However, just then S. Perpignan and S. Manasseh de Veziz came to take me for a ride in a coach.

We crossed a bridge, built within the last few years, and came to a good place for promenading. Before that, they had to cross the river by means of little *barquitos* [litle boats], but then this wealthy gentile had come and built this bridge at great expense; and he received licence to charge 2 sou from each passer-by for crossing and returning. This produces some sixty thousand francs a year because of the large numbers of people crossing there. So they took me there and we sat there some two hours. They also gave me a *sorbet*[322] costing half a *litre*; may their reward from Heaven be doubled.

But when I came home I was in distress; and during the night my body became covered with large spots. The worst thing was the itchiness and I hardly slept that night.

Av 6

Thursday: a gentile doctor came, M. Raste. He is the greatest among the doctors and he has a pleasant manner. He said that [although] I was in discomfort I had no fever nor headache: so he just prepared a mixture of water with *tisane* for me to drink regularly.

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321 The first part is indexed by authors; the second by books.

322 Iced fruit.

Av 7

Friday: the doctor came again and prepared to let some blood because the pain and itchiness of the spots had increased. So he let some blood and I felt better; but after 3 hours the spots and the itching returned. I strengthened myself to go and pray the evening prayer in the synagogue. I also went on the day of the h.S. and for Minha; but I was in distress. I was filled with apprehension and fear about the [Fast of the] 9th of Av, what with the hot weather and my fever: neither could I bear clothes or covering by day or by night. Nevertheless, I resolved to fast, for there was no danger - only discomfort.

Av 9

Sunday, Va-ethhanan: I did not go to the synagogue neither in the evening nor during the day; I just lay on the bed. And, b.b.G., the discomfort subsided a little. For Arvit on the eve of Monday, a minyan came to my house. I then recited the blessing for the New Moon[323] and then recited Havdalah and broke my fast. However, that night of Monday I suffered discomfort from the pain and the itching and slept little.

Av 10

Monday: on the advice of the doctor I went to the baths, accompanied by the new bridegroom Azariah Vidal, the Hazan. This is a large building with numerous small rooms in each of which there is a sort of large tin trough and they place a sheet over it and the person reclines with arms and legs stretched out. Above are two spouts, one for hot water and one for cold. They fill up [the bath], warmed to each person's liking, and he sits there naked with water up to the neck and stays thus for an hour or more. When the water has become cool, there is a tap at the bottom of the vessel for emptying the water and they can fill up with fresh water heated to one's desire. There is a *campana* [=bell] provided for calling the attendant who brings warm sheets, robes and towels and you then get out and dry yourself. Everything is clean and quick. The water comes from a well and it is heated in another house and comes into each bath through pipes. There

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323 It is customary to wait until Tisha-B'Av has passed.

are twelve bath-rooms all with windows. Between rooms is a small window closed from both sides; if friends are sitting [in adjoining rooms] they can open the window and converse while sitting in the water. It is all very elegant. Each session costs 30 *soldos* and one gives the attendant 6 *soldos*. On coming out there is a coffee-house provided and one can order coffee or *limonado* and similar things. Everything is very well ordered and clean and tidy. I went there each morning and evening. B.b.G. - I straightaway saw a change for the better; may G-d accomplish it for the good.

Av 11

Tuesday: I again went to the baths in the morning and in the evening.

Av 12

Wednesday: today I also went to the baths morning and evening; but I felt weak today and not very well and had to go to bed for a few hours. May G-d in His abundant mercy heal me with a complete cure that I may continue to serve Him m.H.b.b.; m.t.b.H.w.

Av 13

Thursday: I went for a short walk in a street they call Bellecour, that means, 'beautiful court-yard'. There is a monument in the centre and on it a metal statue of Louis XIV mounted on a horse. Below this, at one side, is the form of a man symbolising the River Rhone, and lying towards that side; while on the opposite side is the form of a woman symbolising the River Sâone; both are made of metal. And this is how they call [the rivers] 'le Rhone' in the masculine form and 'la Sâone' in the feminine form. The reason for this is because the Rhone is powerful and mighty while the Sâone is gentle and finally flows into the Rhone. The Rhone flows to Avignon and then on to the sea at Marseilles and Toulon. Where it rises in Genèvre[324] it is barely a cubit in width and then runs nearly submerged and almost invisible, but just about a mile before Lyon it comes rushing out and gathers strength. The Sâone goes as far as Paris.

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324 The actual source is north of Lake Geneva.

In Bellecour there are two lakes side by side and between them a monument on which is a statue of a serpent spouting water to a great height. At the edge of Bellecourt flows the Rhone. Quite recently a scientist called Perrache had produced a clever scheme to push back the banks of the Rhone more than 4 cubits, over a great length, making a wide area of dry ground where many houses have been built. He so extended this place that in a short space of time it became joined as one town with Lyon.

Av 14

The Sixth-day: my dear friend S. Ariani was in a 'third fever'[325], and I was very distressed. On the Thursday the doctor M. Raste had come to see me, bringing with him a high-ranking priest. The latter was holding in his hand a long list of some 20 questions that he wished to ask me for he found no-one else who could [answer them]. He asked me them in French, and I answered, partly in French and partly in Italian, and in this manner we could understand each other. According to what I [later] heard the priest was well satisfied with my answers.

Av 16

Sunday, Eqev: we rode off in peace in a carriage, accompanied by Azariah Vidal and Eliahu Moses as far as the village La Verpillière. After five hours they went back with the carriage.[326]

I was annoyed because of the miserliness of Reuben Moses and Manasseh de Veziz: they and [one or two of] their friends had said they would pay for the doctor and the medicines. However, I learned later that they had asked contributions from S. Samson Franquete and Moses S. [?] and S. Moses Dalpuget. I was very angry, and I had told them I would pay it all myself, and that they should give each one back his money. But now, having left the city [without settling the matter], I was forced to go back on what I had said: but I let those young men have a piece of my mind[327]. And, verily, all this was not good for my health; for after those escorting me had gone off in peace, my

325 A high fever: a strange description.

326 R. HYDA then hired a chaise to continue his journey to Turin.

327 'I spoke wondrous things' probably means this.

mood was 'blackened' to the point of tears because of my illness.

I prayed Minha in the village of La Tour-du-Pin.

Av 17

Monday: we crossed the Pont-de-Beauvoisin; and we spent the night there. This was the border of France, and they had told us in Lyon that the customs was very strict. But t.G. they just asked us a general query about whether we were carrying merchandise; and we answered 'no' and they let us pass through. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Later that day, as we were ascending the mountains, we encountered a man with a small boy from Turin. He told me that this was his grandson whom his son had left [abandoned ?] in Turin. Now I was very anxious, for I did not know whether he was telling me this because he wanted some money; or whether, perhaps, he desired me to take him with me - and my mind was full of confused thoughts. Also, my good friend S. Ariani ytv - who was accompanying me in the *calesso* and he still had fever. I was therefore very distressed: may G-d heal him with a complete cure; m.t.b.H.w.

Almost two hours later we arrived in the town of Chambéry, in Savoie. There S. Ariane ytv was able to lie down in bed and he had a good sweat: m.G. heal him with a complete cure; m.t.b.H.w. In the morning we drank some coffee in the town on Challes-Les-Eaux, at the border of Savoie.[328]

I will relate something I learned in Lyon. The king of France is titled 'King of France and Navarre'. Navarre is a small unimportant duchy whereas France is great and wide; so why do they make mention of Navarre rather than Provence or Languedoc etc.? The answer is, that the Duke of Navarre had no sons; and so he bequeathed his duchy to the king of France - on condition that Navarre should be mentioned [in his title]! In the same way, the duchy of Dauphine - which lies next to Lyon - is a small duchy, but the Duke bequeathed it to the king of France on condition that the king's eldest son should be known as the *Dauphin* so that his land should be remembered. And so it remains until today - the statutory heir to the throne, the eldest son of the King of France, is called the *Dauphin*. It is also the present [custom] that [just] *Monsieur* means the oldest brother of King Louis, the Count of Provence, and his wife is simply *Madame* and his daughter is simply Madame Zila.

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328 Freimann wrongly identifies this as Aiguebelle where R. HYDA arrived on Av 18.

Av 18

The eve of Tuesday: a gentile inn in the village of Le Nez [?]; in the morning we reached the village of Aiguebelle where we drank coffee. An hour after noon we arrived at the village of La Sephille [?] and we had a meal there.

Av 19

The eve of Wednesday: we arrived at the town of St. Jean de Maurienne and lodged in a gentile guest house. We rose at dawn so as to set off early. My good friend S. David [Arianai] had since yesterday morning been suffering from the cold, and he was also in discomfort from the journey; and I was troubled by his distress.

We arrived at the village of Modane before noon. The coachman sent my large trunk by mule over the mountain of Mont Cenis because the *calesso* could not make the mountain journey.

Av 20

Thursday: we slept [that night] in the village of Il Borgo and in the morning we commenced our ascent of the mountain. I was carried in a litter by two men who changed over with others. The ascent took an hour, then there was mostly level going for two hours on the mountain plateau. And there are houses there! It took a further two hours to descend by way of crooked defiles and gorges. Near the beginning of the descent is a bridge which marks the end of Savoie and the beginning of Piemonte. In Savoie there are more than a hundred villages but most of them are ruined and deserted. There is plenty of water because of the abundance of springs and streams. [Each year] the king of Turin sends thirty-six thousand *balas* [=bales], each weighing 175 litres - of salt! - for there are some half a million people living here.

And there was I, relaxed and comfortable in the litter with an *ombrella* in my hand, while Abraham rode with the mules, until we reached Novalesa at the foot of the mountain. Now Abraham had lost a *truta* [=trout] that I had bought for 15 *soldos*; and because I was now berating him for talking too much and forgetting about what was going on around him, he began to shout. I rebuked him and he started going off back towards the mountain. [Fortunately], I well know his idiotic ways - one who has not descended to his level would have lost him - and by shouting an imprecation I got him to

come back. We soon reached the customs and they treated us with great respect: they just opened the big trunk and glanced in and closed it: they really were most respectful. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Av 21

The eve of Friday: we slept that night in the town of Sant Ambrogio and arrived in Turin before noon. Six miles from the city the way is very beautiful with trees on either side. Arriving in the city we were met by S. Guastalla and S. Fubini; they interceded for us at the customs who did not even look into our things. This is truly amazing, for even gentiles such as ambassadors are searched; and I was told by prominent merchants that they even searched in their tobacco-pouches! This is truly a wonder - 'I am unworthy of all the kindnesses'. We reached the city centre in peace and they took us to an inn[329]; but it did not please me and I told them I wanted to have a room for myself alone. So they brought me to the house of the *g'vir* S. Menahem Fubini ytv and gave me a beautiful room. They gave my assistant an upper room - which contained an assortment of articles - and I told him to take his things up there. He said, "Do they expect me to sleep up there? I am going away!" I can no longer bear this: I told him, "Go in peace. Go on Sunday."

Av 22

The h.S.: we spent this happily and they brought fine delicacies from the inn. In the morning at the synagogue they bought for me [the honour of] the Opening of the Ark, and they also called me up at 'number three'[330]. After prayers we went to the Yeshivah where R. Israel Malvano gave a discourse. After that S. Menahem Fubini invited me to his house; and there also were R. Joseph Yaraq and a number of other people, and I began discussing the said discourse with them. Later, other Parnesssim and *g'virim* came along to my house.

After we had eaten I said to Abraham, in a friendly way, that when he goes home to his house and his wife, in order to travel to Alexandria he

329 This was a Jewish-owned inn as is evident later.

330 The first two *aliyoth* being always reserved for *cohen* and *levi*.

should first go to Livorno. There he will receive his money. And if he will do this 'he shall find life and righteousness and honour'; he should not act in a contrary manner, and thereby be a loser, as well as doing many sins. He answered insolently that he wants to be free and wants to go where he sees best, and wants no favours from me - and other provocative words. I was very distressed.

Av 23

Sunday, Re'ey: I was distressed that night because of Abraham's idiocy and did not sleep. I felt so unwell that I could not get up for prayers. After 4 hours into the day I got out of bed feeling depressed and ill-tempered. I prayed at home. S. David Ha'im Ariani was leaving that day, in peace, for Milan, and I went by calesso to escort him for two miles. May G-d lead him safely; m.t.b.H.w.

When I returned home an hour or so later, a storm blew up 'and the land became dark'. There was a great and mighty wind roaring and howling, and all the windows - and more - were rattling. A large bell in one church fell where there were a number of gentiles - it smashed into a wall and this fell killing many gentiles; and there was much lamentation. We heard, too, that the wind had uprooted many trees on the highways. And I was anxious not knowing what had happened to S. Ariani ytv who was travelling on that way.

Av 24

Monday: Abraham came to me asking to take him with me to Livorno. I told him that 'my soul was fully sated' and I had no strength left for him, but he should take the advice I had given him, for the good of his body and of his soul, and should immediately go to Livorno. I would pay all the expenses of the journey and I would give him a letter authorising the whole of his salary and, on top of that, some money I had taken on his behalf from the community; every thing would be settled and he should go home. But he did not want to go. Then I said to him, "If you want to go around with me, you must make an oath that you will tarry no longer than a year or two, and I will give you some money and send the rest to your wife. "But he would not accept, saying he did not want anything but a blessing from me. I replied: If you will accept one of the choices I said to you, then I will bless you. But he refused and went away.

Now the Rav of the community, OMR Rabbi [Michael] Solomon Jonah, had been travelling in Piemonte and was arriving back today. [I learned later that] Abraham had gone out on his route to anticipate his coming and had wept before him for two hours.

When the Rav returned home I went to visit him, and he at once began interceding for Abraham. He told me how he had wept before him beseeching that I should take him to Livorno. I was annoyed because he was trying to force me against my will; and all this was embarrassing for me. I had to tell the Rav 'some of his praises' - two out of a hundred. But my soul was very distressed - may G-d lead me out to the light.

Av 25

Tuesday: I went to the house of the Rav with R. Ephraim[331] and the discussion turned to the question of a loan outstanding to his mother-in-law. He began berating me for deceiving him in Livorno and for making a complaint against my master the Rav, of blessed memory, his father; and for doing wrong to his brother. I was truly distressed. Later that evening I discussed the matter with my dear friend, the *g'vir* S. Menahem Fubini nrv, and indicated to him that I wished to clear up the matter.

Av 26

Wednesday: R. Ephraim came to see me together with his mother-in-law. She spoke to me courteously and I answered all her questions courteously, with the help of the Merciful One.

Later that day I sought out Abraham and gave him 40 *ungaros* accountable to him, and 3 more as a gift. Regarding the matter of the abovem. loan, they met to discuss this and appointed S. Morino, S. Menahem and S. Hezeqiah Pescarol to deal with it. R. Ephraim then went to the *Senado* [senate, community Council] and obtained a *secuestro*[332] for the contribution belonging to Hebron from Turin, Casale, Alessandria and their environs.

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331 This is the son of R. Jonah Navon - R. HYDA'a teacher (see below).

332 A document for obtaining funds; some sort of cheque.

Av 27

Thursday: I went to see S. Hezeqiah Pescoral to speak to him about the above matter. And he is a man of good sense and we had an agreeable discussion.

Av 28

Friday: we met in the Council chamber, S.Morino and the said abovem. *g'virim* and R. Ephraim, but we reached no conclusion because he had to speak to his mother-in-law for her consent for what they were going to do.

Av 29

The h.S.: I spent the entire Sabbath with dear and charming friend, S. Menahem, in great honour. After the prayers, R. Yohanan Ts'vi Katzigin [?] preached in the Yeshiva. He signs himself 'Bor Tsaki' [?]. I preached in the evening for an hour and a half; and I was tired and weary from all the *abbasamento*[333].

Ellul, New Moon

Sunday, Shof'tim, the night of the term. o.t.h.S.: 'I went though many troubles' because I could not sleep and I felt weak. Finally I [slept but] rose up late, arriving for prayers when they had reached *Yotser*[334]. After prayers the Rav nrv came to see me, and we went together to see S. Abraham ben I. D. Treves, son-in-law of HR Roqeah zlhh. After that [we went] to the house of Gialli, son-in-law of S. Simeon Mondovi. Later, R. Joseph Yaraq came to visit me together with the charming S. Menahem and I spoke to them about the matter of my mission. May G-d help for the good; m.t.b.H.w.

Ellul 1

Monday: after prayers the beadle, Menahem Bachi, invited me to his house to drink chocolate. Later, S. Mordecai Halevi invited me to his house; and there I found the Rav and the distinguished R. Isaac. Afterwards I went to visit S. Guastalla.

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333 This seems to be a Spanish-Italian hybrid meaning 'depression'.

334 The blessing 'Who createth [light]' nearly half way.

At four of the clock in the afternoon I went to the chief office of the Minister of State of the King for Foreign Affairs and I handed him the letter from Madame Adelaida to her grand-daughter, the sister of the King of France, Louis XVI, who was married to the son of the King of Turin[335], Prince of Piemonte. It is situated in the country several miles away. We were received courteously and he said he would hand it over. On the journey there I observed the streets and market-places of Turin, beautiful and well laid out. And the palace [home] of the Minister is also beautiful, situated at the side of the great *Ministerio de Estados* together with many other trappings of royalty. The king also has an entrance to his palace from there, and through a window I could see part of the royal gardens: beautifully ordered.

On my return, because of my worn-out and exhausted condition, I felt a little unwell. I was very distressed, and I felt tired and weary.

Ellul 2

Tuesday: in the evening I felt unwell and in the morning I could not get up for prayers. Later in the day, the Ambassador of France came to visit me with his retinue in response to the letter of recommendation from the Comte de Maillebois of Paris. This was a great honour for the Jews [of Turin] because he represents the King of France and is accounted here as an extremely important personage, both because the King of France is a powerful king, and also because the daughters of the King of Sardinia - who is Prince of Piemonte and Duke of Savoie - are married to the brothers of the King of France, Monsieur le Comte de Provence and Monsieur le Comte d'Artois. The King's sister is his [the King of Sardinia's] daughter-in-law, married to his son, the Prince of Piemonte and heir apparent; and the wife of the King [of Sardinia] is also from the kingdom of France.

And so, too, did the leading merchants and bankers all come to visit me and did me great honour, even though, because of my illness, I had not gone to visit them. But I must fill my mouth with rebuke against 'the children of our nation' - 'behold, for their sins'[336] - the nations and the princes give me more honour than they do. I set before them the 'Order of

335 Carl Emmanuel IV.

336 Psalms 51:7 *Heyn* = they or behold; 'sins (of)' is in the genitive with nations to deflect the guilt (at the expense of the grammar).

Havdalah' [the clear distinction] between the time of my first visit when they accorded me great honour, with donations from the Yehidim and other gifts to me - while now no-one remembered [this] and [instead], they had written several new chapters of 'The Laws of Parsimony'; and they flee from an emissary as though to be under the same roof were sinful. Woe unto them! And I expanded in this vein with only 'two out of a hundred' words that were in my heart.

Ellul 3

Wednesday: this was a difficult day, because the Rav was ill and sent a letter regarding the settlement [of the loan]; but he had altered what I had arranged. I spoke sharp words to R. Joseph Yaraq and the worthy *g'vir* S. Menahem Fubini; and finally I re-wrote one line - and erased what their Rav had written in.

Ellul 4

Thursday: I went to see the Rav. He had gathered there a notary, and the creditor and the community officials and everything was written down as a [legal] instrument. After that we came to the matter of the accounting for the [Hebron] mission and for the Jerusalem Yeshiva. I was able to make a simple demonstration that there should be more money coming from Piemonte [for Hebron] and also more money for the Yeshiva. But the Rav said: only so much and no more. So I turned my eye from the matter, since both I had been ill and the Rav had been ill and I could not bring myself to argue further. But later I got to know that the Rav owed some money - and also money belonging to the settlement [of the loan] - to the community chest but had obtained deferment for repayment for more than 6 months! And I was truly vexed against 'these upholders of the Torah': for this is a profanement of the Name. May G-d in his mercy rescue us.

The *Primo Ministro* sent for S. Pescarol to come and see him. When he went he told him that the Prince of Piemonte had decreed in my favour to give me a passport from the King, and if I desired any other thing it would be done! So at 5 of the clock in the afternoon I departed from Turin in peace with the lad Meir Bachi. Benjamin Pitigliano de Lattes came to escort me some ten miles at the behest of S. Menahem Fubini, ytv.

On the way I lost my stick. It lay buried in the dust, but they managed to find it because a small portion of the cord attached to it was showing and they returned it to me. Then one of the horses fell as though dead and we all got down [from the coach]; but it soon arose after a few lashes. We arrived safely in Chivasso in the evening.

Ellul 5

The eve of Friday: we lodged in a gentile inn. Some *goyim* there were molesting us with mocking and comments - until I showed them the passport and they then became subdued.

The next day, as we were crossing the River Dora by ferry I caught sight of the Hakham Elia Gedilio going towards Turin. For me this was miraculous - that he had not come during my stay there!

Further along the way a villager came running towards us shouting that the wagon was too near the river bank[337]; and, indeed, if we had gone but a little further we should all have fallen into the river together with the wagon. We got out immediately to have a look, and it was truly frightening; we recited the blessing for '...the G-d who saves'.

At mid-day we arrived at Vercelli. There was not a soul there to say a thing about our packages and we entered in peace. We were received with great honour by HHOMH R. Benjamin Segri nrv in his house where we found Rav Yehiel Ha'im Treves, the Rabbi of that place.

Ellul 6

The h.S.: we were treated with great honour. I preached for more than an hour in the synagogue and the cong. seemed pleased, t.G. I heard there a number of interesting things concerning the Rav of Turin. I also saw there the Decisions of R. Isaiah [of Trani] the Elder[338] on a number of Talmudic tractates in manuscript; and also Decisions of R.I.O.Z.[339], in manuscript, on [the Orders of] *Mo'ed* [Festivals], *Nashim* [Women], *Neziqin* [Damages] and the [eight] 'Small Halakhic Tractates [of the RIF].

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337 This must have crumbled a little way ahead dangerously close to the road.

338 Famous 12th century author of 'Tosefoth R.I.D.' (D = de-Trani).

339 Grandson and namesake of R.I.D. and author of *Or Zaru'a (aleph* = 'a' or 'o').

Ellul 7

Sunday, Thetse: we were invited to the home of HHOMH R. Jacob Pugliese, son-in-law of the Rav OMR Isaac Formiggini nrv. And they had prepared a huge banquet. R. Yehiel Ha'im Treves was also there, and so was HHOMH R. Benjamin Segri. He made me gift of a *tabaquera de agata*[340].

Ellul 8

Monday: after prayers I travelled to Casale with Meir Bachi who had accompanied me from Turin. We were escorted by my two brothers-in-law, the *g'virim* Mordecai Treves and Isaac Ha'im Cantarini all the way to Casale. There we were received, with great honour, by that most praiseworthy *g'vir* S. Simeon Ha'im Levi Morello ytv: they had prepared a banquet that went on literally all day! Many people were invited and they kept offering me refreshments all the time - and everything with the warmest hospitality from the *g'vir* himself, his wife, the g'veret Bath-Sheva, his daughter, the g'veret Zipporah and his charming son-in-law S. Meir Zalman. There, too, were Their Eminences the Hakhamin HHOMR. Meir Bachi and HHOMR Isaac Finzi and HHOMH R. Abraham Luzzatto. They were doing everything in their power [to welcome me] with great love. We sent a messanger to Moncalvo.[341]

Ellul 10

Wednesday: a messenger back from the town of Moncalvo: and they sent 3 *zecchini* with him. I sent back to them again a small note I had written saying as follows: "Yehidim of Moncalvo! I am greatly distressed by the hardness of your hearts - in the past you sent me 16 [*zecchini*] but now, in times of increased hardship, you have sent three - because of 'three' 'the world trembled'[342]! Know ye that there is a G-d in Israel - the 'three' you can keep, 'but we the Name of the L-rd our G-d will utter.'" Thus far is

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340 Presumably a tobacco-jar made of agate.

341 To inform the community of their coming.

342 This is evidently a reference to the earthquake in the reign of King Uzziah v. Amos ch.1.

written in the note. And also Their Eminences, the Hakhamim wrote to them in the strongest terms.

They paid for the messenger and also sent 8 *zecchini* with apologies and explaining the change in their circumstances from that time to this. Happy are they, Israel - the Shield of their ancestors is their help and their shield.

Ellul 11

Thursday: a start was made to the collection by some of the Yehidim. I went to visit S. Abraham Pavia, the brother-in-law of S. Menahem Fubini, and S. Samuel Pavia who is a partner with the *g'vir*, my host, and S. Shabbetai Zalman Vitta: and this latter is a tiresome person, 'whose like brings a Deluge upon the world'; but no Noah among them![343]

Ellul 13

The h.S.: I visited the Rav OMR S. Bachi, an elderly man 85 years of age, and his son the Hakham, and S. Finzi, and the *Haver* S. D. del Vecchio[344], and to the deputy of the congregation Solomon Fubini.

My host wrought wondrously and invited more than ten people - scholars and *Haverim* - to meet me that day, and the same again every day that week: like the festive bridal week - and I the bridegroom! At Minha-time I went to the synagogue and preached, with the help Heaven, for an hour and a half; and it was goodly in their eyes.

Ellul 14

Sunday, Tavo, the t. of t.h.S.: I was suffering toothache; but in spite of this I went to the synagogue.

Abraham, my assistant, arrived at my house! He wanted to stay and accompany me - it was now some weeks since he had gone his way. He pressed me but finally I refused to see any more of him or [even] to give

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343 The name *Noah* = rest, satisfaction.

344 *Haver* (lit. companion) is a rare honorary title voted to someone without formal rabbinic qualifications. Samuel David del Vecchio ('of the elders') is referred to in R. HYDA's books *Ha'im Sha'al* - see Freimann's reference.

him a letter. I am afraid of his mischievous nature. He finally went away. Then we[345] went to see Yohanan Vitta, the father of S. Meir and they accorded us honour; and he gave me his share of their inheritance in the Erets Israel fund[346].

My host implored me to stay at least the Monday and I felt obliged to agree to his request.

Ellul 16

Tuesday: I departed accompanied by R. Abraham Luzzatto, my host's secretary, and Benjamin, his assistant[347]. We were escorted by OMR M. Bachi, S. Meir and his son Joseph in a *calesso* for half our journey. About mid-day we arrived in Alessandria della Paglia and we settled in the inn in comfort. Before long the Rav arrived - the Ga'on OMR Elia Levi together with some of the *g'virim*.

And then a miracle happened to me. I was worried about the journey to Genoa - who could accompany me? Suddenly, the the son of the host said to me, "The Rav and his son, the deputy of the cong., told me that I must go with you to Genoa to serve you!" I asked him, "What is your name?" He replied, "My name is Ezriel Amar." And this itself is amazing - 'The help of G-d'[348]. I gave thanks to His Name, may it be blessed; may He always be help in all our efforts in His service m.H.b.b., m.t.b.H.w.

After eating a meal, I went to see OMR E. Levi and he showed me a book he had written, a 'foursome of Elia': *Kursaya d'Eliahu* - sermons; *Tay'a Eliahu*, on *Eyn Ya'aqov; Eliahu Kotev* - letters, test questions, problemata and responsa; *Seder Eliahu, Saba Eliahu* - this is the will he commanded, and it also includes novellae. We passed an enjoyable time.

Ellul 17

Wednesday: I received a visit from the Rav and the deputies and the [synagogue] committee and they dined with me at the inn. The Rav was

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345 In the company of his host S. Morello, presumably.

346 It is not quite clear what this is.

347 The text has simply 'the assistant' and it is not clear whose.

348 This is the translation of the Ezriel.

discontented because he could eat no fish so he ate almost nothing. After the meal some of the Yehidim came and each one donated 3 *litres*. I was angry and I handed the money to the Rav.

Out of my distress I went to the house of one of the deputies, S. Gershon della Torre and told him. He gave [me] 6 *litres*. I refused to drink the coffee he offered me. Then I went to the deputies [sic], Hillel son of Solomon Vitali. I refused coffee there too 'because the weather was too hot'; neither did I accept refreshment. He said to me, "At least take some of these confections from the engagement of my daughter." So I took a little. He then wanted to give me some money but I declined and told him that I had not accepted the money from the other Yehidim because of my disappointment, and I was also returning the 6 *litres* from the other deputy.

The Rav came to see me after Minha but he spoke about other matters 'as if he did not know Joseph'. After Arvit I went to the house of S. Ezriel Joel Ha-Cohen the treasurer - he is the son-in-law of the brother of S. Isaac. A daughter had just been born to him. The Rav was also there, and that 'daughter of one day'[349] was named then and there Esmeralda; but in reality she is Bath-Sheva, for he now has seven daughters!

I spoke some sharp words there both towards the Yehidim; and towards the Rav, who was trying to defend them, I became quite irate. In the end, Gershon and Israel Pugliesi [?] sent me a *zecchino* each.

Ellul 18

Thursday: in the morning the Rav came to me and begged me to accept what they had donated; but I refused and told him to give it to some other poor man who might come from E. Israel. But we conversed on other matters amicably. Then - before prayers - I departed from there escorted by the Rav and his sons and S. Gershon and several other people. I was greatly worried, because they had told us in Casale that the route from Alessandria to Novi is very dangerous. But, t.G., we passed through safely without 'Satan or evil encounter' and arrived in Novi two hours before noon. This is the beginning of the province of Genoa.

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349 'One-day-old' (*ben-yoma*) is the Talmudic term for a utensil used that day (in regard to milk-meat questions). Here she is referred to as *bat-yoma*.

Ellul 19

The eve of the Sixth: we arrived in the town of Voltaggio. We had a fine room with princely beds - but they charged excessively. At dawn next day we departed, with the help of G-d. It was a stormy day and raining heavily as we climbed and then descended through Bocchetta. We arrived in Campo Marone two hours before noon and the rain had become so heavy that the *vetturino* did not want to go on. I was distressed because of the approaching Sabbath. In the end I appeased him with extra money - more than half a *zecchino* - and he went, cursing the day, for in truth it was a very unpleasant journey.

We arrived in Genoa two hours in the afternoon. But still 'were our souls greatly sated with troubles' because of the heavy rain and because since the *calesso* goes no farther they had set us down in the *piazza*. And what with the pouring rain, coupled with the unpleasantness of the porters, 'we were satiated with wormwood' until we eventually reached the house of S. Moses Foa who received us with great honour. May G-d reward his deeds; m.t.b.H.w.

On my arrival I found letters from my dear and good friend S. Raphael Barukh ytv; and also letters from S. Ha'im Levi, HR A. Jonah, M. Fabry and Abraham Vidal, and I was overjoyed. But it was only when I opened up my trunk that I saw that some [other] important letters and my clothes had become spoiled from the continuous dripping [of rain] on the trunk.

Ellul 20

Saturday, the h.S.: I suffered from toothache that night. Next day, b.b.G., the pain had eased and quieted.

Ellul 21

Sunday, Nitsavim: I was again worried about the journey and about who would accompany me. The wind[350], too, was against me.

Ellul 22

Monday: I went with S. Manuel, the son of my host, to Porto Franco. I

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350 Could mean 'spirit'.

had with me the [other] trunk which I had sent from Lyon to be deposited with S. Seppolina and had then put in S. Foa's cellar. When I arrived at the customs and they wanted to open it, I could not find the key, so I had to go back. I found the key in the cellar. I opened the trunk and took out the *qameahs* [= amulets], the 'Book of the Omer' [?] and my letters, and left them there to be forwarded on to me in Livorno. Now no-one [in the normal way] may leave Porto Franco save for travelling on - *transito* - to another country[351]. And it was miraculous. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.; Blessed is the G-d who saves.

Ellul 23

Tuesday: I travelled by *feluca* to Herici [Lerici ?]. It was calm and they had to use the oars - twelve of them.

Ellul 24

Wednesday: on the eve of Wednesday, two hours before midnight, one citizen and his wife had gone out to a certain village and slept there overnight not returning until four of the clock in the morning[352]. That day, too, was calm and we rowed to Lerici arriving at mid-day. I had been accompanied from Genoa by the lad Solomon Franco Miranda, and from Lerici we took a poste-chaise.

Ellul 25

Thursday: we spent the night in the town of Massa sleeping in the poste-chaise. We rose early to set out on our way, arriving in Pisa at mid-day. And the grace of G-d will I relate - praises to G-d for all that G-d has dealt us, for at the gates of Pisa they hardly looked into the trunk[353], just opening it while it was on the carriage - quick opening and closing - and this was miraculous indeed. We went to the house of my boon-companion

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351 The narrative is a little confused here, and so is the grammar. In the text 'he found the key in the cellar' The emendation 'I' is inserted because the text continues 'I found it..' But perhaps it was S. Foa, who certainly accompanied R. HYDA.

352 They had evidently stopped at an intermediate port. who found the key.

353 It will be remembered that the Italian customs were very strict about books.

S. Raphael. He was alone, and I recited the blessing '..Who has kept us alive etc.'[354].

It was some hours later when I handed to him, as a gift, a Siddur printed in Amsterdam and very valuable - two Venetian *dobla* - for it is very rare; a small *redomica* [flask] of perfume; two kerchiefs of silk, and one made from the leaves of a tree; a *diral* [?] of silver and its appurtenances; a white ivory ink-stand from France; another beautiful handkerchief; a silver bowl given to me by S. Vivante[355]. I gave her a silver *bakrach*[356] and two silver cutlery-pieces [for the table] and two for travelling - a knife and a *garpo* [fork?] with engraved patterns; a copper woven basket; a *cannocchiale* [eye-glass, telescope] and the *canabitica* [?]; and also for her a money-purse and two pairs of scissors, a small one and a large one; and some money.

Ellul 26

Friday: I wrote to Livorno saying I would be leaving Sunday morning.

Ellul 27

Saturday: our Sabbath was a happy one. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Ellul 28

Sunday, Va-yelekh: I travelled to Livorno in the morning together with S. A.H.L. [?] ytv. We stopped in Stagno and there coming towards me was the *g'vir* my beloved son-in-law. Afterwards some more friends, S. Pereiras, S. Miranda and S. Abraham Judah Faro, arrived in *calessos* and I delighted in their company. I went for a meal to my daughter. Then I visited the *g'vir* S. Michael ytv[357] and the *g'virim* Ss. Francos and I gave the old man the letter he had sent me to Bayonne - for he had complained in a letter to Amsterdam that I had not sent it and it was a *lettera di cambio*[358] -

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354 Meeting an old friend is a legal use of the benediction!

355 V. p. 96.

356 Bucket (Turk.).

357 S. Michael Pereira v. p. 48.

and told him that it was a useless scrap of paper. Then I made some more visits; and a number of friends then came to visit me - all with great honour, D. G.

Ellul 29

Monday: that evening 'I rejoiced in good fellowship' with my dear and good friends, 'brothers and companions' those men of benevolence, S. Gabriel and S. Jacob Pereira ytv, and we celebrated all night long. The virtuous g'veret, their mother, and the *g'virot*, her daughters-in-law, sent gifts and flowers to S. Raphael ytv.

Next day after prayers I went to Pisa to deliver the gifts and the earrings; my friend S. Jacob ytv also sent a gift of two rings. And the words were announced! May this lead to bounty and blessing. May it be His will that this will bring *mazal tov* and increase our ability to serve Him, m.H.b.b., and occupation in His Torah for its own sake; and wealth, honour, health, length of days and years of life and peace in full. Amen, may thus be His will.

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358 A bill of exchange and therefore important. It seems he was supposed to have forwarded this to Amsterdam from Bayonne.

Year 5539 [1778/9]

The Year "Greater will be the glory of this house..."[1], the seventh of Heshvan, on the Fourth-day of the week of the Portion "...and thou shalt be a blessing ..."[2]: I reached the chapter of[3]: 'he who weds a maiden', the noble and virtuous Mistress Rachel, 'above women in the tent shall she be blessed'[4] in her own house in Pisa: may it be His will that with *siman tov ve-mazal* will this blossom and flourish for length of days and years of life, wealth, honour, health and holy issue[5]; and may we merit to go up and settle in the Land of Israel in tranquillity and security with an abundance of every thing, for ever selah! and everlasting.

My wife just above mentioned was born in the year 5510 [1750], in Nisan, Wednesday eve the second night of Passover, for length of good days and *mazal-tov*.

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1 Haggai 2:9 "GaDOL YiHYeH K'VOD HaBaYiT HaZeH" - the gematria value is, amazingly, 5539.

2 Gen. 12:2.

3 Tal. Ketubot ch.1.

4 Judges 5:24.

5 This hope was, alas, not fulfilled.

Year 5542 [1782]

Year of the Herald [of Good Tidings][1]

Nisan 5

My son HR Abraham ytv arrived in the *lazzaretto.*

Iyar 5

The day of the h.S: He entered the town in peace1.

Sivan 29

My eldest son HR Isaiah ytv came to Pisa and we all went out to meet him - myself, his brother, his son and 'the beauty of my house', 'above the women in the tent shall she be blessed'.

Ellul 10

Tuesday, Thetse: my son HR A. ytv set off by ship for Tripoli; may G-d lead him in safety. The same day my eldest son ytv travelled safely to Pisa in order to go to a spa on one of the hills of Lucca, for he has pain in the loins: may G-d heal him with a complete cure.

Ellul 27

The eve of Friday, 'ZaKh' Ellul[2]: he returned here safely and felt better with the help of the Name m.i.b.b.

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1 Herald = MeVaSeR = 5542. The diary from this point on is written in an obviously less careful script.

2 Meaning 'refined' i.e. healed, gematria = 27.

Year 5543 [1783]

The year of 'In Israel Is His Name Great'[1]

Heshvan 28

Tuesday: my eldest son nrv and his son ytv went to Pisa; and I S. A.H.L. accompanied them. We all stayed with S. Cava.

Heshvan 29

Wednesday: we left Pisa amid torrential rain - I and S. A.H.L. But by the time we had reached the outskirts of the town it stopped, and the sun began to shine through ever more strongly and it was shining brightly. And we returned here to Livorno safely.

Kislev 4

Va-yetsey, Sunday: my son and his son, may G-d guard them and grant them life, left for Florence, in peace.

Kislev 11

Va-yishlah, Sunday: I received a letter from my dear eldest son ytv, from the town of Florence saying he was preparing to travel to Modena. May G-d lead him in safety and send him success in every thing: m.t.b.H.w.

Kislev 12

Monday: I received a letter from my younger son ytv from Trablus [Tripoli] dated the eve of the Day of Atonement saying he had arrived there safely and that a miracle had happened to him. On disembarking from the ship, he had fallen completely into the water, but they managed to catch hold of his clothes and pull him out. Blessed is He who redeems: p.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

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1 'BeYiSRAeL' = 5543.

Kislev 14

Wednesday: towards nightfall some boiling water fell on my right hand. I was in agony for some four hours but then the pain eased and quieted. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Ellul

During the first third [of the month] my dear son, the light of my eyes, HR Abraham m. G.g.h.l. arrived from Tunis - may the cities of our land be rebuilt! - to the *lazzaretto* in safety.

On Sabbath Nitsavim I preached in the Yeshiva of the abovem. distinguished S. Michael ytv.

Year 5544 [1783/1784]

The year of MiKhTaM Le-DaViD K-D-M-T[1]

Tishri

Towards the end of Tishri on Friday of Bereshith[2] my abovem. 'son who is dear to me' left the *lazzaretto* in peace and he came home with his attendant Emmanuel Valensi ytv.

Heshvan

At the beginning of the month, our good friend HR Samuel son of OMR R. A. Sanguinetti zlhh, son-in-law of my abovem. son HR A. ytv, left the *lazzaretto*. He dined with us nights and on the holy Sabbath.

Kislev

About the time of New Moon: my two brothers-in-law abovem. went to Pisa, Florence and Modena; they left Modena on the 24th Kislev for Florence. On the day of the h.S.: the abovem. HR Samuel fell ill and he was in pain; but G-d in His mercy sent His word and healed him. They returned here safely about the 15th Teveth.

Nisan

Sunday, P. Thazri'a: I travelled by carriage, together with 'the beauty of my house', my son HR A. and a maid, Bela, to Pisa. We all stayed in the house of S. Abendana m.G.g.h.l.: we had taken his permission and he had sent the keys of the house prior to our departure.

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1 E.g. Psalm 16. The w. *mikhtam* = of fine gold, i.e. something precious. The other letters are the year - letters rearranged to spell an unknown w. whose root KDM means 'east' or 'before' or forward.

2 The first Sabbath after Succoth.

Iyar

I was feeling restless and found my stay in Pisa boring. On Monday of P. Emor, 12th Iyar, we returned home - 'the beauty of my house', 'above all women in the tent shall she be blessed', the said HR S. and the maid: for my son had returned earlier to be in time for the ship.

Iyar 22

Thursday, P. Be-Huqothai: my son HR A. m.G. guard him a.g.h.l., departed in peace by the ship 'Raguzea' for Tunis together with Hakham R. Tubiana and a number of other Jews. May G-d in His mercy lead him in safety and send him success in every thing, and grant me the merit of seeing his face in peace in the Holy City, may it be rebuilt and re-established: m.t.b.H.w.

Year 5545 [1785]

Nisan 8

The day of the Great Sabbath: in the morning I felt a chill; but I went to pray at the house of S. Ash'hari [?]. I felt a need for 'smalls' but had to repress myself for I had started 'Blessed is the One who said..' but immediately after *Qedushah* I went. But water would not pass, and I stayed in pain until after the *Qedusha* of *Mussaf*. I came home, still in pain. Later I had to preach, and I preached for an hour and a half, in pain. Afterwards, I returned home without staying for Minha and was still in pain. I prayed Minha, then Arvit; and I was still in pain.

Nisan 9

The night of Sunday I hardly slept and was in pain and discomfort all the night - frequent and little. During the day, too, I was in great distress to such a degree that, among my many sins, I prayed with the utmost difficulty, just the *Shema* and putting on only the *Rashi-Tefillin*[1]. But then G-d had mercy on me and later I was able to pray Minha, just *Ashrei* and the *Amidah*[2] with difficulty and with 'the haste of the flight from Egypt'. I was in pain the entire week, though not so much as on the first day. Then I found that a potion made from the root *de l'altea* was very good for me and it immediately relieved the pain.

Nisan 13

Thursday: I had to clear out certain things in my *sala* [= room]. It was very cold but I had perforce to do it 'because the time had come'[3].

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1 Men of great piety also put on *Rabbenu-Tam-Tefillin.*

2 Some biblical and Mishnaic passages are often said in addition.

3 To clear out leaven before the Passover.

Nisan 14

The eve of Thursday: I had fever and the water was not in order and I was very fearful; the doctor, too, was worried.

Nisan 15

'The night of the sanctification of the Festival'[4] : S. Acciaioli [Assagioli] m.G.g.h.l. and his family all gathered with us; for they had made this their custom. I said 3 little 'grains' [of exposition] on the opening verses of the Haggadah, but I had no strength left to discourse and discuss as is customary. But, t.G, compared with what I been through, I was receiving veritable mercies on the two nights of Passover. But from the first day, I allowed no one to come and visit me; and even the very closest was just allowed 'to see my face' and then go. And, among my many sins, from the first day of Passover to the eighth, I was not able to hear *Qadish* or *Qedusha* or *Barkhu*.

Nisan 22

The day of the h.S., the eighth day of Passover: I forced myself and went to the Yeshiva arriving as they were saying *Nishmath*[5]. Before the reading from the Torah I had to go out and attend to my needs. When I returned they gave me Opening of the Ark, and I also was called up to the Torah; but before the reading of the Haftara [closing section] I had to go out again. I managed to go to Minha both on day of the h.S. and on the second Festival day[6].

Nisan 18[7]

The eve of Tuesday: as night was falling, in the twilight, my son HR A. m.G.g.h.l. arrived from Algeria. He had been in Espiuga[8] until

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4 A Talmudic reference to the first night of the Passover.

5 In time for the important *Barkhu*.

6 Of the final two Festival days. There is inconsistency here because the eighth and final day is the second Festival day.

7 This entry is, curiously, out of sequence.

8 Could this be Espluga, Spain near Barcelona? Ships from Algeira might be driven there in a storm. In any case, this must be the Wednesday before Passover.

Wednesday morning, and had been 'in a sea of troubles' because of the stormy winds. On that Wednesday, he was being taken to the *lazzaretto* in the captain's *lancha* [= launch] when a strong gust of wind overturned it and they were nearly all drowned: one was drowned. The storm was so powerful that on Wednesday night the ship's anchor broke: but he was already in the *lazzaretto*. Blessed be G-d for saving him and bringing him home safely. Give praise to G-d for good is He, the L-rd our saviour, fullness of praise.

Nisan 23

The term. o.t.h.S., the Day Following the Festival[9]: I went to Arvit, but the illness returned and it was a night of distress. I fell asleep at midnight but had to get up after an hour and a half and was in pain till the morning. In the afternoon I was in great pain which continued till 3 or 4 hours after nightfall.

Nisan 24

I went to sleep close to midnight and slept till the morning. Thanks to the L-rd, m.H.b.b. That day I had relief from pain. May G-d accomplish it for the good so that I may serve Him and fear Him.

Nisan 26

Wednesday: in the morning I recited the 'Blessing for the Sun'[10] D.G. I had once recited this blessing here in Livorno in the year 5517 [1757]. 'Blessed is He who hath sustained us in life up till the present time'; may He in His mercy grant us length of days of goodness and years of pleasantness: for ever and everlasting let us give thanks to His Name, m.t.b.H.w.

Iyar

At the beginning of the month I went, on the h.S., to the Yeshiva

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9 This still retains a little festiveness.

10 This happens once in 28 years.

and immersed myself in study from that time onwards. It was during the first third of the month that I went to the *lazzaretto* by *carrozzino*[11] to see my son m.G.g.h.l. I went there to see him on one other occasion by *carrozzino*. T.G.

The 29th [of Iyar]

My son came out of the *lazzaretto* and we spent pleasant days together until the 20th of Sivan. 'But until is exclusive', for from that day on 'I was sated with wormwood' for he grew unwell. But he continued mightily[12] until I told him, "If you want to then go." And he began to make preparations for departure. Three days later - it was the eve of the h.S. - I was very distressed and in such a black mood that I was almost distraught. About four hours in the afternoon I had to go for a ride in a *calesso* to try and lift the depression. Also, OMR I.N.N ytv [?] went to my son and 'spoke judgments to him'[13].

On the day of the h.S. HQBH gave me the merit of being able to overcome my mood and feel happy. But on Sunday he was still in stubborn mood. OMR B.H.M. ytv [?] went to see him and wrought wonders until he agreed to stay. I paid for some of his expenses and also bought him some coffee and some sugar. But he developed such a sulky countenance that 'he was consuming our flesh with the skin'.

On the night of the term. of the h.S., 24th Av, he again said to me, "I want to go." I replied, "If you wish to, then go." He got up and went out. I sent him a golden ornament he had [once] given to his aunt, 'a.a.w.i.t.t.s.s.b.b.' and which she ordered him to take back.

That Sunday he departed accompanied by HR H. B[ondi] his 'partner in crime'. I suppressed my desire and did not go to escort him to the barque. May G-d lead them safely. I was still in bitter mood and could not comprehend his strange behaviour, most unusual from a number of aspects. May his Master forgive him!

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11 A chaise. In modern Italian *carrozzina* is a baby carriage.

12 The narrative is a little obscure here, but it seems he was still wanted to journey abroad against the strong opposition of his father.

13 Jeremiah 39:5 He read him the riot act.

Av 25

He sailed off, in peace, in the ship.

Ellul 15

I received letters from the holy city of Jerusalem - more than 20 letters! For my abovem. son there were also some letters. They said everyone was well, t.G.; P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e.

Year 5553 [1793]

Tammuz 11, 5553:

My dear son HR A. came safely home from Amsterdam.

Av 14

I felt very ill; and for 40 days I did not go to pray in the Yeshiva. And I passed through a very distressing time. By a miracle I was able to fast on Yom Kippur. P.t.L.f.H.i.g.f.H.m.e.f.e. 'Blessed is He who deals goodness to the unworthy, who hath dealt me only good'.

Year 5554 [1794]

ZaKh [27] Adar I

My dear son abovem., m.G.g.h.l., departed in peace for Tunis, may the cities of our land be rebuilt! May G-d lead him safely and to great success; and may He lead us all in peace to the holy city of Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established. May thus be His will.

Sermons

Sermons

Sermon 1 (p.211)

On the Sabbath day at Minha R. Salem preached on the [Talmudic] interpretation of the verse: 'If you will go with me..'[1] [meaning] 'to sing etc.', the intention being that they should sing the Song while they were still in the midst of battle, because of their certainty [of victory]. But she [Deborah] replied that the Song was not given for him alone[2] to sing, but it was also for the whole of Israel to sing, and this would be only after the miracle had happened. He also mentioned the subject of Saul's ban on Jonathan. He explained, too, that the reason why G-d did not answer Saul was because he had transgressed the words of Samuel to wait for him[3]; and [also that] the reason [for the Talmudic edict][4] that a king cannot pardon one who transgresses on his honour is on account of [the honour] of Israel so if the people pardon him he may be pardoned, as it says '...as G-d lives, if a hair of his head falls etc.'; and a further reason [for Jonathan being pardoned] is that he did not know [about the ban on eating]; and why the salvation came through him [Jonathan] and not through Saul was because he had transgressed against the words of the prophet: this is the essence of his entire sermon. Now in my humble opinion all the abovementioned is not true. But I will say one thing from among his words that is good, [namely,] that the protest [of the people]: 'Shall Jonathan die for having made salvation [this day]..' was because Saul had said 'this day shall no man die, for the L-rd has made salvation' and therefore he was saying [in effect] that on a day of salvation there is to be no strictness concerning questions of honour: [moreover] Jonathan had not heard the ban and so there was just the action of transgression [without intention] and a penalty of death is not

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1 Judges 4:8 Baraq speaking to Deborah.

2 And his warriors.

3 Sam. I 10:8.

4 Ket. 17a.

appropriate for a mistake. This is [all that is meant by] 'shall Jonathan die..' but it was left to the sermon to spread this to occupy half an hour!

Sermon 2 (p.213)

'Rise up, my love, my fair one..[5]' - [the meaning is] that the man is inviting his wife to enjoy strolling in the garden alone, but in her extreme modesty it is [instead] 'my dove is in the clefts of the rock etc'. Then her husband says, "Show me thy countenance etc." and she answers : "How shall I go? 'Take for us young foxes'" - the youths and the boys whose sweet lips are as the bite of a fox which at first is not felt but afterwards is sore indeed; so it is with the young who 'destroy the vineyards of the L-rd of hosts[6]'. He went on with further interpretations: 'Our sons are as saplings[7]', for when sowing one has to remove from the seeds any vile plants that sap the strength of the earth and the good plants may also draw nourishment from the bad; sons, too, are like saplings and must not have evil company. 'Our daughters are as corner-posts' who do not leave the house and seem as its walls because of their modesty, and through this comes wealth: '..whose garners are full etc., whose sheep etc.' meaning that none of the animals will die. 'There is no breach' [means] that the gathered waters will not burst forth; 'and there is no going out' [meaning] they will not overflow the banks, and therefore 'there is no outcry'. He went on to expound: 'And he [Saul] told nothing concerning the kingdom etc.' because this [anointing] had come through a man in whom he did not fully believe, and he was afraid the things Samuel had promised would not come about and that he had only 'trusted' Samuel out of respect. I thought this might be an allusion to the *g'vir* Samuel Ximenes[8] who had schemed against the rabbinate and had remained 'closed up'[9] for forty days.

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5 Can. Cant. [Shir HàShirim] 2:13.

6 The meaning here is obscure.

7 Psalms 144:12.

8 See p.179 [1].

9 Excommunicated?

Sermon 3 (p.216)

'A small town' means the body [meaning] if a man sees his expenses in living are more than his income he can thereby test whether he is a wise man or a fool: for if he is wise 'his eyes will see his straits'[10] and if each year his wealth reduces 'the capital will become extinct' and he will have to turn to his fellow-beings for succour. Therefore the solution is to decrease one's expenses until the income exceeds the expenses; and if he will take no heed he will suddenly find himself 'broke' without means for recovery. So it is with a person's soul: it commits sins without realising that the *yetser ho-ra* [= evil inclination] is causing him to keep slipping, as it is written 'a small town etc.' And, indeed, it must be interpreted as the *yetser* for, in its simple meaning, if the town is small and it has few inhabitants, why should the 'great king' need to come? - he could send his soldiers and destroy it; and, furthermore - 'a poor man..saves the town': how is that possible? And if this verse should be referring to Sheva ben Bikhri[11] behold! - Abel is a great and important town[12] in Israel, whereas in this verse we have 'small town' : this is why they describe this in terms of the *yetser*. He went on to 'build castles' [on this theme] referring to repair work on the gates [of the synagogue?] that they allowed on the Sabbath for this also is backsliding and slipping and will lead to the diminution of prayer[13]. Similarly, people talk in the synagogue on Sabbath and so on - one must always beware of the *yetser*. This is implied by the phrase: 'At all times should your clothes be clean..', meaning 'the mantle of the rabbis'; even though oil - representing the *yetser* [i.e. material things] and which can soil the garments - 'is not lacking' one must still take care that this oil shall not drop on to the garments and soil these clean garments. So, just as in the simple meaning of this verse it is alluding keeping garments clean from oil, the 'midrashic' [homiletical] meaning alludes to the *yetser* whose counsels should not be allowed to soil the 'garments' of the soul. And this what is meant by the verse[14]: 'There is desirable treasure and oil in the dwelling of the

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10 Psalms 17:2 Metsarim < mesharim = righteousness.

11 Sam. II ch. 20.

12 *Ir vàeym* = 'mothertown'.

13 Contrary to the ostensibly fine intentions.

14 Proverbs 21:20.

wise, but a foolish man swallows it up [the oil]'. The simple meaning is, there is a storehouse of fine clothes and also some jars of oil; if this is in the dwelling of a wise man so that everything is orderly arranged he can take care on entering and leaving not to tip over the oil and soil the contents of the storehouse; but a fool 'swallows it up' i.e. destroys the desirable treasure by tipping over the oil and spoiling everything. The Midrashic meaning is: the 'desirable treasure' is the body which contains the soul, and the oil is the *yetser* which soils as does oil; but this may rest in the dwelling of a wise man who knows to beware of the *yetser* so that the treasure stays desirable and the oil in its place, whereas the fool is careless with the oil which falls and destroys the treasure. And this, too, is [what is meant by the verse]: 'A wise man has his eyes in his head..' and takes care that the 'oil' which is the *yetser* hovering over his head, will not cause him to sin. Blessings were then recited for the municipal body of the town and its Principal, his wife and family, and all the officials.

Sermon 4 (p.223)

'Remember what Amaleq did unto thee..' - *Yalqut [Shimoni]*. King David remembers that proselytes from Amaleq are not accepted etc. [the reason being that] the attribute of hatred is [itself] evil; but in addition there was hatred without cause for they [the Amaleqites] came to make war on Israel immediately as they left Egypt. This is the root-characteristic of Haman, and he learned from the designs of Vashti: he went on to explain Vashti from the written verse and from its translation [?] and [other] didactic points and theories at great length. The [principal] exegesis was that if the King had sent a ricado[15] Vashti would have relented and come, even had he sent princes or satraps; but he made the mistake of sending the eunuchs to bring Vashti without any [prior] discussion or appeasement - simply that they should fetch her. And this is stated [in the verse]: 'He commanded Mehumman etc. to bring Vashti etc.' - the lowly servants. 'And Queen Vashti refused to come at the behest of the King which was by the hand of the eunuchs' - for it was degrading to be brought without formal greeting and by eunuchs. 'And the King[16] was mightily angered...' -

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15 There may be a resh daled error which would make this ducado = duke(dom).
16 After he had become sober.

that he had sent such messengers - 'and his wrath burned within him...' - that he must now perforce condemn her and punish her. And even though all others are judged by judges appointed to uphold the laws of Persia and Medea, the King has the power to bring her to any judges he sees fit. Therefore, 'And the King said to the wise men' - meaning the Rabbis: 'who understand the times' - this means that they know when to make a 'judgment of circumstance'. For here, too, even though she is deserving of the death-penalty, they may allow her to live by [special] 'judgment of circumstance' and this is what the phrase 'who understand the times' signifies. And if you will ask: Why is this that he brought the matter before the Sages of Israel? - the text therefore explains 'for thus is the word of the King before all those who know statutes and judgments' - the King is allowed to bring his own matter of law before any court he wishes. [The text continues] 'according to the[17] statute of what should be done...' - he indicated that he did not wish the strict 'statute' but something like it and to deal leniently with her, as it goes on to say 'to the Queen Vashti...' - who is of the royal seed of Nebuchadnezzar - 'who did not obey...in the hands of the eunuchs' - i.e. she had cause [to disobey]. 'And Memmuhan said: Not only against the King etc.' - for it is your right of choice to have her brought before whomever you wish - 'but also against the princes etc' - but since this is so it is now a matter concerning all of them and so you must perforce have her judged as any other person. 'If it is seemly before the King let the royal decree go out...' - meaning, that royal statute giving you the right to bring matters before any court should now 'go out', and 'let it be written in the statutes of Persia etc.' for this matter affects us all. So from this we can see the mindless hatred of Haman [= Mehumman] against Vashti[18]. This is the reason why 'Esther did not disclose etc.' - so that he would not have her killed on some pretext like Vashti since he was so evil and full of hate, especially towards Israel and [a descendant of] Saul. And also from the Amalakite stranger who came before David can this hatred be seen when he says that he killed Saul and brought the tidings of his death to David the King, peace be upon him. Therefore [it says]: Remember what Amaleq did unto thee..' for he always hates you.

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17 This phrase is contained in the single prefix letter 'kaf' literally, like or similar.

18 The Talmud recounts Haman had been a lowly groom in Beltshazzar's stables.

Sermon 5 (p.230)

Then he quoted the [well-known] difficulty in the ShaS[19]: It is written 'Honour your father and your mother in order that you will have length of days etc.': and it also says similarly concerning the commandment of 'sending away the mother-bird' - 'in order that good shall be given you and you will have long days'. Now suppose one's father tells him to climb etc'[20] so where is his lengthening of days? The Talmud gives an answer. But he gave his own answer to the Talmud's difficulty as follows: for in the passage about honouring one's father and mother it is written '[have length of days] on the earth which etc.' so this man who climbed up the ladder was not 'on the earth' and that is why he fell and died! [And further did he say]: Talmud discusses in Hullin [11b]: 'From where do we derive the principle of following the majority [= the balance of probabilities]? And he queried the Talmud's difficulty: For they hanged Haman's ten sons; and how can we be sure that they are his sons - if not for the application of the majority principle? And he answered [that this is no proof of the general principle] for [in the *Megilla*] '..let them make a gallows 50 cubits high..'; this compares to the 50 cubits of Noah's Ark and just as Noah's Ark [miraculously] only allowed the entry of those who had not committed sin so, too, did these gallows barred entry of sinners and also, it may be inferred, of bastards. This being so is therefore not a result of the application of the principle of majority. And so he went on with other words of nonsense and everyone was laughing. But one of the scholars there, in jest, expounded [the verse]: '[the gallows] which he had prepared..' [quoting the Talmud] 'we have learned [that this can be read] 'which for himself he had prepared' - and in truth this was actually so. Now, when Haman was planning this [he said] what indications exist that he was indeed preparing [the gallows] for himself? And he answered thus: [we find] in the discussion of 'Preparation' at the beginning of the tractate *Betsah*[21] Rashi explains that a Sabbath [or Festival] meal which is special requires

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19 Talmud Qidd. 39b.

20 And he falls to his death.

21 'An egg [that was laid on a festival day etc]' this first Mishna discusses whether this [and similar 'unprepared' food such as apples falling off a tree] may be eaten on that day.

'preparation'[22] [on the preceding week-day]; but an [ordinary] week-day meal which is not 'special' requires no 'preparation'. Now, in Haman's eyes Mordekhai was 'contemptible', as it is written, 'and it was contemptible in his eyes to send his hand against Mordekhai..'; if he is thus contemptible, therefore, no 'preparation' was needed for him - for even a week-day meal, which is not contemptible but only 'not special' needs no preparation - why, therefore, is it written 'which he had prepared for him?' So the meaning here must be 'for himself had he prepared [it]', for he was, indeed, very important and special - the Viceroy of the King - and therefore requiring 'preparation'; therefore [the meaning is indeed] 'for himself had he prepared [it].'

Sermon 6 (p.237)

'And Moses blessed them...' What (asks the Midrash) blessing did he give them? Now one may ask, what matters it which blessing he blessed them - there is no lack of blessings in the world! Only the Midrashic author is urged to this question because [we find] Malki-Tsedeq was punished[23] because he put first the blessing of Abraham our father to the blessing of the Holy One, blessed be He[24]: so why is this, that our Master Moses blessed them and did not bless HQBH? - on the contrary, he should have blessed the HQBH for He 'gives the strength to perform valorously' and everything is from Him, as it is written[25]: if one has built a new house or acquired new clothes he recites [the benediction] 'Who hath sustained us in life etc.' So his question is: 'What blessing did he [see fit to] give to them and not to HQBH. And the answer given is that [the blessing was that] the Divine Presence should dwell amongst them: for the Divine Presence resting in this Lower World is itself divine benefit, as is explained by our Rabbis of blessed memory. And so we find that this blessing applies [equally] to G-d, for through their blessing He becomes elevated 'and great

22 I.e. preparation done on a weekday, so that an egg laid on Sabbath may be eaten the following day.

23 The priesthood was removed from his family and given eventually to Aaron.

24 HQBH = Hàqadosh Barukh Hu.

25 Tal. Ber. 54a.

is G-d and much is he praised' for the Divine Presence in this Lower World is 'a requirement for the One on high'. And so I bless you [continued R. Saul] that may it be His will that the Divine Presence should dwell on your works, and I on behalf of all of you will pronounce the benediction of 'Who has sustained us in life..'.

Sermon 7 (p. 238)

'..For by spreading your bread before the hungry and bringing desolate poor into your house[26]'. How may we [now] interpret [the verse Ex. 12:2] 'This month is yours'[27]? - the charity is yours, the mercy is yours, the right judgment is yours, the Land of Israel is yours! Praise to the worthy Parnesssim of the Ma'amad who perform judgment and charity: for doing charity requires profound deliberation - the [right] place, the [right] time, strength with restraint: as it is written[28], 'Happy is he who understands the poor man..', for it does not say 'who gives to the poor man', since in [apportioning] charity great thought is needed and the worthy Parnesssim perform such charity and lovingkindness and judgment. Both the Parnesssim who are retiring now and the new ones just taking office - behold! their reward is this holy service; may they be sustained with livelihood etc. And the worthy Parnesssim in their charity have provided a new mantle for the Sefer Torah at great expense, and may this be a rememberance for them before the L-rd as it is written, '..and the crowns shall be for Helem etc. in the temple of the L-rd[29]'. And the attributes of charity are great, and we will mention some of them in our sermon. Our Rabbis teach[30]: 'Just as the girdle cleaves to a man's loins etc.'[31] - this refers to the parable of a king who would instruct his servant each day concerning his chemise, "Guard it properly, fold it carefully" and so on. He asked, "My lord King, of all the garments you possess you

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26 Isaiah 58:7.

27 This portion is read on the first Sabbath in Nissan.

28 Psalms 41:1.

29 Zech. 6:14

30 Midrash, Lev. ch. 2.

31 Jer. 13:11

instruct me only about the chemise?" The king replied, "I am concerned about the chemise because that is what is next to my flesh!" And so HQBH commands concerning Israel, for He says [concerning them] - if one may speak thus - 'just as the girdle cleaves to a man's loins'. With this we may understand the Parasha of Va-yeshev [Gen. 37:3], 'And Israel loved Joseph more than all his sons...and he made for him a chemise[32] of many colours. And his brothers saw that it was he whom their father loved etc.' Now one may ask, why did he not make for him an important garment such as a splendid robe for that would demonstrate his affection even more? And further, that which is written 'and his brothers saw' - it does not signify [in the context] so much 'seeing' as 'understanding'. Furthermore, why should hatred be generated by a shirt for a 'child of old age'? It is natural for a 'child of old age' to be doted on. Only [the reason is]: Jacob was indicating through the chemise that Joseph cleaved as close to him as his very chemise - and this is the sign of making him a chemise. His brothers were not so [close], and this is why the text says they clearly 'saw' that their father loved him more than all of them. We also learn that commanding [inquiry] about an object is a great expression of love for it, as in the parable of the king giving daily instructions concerning his chemise more than all his other garments. So charity is reckoned important before Him for He always commands concerning it using the double expressions 'you shall surely give'[33], 'you shall surely open [thy hand]', 'thou shalt surely furnish him', 'thou shalt not clench - thou shalt not close [thy hand]'. One may also infer from other commandments, though [apparently] unconnected with charity, yet their [very] basis is charity: 'go forth and learn' from the Paschal lamb about which it is commanded to fast on that day, then to eat it only 'in one house' and only until midnight, and what is left by morning must be burnt. All this is for the benefit of the poor - for one wealthy person who does not deign to such matters must buy a whole lamb for himself: then what shall he do? - he cannot leave any of it over past midnight; nor can he send it elsewhere; and he also has the 'hagiga'

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32 This is the true translation of *ketonet* Gen. 37:3; the usual translation 'coat', signifying an outer garment, is quite incorrect.

33 The emphasis is done by doubling the verb with the infinitive: *naton titen, pato'ah tiftah.*

[celebratory peace-offering] and the 'peace-offering of rejoicing'[34] and there is no time to eat all this. He must perforce invite poor folk beforehand - for no fellow-noble will agree to leave his own household! This is what is meant by the verse '...for is it not by spreading thy bread before the hungry etc.' Now, what is the significance [of the questioning form] 'is it not by...' - for this must certainly be done! Further, [following the previous style] it should rather say 'you shall surely spread'; and further, 'when you see the naked and clothe him' - it should have said [including this in the same questioning form] '[is it not] by clothing him', for 'and you clothe him' indicates the certainty. Only, this is speaking about the Paschal lamb -'is it not by spreading..' indeed indicates certainty[35], [meaning] that it is certainly 'spread out' for the household - being impossible to eat it all! - '..for the poor your bread ' is the same usage [of 'bread'] as in 'prepared a great feast'[36]: and in addition to the Paschal lamb there are the 'matsoth' and bitter herbs to eat, so one would certainly have to invite poor guests to the house for the meat must not be taken out of the house. And inviting must be done on the eve of Passover - and if the poor man you invite to sit in your house in the presence of your wife is naked, you must perforce clothe him first! And even though all this is more or less forced upon you it is still reckoned as charity, as they explain the verse[37] 'largesse' - [means] giving something he had previously 'scattered'[38] to the poor, nevertheless, 'his charity stands for ever'. So this shows how great is charity. And this is something that Israel and [especially] the men of the *Ma'amad* excel in; and this is why it says 'the charity is yours, the mercy is yours' - that is to say, charity in any form - even if this is something which has been previously 'scattered' and is of no further use except to throw it away, by giving it to the poor it is still 'yours' to receive reward for it. [And so too] 'the Land of Israel is yours', for you strive to support those who dwell there: for this thing is very necessary as [you see] now in Hebron - they have sent their emissary 'the great luminary, the most precious light' behold, he is the one

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34 'And thou shalt rejoice..' by partaking of a sacrifice (Talmud).

35 The question being rhetorical.

36 Dan. 5:1 The w. for feast is lehem; the w. also means 'meat' in Arabic.

37 Psalms 112:9

38 The root means scattering or throwing i.e. something he no longer requires.

that 'the glory of G-d fills all life[39] for ever', standing here with us; the collection has already been started, may they now finish it 'with a satisfactory conclusion' - for they are in mortal danger there - and in reward for this may our holy Temple be rebuilt!

Sermon 8 (p.244)

'And David was cavorting etc.'[40] - the Talmud in Megillah [11a] comments [on the verse 'And David was the smallest [of his brothers]'[41] as meaning David held himself as the smallest etc. For the trait of arrogance is unacceptable to every intelligent person. Shall he glory in his wealth? - Qorah and Haman refute him. In his wisdom then? - but it is the very definition of a wise man that he knows he does not know. Perhaps in his nobility? - but behold! King David a.h.s.[42], was descended form the [royal] tribe of Judah and from Ruth [who was descended] from the King of Moab and 'David was the smallest' [that is] he held himself the smallest. And if in his power - behold Samson! There thus exists no cause for arrogance. And it is about this that I have come armed this day [he said]: I shall draw the sword of the Torah to proclaim the truth.

Consider [the following comparison]. King David a.h.s. slung the stone into the forehead of Goliath and he fell dead; in Nebuchadnezzar's dream[43] 'a stone detached itself without human hands...and it fell and became a great mountain'. Now King David a.h.s. was altogether the spirit of wisdom so [how may we understand] why his stone fell and sank into the forehead of the Philistine whereas the stone of N-N became a great mountain? Only, that [former case] is a pointer to arrogance which grows high [but then] 'there he falls stricken'[44]; and here also lies the lesson in that if one humbles himself then G-d raises him up. Thus David's stone which went [up] to a place not naturally belonging to it after ascending there fell

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39 Life = 'Ha'im' which could represent HYDA.

40 Sam II 6:14.

41 Sam. I 17:14

42 *Alav HàShalom* = 'peace be upon him'; the customary tribute to the deceased.

43 Daniel 2:24,25

44 Judges 5:27. Pride comes before a fall.

'never to rise again'; but the stone of N-N's dream which was originally attached high up and then fell at the foot of the image 'iron mixed with thick clay' was raised up and became a high mountain. I can also show the truth of our words from the verse 'And the spirit of G-d hovered above the face of the waters': for one may ask, 'Why did the spirit of G-d choose to rest over the element of water out of all the four elements?' Only [the answer is] that the element of fire in its very nature rises higher and higher and this is just like the essence of arrogance; the element of earth, while it is mostly the lowly ground of earth, nevertheless there are parts that are lofty mountains towering and wonderful and [also] low hills; and the element of wind comes with strength and turbulence and commotion, 'splitting mountains and shattering rocks. But the element of water is indeed humble always going to the lowest places. And also in the Creation He commanded - blessed be He - the Earth to bring forth its fruits, it brought forth its various herbs and beautiful trees showing its power to the eyes of the sun in beauty and splendour; and similarly with the beasts and animals and Man - wondrously and clearly visible. But when He commanded the waters 'let the waters swarm' they produced a multitude of living things and most wonderful creatures just as did the dry land, except that they [the waters] hid them from sight 'as the waters cover the seas'. Thus, because it is in its nature to be lowly and humble the water received the merit that the spirit of G-d hovered over it and none of the other elements, in order to demonstrate how precious is the quality of humility. And thus you find with Jeremiah - when he entered into the royal court to prophesy the evil tidings against the King and his nobles proclaimed: 'O Earth, O Earth, O Earth! - hear the word of G-d...'. We must understand why is written [three times] earth, earth, earth. Now Jeremiah was greatly confident, relying on being the messenger of G-d, and so he came before the King to prophesy with this strength in his heart: for without the support of G-d his life would have been immediately forfeit. If so [we may ask] why did he speak to the [lowly] earth ? This may be all very well for other person rebuking and preaching who, out of fear that the people over them will smash their heads, direct their words as if speaking to the earth - but Jeremiah's hair did not stand on end, nor did he tremble, nor was he afraid on account of the evil prophecies [he had to deliver], so why did he say, 'earth, earth, earth' ? Only, in speaking thus to the King and the nobles he was hinting to them that they had been created from the Earth and that 'they are dust in their lives and when dead they would return to the ground. And that is why

'earth' is written three times: so there is no place for arrogance - for how may one be arrogant who is created from dust and is dust and will return to dust?

[He continued] - indeed, was it not once asked of that 'one special [person]': In what merit have you been granted length of days?[45] And he answered, "In all my days have I never met a person lowlier than me!" These words would indeed be true of one who goes about only in the dark 'like the embryos who have never seen light' or spends his entire life not moving out of his house. But if he goes abroad 'in the normal way of men'[46] then behold! his saying must be false, for lowly and vulgar people are to be seen in abundance. But consider - then this man is indeed speaking gems. For when he goes out amongst people and meets someone wiser, wealthier or more powerful than spoke truthfully for he is indeed less than that person he has met; and if he himself is a wise man and meets with a simple person or a fool he could [still rightly] say, 'This person is a greater simpleton or fool than I'; and [for example] if he do a sin it is not with calculation and is more easily forgiven than for me who knows and understands the nature of the sin. And if he perchance meets with a wandering beggar he would regard him as being a saintly person, for his poverty and affliction atones for all, as it is written: 'He delivereth the afflicted by his affliction'; or if that [other] person is downtrodden and crushed and afflicted with pain he will still say of him, 'All his good deeds are preserved for him in the world to come, for in this world he has seen no joy', and so on. Thus did King David a.h.s. in his humility hold himself unworthy, and because of his humility even his enemies would declare his praises. He knew music, he was a mighty man, a warrior etc. 'and the L-rd was with him' - yet look at this other little man, holding himself so lowly even after he had become king. That is why he was cavorting with all his might 'before G-d' and did not think about his own dignity or the dignity of the kingship: because it was 'before G-d', and before Him everything is as nothing, and for the glory of G-d he placed no value on the manners and

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45 See Tal. Meg. 27b and 28a where this question was put to a number of sages; this answer does not appear there. However, the phrase *ehad hàmeyuhad* (one, a special one) used here appears there in a different context.

46 This expression derives from the marriage Kethuba!

trappings of royalty. So, therefore, may He who redeemed in the first redeem [us] at last, with David as the everlasting prince - may He in His mercy send him to gather our exiles, 'and may the Owner of the House come'[47] swiftly and in our time.

Sermon 9 (p.246)

'If a plague of leprosy shall be in a man and he is brought before the priest..'[48]. [It also says] in the second chapter of [the Ethics of] the fathers 'Know what is above you etc.'. A man should tremble and be agitated to see [how sudden may be] the impermanence of beauty: yesterday an awesome king, and today the lowliest slave; yesterday wearing clothes of richly-coloured embroidery and today smelly old rags; yesterday, feasting on the delicacies of kings and today 'his bread is dust'; yesterday is his abode [adorned with] every precious stone and today he is wrapped in darkness: and this descent is not in stages but from the highest heavens to the depths of the mighty deeps - a colossal plunge, and a gaping wound. [Consider] all the trees and creations of the hands of HQBH and Adam the First ruling over them and the entire Earth, feasting in the Garden of Eden with ministering angels roasting his viands, with servants of flashing fire - and in a moment he is driven out, down-trodden, clothed in garments of skin and by the sweat of his brow eating thorns and thistles. This is something wondrous. But the source of this is the envy of the Serpent, the lust for the Tree of Knowledge and the vanity of 'and ye shall be as G-d', and instead of these three things were turned into nothingness. And about these [three subjects] are our words of today.

'Envy is a 'primary impurity'. [We find] four who opened [their] speech with the word af [= also,even]: the Serpent - "even hath G-d said [thou shalt eat] etc."; the baker - "also in my dream etc."; Qorah - "even to the land [flowing with milk and honey hast thou not brought us] etc." ; Haman - "even did Esther [not invite to the feast] etc.". Now all of these [sentiments] come from envy: [that] of the serpent, as is well known, being that he was envious of Adam the First; and the baker was envious of the butler because he had seen

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47 From Lev. 14:46.

48 Lev. 13:9.

the [good] interpretation of his dream; and that of Qorah and of Haman is [also] well understood. The initials [of these four] combine into the word *qinah* [= envy]: Qorah, Nahash, Ofeh[49], Haman. We also have the case of Cain[50] who became jealousy of Hevel [= Able] and killed him. But consider the twelve elders[51] whose offerings were identical and none sought to outdo the other - therefore Scripture specifies each one individually even though, because they are all the same, they could have been described just once. Only, the Scripture wishes to demonstrate their piety in that all of them wanted to be equal without one enlarging over another. In the case of Judah, who was the first [to bring his offering] the verse [verse 13] begins 'And his offering..' using the word 'and' to indicate that even though he was the first he regarded himself as following after another! Judah merited being first in accordance to the interpretation of the verse 'Judah became His sanctuary, Israel His dominion: the sea saw and fled[52]' - because Nahshon [the prince of Judah] was the first to jump in. Yet he did not take any glory for himself. And this is what is referred to in the verse 'How good and how pleasant is the dwelling of brothers etc.', for they did not show envy as did Cain against Hevel; and when there is love without envy then 'how good and how pleasant'. The verse continues '.. together in unity' to extend the meaning that this is good even when they are not [actually] brothers but simply partners in governance over others, as [for example] Parnesssim and communal leaders who are not jealous of each other - this is good and pleasant.

As for lust - about this this Scripture states[53]: 'Many are the woes of the wicked, but whomsoever believes in G-d, lovingkindness will surround him' and we can explain this as follows. There are wealthy people who, when their businesses are not doing well and they are losing money, make the first economy by 'cutting charity'[54], so that if they were in the habit of giving a certain amount they would reduce it; and if a genteel poor man

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49 'A' (alef) is the first letter of *ofeh* = baker.

50 Or 'Qain' since it starts with *quf*.

51 Num. 7.

52 Psalm 114.7.

53 Psalm 32.

54 A pun = promises to charity are often described as 'cutting' (i.e. specifying) the amount.

approaches them and they sense he is coming for money they begin to recount their woes - they have become impoverished themselves, business is becoming worse and worse, income is going down, capital values of householders are crashing down - so that that poor man is unable to open his mouth and goes off crestfallen. This is the meaning of the verse 'Many are the woes of the wicked man' who tells of his many woes and afflictions in order to prevent the poor man asking [charity]. But 'he who trusts in G-d' and says I will do my duty to succour the hearts of the downtrodden [then] 'lovingkindness will surround him' and He will pour down upon him limitless blessings. An alternative interpretation is that this verse is an allusion to those profligates who spend the entire night eating and drinking and making merry with dancing and singing and drinking wine and beer; and should anyone afterwards visit him he will find him collapsing on a couch, his head like the Carmel [?] from too much drinking, his tongue cleaving to his palate from too much whooping, his throat sore and burning like fire because of brandy, his belly aching from too much eating and his legs hurting from dancing and thus from the soles of his feet to his head and so on - and this is the meaning of 'many are the afflictions of the wicked'.

In contrast to this the Torah scholar spends the night in the study of the Torah, and in the morning there is an aura of grace upon him. And this is the meaning of the above verse 'he who trusts in G-d etc.' - for He gives him strength to engage in the study of the Torah; he will not slumber nor shall he sleep, an aura of grace surrounds him and he is hale and healthy. And so when people gather for indulging the pleasures of the palate and to revel 'in the song of grapes' evil will befall them; but 'feasts of mitsvah' for the purpose of Heaven where words of Torah are spoken at the table and the eating and drinking is moderate, that is [what is meant by] 'for not by bread alone' - 'bread' meaning feast as in 'made great bread'[55] - if 'by that alone' without Torah or charity to the poor will a man live, then quite the reverse: the *shulhan* [table] will become as a *le-nahash* [into a serpent], the *mishteh* [feast] to *mishteh*[56] [clowning], the filling of the *keress* [stomach] to *qerets* [destruction], the *betten* [belly] of the wicked[57] to *petten* [serpent], *sasson* [joy] to *ishon* [darkness], *tse'hiqah* [laughter] to *tsa'aqah*

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55 Dan. 5:1 Lehem [= bread] is used for 'feast'. (cf. Ar. l'hem = meat).

56 Teth instead of tav.

57 Prov. 13:25.

[crying], the *shir ha-shirim* [song of songs] to *tsirim* [travail], *aley assor ve-aley nevel* [on the ten-stringed harp and on the lyre] to *aley hassor ve-aley hevel* [poverty and emptiness]. This is what is indicated by 'For not by bread alone doth man live, but on all [that issueth from the mouth of G-d]' meaning words of Torah - if these are always part of his activites, either at the table or in the company of friends, then is a man [truly] living.

And now vanity - let us discuss one specific point. 'Who is honoured? - one who honours others'[58]. In these days [we see people being] disrespectful to those deserving honour, like Torah scholars and similar, whereas it is 'to the boors of the nation' that they give honour. Thus we find with Ahab, when Ben Hadad sent to him demanding his wives and his silver he did not refuse: but when he afterwards asked for 'the delight of your eyes' - that is, the Sefer Torah - then did he consult the elders, and they would not agree: for although they worshipped idols, yet they did acknowledge the honour of the Torah. The prophet then sent to him [saying] he should have no fear and be sure to kill Ben Hadad, but then, when his servants came he asked them, "Is Ben Hadad still alive for he is my brother?" and he took him with him in his chariot, paying no attention to the words of the prophet, for he considered that prophet and sage know only their Torah learning and nothing of the matters of state, or what is called *politico de estado*. And so he calls a man who is an enemy and an oppressor his friend; and in quite the opposite way he says to Elijah the prophet, "Thou art a betrayer of Israel!" Thus he abuses a prophet of the L-rd deserving of all honour and honours an enemy of G-d and his people. And this is the way of many fools among our own people - abusing Torah scholars and glorifying enemies of G-d.

It is to these three things that the Mishnah alludes[59]: 'Know what is above you: a seeing eye...' - against envy, for how can you be envious against the will of HQBH whose eye sees and everything is from him?; 'a ear that listens...' to thy desires and your fancies and your singing and dancing - so be embarrassed and ashamed; 'and all thy deeds written in a book' - your honouring of the transgressors and disrespect for Torah scholars, all written in a book! The reparation for all this is [contained in the

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58 Ethics of the Fathers, ch. 4.

59 Ethics of the Fathers, 2:2

verse]: 'Should a plague of leprosy be found in someone and he is brought before the priest..' Now there are three types [of plague mentioned] - 'a rising [*se'eth*], a scab [*sapahath*] or a bright spot [*baheret*][60]'. *Se'eth* is smoke and fire, as in[61] 'and the beacon [*mas'eth*] began to rise up' - for envy rises like a [consuming] fire in a person's bones; and the remedy is 'and he is brought before the priest', towards the Torah scholar who will teach him to understand that this world is vanity, and that no man may touch what is prepared for his fellow-man. And this is the allusion in the Mishnah: 'know what is above you - a seeing eye' for by knowing this you will distance yourself from envy for He can see in the chambers of your heart your envy and vain hatred. 'If the plague be *sapahath*' - this alludes to lust as it is written[62]: 'Put me [*sap'heni*], I pray, into one of the priest's chambers that I may eat some bread'. Then [again] is the remedy 'and he shall be brought before the priest', the Torah scholar, who will teach him that 'the righteous man eats for the satisfaction of his soul, while the belly of the wicked shall want'[63]. And this is the allusion in the Mishnah of 'an ear that listens' to words of Torah, the food of the soul. 'And if it be a *baheret*...' - the seeking of grandeur by honouring the wicked and reviling the righteous - then 'he shall be brought before the priest' who will open his eyes 'and them that fear G-d shall he honour' and this is alluded to in the Mishnah [when it says]: 'and all thy deeds are written in a book'. 'And he that lives shall put this to his heart' and he shall return and repent; and through this may we merit the Redemption speedily, in our days. Amen.

This is his sermon in short; but he lengthened it with rhetoric and elegant phrases.

Sermon 10 (p.247)

He said that when Ruth came to Boaz 'and he trembled' there was an issue of semen and this was the soul of the Rav Sh'LaH[64] and this is alluded to in [the Book of] Ruth: for all the verses commence with vav except for

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60 Lev. 13:1.

61 Judges 20:40.

62 Sam. I 2:36.

63 Prov. 13:25.

64 V. p. 242.

eight verses which commence with the letters 'ISAIaH BAL' the [latter] being initials for 'Ben Abraham Levi'. This he said in the name of the Maggid. He also told me that he [the Sh'LaH] was of the seed of the Shunamite woman and therefore all his seed are either scholars or nobles, and at the worst, none of them need 'to go round the doors' [begging]. He commanded that if there would be a decree of expulsion against the Jews after he [the Sh'LaH] died then they should exhume him from his grave. When they questioned him about their being prevented [by the authorities] from doing so, he answered that they should say to their enemies the word *bedolah*[65] and they would immediately leave them alone. And so it was. For after a few years they decreed expulsion from Vienna and from Eisenstadt; and they came to exhume him from his grave and they found him just as they had left him, only his hair and nails had grown profusely. And the foes tried to prevent them, but they said *bedolah* and they were left alone. And what is written concerning the Rav Sh'LaH in *Seder Ha-Doroth* page 159 col. 3[66] where the author states that he had found in the writings of the pious R. Leib of Slutsk that his was the soul of Ruth as indicated in the eight verses starting with the letters 'ISAiAH BAH' q.v. - this is certainly an error and it should say 'BAL'[67].

Sermon 11 (p.247)

On Sabbath-day R. David Meza preached and he threw 'stones'! - for his entire sermon was about why 'the evil inclination' is referred to as a stone, and he drew this out for about an hour. Every small point was accompanied by the remark, "And that is why the evil inclination is called a stone." He made other comparisons to a stone - even a very small sin can be as weighty as a stone as with Uzza who was neglectful and had, therefore, to return from the ranks of war - [as is required] even if one has spoken between [laying] one phylactery and the other[68]; and similarly were the children of Gad and Reuben, who gave priority to their flocks over

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65 Num. 11:7.

66 Lemberg (1858); in modern eds. (Warsaw, 1877, repr. Jerusalem) p.252 col 1.

67 Corrected in current editions.

68 An acknowledged minor sin.

their children[69], rebuked by Moses. And this also is the reason why G-d commanded [Absalom] to weigh his hair, to say that a sin like a hair may yet weigh as heavy as a stone : and the lesson is [also] that even if sinners try to seduce you do not hearken. And, again, the remark that the 'evil inclination' is called a stone! He went on with such rebuking: the entire sermon was like 'heart of stone' - constantly repeating that the evil inclination is called a stone!

Sermon 12 (p. 249)

"'He who guards his mouth and his tongue guards his soul from evil'[70]. The Yalqut, too,[71] quotes: 'The tongue kills and the tongue quickens' as it says, 'Death and life are in the hand of the tongue'[72]. A person should therefore ponder that with his tongue he is able to inflict injury in a like [and sudden] manner to the locust who in a twinkling can darken the land and cover the sun, destroying everything; so too does the slanderer - in all his aspects - cover up the truth which is clear as the sun and covers this with words of nothingness and darkens the countenance of people by heaping up evil and destroying and damaging everything around. We find, too, that one of the plagues brought upon Pharaoh was frogs who chirped and croaked continuously and about them is written: '...if only He will remove this death from me...'. See, that no other plague was called 'death' except the frogs; and this is to indicate that the tongue can kill. When He brought the locust - which is comparable to one speaking with an evil tongue - it is written: '...and He sank it in the Red Sea'. This is measure for measure, for the Red Sea is called a 'tongue' as is it written[73]: 'And G-d will destroy the tongue of the Sea of Egypt...' The locust, 'possessor of the tongue', was therefore drowned in the 'tongue' of the sea.

"The reason why a person speaks evil is that he does not give his heart to observing his own faults but only sees the faults of others. For if

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69 Num. 32:16.

70 Prov. 21:23.

71 One of the collections of Midrash, Psalm 52.

72 Prov. 18:21.

73 Isaiah 11:15.

he would set his heart to it he would see for the person who speaks with an evil tongue has many other evils besides. This we see in Absalom who said to Hushai, 'Is this your kindness towards your friend?' He rebuked him that since he was David's friend how could he leave him in the time of his trouble? But he did not look at himself, the son of David who brought him into the world and raised him up and now was seeking to kill him. This is the reason why the windows of the Holy Temple were narrower inside and wider outside (as is written in the 'Notes concerning the Journeys'[74] para. 247). And it is also written 'He who guards his mouth and his tongue [guards himself from troubles]'[75]: for sometimes a man will indulge in levity or evil speech to get invited into the houses of the rich but if 'he guards his mouth' and does not follow the inclinations of his belly then 'he guards his tongue and guards himself against troubles'. An alternative meaning is: 'he who guards his mouth and his tongue' from forbidden foods 'guards his body from troubles' [meaning] defilement by the impure spirit that exists in forbidden foods." And he continued at length on this subject.

Sermon 13 (p. 250)

" 'And I will turn towards you...and I will make you great...'[76]. [In Ethics of the Fathers, ch.5, Mishnah 20] R. Judah ben Teyma says: 'Be audacious as the leopard etc.'. It has always been the way, and always will be, that a man sees and learns from what others do: and this is why fathers must be particularly careful to go in good ways so that the children will learn from them. We can also learn from the animals those traits [that should be used] for His service. This is what is meant by 'Be audacious as the leopard...' - for albeit that impertinence is an ugly trait, but if it be for the sake of Heaven then it may yet be praiseworthy. The proof is from Ruth: for it is at first sight brazen to go as she did to Boaz; but since it was 'for the sake of Heaven' Oved is the issue from this.

[The said Mishnah continues:] 'Be light as an eagle...' - this bird is merciful towards its fledglings, flying [and bearing its young] to the

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74 Unknown.

75 Prov 21:23.

76 Lev. 26:9.

uppermost heights. And we can learn the lesson of mercy, too, from the verse[77]: 'Like the eagle who bestirs his nest etc'; and King Solomon says, 'Three things are withheld from me and the fourth I do not know: the way of an eagle in the heavens, the way of the serpent upon the rock, the way of a ship in the heart of the ocean and the way of a man with a girl'. This means that the eagle may fly up to the heavens and become burnt up and fall into the sea; and it is resurrected as it is written: 'Your youth shall be renewed like the eagle...'. And this can happen ten times, as the naturalists have written[78], but finally it falls into the ocean and there is it's grave. And this is the mystery - for after being consumed once and then with the utmost arduousness resurrected how does it rise again again to be consumed? This is the mystery of 'the way of an eagle in the sky'. - 'The way of a serpent': [the mystery being] for it supposed to feed from the soil; so what is it doing on the rock from which it can have no pleasure or benefit? - 'The way of a ship in the heart of the ocean': there is danger there, and many are the calamities that have befallen there, yet they still voyage there. - 'The way of a man with a girl': for a man may suffer terrible illnesses as a result of copulation[79], yet after suffering and getting healed with difficulty, he reverts to his previous custom - and that is incredible.

"The homily may be made from all this is as follows. [As we know from the Talmud[80]] the carcass of a clean bird[81] defiles a person [eating therefrom] only when [the meat] is swallowed in the throat , whereas that of an unclean bird does not defile at all! This is the [mystery implied] in 'the way of the eagle', that is, an unclean bird, the example of the eagle being taken simply because he is the king of birds. And this, too, is the significance of 'in the heavens' - for only in Heaven is the reason known! 'The way of a serpent upon the rock' - for only eight of the creeping creatures are impure but not others[82]; and this is the [mystery of the] serpent - why is it distinguished from the others? [And the phrase] 'upon

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77 Deut. 32:11.

78 This is possibly a reference to the legend of the phoenix.

79 Too much.

80 Nidd. 42b.

81 Lev. ch 11. If it has not been slaughtered correctly.

82 Lev. 11:29 ff. The serpent is not one of these.

the Rock' - only He knows the reason for this. 'The way of a ship' - a vessel formed as a ship, even of earthenware, remains pure[83] as is written in the chapter 'R. Akiva'[84]; and that is astonishing. 'The way of a man with a girl' - if another has betrothed the woman he divorced she becomes [for ever] forbidden to him[85] even although he has not come unto her: yet if she commit adultery then she becomes permitted to him; and that is incredible.

"And the lesson from this is: if one strives for wealth with the object of giving much charity and being merciful to the poor, as 'the way of the eagle' who is merciful, then [the merit of] this is stored Heaven, as [King] Munbaz said[86]: 'I have stored up above'. [In contrast is] 'the way of a serpent' - if his object to sate his desires for eating and drinking then that is the way of the serpent and everything will go to ruin and the outcome [for him] is as hard as a rock - that is [the meaning of the phrase 'upon the rock': and thus too 'the way of a ship' - if his whole object is to sending ships and merchandise [for selfish gain], then those ships will finally founder. [In the same way] 'the way of a man with a girl' - if the object of his wealth is fornication and hiring women 'there doth he fall vanquished' and lost will be his money in a vile manner. 'Fleet as a deer and strong as a lion'[87] - meaning that his intentions should always be for the sake of Heaven and if not then he will be scorned and ridiculed. One, however, who is mindful of having these four things in hand, namely, being audacious, light, swift and strong behold! - his reward is there with him. And this is hinted in the verse 'And I shall turn unto you and make you numerous and make you great, and I will lead you uprightly - these four things are, each one, the reward for the four things aforesaid."

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83 Despite contact with impure objects or persons.

84 Mishnah, Shabb. III,2.

85 Even if the second husband divorces her (Deut. 24:4).

86 Tal. B. Bath. 11a.

87 Continuing R. Judah ben Teyma's dictum.

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