

THE JEWISH CITY OF LUBLIN

by
MEIR BALABAN

with Illustrations by
KARL RICHARD HENKER

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INTRODUCTION

High into the heavens reach the steeples of the ancient churches of Lublin. Deep, so deep, cower the old Lublin synagogues at the foot of Castle Hill. High on a wide ridge rises the old city, with its old gates, narrow streets, remains of the old bulwarks and towers, with the old churches, cloisters, noblemen's palaces, and patricians' houses. Deep in dampness and filth, between puddles and bogs, all around Castle Hill, lies the Jewish city. Powerfully and pleasingly sound the bells of the old city, while the din of the old market in the Jewish city rises shrill and dissonant. "From the depths I call to you, O Lord!" prayed the psalmist thousands of years ago, and from the same depths, from the gloomy streets, from the filth of the ghetto, and from the oppression of the Middle Ages, the children of the psalmist call out thrice daily in their synagogues.

And there are many synagogues in the Jewish city, as many as there are churches in the old city. In almost in every house is found a prayer school or a teaching school, most of which also have schools for children. Here the observant gather morning and night, and here their children sit all day, in order to receive "God's word" from the lips of the teachers. Here in the lightless and airless atmosphere, the little ones sit from morning to evening and study Bible and Talmud in a loud singsong that reaches out to the streets and combines its peculiar sound with the street crowds, with the cries of the peddlers and merchants, the bargaining of the women, and the clatter of the wagons on the Jewish streets.

Another, much worse, characteristic of the Jewish city is the frightful filth, which nurtures all illnesses here. Lublin still has no drainage, and water supply is available only in the new city. In the old city and the Jewish city water is available only by measure, and human waste and all kinds of filth flow from the houses in open drains. It is small wonder that diseases here are almost never cured and that healthy people are struck down throughout the year.

When the Russians departed Lublin, they left behind an epidemic in the old city and the Jewish city. The Austrian authorities placed a warning sign with skulls at the city gate and forbade the soldiers to visit this part of the city.

Now things have improved. The diseases have been cured, and the warning sign has disappeared. We can visit the old quarter of the city with confidence, stroll through its streets, and observe life and labor there.

But before we set out, we must cast a glance on the history of this city and of the Jewish community. We must unlock the sources of this history and make them known. We must awaken the spirits of the great who lived and ruled here, recall

their deeds and misfortunes, and survey with them the streets, the houses, and the synagogues—the sites of their accomplishments. Only then will we understand the speech of the narrow streets and the old stones, comprehend the loud cries of the ghetto, and see with completely different eyes the people who loiter on the street.

And as we review the acts of the living, we must look to the place of the dead, to the old cemetery, push aside the branches that block our path, remove the ivy and underbrush from the stones, and read the inscriptions that are deeply engraved in the stone. These chaotic and tangled inscriptions teach us who the men were who once lived and worked in this city, led their community, preached God's word, healed the sick, taught the children, and loved Judaism, for which they suffered and bled.

These men will be rescued from obscurity by our book. It will be a guide to the ghetto of the past and the ghetto of the present. Perhaps the current bloody war will demolish the stones of the last ghettos, and future generations will learn from this book how their ancestors lived and suffered in the distant past.

The present book is a work of war, and as such it will be judged. The war brought me to Lublin, where I gathered and organized the materials for the work in the few free hours that were available to me. Whoever has done such research knows well what it means to conduct historical studies without a library and without notes. I point out by way of example that no *Grotefend* could be obtained in all of Lublin, so that I had to wait for weeks for an opportunity to convert a church date to a civil date in Warsaw. In these circumstances I had to forego initially a history of the Jews in Lublin and limit myself to the topography of the Jewish city. But the topography of a place offers little of interest for an outsider who is not at all aware of the main features of the history of the city. Therefore I found it necessary to assemble several images from the Jewish history of Lublin and then move on to a description of Jewish streets and houses. During the writing the work grew, and its goal was delayed. The historical images of Lublin became increasingly detailed and numerous, until the eleventh chapter was reached. The last, twelfth, chapter presents a tour of the old city and Jewish city, which from the beginning was expected to be the high point of the book.

I met my collaborator, architect Karl Richard Henker of Charlottenburg, in Lublin. The war had also brought him here, and he also devoted his very limited free time to study of the ghetto of Lublin. In the narrow and dirty streets Mr. Henker made his drawings, often in the noontime heat, surrounded by a crowd of noisy children, who nearly grabbed the pencil from his hand. We met each other often in these streets and cemented our friendship here.

And so the book is published as a memento for the many friends who stayed in Lublin for a while, or who at least touched upon the old city in their marches, and as a small contribution to the understanding of ghettos in Poland, with all their features and characteristics that arose during the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER I

The Jewish City of Lublin and its Rise in the 16th Century

The old city of Lublin is situated on a plateau, whose wide southern end corresponds to today's new city (Cracow suburb) and whose northern end gradually grows smaller and falls off more steeply. On the south side of the old city were two city gates—the Cracow and the Arian Gates—which are still standing today. On the west side was once the Fish Gate, and in the north, at the smallest and lowest point of the plateau, the so-called Castle or Jewish Gate still stands today. Behind the Jewish Gate flows one of the many branches of the Bystrzyca, over which a bridge leads to Castle Hill. Castle Hill rises to the northeast of the old city and was once well fortified. Here in the middle of these fortifications, towers, and bastions rose the royal castle, with its tower and church. To the east and west of Castle Hill were ponds and bogs, of which some on the east still exist today.¹

Lublin is a very old city. It already existed in the 13th century, and in the 14th century it was well known and famous. The Jewish community is from a later period, as elsewhere in Poland, since we do not encounter anything about it until the second half of the 15th century. The location of this community and of its cemetery and synagogues is not known. Not until the first years of the 16th century do we learn that many Jews lived to the north and northeast of the castle, whereas the city as such possessed the ancient "Privilegium de non tolerandis Judaeis."

Like all Jewish communities in Poland, the one in Lublin sought rights and privileges, but it received them first only on 27 February 1523. Upon the finding of the official Johannes de Pilcza that the Jews were providing useful services to the castle, in that they cleaned the streams and helped to maintain the walls, King Siegismund granted them equal rights with all other Jews in Poland.²

Lublin's commerce grew rapidly in the 16th century. There were large markets that attracted merchants from many lands. Manufactured goods from Germany, Italy, and France; linen from the Rhineland, Belgium, and France; silk and velvet from Italy and France; carpets from Persia and Turkey; spices and dyes from the Orient; furs from Lithuania, Vienna, Hungary, the Moldau, and Zypern Island; and salt from Reussen and Wieliczka were offered for sale here. Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Persians, Turks, Tatars, Armenians, and Kazaps came to Lublin to exchange wares with each other. The Orient and the Occident extended their hands to each other in the Lublin market and made the city into a crossroads and an important trade emporium.³ Various privileges from King Siegismund August, such as freedom from tolls for all Lublin citizens in many border stations, storage

rights, and so forth, raised foreign trade and living conditions to great heights and brought riches and contentment to Lublin.

This provided possibilities for development of a rich Jewish community, in that it was a means of living for many Jewish merchants. And the Jewish community in Lublin developed richly and very quickly in the 16th century, surpassing its sister communities in Lemberg and Cracow. The Christian merchants, however, soon noted the competition and in 1521 brought legal action in the royal assessorial court. The townsmen complained that the Jews had monopolized trade, selling goods by weight and measure (by the piece), trading pepper and other spices, cornering the market in grain by paying higher prices, and so forth.

On 30 December 1521 in the assembly at Petrikau the king prohibited the Jews from trading grain and established a commission to investigate the other charges.⁴ As it happened, the commission's judgment favored the Jews, and they were able to trade freely again, particularly in that the king (on 16 April 1530) exempted them from the payment of "old fees," like other Lublin townsmen. Only for the import of oxen were they required to pay a fee.⁵

The Jews also wished to extend this freedom from fees to the so-called "Strigold" and, like other townsmen, not be required to pay a fee on manufactured goods. Once again there was a legal action with the town, during which the parties expressed their claims: the Jews, that they wished to enjoy the same freedom from fees enjoyed by the other townsmen, and the townsmen, that the Jews did not live in the town and did not pay town taxes. On 15 September 1531 King Siegismund decided against the Jews.⁶ This decision did not, however, hinder the development of Jewish trade, since in the following years they received increasingly greater freedom from fees. Thus, in 1543 they were freed from payment of fees to the courts in Krasnystaw and Belz and as a result achieved free association with Lemberg and the southeast, and in 1550 they were given equal standing with Christian townsmen in the matter of weights and measures as well as all fees and taxes.⁷

The center of trade in Lublin, as in other towns at that time, was the marketplace and the surrounding streets; here were the scales, here stood the translators, here were the touts who brought the customers to the merchants. The Jews, however, lived far from the town and needed to rent both housing and shops in the town. Many Jews tried to break or avoid this prohibition, but only a few succeeded, such as the rich royal toll collector Jossko. Other Jews were not permitted to live in the town, so they wished at least to have their residences nearby; this was a goal of their efforts throughout the entire 16th century. The only possibility was to settle around Castle Hill, there, among the muddy land and bogs. However, the Jews paid no attention to this and received in 1550 from Andreas Teczynski,

administrator of the Lublin castle, for an annual payment of three Polish florins, a plot “on the street leading to Czechowka Pond,” in order to build a new slaughterhouse. The same official sold them a second plot near Castle Hill for the construction of a hospital and also gave them one third of Grodzisko Hill, where to this day is located the Jewish cemetery.⁸

On 11 October 1557 the Jewish doctor Isaak Maj purchased from the same official a muddy plot “by the big pond at the foot of Castle Hill” with the right to build a house. The drainage of the land must have taken several years, and as a result the payment of annual taxes did not begin for ten years. The Jewish community built on this spot a Talmudic school and a synagogue, for which the community obtained a special privilege on 23 August 1567.⁹

The newly built synagogue was a massive structure, large and beautiful, and bore the name of the first rector of the new school, R. Solomon Luria. In the same structure a second, smaller synagogue was built after a few years, which was given the name of a later rabbi of Lublin, “R. Meir ben Gedalia Lublin,” or Maharam Lublin, which it still bears to this day.

And so by the second half of the 16th century the Lublin community had its synagogue and welfare institutions right at the foot of Castle Hill, where they can be found to this day, and annexed to them, around Castle Hill, were built the residences of wealthy merchants. These houses encircled Castle Hill in two rows like a wreath and constituted the current Szeroka, Podzamcze, and Krawiecka streets as well as many unnamed, short, and chaotic alleys.

The Jewish houses gradually pushed closer to Castle Hill, and since there was no more room there pressed toward the Jewish Bridge and the Jewish Gate. Soon there were arches in the Jewish Gate itself extending from the Jewish side, which can be found today. In 1636 a new synagogue was built here, a few steps from Jewish Gate Szeroka number 2; its founder was Hirsch Doktors.¹⁰ The synagogue stands today at the corner of Szeroka and Cyrulnicza, on the first floor of the rear tract. Behind this house there was once a large pond that bordered the west side of the ghetto; today there is Pond Street, Ul. Nadstawna.

Toward the end of the 16th century, the Jewish ghetto of Lublin was founded. The houses around the castle were the property of the Jews, and a special privilege of Siegismund August (1568) protected their rights and prohibited non-Jews from purchasing or renting property there.¹¹ This right *de non tolerandis Christianis* was received by the Cracow Jews for their ghetto in 1564, by the Posen Jews in 1633, and by all Jewish communities in Lithuania on 31 December 1645.

Thus the city of Lublin had the right *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, and the Jewish city had the privilege *de non tolerandis Christianis*, but neither was fully observed, since Christians lived in the ghetto, for whom the St Adelbert Church and Lazarus Cloister were built in 1611, and Jewish merchants penetrated the city and rented cellars and residences in the church buildings and noble palaces. And the rich patricians did not refuse to provide the Jews shelter in their homes or to rent them shops and warehouses in exchange for money. According to a credible contemporary account (1618), the old market was soon filled with Jewish shops.¹² Around the royal court, where the final judgments of the realm were enforced, stood Lubliners and foreign Jews who plied their trades. From the bridge and the Jewish Gate the agents planted themselves to advertise goods for sale and to lead consumers to the warehouses. Jewish artisans, especially tailors and furriers, sought work and goods in spite of the unions and guilds, which often led to brawls, injuries, and confiscations that found their epilogue in the royal court or the royal assessorial court. As in all other Polish cities, so also here the guilds and members did not want to deal with Jewish competition and demanded that the administrators and magistrates permit them to drive the Jews from the city. But the Jews were always known to be helpful to these city patricians in order to obtain freedom of trade from them. This freedom was grounded in so-called pacts (*Pacta cum Judaeis inita*), in which every few years the extent and limits of Jewish trade were established, as well as the penalties for infraction and the expiration date of the agreement. But trade could not be limited to defined borders. He who wanted to buy a thousand oxen bought them if he had the opportunity, or even two thousand, and so the result was discord that led to the magistrate's refusing to renew each agreement at its expiration. These times were unfortunate for both sides. The citizens were of the opinion that trade of any kind in the city was forbidden to the Jews, while the Jews believed that they had full freedom of trade, because they were not bound by any contract. It usually resulted in violence. The citizens roused the rabble and often had the Jews plundered, and wagons with goods that were bound for market were stopped and seized. But the Jews almost always found the way to the administrators. The nobles stood by their side (they were familiar with the Jewish merchants), so after much negotiation the agreements were renewed and the limits of Jewish trade extended, although the fees to the city administration were also raised.

The city administration (*consules*) always reached the agreements against the will of the Christian merchants and the guilds. This increased the great hatred of the Jews even more, and "the common man of Lublin" thought angrily about how to take revenge on the Jews. The slightest circumstance could result in plundering the Jews and in pogroms, which occurred here every few years with increasing cruelty. In Poland they were called "student runs," since they were staged by Jesuit students and manufacturing apprentices. In one such student run in 1646,

eight Jews lost their lives, fifty were wounded, and twenty houses were completely plundered.¹³

So much for trade in the city. In the Jewish city, where the Jewish houses stood, there were two jurisdictions. North of the castle (Szeroka, Cyrulicza, and Jateczna streets, etc.), the head administrator of the castle (Starost) was in charge, while south of Castle Hill, in Podzamcze, Krawiecka, Podwal, etc., there was a separate community with its own magistrates. It was called Podzamcze (under the castle) and had various rights and privileges, including exclusive license for mead, beer, and schnapps, as well as miller and baker rights. The Jews did not, however, respect these privileges; they baked bread, brewed beer and brandy, and sold to Jews and Christians. They concerned themselves little regarding the prohibitions of Siegismund III of 1590 and 1594 and therefore forced the magistrates of Podzamcze—as well as the magistrate of Lublin—to establish agreements with them. By these agreements, the production of beer and schnapps was reserved to the Christians, and retail sales to Jews permitted, so they bought their beer and schnapps from Christians. In order to establish the wholesale price for these items, a commission was established, consisting of eight Christians and two Jews. The Jewish publican who did not wish to buy his wares from the Christians of the place was required to pay 100 florins annually to the treasury of the administrator. The Jews could not sell meal and bread to any Christian. Additionally, the Jews were obligated to pay annually 35 ells of fine fabric to the magistrates, as well as one pound of pepper and a measure of saffron biennially, at Christmas and Easter, to the administrator, the seven magistrates, and the scribe. This arrangement was renewed every few years, for example in 1628 for five years and in 1633 for 15 years.¹⁴

All of these agreements with the Podzamcze suburb had to be approved by the chief administrator (starost) of the castle, since he was, as official of the king, the administrator of all royal goods and property and was required to protect the Jews and enforce the laws inside and outside of the city. The Jews paid him a land tax of 700 florins annually. The Jews were assigned to the property of the starost and established an agreement with each newly appointed one, in which they were obligated to make many payments in order to have their age-old rights confirmed. We have several of these confirmations. They all come from the ordinances of the starosts back to 1640: Zbigniewski, Karl Firlej, and Jerzy Ossolinski. These privileges were confirmed word for word in 1668 by Starost Niezabitowski and in 1675 by Starost Danilowicz. Their text is as follows:

1. As before, the annual ground rent is 700 florins for all houses, including the houses of the rabbis and school officials, the synagogues, hospitals, cemetery, butcher shop, slaughterhouse, and bath house.

2. The agreement with the inhabitants of Podzamcze regarding trade in beer and brandy is confirmed.
3. In the future, as up until now, Jewish houses are exempt from quartering soldiers, and troops will be otherwise quartered.
4. The castle soldiers will ask nothing of the Jews, and they may not demand money from them.
5. As before, the cemetery will remain undamaged.
6. In my (the starost's) absence, my representative will extend all protections to the Jews.
7. If any of my people are called before the castle court, the right of appeal must always be to me.¹⁵

CHAPTER II

The Jewish Community in Lublin: Its Rights and Obligations

The Jewish community in Lublin began as the other large communities in Poland. It found a perfect model for its organization in them. Posen, Cracow, Lemberg, and Sandomir already had their constitutions, based on the so-called General Privileges of the Polish King. According to these privileges, which originated from the Privilege Of Boleslaw the Pious of Kalisch, Jews were servants of the court, paying their taxes to the king and subject to his jurisdiction. Although they were city residents, they had little to do with the city officials and were subject the provincial (*woiwod*) court rather than to the local court. The governor (*woiwod*) and his deputies (*subwoiwode*) were their only judges (*Judices Judaeorum*). The Jews of Lublin received the general privileges in 1523, as the king began to centralize Jews in individual districts throughout the empire for financial reasons. For this purpose tax collectors (*exactores*) were appointed for Poland and Lithuania: for Greater Poland, Abraham the Böhme; for Lesser Poland, Franczek, son of Moses Fischel and father of Rabbi Dr. Moses Fischel;¹ for Lithuania, Michael Esophowicz, brother of the baptized finance minister Abraham. Michael and Abraham were ennobled and bore the Leliva coat of arms.²

General rabbis or elders, whose powers were very great, were appointed as assistants to the general tax collectors in the individual districts. The general rabbis named in 1518 for Greater Poland were Rabbi Moses and Mendel Frank.³ In 1522 the Rabbi of Lublin, Dr. Juda Aron, was named general rabbi for the Palatinate of Lublin, Belz, and Chelm.⁴ In 1527, at the request of the Lublin community, one of the great Polish general rabbis—Moses—was named great rabbi in place of Juda Aron.⁵ He was succeeded in 1532 by Rabbi Shalom Shachna, who was, along with Krakow Rabbi Moses Fischel, named general rabbi for all of Lesser Poland.⁶

Even in the oldest times we learn of wealthy Jews in Poland who had a close relationships to the kings. They were court bankers and collectors of taxes and duties, and they provided large sums and bore the costs of the court and also, from time to time, of war.

In the time of Cassimir the Great we encounter Royal Treasurer Lewko, son of Jordan, about whom many legends were told in Krakow. He possessed a magic ring, through which the king had come to power. He was a magician who was very hard to defeat. After Cassimir's death Lewko became royal treasurer of kings Ludwig of Anjou and Ladislaus Jagiello and became so powerful that not even the bull of Pope Boniface IX could affect him.⁷

In Russia (Lemberg), Ladislaus Jagiello had another Jew, the tax collector Wolczko (Wolf). He collected all the taxes and duties and received much land from the king, which he was able to develop to his advantage.⁸ Toward the end of the 15th century, we hear of the rich banking family in Krakow, whose ancestor Moses Fischel had married Rasska, a court Jew of the Polish kings Johann Albert and Alexander.⁹

At one time the tax collector Jossko (Joseph) lived with the Fischels in Russia, that is, in Lemberg. He was the wealthiest man in the east of the realm. His father—Shachna—had collected the royal tax in Lemberg and Grodek from 1440 to 1448. Jossko and his brother Isaak took over the business from their father, but they soon divided the tasks. Jossko collected the taxes in 1484 in Hrubiesów, Lemberg, and Busk, and from 1502 to 1505 (for 500 marks per year) the complete taxes of Lemberg and Belz. In order to facilitate tax collection, the king granted him many privileges, among which that he was answerable only to the king himself and not to any bureaucrat and that he exercised judicial authority over his own bureaucrats. Jossko was not required to submit the taxes to the royal treasury but rather had to pay various salaries and allowances. Thus, he paid annually 40 marks to the archbishop of Lemberg, 100 marks to the Russian governor, 20 marks to the bishop of Kamieniec Podolski, and 40 marks to the cathedral of Lemberg¹⁰

Soon Jossko took on the taxes of Lublin and Hrubieszow and advanced the king 425 florins. In the next year, 1503, we find him in the tax office in Chelm as well.¹¹

Jossko was rich and powerful, and it is no wonder that the crusaders in Russia (1504) attacked him and abolished his powers. Jossko was exonerated by the king, however, and soon he extended his business and took over tax collecting in all of Podolien, Halicz, Lemberg, Sanok, Przemysl, Belz, Chelm, and Lublin.¹² The king was forced to assign these tasks to him, since he owed him such a large sum, perhaps 504 marks or as much as 790 marks, and was unable to repay it.¹³ The clergy disliked Jews in such high positions and soon began to pursue Jossko. The king had to accede to the clergy's demands. He withdrew the Lemberg tax office from Jossko and leased it to Nikolaus Lanzkoronski. Since the latter was undercapitalized, the liability was assumed for him by two bishops, Matthias of Przemsyl and Johannes Laski, who agreed to repay the amounts advanced to the king by previous collectors (680 florins).¹⁴

Soon Jossko lost other leases and returned to Lublin, where he—the only Jew—had a house in the inner city near the market. He lived here with his wife Golda and his young children and conducted his business. Soon he became ill, however, and, as he felt death to be near, for the last time he ascended the steep streets to the castle and gave his last will to Starost Nikolaus of Dombrowica. He declared

Golda to be his general heir and transferred to her his houses and his capital, which he had lent to various Jews and Christians in Lemberg, Luck, Chelm, etc., and he entrusted to her the care of his two sons, Pessach and Shachna.

The will was made in June 1507, and in December of that year Golda was already a widow. She appeared in her widow's garb in Cracow before the newly enthroned king, Siegismund I, and requested his acknowledgment of the will. The king took the young widow into his care, acknowledged the will, and promised that Golda would be protected from infringement by her wealthy debtors and from the caprice of the administrators and magistrates of Lublin.¹⁵

Twice (1510 and 1518) he ordered "those of Lublin" to allow the woman to live peacefully in the city, and both times he himself set the fee that she was to pay at ten marks.¹⁶

Golda died around 1532. She had fully completed her life's task, the raising of her children, as expressed by her husband in his will.

The great wealth was shared by the two sons, Pessach and Shachna, and by the daughters, who were already married.¹⁷ The complex management of the house was taken over by Pessach. He remained in the family house in the city, which did not please the administrators and magistrates of Lublin. They devoted all of their efforts to drive him—the only Jew—out of the city, since at that time Lublin was otherwise free of Jews.

Pessach attempted to obtain a royal privilege ensuring him of the king's protection, with the annual tax due from him set at five marks.¹⁸ But he was not successful and was to leave his house and the city and go to the Jewish quarter. The castle officials ordered him to leave his house within seven weeks, under penalty of 500 florins, but Pessach was too wealthy and clever to have to obey this order immediately. He remained on his land and tried to find a way to win the king over to him. And, in fact, on 8 September 1535 the king gave him permission to live in the city for his lifetime, with his wife (Esther Luba). Pessach had to sell the house immediately to its former owners and to obtain from them a lifelong lease, with the obligation to pay all civil taxes typically due from citizens.¹⁹

Pessach's brother, Shachna (Shalom Shachna) was a learned man and one of the greatest Talmudic scholars of his time in Poland. Even the king acknowledged the uncommon learnedness (*non vulgarem scienciam*) of this man, established his annual royal tax at three florins, and extended to him the right to live in all Polish cities.²⁰ In the documents, Shachna was called "*Doctor Judaeorum Lubliniensium*," which made it clear that he was a rabbi in his native city of Lublin.²¹ As a student of Jakob Polak, Shachna enjoyed a great reputation in

Poland and beyond. He was, along with his teacher and his great follower Moses Isserles in Cracow, the founder of Talmudic studies in Poland. Moses Isserles later married Shachna's daughter.

The Lublin rabbinate and the educational work of Shachna that was related to it represented only one stage of a much higher position. On 12 December 1541, as we have already mentioned, he and Dr. Moses Fischel, Rabbi of Cracow, were named seniors (great rabbis) of all Jews in Lesser Poland. The jurisdiction of both of these rabbis extended to all Jews in the provinces of Cracow, Sandomir, Reussen, Podolien, Lublin, Belz, and Chelm, in which Rabbi Shachna administered three fourths of the territory and Dr. Fischel only one fourth. The seniority was extended to them for life and was endowed with great power. They received the right to punish their co-religionists for religious offenses and to outlaw and excommunicate them (*Judaeos pro ipsorum excessibus et delictis in eorum ritu et fide commissis puniendi, corrigendi et castigandi*), to live in all cities of their domain, and to change their place of residence without special permission. It was incumbent upon them to confirm the rabbis chosen by the community, and only those rabbis who had been confirmed by them were given the authority to conduct marriages and divorces. The seniors themselves were exempt from all jurisdiction and were responsible only to the king. Their compensation was paid by a special assessment (*ternarius*) on all of the communities in their domain.²²

Shachna stood at the height of fame. From all of Poland and from outside streamed uncounted young people in order to receive the word of God from his mouth. In the great marketplace—which was established in Lublin at that time—merchants sought his judgment in all kinds of disputes. In his pride and self-assurance, Shachna paid no attention to the other rabbis—who also came to the great services—and resolved the most complex matters alone. This led to great protest, so that the king intervened and by decree forbade Shachna's autocratic jurisdiction. For the resolution of complex conflicts, a Jewish court was established for Lublin, which consisted of two judges each from Lemberg, Posen, and Cracow. The Lublin Jewish community had neither seat nor voice.²³

Shachna's influence and fame were not, however, in the least impaired, not even when in 1551 the district rabbinate was entirely abolished and the jurisdiction of the rabbis limited just to the province. From all sides he was flooded with secular and rabbinical questions, and he knew how to respond to all with precision. When in 1558 the news of this man's death reached the world, a sadness fell upon the Jews of Poland, and all rabbis lamented "the great altar, who has returned to the Heavenly Father, the light of the exile, the breath of our life, the anointed of the Lord, the great one among the rabbis, the prince in Israel, whose true name was Peace (Shalom) and who was commonly known as Shachna."²⁴

Rabbi Shalom Shachna lies buried in the old Jewish cemetery in Lublin. Over his grave stands a new stone that was erected not long ago in place of the old one. Pious Jews journey here in large numbers to seek the strength and consolation of the great rabbi.

Rabbi Shalom Shachna was the last general rabbi of Lesser Poland. In 1551 the district was abolished, and in its place were created the state rabbinates of Lemberg, Cracow, Posen, Lublin, and Chelm. The state rabbinat of any diocese was strictly forbidden to interfere in matters of the other dioceses. The centralized system was not preserved, and the king gave far-reaching autonomous rights to the individual communities, thereby furthering their development and progress. The rights of the individual communities were protected by special privileges, which we call special privileges in order to distinguish them from the general privileges of all Jews. The oldest special privileges were given to Krakow, followed in 1556 by the privileges for the Jews of Lublin, which included the following rules:

1. The Jews are under the jurisdiction of the governor (*woiwod*), who appoints a nobleman as his representative as judge of Jews. The judge of Jews must be resident in the Lublin district, so that he is familiar with local customs. He settles all matters in which Jews are the accused and a Christian is the accuser as well as disputes among Jews themselves.
2. The Jewish court must be located in the city, and Jewish representatives must be present at all sessions. Judgments by the judge of Jews are invalid without the consent of the representatives.
3. Court documents (books and rules) will be preserved by the Jewish elders.
4. Conflicts among Jews concerning Jewish rights and other matters of a religious nature will be decided by the Jewish seniors, with right of appeal to the governor.
5. Jews have the right at their discretion to select annually their community elders and officials.
6. Lords and judges of Jews cannot levy higher fines than those prescribed in the laws.
7. Jews must give oaths on the Torah according to the standard of the Jews in Cracow and Posen.²⁵

As a result of these special privileges, the Jewish community of Lublin developed rapidly, and thanks to its wealth and great scholars it became a model for other,

older communities. Soon the fact that the largest Polish markets were held here attracted merchants from all areas and transplanted customs from the whole world. Already established in the second half of the 16th century were the previously-mentioned great and small synagogues (Maharschalschul and Maharamschul), the Talmudic high school, a hospital, etc. For the convenience of foreign merchants the well-known market court was established in Lublin in 1540. Here the younger Lublin academics had the opportunity to study practical rhetoric. Further, they had the opportunity during the markets to hear the example of the best speakers and of the most prominent rabbis.

The governors extended the rights of the Jewish communities, resulting in the proclamation of the so-called provincial regulations. In these regulations, the details of legal procedure (summonses, record keeping, punishments) were established. The compensation of the governor, the Jewish judges, the scribe, the perquisites of the judges, and so forth were also defined. Governor Tarlo gave a detailed Jewish ordinance to the Lublin community in 1630, and from it we learn that the Jews had to pay 300 florins annually.²⁶

The Lublin Jewish judges were simple people, entirely dependent on the Jewish community. They were required to appear twice weekly in the Jewish court and to sit in judgment. They were also required always and completely to protect Jews. The documents speak of one Jewish judge, who was known widely throughout the precincts of Lublin. He was the satirist Sebastian Fabian Klonowicz, who, in accordance with the practice of the day, was called “Acernus” in Latin. Although he was a Jewish judge, he was not a friend of the Jews, just as throughout his entire life he grappled with the Jesuits, though he was a strongly-believing Catholic.

We learn best about his attitude toward his wards in his poem called “Roxolania or the Description of Red Russia.”²⁷ Here is his description of the Lemberg Jewish city, which serves as well for Lublin:

Here in the dirt and darkness of the outskirts
Stand the huts of the eternal beggars.
Like the ram, disfigured with its beard,
So is each of them with a deathly pale face.
Wild screaming emerges from their temple.
With a hundred voices they greet the Sabbath,
Insulting the Divinity, in heaven above,
And imploring of Him what was already given long ago.

CHAPTER III

The Culture of the Jews in Lublin in the 16th and 17th Centuries

In 1567 the Lublin community was granted permission to build a Talmudic academy and synagogue on the place of Dr. Isaak Maj. The head of the academy bore the proud title of rector, enjoyed complete freedom from taxes, and was not only independent of the officiating Rabbi Israel, son of Shachna, but was senior to all rabbis (*cui quidem titulum rectoris damus, removendo ab eodem rectore auctoritatem moderni rabbinis Lublinensis Israelis Schachnowicz et aliorum pro tempore existentium, immo eum omnibus doctoribus et rabbinis praeficimus*).¹

The elders of Lublin searched for a long time before they found a man suitable for the high position. Talmudic studies in Poland were at their highest fruition at that time. In Cracow lived Rabbi Moses Isserles, in Grodno Rabbi Mordechai Jaffe, and in Lublin itself was the officiating Rabbi Israel, son of the great Rabbi Shachna. The position was given to Rabbi Solomon Luria, at that time rabbi in Ostrog, author of the famous work *Jam schel Schelomoh*. Solomon descended from a Worms family, received his education from his grandfather in Posen, and married the daughter of the rabbi of Ostrog. Upon the transfer of his father-in-law to Brest-Litovsk, Luria was chosen rabbi in Ostrog. Thanks to his powerful learning and his extraordinary intellect he won great distinction here. From all lands, those thirsty for knowledge traveled to him, so that the halls of the academy were always full. Luria was inclined to the Kabbala and was an outspoken opponent of the scholastic-philosophical line, propagated by Isserles in his school in Cracow. When Isserles once repeated a proof from Aristotle in a rabbinical tract, Luria was outraged and did not restrain himself from a bitter rebuke: "The Torah is covered in grief, since its sons and daughters have fallen away from it. . . . You have turned to the cleverness of Aristotle, the uncircumcised? Woe is me, that my eyes have seen and my ears have heard this. . . . I have also seen prayers of Aristotle in the prayer books of your followers, and that is a disgrace for their lord, that is for you, who tolerate and are silent about it." Luria had no understanding of philosophy but nevertheless was very wise and had the ability to distinguish the wheat from the chaff in teaching. He was also very modest, which can be discerned through an unusual legend:

"When he held the office of Rabbi in Ostrog, he appointed a courageous man to come to his house daily in order to preach the truth to him. And sure enough, whenever the man entered his house, Luria covered himself with his prayer shawl and listened with devotion to his severe lectures."

In his new post in Lublin Luria developed a successful profession. The Talmudic school, which had been built at such great expense by the Lublin community,

blossomed under his leadership. The best teachers and the most able students gathered around their master, which nevertheless did not lack unpleasantness. In Lublin was practiced the dialectical method, *pilpul*, introduced by Jakob Polak and advanced by Shalom Shachna and his son. Dialectic was practiced for its own sake, often without concern for the subject itself. Luria opposed this and had a hard time of it. Thanks to his distinction, he was able to overcome opposition, and when in 1573, after a short time in office, he departed this life, he was buried amid general mourning. He lies, like Shachna, in the old Jewish cemetery in Lublin, and on his gravestone appears the following inscription:

Here lies the strong of all strong men
The king of all sages and teachers;
Strong as Sinai and rooting out obstacles,
The great luminary, whose light was devoted for years
In the work 'The Sea of Salamos' and many others.
His name is known throughout the world,
Since he guided many students made famous.
It is he, the great one, a wonder of the world, our master,
Solomon, son of Master Jechiel Luria. He was called
To the academy in the next world, to dispose of knowledge
And belief on 12 Kislev of the year. So fell the crown
From our head in 5334 (1573).

The monument of this great man stood for 300 years but was damaged and weathered and had to be replaced by a new one in 1876. Fragments of the old stone serve as a foundation for the new one, and several words can still be read.²

Following Luria in the office of rector and rabbi of Lublin was Rabbi Mordechai Jaffe. He too was one of the greatest learned men of Poland and author of a famous book of responses.

As a son of the general tax collector in Greater Poland and court administrator of Kaiser Maximilian and of the king of Bohemia and Hungary, Abraham the Bohemian (Abraham Judaeus Bohaemus), Jaffe benefited from his education in Prague and heard lectures of the best teachers there. Soon he had to leave Prague, however, since the Jews were expelled from Bohemia, and wandered to Italy, where he expanded his knowledge. In 1571 we find him in Grodno, and in 1574 he comes to Lublin as Luria's successor.

As a student of Italian masters, Jaffe was even more an opponent of Polish dialectic than Luria and fought it relentlessly. In addition to Talmud, he had a great affection for mathematics.³

After a brief stay in Lublin, Jaffe went to Prague, and he was replaced by Rabbi Meir Lublin (Rabbi Meir Ben Gedalia), called Maharam Lublin.

Rabbi Meir served in the office until his death (1616). He died in the city of his birth and lies in the old Jewish cemetery in Lublin. His gravestone has still not been found, but his epitaph is known from old transcriptions. In the synagogue that bears his name (Maharamschul) and that is found under the same roof as the great Maharschalschul, the place at the table where he sat is still indicated today, with the warning that no one other than the city rabbi should occupy it.⁴

Following Maharam as rabbi and rector of Maharscha was Rabbi Samuel Elieser Halevy Eideles, one of the great Talmudic scholars of Poland.⁵

In addition to the rabbis who came to Lublin from all over the world and pursued their Talmudic studies here, other educated men also lived and worked in our city who brought much light into the maligned ghetto. In the damp streets of the Jewish city we find Jewish physicians of European repute. Kings and princes seek their counsel and overwhelm them with gold and marks of respect.

Already at the beginning of the 16th century living in Lublin is Dr. Ezechiel, whom King Alexander frees from all state taxes “in recognition of his medical practice as well as his excellent knowledge of the Latin language.”⁶ In the second half of the same century several physicians of great repute live and work in the Jewish city. Thus Dr. Isaak Maj, who purchased from the notables many construction sites at the foot of Castle Hill and gave them to the community for a school, synagogue, and hospital. Dr. Maj is a physician in great demand, who on 23 October 1538 is the first Jew given the right to settle in Königsberg by Prince Elector Albrecht. The wife of a court official fell ill from a severe eye ailment, and since no other physician could help her, Dr. Maj was called to Königsberg. “Our respected official and his truly beloved wife have humbly and with troubled hearts informed us,” we read in a princely privilege, “that she was afflicted by God with a painful and dangerous debility of her vision and in all humility requested that you be permitted to come here so that, by divine help and through your skill, counsel, effort, and diligence, you would examine her and enable her to recover and attain lasting health. So while we recently denied your petition, now we have another that informs us that it is your intention to help sick and weak people for reasonable compensation, so you may proceed here in the Lord’s name.” Dr. Maj—so it appears—did not remain long in Königsberg, since we soon see him in Lublin, where he renders many good deeds to his community. Also living and working in Lublin at the same time as Dr. Maj is the *Spectabilis Moyses medicinae Doctor, Judaeus Lublinensis*, whose son Zwi-Hirsch (Polish: Jelen) was court administrator of Kings Siegismund III and Wladislaw IV.⁷ In later life Zwi-Hirsch Doktor came into conflict with his community. King Wladislaw IV permits him to

build his own synagogue, forbids the Jewish community to meddle in the rituals of this new synagogue, and requires them to elect its founders to the directorate.⁸

At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the physicians Dr. Solomon Luria,⁹ Dr. Samuel ben Matitjahu,¹⁰ and Dr. Moses Montalto live in Lublin. The first two were community leaders and renowned Talmudic scholars; the third immigrated from far away to Lublin in old age. There were two brothers who lived in Portugal as pretend Christians (Maranos): Joao Rodrigo de Castel Branco and Felix. Both were excellent physicians, but they had to leave their homeland to avoid falling into the hands of the officials of the Inquisition.

Joao Rodrigo, known under the nom-de-plume Amatus Lusitanus, fled to Antwerp, in order to move from there to Ferrara. He often came to Rome, where he was held in high regard as a physician by Pope Julius III. But when Paul IV ascended the Throne of Peter, there was no longer a place for a Jew in Rome, and Amatus had to seize his wandering staff again. He went to Pisaro and after much travel arrived in Salonika, where he was again free to practice the beliefs of his father.

His brother Felix, after his flight from Portugal, took the name Eliah Montalto and settled in Livorno. Like his brother, he was highly regarded as a physician and was court physician to the Medici. When Maria di Medici married King Henry IV in France and moved to Paris, she took the Jewish physician with her. Montalto was physician to Henry IV and, after his death, to Louis XIII. He died in Tours and was brought to the Amsterdam Jewish cemetery by his son Moses and his student Saul Morteira.¹¹ We find this Moses Montalto, the son of Eliah, in Lublin, and his epitaph in the old Jewish cemetery tells us in brief but pregnant words of the wanderings of the Jews in Europe:¹²

We read:

Here rests the man Moses.
It is the excellent physician,
Dr. Moses Montalto,
Son of the physician and advisor
of the king of France,
Louis the Thirteenth,
Eliah Montalto.
He died on Monday the 24th 1 Ijar 5397 (1637).

Was it his son or the son of another Moses who in 1658 received the degree of doctor of medicine? He was called Vitalis Felix (Chaim) Mojsenakij Judaeus polonus Lublinensis and presented himself for examination on 8 April 1658. On

April 11 his questions were heard. 1. In prima Physicorum. Text 4, Quia propter ex universalibus ad singularia und 2. In libro artis med. Galeni: Cap. 51. Moderatae temperaturae indicia secundum totum.

On April 12, under the supervision of Professor Antonius Molinetus, the examination was held, and the candidate was made a doctor by a vote of 4 to 3.¹³

Dr. Vital Felix returned to his home city and soon established an extensive practice here. His fame reached the court of the king, and Michael Wismiowieski appointed him his courtier on 28 August 1671, freed him from legal jurisdiction, and placed him exclusively under the jurisdiction of the court marshal. He also was given the right to examine all Jews who fraudulently claimed the title of physician and, when they claimed to have studied at a university, to examine their credentials. He was regularly honored as preeminent among his co-religionists, and he was permitted to affix the royal coat of arms to his residence.¹⁴

Among the students of medicine in Padua we find in 1667-71 one Abraham Spera, Jew of Lublin.¹⁵ Several years later at the same university is inscribed Israel Polachi, son of Isaac of Lublin. The latter was examined and was unanimously appointed doctor of physiology and medicine in October 1687.¹⁶

The spread of knowledge of the Jews of Poland was greatly influenced by the book publishers.¹⁷ The oldest Hebrew book publisher in Poland was founded in Krakow, but Hebrew books were already printed in Lublin in 1547. The first Lublin publisher was named Joseph. After his death the press was taken over by his daughter Anna and her husband Chaim son of Isaac. King Siegismond granted them a monopoly for their printed books in August 1559. No one could reprint them under penalty of 20 marks.¹⁸ Nevertheless a second press existed at the same time not far from Lublin—in Konska Wola (by Pulawy)—that strongly competed with the first. Both enterprises were soon closed, and in 1566 a new press was founded, Lazar and Joseph, which also went under in a short time.¹⁹ Not until 1578 was an office opened by the son of the second rector of the Lublin Talmudic academy, Kalonymos ben Mordechai Jaffe. It prospered for many decades, and hundreds of first class works were printed. Jaffe imported the best typesetters from Italy and spared no expense in obtaining good woodcuts and illustrations. His work is distinguished by very attractive title pages, beautiful borders, and tasteful capitals. He often presented very beautiful initial letters, decorated with human figures.²⁰

The descendants of Jaffe operated this press until late in the 17th century, and when the great conflict between Krakow, Lublin, and Zolkiew book publishers was settled on Jewish day in Jaroslau in around 1690, it was the heirs of the Jaffe establishment who vigorously defended their rights.

CHAPTER IV

The Royal Court

In the second half of the 16th century the city of Lublin was in its highest bloom. The great markets drew merchants from all of Poland and from far foreign lands, and with them came consumers in search of all kinds of goods for the entire year. On Candlemas Maria (Matka Boska Gromniczna, 2 February) everyone with something to buy or sell was found in Lublin, since not only were manufactured wares, fancy goods, leather goods, and silk goods sold, but sales contracts for large quantities of grain, potash, timber, and so forth were also transacted. Large money transactions also occurred here, for which purpose rich money lenders and money changers appeared at the market, and gradually “Lublin” became a common Polish payment place and payment date (Candlemas Maria). These dates were often not adhered to, however, and the creditors were compelled to present legal claims here immediately, resulting in opportunities for lawyers, scribes, court officials, pen makers, ink makers, and paper sellers.

In this influential business center of Poland, King Stephan Batory established in 1578 the Royal Court of Justice, as the highest court for all criminal trials and for many civil trials. One judge was selected from each province and delegated here for months. These magnates came to Lublin annually with their followers, scribes, servants, grooms, cooks, and military guards and took quarter in cloisters and patrician houses in the city or in surrounding villas. Over time each magnate family strove to own its own palace in Lublin, giving rise to the many noble houses and the palaces of Potocki, Firlej, Tarlo, Sobieski, and Radziwill, which were a feature of the city over many generations and which today have been converted to tax houses and barracks.

All of this brought still greater progress to Lublin and with it much money and business opportunity. The Lublin Jews had many opportunities to earn money and sell their goods, and they often found support from the nobles in conflicts with the citizens regarding freedom to do business.

But the royal court of justice also had its unfortunate side for the Lublin Jews. A chronicler of the 18th century (Kitowicz) relates to us that each year at the beginning of the court session the servants and followers of the magnates organized themselves into a band and, under the leadership of a “chief,” went to the Jewish city in order “to maintain themselves” there.¹ The Jewish community knew of this and annually paid the band a considerable ransom in cash and drink. However, the drink soon enflamed the heads of these peasants and small nobles, and it often resulted in bloody clashes.

That was, however, a small matter. Much greater dangers arose for the Jewish community during the court session for another reason. In Poland—as everywhere where Jews lived—there emerged nearly every year a ritual legend. A Christian child became lost, and soon accusations emerged against the Jews of the place. It resulted in an immediate trial, which almost always had a bloody outcome. An appeal against the verdict of the local court was always brought to the royal court of justice, and here in Lublin the case was litigated anew. The belief that Jews used Christian blood was so widely circulated in past times that even the judges engaged in all means “finally to discover the truth.” The means of investigation at that time against city dwellers, Jews, and peasants were selected tortures, always refined, so that the guilty parties were forced to confess. However, the court did not have at its disposal either a torture chamber or torturers and so transferred the function in particular cases to the Lublin assessor’s court. Given the perpetually strained relations in the city between Jews and Christians, the outcome of the torture was always the same. The consequence of this outcome was almost always a death sentence for the guilty decreed by the court, and execution was again transferred to the assessor’s court.

Now we will examine an instance of the agitation of the Lublin Jews as a trial of this kind was conducted in the court. The family of the accused—insofar as they were not already in custody—the elders of the Jewish community of the district from which the unfortunate came—all came to Lublin to help their fellows. The elders of the Lublin community came forward and applied all of their influence to procure at least small leniencies. Payments had to be made to the magistrates, the torturers, and the jailer. They went from judge to judge, and they sought Jews in the market who were acquainted with the judges, in a business relationship with them, their tenants, or even their creditors, and they tried through their intercession to convince the judges of the innocence of the accused. In most cases however the effort did not help, especially when an influential church official or a magnate was involved. From the cellar of the city hall, where the torture chamber was located, emerged at night throughout the Jewish community the moans and screams of the victim, whose limbs the torturer dislocated and who was burned with glowing iron and sulfur. No one could close his eyes here, and the old and the young, men and women, spent the night in prayer, and the elders of the community ran from one person to another in the hope of finding help at the last moment.

The death sentence, which was customary in these trials, was carried out with refined cruelty mainly on the Sabbath in front of the synagogue, so that the entire Jewish community would see the death of their co-religionist and have a terrible example for the future. But very few Jews attended the execution. The entire city populace, on the other hand, assembled at this “theater” and then often went on to attacks on Jewish houses, pogroms, and plunder. The agitated mob saw in the verdict a confirmation of the blood libel and wanted once and for all to be done

with the Jews. The mother feared for her children, and the word “Jew” was the embodiment of child murderer and blood shedder. Of the great number of ritual trials in Lublin we have only a single example—the case of Swiniarowo.

In the village of Swiniarowo the four year old son of miller Petreni went missing and was found terribly mutilated after a while by shepherd boys. Those who found him believed that wild dogs or even wolves had eaten the child, and the father would have done nothing further if the tenant of the neighboring village, Wodniki, had not drawn his attention to the Jews there. The tenant, a poor noble named Skowieski, lived badly with his Jews and wanted to be rid of them in this way. Soon taverner Marek, his son Aron Gromek, his son-in-law Eisig, the tavern boy Jachim, and a Christian maid living at Marek’s house were arrested and sent to the fortress jail in Mielnica.

At first the Jews did not know why they were imprisoned, but when they learned the reason, they asked that they at least be allowed to appear before the royal court to declare their innocence. By decree of the king they were transferred to Lublin on 5 July 1598 and locked up in the castle prison. The Lublin Jewish elders—Moses Doktorowicz (son of the rabbi), Dr. Solomon Luria, and the attorney Solomon—did everything they could to help their co-religionists. They succeeded in winning over Messrs. von Odrzywolski, Przylepski, and Przybinski, but the court marshal Adam Stadnicki remained opposed. The Lublin Jesuits and Cardinal Batory also had a hand in the matter.

The accused were examined, but the simple hearing was without result, and the court ordered that the Jews be given over to the assessor’s court for torture. During the night of the 8th and 9th of July 1598 all four of the accused were fearfully tortured in the city hall basement. The torturer poured brandy on their heads and other parts of their bodies and set them on fire. The Jews said nothing, and the torturer judged that they were in league with the devil, who was concealed in their hair. To purge the devil from their bodies, their hair was shaved, and the shaved places were again soaked in brandy and ignited.

The fearsome torture extracted a confession from the tavern boy that he had seen a new pot filled with blood under a bed in the tavern, and, “As we all sat in the prison, our master, Innkeeper Markus, told us that we should have God in our hearts and say nothing, even if we were tortured. He repeated the same thing several times, most recently here in the chamber, as the wick was lit and one of us was lying on the torture table. Also, a peasant woman, Nastuszka, told me she had seen a dead child under a barrel in the cellar.”

The court decided to examine the Christian maid of the taverner and ordered the proprietors of Swiniarowo to bring her to Lublin. As the girl was at the gate of

Lublin with the peasants of her village, she encountered Canon Treter, who was preparing to leave the city. Treter was a cathedral official in Posen and was very interested in the trial—he was even then working on his book about the theft of the eucharist in Posen in 1399. Immediately he stopped his carriage and interrogated the girl. He reminded her of her duty to Christianity and described her great reward if she contributed to uncovering the truth. The girl, who initially had nothing to say, then began to describe how they had wrapped the child in rags and taken him from the house. At this time she begged that she not be killed. But if she was to be doomed to perdition, she did not want to die alone, and she said that she knew a great number of Christian women in Miedzyrzecz who had rendered similar service to the Jews.

Treter immediately related the girl's testimony to the court, and now the verdict was ready. The royal court condemned three Jewish men (Marek, Isaak, and Aron Gromek) and one Jewish woman (Marek's wife) to death: “. . . uti patratores et cooperatores praefati sceleris morti damnados vitaeque privandos esse decrevit . . .” The verdict was read on the Sabbath, 11 July 1598, and the execution was to be carried out immediately.

We have in the writer Dr. Miczynski and the physician Dr. Sleszkowski two eyewitnesses of the execution. According to their accounts they were to be executed in front of the entrance to the Maharschal Synagogue (illustration 38)—Jateczna Street—as the Jews left the synagogue on Sabbath, and the executioner had driven four stakes into the ground there. In response to the fervent pleas of the Jewish elders and the payment of 200 ducats to the Jesuits, the court decreed that the execution should take place outside of the city.

The condemned—according to the practice of the time—were placed on sleds and taken to the place of execution in a great parade. The first to be executed was the taverner (Marek). He was laid on the butcher's block and hacked alive into quarters with a butcher's axe, after which each part was fastened to a stake with new nails. Following him in death were his wife and his son-in-law Isaak Eisig. His son Aron Gromek had hanged himself in prison, and now his corpse was brought from the cell and nailed to a stake.

The bishop of Luck, Bernard Maciejowski, in whose diocese the aforementioned village was located, had the body of the boy buried in his village church in Litewnik by Janow, and when he was later named bishop of Krakow, he took the body with him to his new location. At the request of the Lublin Jesuits he gave it to them, and they buried it with great honor in the church (today's Cathedral Church). Soon people began to make pilgrimages to the body, and the bishop of Rome took steps to canonize the boy, as Simon of Trent. At the same time the Lublin Jews made great efforts to rehabilitate their brothers, who had been so

disgracefully executed. In 1617 a royal commission was established to look into the matter, but without result. The efforts of the bishop of Rome also remained without result.²

The Lublin Jews had barely recovered from this trial when another ritual trial occurred, in 1636.³ In this case the Lublin surgeon Mordechai was convicted and executed. In 1639 the bloody ritual trial of Leczyca occurred.⁴

All of these trials created a fear of the court among the Lublin Jews. The Jews passed the door of this great house with anxiety and fear on the way to the market. The rabbinate of Lublin established the opening day of the court as a local day of fasting, which was strictly enforced for many centuries.⁵ It also occurred that as soon as the court was convened annually the Jewish elders of Lublin appeared before the marshal and his representative with rich gifts—*dona charitativa*. To this purpose they arranged a credit from the wealth of all of the Jews of Poland. The credit reached 1,400 florins in the 18th century and was annually credited to the Lublin Jewish community in the tax records.⁶

CHAPTER V

The Jewish Assembly in Lublin (Council of Four Lands)¹

“From Zion’s heights the Lord will shine forth in glorious splendor to bestow the abundance of his grace on us until we witness the reign of the restored Temple.

“Esteemed gentlemen and sages, learned among the learned, who sit at the seat of righteousness in the gates of all cities and states; herdsmen who rest in their tents, each by his banner, as by a babbling brook; princes, rulers, and leaders of the German communities, each in relation to his standing and value—praise God!

“Leaders of the people, princes of science, connoisseurs of letters, under whose wings the animals of the forest and the birds in the sky find protection; powerful trees, rectors, learned men; directors of courts and excellent assessors appointed to them in order to protect the weak from the strong; lords of science, who shine like stars in the firmament of heaven—may they live long and happily until the city of Zion is restored forever.

“Amen! Thy will be done, O Lord!

“Our dear friends! The voice of the leader of the sacred community of Posen has reached us—God protect it!—lamenting about Mr. Abraham, son of Joseph Segal (Halewy) of Hannover in the German realm. Abraham was a citizen of Posen and paid his taxes there, since he was very wealthy. As he saw that his father city—once great and famous, Israel’s protector and defender—was becoming ever poorer and unable to pay its debts and taxes, he left and went to Hannover. As the representatives of the Posen community asserted, he was obliged to return to Posen, but he did not keep his word, took his wife and children, sold his possessions, and left.

“Know, all men of learning, that this man was excommunicated according to the laws of our land. According to the laws of our sacred Torah, an outlaw in one city is an outlaw in all others, the accursed in one land is also accursed in the other lands. Thus we beg you—dear brethren—to shun this man everywhere and to support the efforts of our sacred community Posen. Pursue him long and hard—even with the help of the Christian authorities—until in humility and repentance he says: I will return to my father city and will gladly help to bear its burdens.

“We hope that you, dear prince, will do this, and we are always ready to be in your service, so that peace and order will reign and that sinners will not escape unpunished.

“These are the words of the lords, representatives, leaders, princes, and rulers of the four states of Poland, may God protect them. Today, Sunday, 18 Siwan 5421 (1661) in Lublin at the Jewish Assembly on Candelmas Maria.

Jakob Askenasy of Lublin,
Jekutiel Selman Aron of Lemberg,
Aron Auerbach of Lublin,
Juda Leib ben Zwi Hirsch s.A.,
Isaak ben Asser s.A. of Krzemieniec,
Pinkas Selig,
Ira Schraga Föbus of the Krakow district,
Zeew Wolf ben Natan of Wolhynien,
Naftali ben Abraham of Satanow.²

What kind of warrant is this, by whom was it issued, and to whom was it directed? Who are these “lords, princes, and leaders of the four states of Poland,” and what is the meaning of the many splendid titles? Indeed, the Jews—who were “unbelievers” (*infidi, perfidi et increduli*) in society’s view—were not at all sparing here with marks of respect and titles, so it had to do with the leaders of the community!

A piece of the Jewish soul is found in this way. When the hunted, dispossessed, outlawed, spat upon, and despised slave, banished to the dark ghetto, dealt with the outer world—with Christian society—he renounced marks of honor and titles and found strength among his own people, with those who shared his religion and race, and created a special world, which he improved and embellished with great care. It must suffice for him, and it did suffice. In this special world of bodies and spirits the Jew lives out his social, political, and intellectual life. Here he is lord and leader of the community, here the prince of learning, here he knows to advise and help, here he places his entire love for his fellow creatures. For the outside world he is and remains a merchant, a dirty Jew, with whom one does business but in whom one neither sees nor respects humanity.

The Jews of the Middle Ages were able to build their own world, based on the foundation of their families and communities, which lived longer and more certainly in this land, to which they added a second and third floor: regional organizations and the Jewish Assembly.

In the first half of the 16th century the Polish kings centralized all of the Jews of the country and appointed for this purpose general assessors and general rabbis, which have already been mentioned several times. After the bankruptcy of this system in 1551, all Jewish communities received complete autonomy. This proved

to be unsuitable both for the state and for the Jews. The state found it difficult to collect taxes, and the Jews lacked advocates in times of need.

These were the circumstances under which the communities of the individual states (Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Reussen, etc.) assembled themselves into local organizations. From these organizations it was just a step to a Jewish Assembly. Often the question of the creation of such an organization was discussed in the Lublin market—where the influential Jews assembled annually—and finally in 1580 an assembly for the Jews of the entire state was created.

The first act of this Jewish Assembly was the collection of Jewish taxes. Against the payment of a tax rate to the state treasury the representatives of the “Crown Jewry” settled these Jewish taxes to the state, thereafter divided the sum annually among the local assemblies, and the local assemblies allocated the sum to the individual communities. The Jewish communities remained, as before, the most basic organ and the last link in the chain of Jewish administrative authority.

Through tax collection the Jewish Assembly was established in the state and became a state necessity, a state organ. However, for the next one and a half centuries the state paid very little notice to decisions apart from the subject of taxes. Not until the first half of the 18th century did the finance minister dispatch his commissioner to the deliberations of imperial Jewry and thus discover, to his surprise and dismay, that a proper Jewish Assembly existed.

Imperial Jewry assembled together yearly in Lublin on Candlemas Maria (Gromnica) and was thus called “Waad Gromnitz” (Assembly of Candlemas Maria) or “Waad Arba Arazoth” (Council of Four Lands: Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Reussen, and Lithuania). The Lithuanian Jews could not, however, endure this time with the Polish Jews. Animosity had always existed between them—as between the other residents of the two halves of the empire—and it often rose to open hostility. And so it happened that after 43 years of joint labor the Lithuanian delegation left the assembly. In 1623 the Jewish Assembly for Lithuania first met, in Brest-Litovsk. Meir Wahl, son of Saul, the legendary one-day king of Poland, was the first president of the Assembly. Only the Polish delegates remained in Lublin, and their decisions extended only to Lublin. Only when a common danger threatened all Jews—when a motion was carried in the Polish parliament in Warsaw that all Jews should be considered pernicious, when a ritual trial aroused the people, or when someone incited the plundering of Jews—then the delegates of the Lithuanian Assembly also came to Lublin in order to address the common evil with the “Crown Jews.”

Until the Cossack and Swedish wars the Polish Jewish Assembly met in Lublin or in the near vicinity (Belzyce, Tyszowce, Opole). But since the city was laid waste

by the enemy and the market lost its value, the Assembly was moved to Jaroslau. Until 1680 it met alternatively in Lublin and Jaroslau, often in Leczna, near Lublin, to which the Lublin market had been moved. From this year on it did not return to Lublin and met until its dissolution in Jaroslau, Pilica, Konstantynow, etc. The elders of the Lublin Jews, who once played the leading role in the Assembly, now had to take their place among the delegates of other communities and local assemblies, and seldom was a Lubliner chosen as Jewish marshal. Just the penultimate president of the Jewish Assembly was a Lubliner, named Abraham Heilpern.

The decisions of the Jewish Assembly in its Lublin period encompassed all aspects of Jewish life in Poland. At many sessions organizational questions were addressed. The order was established in which the individual states (Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, etc.) had the right to nominate the Jewish marshal (1647), and it was also decided whether only community elders could be delegates to the Jewish Assembly, as opposed to Jews outside of the community leadership (1664). In 1667 it was decided to reduce the expenses of the Assembly, and in the same year a heavy penalty was laid on the Cracow elders, who did not wish to attend the Assembly.³

Often the Assembly took under consideration conflicts between individual communities and their local assemblies, as well as between local assemblies themselves. So was settled in 1595 the conflict between the city of Cracow and the provincial community of the Woiwodentum,⁴ and in other years various conflicts between the Russian communities and the rabbinate in Lemberg, as well as the major conflict between the Lithuanian community Grodno and the Polish community Tykocin (1589-1678). Grodno did not wish to recognize the independence of Tykotin and always treated it as its subordinate community. The Jewish Assembly recognized the direct relationship of the Tykotin community to the empire, subordinated to it a whole group of small communities, and in 1678 gave it a seat and voice in the Jewish Assembly.⁵

The Jewish Assembly in Lublin often dealt with commercial and legal questions within Polish Jewry. The Polish nobility looked enviously on the tolls and currency paid by the Jews of Greater and Lesser Poland. The nobility wanted this income to be reserved for them and seized on the decisions of the local and imperial assemblies dealing therewith. It was to be feared that, if the Jews didn't follow these decisions, there could be bad consequences for them. The Jewish Assembly intervened immediately and in 1581 issued a prohibition against the failure of the Jews in Greater and Lesser Poland to pay these state incomes.⁶

The Assembly in 1607, 1624, 1640, and 1644 dealt with Jewish business and credit conditions. A canonical view dominated the money market at that time that

strongly forbade the charging of interest. Money interest was considered usury; it was sinful and forbidden. That was good for the early Middle Ages but not for the 17th century, in which most merchants depended on credit and in which circulation of currency and exchange was very important. Exchange and drafts (Mamrane) were used throughout the market, money vouchers of foreign merchants were honored in Lublin or were negotiated against the vouchers of other houses and goods, and all of this happened *contra legem*, against the words of the Holy Scripture, and troubled the consciences of pious Jews. In 1607 the matter came before the Jewish Assembly, which established a rabbinic commission under the leadership of the rector of the Lemberg Academy, Joshua Falk Cohen, to resolve the question. The commission sought and found a solution that did not undermine the words of the Holy Scripture. It devised a *fraus legis* (heter-iska) that made the creditor an associate of his debtor and thereby awarded him a share of the profit.⁷

In 1564 the Assembly distributed and in 1640 and 1644 expanded a general law of bankruptcy. Jewish trade was largely that of the market. The trade agreements of the Jewish community with the towns allowed the Jews to engage in retail sales only during markets, and the Jews could sell their goods to Christian retailers only on a wholesale basis. Consequently the small Jewish merchants were made into market traders who dragged their wares from market to market. If a market was poor and the wares of the season not sold, the Jew either had to wait a year or dispose of them at a loss. In either case he was bankrupt. These conditions broke the back of Jewish credit and opened the door to bankruptcy. In order to stop this, the very strict law mentioned above was issued. The same goal was shared by the many ordinances regarding the signatures of minors in exchange, the trade of recently married young people, etc.⁸

Several of the decisions of the Jewish Assembly dealt with the religious life of Polish Jews. Thus the rabbis who conducted their offices underhandedly were often threatened with great censure (1587, 1590, 1597, 1640), as were the community leaders who allowed themselves to be bribed in the selection of rabbis.⁹ In 1594 it was forbidden to print books without rabbinical approval, and in 1670 the sale of Hebrew books printed in Basel was prohibited. On another occasion the matter of ritual slaughtering, ritually prepared cheeses and wines, etc., was regulated. The relationship of the sexes to each other and chaste behavior of women in public and in baths, especially in relation to those of different faiths, were agreed upon in 1607. Always on the agenda were laws that had the objective of taxing luxuries. “He who pays only 15 groschen as a marriage fee”—we read in a decree of 1644—“has the right to invite to the betrothal, marriage, etc. 15 men outside of his first degree relatives. He who pays 15 groschen to 5 Polish gulden has the right to invite 30 outsiders and all of his first and second degree relatives. He who pays more than 20 florins can invite whomever he wishes.”

The most difficult task of the Jewish Assembly was considered to be intervention with administrators, officials, and bishops. If almost anything happened in the state, the officials of the Jews of the empire were on the spot to intervene with money and protection. So we learn from a decree of 1595 that the officials of the Jews of the empire intervened in that year in a dispute between the governor of Cracow and a Cracow Jew, that they attempted to block the effort of a Greater Polish delegate to the Warsaw parliament to take the collection of head tax away from the Jews of the empire, and that they advanced funds to the Jews of Chelm in order to save from prison the Jews of Sawina, who had been accused of ritual murder.

In an agreement of 1633 between the Polish Jewish Assembly in Lublin and the Lithuanians we see this work best. There we read:

“Concerning the payment for His Majesty the King the old agreement remains in effect. The Crown Jews themselves give the payment for the Polish parliament, since the Lithuanian Jews also pay their deputies. Also the Lithuanians have not contributed to the payment for the marshal of the parliament. In the case of misfortune in Warsaw, the Lithuanians contribute one-seventh. If in Lublin (in the court) there occurs a Jewish trial (ritual trial) and money is needed, the Crown Jews will call upon a Lithuanian delegate two delegates with the expense of ten florins. For each 100 florins, the Lithuanians pay one-seventh.”¹⁰

But not just Polish issues were dealt with in Lublin. All the Jews of Europe looked here for advice and help. When the Jews of Bohemia were expelled and remained only in Zilz, the Polish Jewish Assembly settled the conflict between the people of Zilz and the other Bohemian communities. Here turned Christian merchants of Breslau with complaints against Polish merchants. From here were warrants for fugitive Polish Jews issued throughout the world, and here the great bann of 1670 against Sabbatai Zwi and his followers issued.¹¹

For European Jewry, the Jewish Assembly in Lublin was the embodiment of Jewish authority and the power of Polish Jews. The Jewish assemblies in Jaroslau in the 18th century give us a picture of wretchedness and decay.

CHAPTER VI

The Great War (1648-1660)

On Pentecost in 1648 the Jewish city of Lublin was unsettled by bad news. No one knew where it came from or if it was true, but it traveled from mouth to mouth, and soon it was repeated in the entire city, in the synagogues and private houses: the news of a terrible rising of Cossacks in the southeast of the empire.

The two days of Pentecost passed quietly, but caravans arrived in the following days from the east, and the merchants reported that the Cossacks had allied with the Tatars and that the Polish army had been attacked and two generals taken prisoner. The stories grew, and soon it was learned that the Cossacks had aimed mainly at the nobles and the Jews and that they had massacred Jews everywhere on the other side of the Dniepr and destroyed entire communities, such as Perejaslaw, Baryszowka, Lubin, etc.

After a few days the first refugees arrived in Lublin. They were mainly wealthy people from Podolie and Wolhynie who did not dare to remain in the east and came here with their wives and children. The refugees brought the news of the massacres of the Jewish communities of Czehryn, Niemirow, Tulczyn, Polonne, Konstantynow, Ostrog, etc. and related the details of these atrocities, how the Jews were flayed alive and their bodies then thrown to the dogs, how the Jews' limbs were cut off, how others were buried alive. From other areas it was reported that Jewish children were cut in pieces like fish or that pregnant women had their bellies cut, the unborn children torn from them, and cats sewn in. The feverish fantasy of the people feared that the Cossacks would soon be in Lublin, and mothers wailed day and night and gazed in terror out the window. And, in truth, the great Cossack rising had broken out and threatened to destroy the entire Polish state. The Cossack leader Chmielnicki drove in victory from one city to another, and soon he stood before the fortifications of Lemberg. After he collected a rich ransom there, he drove on and began to besiege Zamosc. Zamosc at that time was a strong fortress, with a large garrison. The surrounding towns—Szczebrzeszyn, Tomaszow, Bilgoraj, Hrubieszow, Tarnograd, Turobin, and Krasnik—were destroyed by the Tatars, and Zamosc was tightly encircled. The citizens of the city and the Jews there ransomed themselves with a payment of 2,000 florins, and so Chmielnicki moved against Lublin. Four miles south of the city, he established his headquarters.¹

The citizens of Lublin prepared for the defense of the city. The guilds stood guard over the towers and bulwarks assigned to them, the city walls were strengthened, the entrenchments were prepared, the moat cleared of rubble, and the cannons and

mortars set in place. Of the Jewish community only the poorest of the poor remained, joined by the refugees with their families. It is little wonder that in the filth and misfortune a terrible epidemic broke out, which killed 10,000 people. The epidemic also infected those who had fled, and many of them died. The Jews threw the bodies of their loved ones into the cemetery under the cover of darkness, so that they would not be discovered. Many of the stricken found help in Christian houses, but most remained lying in the fields and streets and died of hunger and cold. “A brother pitied not the next, nor the father the son, as 10,000 people died. May God save them.”

At the cemetery in Kurow the inscriptions to these refugees can still be read on the gravestones after many centuries.

Lublin had good fortune at this time. As Chmielnicki was ready to start the siege, and as his troops were in the suburbs and signaled their advance with fire and sword, the news of the selection of a new Polish king reached the Cossack headquarters. The crown was now held by the brother of the deceased king, Johann Kasimir, and he immediately sent a letter to Chmielnicki, in which he called upon him to return home and promised to negotiate with him. Chmielnicki gave his troops the order to retire, and the city of Lublin breathed a sigh of relief. A Christian legend relates that a piece of wood from the cross of Christ, preserved in the Dominican church in Lublin, had caused the enemy to withdraw from the city at the last moment. Witnesses reported that in the heavens—above the Dominican church—they saw an amazing appearance: “The heavens suddenly became bright in the dark night, and a fiery sword appeared with the point turned toward Lublin and then toward Zamosc. The sword became a whip, and everything was covered in a fiery cloak, which disappeared in the clouds.”²

The Jews of Lublin returned to their houses, as did the nuns and monks, who had left the city at the last minute. The city officials and the royal court again assumed their responsibilities. The Jewish Assembly met again in Lublin in 1651 in order to find ways and means of helping the thousands and thousands of brothers from Ukraine and Podolie. Each community was required to take in a part of the refugees in proportion to their own size and to provide them protection. The rabbis together in the Jewish Assembly established the 20th of Siwan—the day of the conquest of Niemirow—as a general day of fasting and also agreed to facilitate remarriage for women whose husbands had died without trace in the tumult of war. It seemed that, despite the war still raging, the west of the Polish state was secure from disorder, and life began anew.

But it was otherwise written in the lawbooks of the Polish state, as well as in the history of the Jewish people. Signs and wonders revealed that new misfortunes approached these lands. In July 1654 there was a solar eclipse, and the agitated

fantasy saw therein a bad omen. As Jakob ben Ezechiel Halewi of Flotow described in the introduction to his *Sefer Schem Jaakob*, he and others heard the dead wailing and moaning and dead Jewish children sitting under the ark in the synagogue, grasping their hands over their heads. The alarming fantasy foresaw the many disastrous years on the brow of men. In autumn 1654 plague broke out in Greater Poland, and the people fled the cities for the villages and forests to escape the disaster.³

Soon the enemy returned to the land. From the southwest again came Chmielnicki with his Cossacks and Tatars, from the east the Russians, and from the north the Swedish king Karl Gustav. All of the nobles of Greater Poland and Lithuania submitted to him and recognized him as king of Poland. Johann Kasimir fled to Silesia. Karl Gustav could, without a swordstroke, rule over Posen to Warsaw and from here over Sandomir to Cracow. Everywhere the Jews fell victim to the Swedish sword, and, since Jewish legionnaires had tried to oppose the enemy for a brief time at Sandomir, the anger of Sweden knew no bounds.

Almost all of the communities of the Vistula and with them those of Cracow fell to the raging Swedish sword. Lublin, like many other cities east of the Vistula, was spared by the Swedes at this time but fell instead to the hands of the Cossacks and Russians, who inflicted much evil on it.

An anonymous contemporary chronicle—from the pen of the Protestant citizen of Lublin—described for us in brief but pregnant words the misfortunes of the city and especially of the Lublin Jews. The title of this small but unusual book announces:

Narrative or detailed description
of the deplorable and pitiful
destruction and incineration
during the conquest
of the beautiful city of Lublin
by the Muskovites and Cossacks
perpetrated barbarously.
Year 1656.⁴

“After the 11th of October (1656) newspapers arrived with terrible news, but no one thought it prudent to leave here, since it was forbidden by the castle and administration to carry off even the smallest thing. On the 12th of October two merchants of Zamosc came with no other news than that the Cossacks were gathered 300-400 strong 2-4 miles from Zamosc and had taken away many people and cattle.

“On the 13th at 9 o’clock the post rider from Zamosc arrived and reported orally that Zamosc was closed, and he saw many great fires behind it. But in the letters nothing was said of it, which perplexed us considerably. Thereupon three different post riders were dispatched.

“On the 14th various parties of nine to twelve horses rode out, several of which returned with the news that the others had been partly killed and partly seized by the Cossacks. (We however saw them only before Hultajstwo.)

“At daybreak on the 15th a great battle army was seen in the field—around 10,000 men, mostly Cossacks—which soon began plundering in the Cracow suburb and most extensively in the Jewish city. The citizens of the city soon assembled and garrisoned the walls and gates, but defense against such an enemy was impossible because of the poor condition of the walls, and soon a white flag was displayed. Soon thereafter representatives were sent to beg for mercy: the noblemen Mr. Franz Bodczynski, Mr. Poniatowski, Poborca, a Jesuit, and two citizens. (The Cossacks soon robbed the Jesuit of everything.) . . . Toward evening the representatives returned, saying the enemy wanted only the wealth of all the clerics and nobles and that submission must be given to the great prince. Hostages were held until the next day, upon which it was learned that there were two armies, Muskovite and Cossack, consisting of 6,000, or, as other said, of 12,000 to 15,000.

“On the 16th the noblemen and various others, including officials and some citizens, departed to take the oath. But the Russian commander would not meet with them in his encampment but rather on the bridge before the city gate, which had to be opened for him. Once again he demanded all of the goods of the Jews, nobles, and clerics and also the holy crucifix that was a relic of the Dominicans. The general of the Muskovite army, Peter Ivanovich, then went to the gate, where he found two things that had been brought out to him. On the same day several wagons full of costly Jewish goods were also taken out. He then demanded from the city (1) 30,000 florins in addition to everything previously taken; (2) several wagons full of velvet, satin, and other silk goods; (3) various English and Dutch goods and sealing wax, 1,000 pieces; (4) several wagons of spices; (5) all of the weapons of the city; and (6) all of the Jews, whom he intended to kill.

“And it was quite a spectacle to see the Jews, young and old, driven like sheep from the houses in which they had been saved and hidden by us Christians, as if to a slaughterhouse, with a pitiful wail. But later their lives were spared.

“After the oath was given, he gave us . . . 60 Muskovite musketeers as a garrison . . . but later took them with him to his camp, leaving behind a Curland commander.

. . .

“ . . . The Cossacks pressed against the wall and gates, but we were forbidden to shoot at them or to fend them off with stones. But it was impossible to assemble so much money, and there was no other way for us to save ourselves. To pressure us, on the 16th at nightfall they began a fire in the Jewish church (illustration 38), in which there were many Jews, which spread to their city, burning throughout the night and until the evening of the next day (a Sunday). To pressure us further, the castle was again set on fire, and, since it was near the city and its wooden houses, the fire could have spread easily, had the Muskovite garrison not been bribed. There was no mercy for the Jewish city, and the fire burned for six days. Whoever was found alive in the suburb was summarily killed or at least had his clothes taken and sold for a trifle. A pair of boots for a bit of tobacco—the jurists sold it cheapest. . . .”

The chronicler continued his narrative based on a detailed report regarding the murder of Brigitta and Bernardine nuns:

“On the 18th a lack of food in the city, especially bread and water, made it impossible to remain there, although the Cossacks sold us a few things—an ox for 5 florins, a fourth of butter for 50 groschen. On the 20th the ransom was brought out to them. . . . The leader left on the 21st and burned down the Cracow suburb. . . . On the evening of the 22nd the leader returned and demanded the wood of the Holy Cross . . . and took the larger half, to the dismay of all the people.

“Regarding the ransom, mentioned above, they received vast treasure. There were silk goods worth 58,000 florins net, valued by them at 75,000 florins. In cloth they had 60,000 florins, in cash 20,000 florins, in various silver and gold items 30,000 florins, not counting the church treasure, and an equal amount of wine and spices. . . . But all of this is nothing compared to the treasure that they received from the suburbs, and especially the Jewish city: 600 select horses, 50 carriages, 20 horse wagons. From the Jewish doctor Daniel alone they received 100,000 florins in gold and silver and from others over 1,000 horses, at the expense of many transporters. The goods that they took did not lessen the misfortune resulting from the things not taken and therefore destroyed—the burning of the Jewish city, destruction of many barns, churches, etc. . . . One cannot imagine how terrible it was in the city, with wives and children wailing and weeping, the suburban houses in flames, so many people tortured, others kidnapped . . . death was the least misfortune. . . .”

Thus far our informant. The Jewish sources also told of the fearsome cruelties. Samuel, son of the martyr David Auerbach, who himself barely escaped with his life, described in his book *Chessed Schmuel* that the Cossacks impaled the learned Abraham ben Jehuda alive on a lance and tortured him until he breathed his last. A

local tradition records that many Jews took their own lives in order to evade the torture instruments of the tyrant. Their names were later engraved on the cemetery walls and could be read for a long time. Of all of them, today only the name Bendit is visible.

The Jewish city presented a terrible image of devastation. All synagogues and prayer houses, the community house and the academy, the bath and all residences lay in dust and ashes, under which 2,700 bodies were found. In place of the Jewish city lay a heap of rubble, over which the rest of the burned castle towered like a ghost. Death and destruction reigned there, where once vibrant life flowed. The Lublin Jewish community was in ruins for years thereafter.

The city had barely recovered from the terrors of the Russian regime, however, when the Swedish king Karl Gustav captured it and demanded a ransom of 30,000 florins from the citizens. He withdrew and left his general, Prince Wolmar, in the city with a small garrison. Soon the unfortunate city was captured after a brief siege by a Lituianian regiment under the leadership of Stanislaus Potockis, which took the Swedish garrison captive.

So the wheel of history turned until the year 1660. Lublin was first in these hands and then in those, merchants and craftsmen were reduced to begging, and the Jews in general—after the fire in 1655—had nothing more to lose. A royal commission in 1660 presented the following pitiful picture of the Jewish city:

“Jewish houses apart from the school, butcher stalls, etc., currently 56. The number of burned parcels they estimate at about 250. In place of the Jewish hospital a bare plot. Many Jews once lived in Podzmacze, paying a ground tax of 70 florins to the castle. Today they pay not a groschen, since no one lives there. The Russians murdered 2,700 Jews, and they also destroyed the beautiful castle. All of the surrounding villages have been reduced to ashes, and nothing has been rebuilt. The inn Budzin am Wege, which had paid 40 florins to the castle, no longer exists; a few stones mark the place where the walls once stood.”⁵

Once again the rabbis assembled in Lublin and established a new day of fast for the Feast of Tabernacles (14th Tishri until midday). It was to be a reminder to future generations of the same feast day in 1655, on which the entire Jewish city went up in flames. The whole community assembled on this sad day of remembrance every year, and the prayer leaders gave a long elegy for this fast day in addition to other elegies. The believers listened with horror to the gruesome description. “On Sukkoth the Cossacks and Muskovites broke into the city, slaughtering men, women, and children without number. They followed and killed those who fled to Kurow in the streets and fields and in the villages and forests and threw their bodies to the dogs and vultures. Those who remained alive were

given a choice: death or baptism. All chose death and blessed with their blood the name of the Almighty. . . . Lord of mercy, may you take vengeance for all of the outrages, may the innocent who shed blood not be forgotten, and may you prepare a happy future for your people! And so may it please you!” And the whole community said loudly: Amen.⁶

CHAPTER VII

After the Great War (Second Half of the 17th Century)

The city lay in ruins. In the Cracow suburb only one large house was still intact, and the others lay in dust and ruins, with only small shacks in the open spaces from Wieniawa to the Cracow Gate (illustration 2). In the city proper most of the houses were black from smoke, and on Castle Street and in the market (Rynek) they were mostly unoccupied. The palaces of the great nobles as well as the spacious cloisters were abandoned, the city gates destroyed and always open, and the doors turned upside down.

The Jewish city looked like a huge pile of rubble, and only here and there a wall emerged from the ruins. The great Lublin market was moved to nearby Leczna, and the royal court was adjourned until later.

Also, the Jewish Assembly no longer met. The presidium of the last days of 1651 sent imploring letters to the king and the notables of the empire with a plea for protection and help.¹ King Johann Kasimir issued several decrees in these circumstances in which he described the pitiful condition of the Polish Jews: "Some were robbed and annihilated by their own troops, some by enemy troops, and others tortured to death. Until now they have not found peace in either the cities or the markets, their lives are not secure, and therefore those who fled to the frontier and Silesia dare not return to Poland. Also I know," wrote the king in his decree of 18 March 1658, "that many items that once belonged to the Jews were carried off and hidden by honorable citizens, so that the owners could redeem them only with great difficulty."²

A year later the Jewish Assembly complained that the notables and city magistrates had demanded tax arrears from the Jews for all of the war years, or they would not be permitted to rebuild their houses.

Not until 1661 did the royal court convene again in Lublin and the great market return from Leczna. With them came the Jewish Assembly. Only ten years later, however, a new enemy plundered the city. This time it was the Tatars, who plundered Lublin and its suburbs completely in 1672 and finally destroyed the Jewish city.

For the second time the Jews found themselves without shelter and went to the city proper, where they found shelter in the houses of the townspeople and the palaces of the nobles in exchange for money and pledges. It was just temporary until the rebuilding of the Jewish street, but this period lasted a full century, during which a

lively commerce grew with the return of the market and with the reopening of the royal court. A new life began at this time for the Jews—although not as fine as before the war, but fine enough to arouse the jealousy of Christian merchants. Lublin had, until now, the law *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. It was free of Jews and wished to remain so. That was the watchword of the Christian citizenry, and now all means were taken to drive the Jews from the city. The “common man”—the small tradesman and craftsman—was especially unhappy with the Jews, and he sought alliances everywhere to be rid of the “unbelieving competitor.” Soon he found a strong ally in the clergy.

The old Polish tolerance of the time of Piaste and Jagellone—that is, from the period of the strong Polish state—had disappeared. The great war had broken the strength and wealth of Poland for centuries and had brought ruin to the country. Great noble lines fought each other, and in the cities the rich patrician families seized power and suppressed the common man. The power of the king was a phantom, and the clergy, especially the Jesuits, served the heart and soul of the ruling classes. It was small wonder that the cause of all misfortune was seen in unbelievers, and the mob agitated against them. In Poland, where in the 16th century all non-Catholics had nearly completely equal rights with Catholics, the Protestants were now persecuted and the Arians banished entirely from the country. Also the mob was turned loose against the Jews in Lemberg and Cracow (1664) and carried out a bloodbath, a pogrom.³ Many Jews were murdered, and others were injured and robbed. In all of Poland the Jews faced charges of child murder and theft of the eucharist (1669) and awaited with great anxiety the judgments of the royal court. On 18 August 1677 in Lublin the court issued a judgment of condemnation on all Jews of Poland, and on the same day administrator Tomas Poklekowski read it in front of the door of the city hall in the presence of a great crowd.⁴ The judgment had only a theoretical meaning for the entire realm, but in the places where it was read aloud, that is, in Lublin, it did not fail to have an effect. Even without it the Jews were in a difficult position, having to make major sacrifices of money and property to remain in the city and conduct business. Now their situation was even worse, and they had to reach deeply into their purses to negotiate a new trade agreement with the city administration. This agreement was reached on 15 January 1677 and, despite interference “by the common man of Lublin,” was confirmed after great effort on 3 April of the same year by King Johann Sobieski.⁵ The “common man of Lublin” did not, however, submit; he sent petition after petition to the king complaining of “the baseness and corruption of the administrators and magistrates of Lublin and the perniciousness of Jewish commerce.”

On 11 February Johann III issued to the parliament in Grodno a letter of protection for the Christian business community in Lublin, in which he determined that Jewish merchants conducted impermissible business in Lublin and thus threatened

the well being of Christian businessmen. The king forbade the Jews to trade on Sundays and feast days; on these days they must not even be seen in the city. Further, the Jews must have no Christian servants, the Jewish agents (*barysznicy*) must not appear in the city, and they must not open any shop or warehouse or offer for sale either domestic or foreign goods. In general, the Jews were allowed to conduct business only with their co-religionists.⁶

This decree had a far-reaching impact on commerce in Lublin, since it negated all of the business agreements of the Jews with the administrators and magistrates. In order to ensure the vigorous enforcement of all aspects of the decree, the Christian tradesmen founded a “New Trades Congregation,” whose statute was recognized by the king in 1685. The paragraphs of this statute addressed the conduct of business, the treatment of apprentices, etc. However, most important were sections 23 to 27, which dealt with Jewish business. They said:

“§23. The *perfida gens judaica* hides behind various protections and sells in our city, *intra muros*, all kinds of goods, especially during sessions of the royal court. By this means they reduce the Lublin tradesmen to beggary. They dare to do business on Sundays and holidays, which was already repeatedly prohibited by court decree. In order to stop them, we will—so declares the king—reserve the following privileges for Lublin tradesmen, in compliance with the decree already granted to us by the parliament in Grodno on 11 February 1679.

“§24. A Jew may not rent or operate a shop either on the ground floor or the upper floor on the Ring Place or on the streets of the city of Lublin, since they already have their own city and the Podzamcze, or sell their goods by weight and measure *sub poena confiscationis*. Confiscated goods will be given equally to the magistrates for improving the city fortifications and to the congregation of tradesmen. We forbid the citizens of Lublin, under heavy penalty, to rent their houses or shops to Jews.

“§25. No Jew may sell any kind of goods from a crate on the street or in any other manner or await nobles and citizens in front of the city gates. All this is permitted to them only in their own city. Infractions of this prohibition will result in confiscation. At the same time the magistrate of Lublin, appointed by us, will renew his decrees regarding deportation of the Jews from the city.

“§26. The so-called agents (*barysznicy*) who loiter around the city, observing all kinds of business, in order to entice outsiders, and especially nobles, into the shops of the Jews, shall not be permitted in the city under penalty of imprisonment and fine (3 months and 30 marks).

“§27. The Jews may not expand their business beyond that established in agreements with the city regarding goods and quantities or encroach upon the sale of any Lublin tradesman. In the case of such a sale, the Christian tradesman has the right to put down the money and thereby purchase the goods.”⁷

The tone of these articles demonstrates that they originated in the battle with the Jews. But the congregation confronted not only the Lublin Jews; they also battled against the Lublin magistrate, who dealt with the Jews and renewed business agreements with them. The Jewish tradesmen were placed under strict controls, in which the smallest infraction resulted in the confiscation of their goods. Jewish agents were driven from the city, and Jewish business was almost completely paralyzed.

The Jews could not and would not quit the field, so the result was a conflict that lasted over 100 years and did not end with the fall of Poland. In the first stage of the conflict, the Lublin Jews were sentenced *in contumacium* at a session of the royal assessorial court in 1693 to abandonment of business, but within three years (1696) King Sobieski declared the privileges of the Congregation null and void, forbade interference with the business of the Jews, and permitted them—as from ancient times—to conduct business freely. This decree was confirmed two years later (1698) by King August II and was included in the Summary of Privileges of the Lublin Jewry (31 August 1698). This summary contained decrees of all of the Polish kings, beginning with Siegismond August, concerning housing, business, trade, Jewish taxes, jurisdiction, etc., and was the settlement of privileges of the Lublin community in the 17th century.⁸

CHAPTER VIII

Battle for Business Rights in the 18th Century

The end of the 17th century was no less unfortunate for Poland than the middle had been. The northern war brought new trouble to the entire country. The sword of the King of Sweden was raised over most provinces of this unfortunate state.

Apart from this misfortune, which consumed the entire country, a catastrophe befell Lublin. In 1695 a plague broke out here and killed thousands. In 1702 a fire broke out in the city and reduced most of the houses, streets, and suburbs to rubble. When Karl XII moved against Lublin in 1704, he was able to take it without sword, since the gates stood open, and the ramparts and towers were unmanned. The Swedish soldiers rampaged in all of the streets and plundered the businesses and residences. Karl XII resided in the Sobieski house in the market (illustration 6) but soon left here and turned the city over to the Russian troops (1706). In the same house, Peter the Great established his own headquarters (1707).

While Peter the Great lived in Lublin, the administrators, magistrates, and guild masters assembled in the city hall and issued a “Declaration of all Classes and Peoples” against Jewish business as well as against the presence of Jews in the city. Soon a delegation of the Christian business community was sent to Warsaw, and after employing all possible efforts over four years procured a royal decree on 26 November 1720 in which the Jews of Lublin were condemned.¹

In the introduction to this decree, the king remarked that in previous years only a few Jews had lived in Lublin, and they paid the magistrate 300 florins annually for business rights. Now very many Jews had entered the city. They occupied all of the palaces and houses of the nobles and of the citizens, conducting business in every possible item and failing to observe Sundays and the Catholic holy days. They illegally collected city taxes and avoided the ancient market rights of Lublin. They prevented outside tradesmen from entering the city with their goods, bought up goods for the city, dealt against all prohibition in schnapps and beer, hindered Christian young men and women, paid no city taxes, and brought the Christian business community to ruin.

Thus the king ordered a) that the business agreement with the Jews not be extended after its expiration; b) that the Jews immediately leave their residences in the city, that is, that all rented lodgings be annulled; c) that the Christians be forbidden to rent a shop or residence to a Jew under penalty of 1,000 marks; d) and that a commission be established to carry these orders out and to determine which Jews had most damaged Christian business.

The commission must not have been very industrious, since the matter did not go further for 16 years. On 5 June 1736 these issues were again dealt with in the royal assessor's court under Bishop Zaluski. The Christian tradesmen complained that citizen and noble house owners were tolerating Jews in their houses, that the magistrate had contracted the paving tax to a Jew, etc., and they demanded the final enforcement of the royal decree of 1720. No one from the Jewish community appeared at the session, so the court decided against them and established a new commission, revoked all rental agreements, and ordered that the Jews be expelled from Lublin. If the Jews failed to comply with this decision, their goods would be confiscated, and disobedient citizens would be fined 1,000 marks and lose their honorary offices.

This time the commission appeared promptly, on Twelfth Day 1737, and assumed their official functions. But the Jews did not surrender and undertook all means to achieve the repeal of the judgment of the assessor's court. They sought protection from the nobles, brought letters from high officials to the members of the court in Warsaw, and endeavored endlessly until the king revoked the judgment of 1738 in two decrees (12 August 1738 and 12 September 1738) and granted safe conduct to the Jews.

The citizens however paid little attention to these "revocatio" as well as to the "salvus conductus" and threw the Jews out of their houses. They went further and brought before the magistrate's court the house owners who did not evict their Jewish occupants. Thus during the court sessions of 25 October and 3 November 1741 Sebastian Zwikiewicz, the Lukowski family, the tailor Matias, widow Krajewska, sword maker Kosiarski, restaurateur Zieleski, cobbler Gorajski and many others were ordered *in contumaciam* to the immediate *exmission* of their Jewish tenants. Those so judged evidently did not make much of this, however, since they received the same judgment again (14 February 1742) and yet again (9 May 1742).

The Christian tradesmen again brought their complaints before the assessor's court in Warsaw, and the latter dispatched a new commission (17 December 1743) to Lublin to examine the reasons why Jews continued to live in the city. On 10 March 1744 the commission completed its investigation and ordered the Jews to leave the city within eight days and settle in the Jewish quarter, and to pay 3,000 marks to the magistrate as punishment for failure to comply with previous orders. The citizens were promised military assistance to help them seize the refractory Jews and imprison them in the castle jail.²

The commission had done its duty, but once again the execution came to nothing. The Jews paid such high rents in the city that they could not be easily dispensed

with. The house owners related the question of real estate values to the expulsion of the Jews, and the administrators, who had the finest houses in the city, did not hurry to execute the commission's orders. Also, powerful men interceded and immediately sent their castle militia to defend "their Jews."

Many years passed in this way, until the matter arose again, this time with grave consequences for the Jews. In the middle of the 18th century the situation of the Jews in Poland became very serious. The conflict over trade rights rose to the top in all larger cities (Lemberg, Cracow, Posen, etc.), and citizens everywhere thought that the number of Jewish merchants increased daily. The guilds of craftsmen felt that the Jewish craftsmen were growing stronger and saw that they organized several guilds that surpassed the Christian guilds. It was no longer a time for half measures. The situation was entirely too serious and was a matter of life and death.

These events occurred at a time that was no less dangerous for the Jews. It was a time of the deepest spiritual decline and superstition in Poland. All believed in magic and witchcraft, and both the common people and the educated considered the Jews to be partners of the devil and sons of Beelzebub. Never in Poland was the belief in the truth of ritual tales and eucharist desecration so widespread as in the middle of the 18th century. Ritual trials, almost always with bloody outcomes, were repeated annually in many parts of the nation. The trials in Zytomer and Jampol drove the Jews to despair, and in their confusion they sent a delegation to the Pope in Rome. But before the delegation could return, the Frank movement, with its anti-Jewish tendencies, brought a worsening of the situation. Frank declared publicly during the Disputation in Lemberg (1759) that Jews used Christian blood, and the ritual trials in Przemysl and Wojslawice were the bloody result of this belief. The noblemen, who until now supported the Jews through thick and thin in the battle for trading rights, were alarmed by these charges and withdrew their support. So the Jews were left on their own and had to abandon many cities.

It also happened in Lublin.

In 1759 the administrators, magistrates, and guild masters assembled in the house of the well born and honorable Matias Stefanowski, mayor of Lublin, and agreed unanimously to the following resolution:

"We see *ultimam cladem* of this city, caused by the many Jews who live in palaces, estates, houses, shops, and cellars and impudently rent businesses, cellars, and shops in the marketplace and conduct prohibited businesses here, in the suburbs, in noble palaces, in cloisters, as well as *in fundo regionis civitatis*, and sell schnapps and wine, brew beer, bake bread, and through the practice of art and

craft damage the guilds and, in a word, deprive Christians of the means of making a living and through wanton payments of high rents make impossible the conducting of a business in the city by a Christian. Once our city was a *civitas populosa*, but now barely a third of the population remains in the city, and in the Cracow suburb noisy Jews live and operate their saloons in Christian houses right by the church, loudly sing their Sabbath prayers, and mock the sacred processions that pass by. The Jews keep hay in the attic by which they plunge the whole city into misfortune and lease from year to year the public licenses for beer, mead, and brandy. . . . Because of the Jews the illustrious guilds of goldsmiths, apothecaries, tailors, furriers, brewers, bakers, coppersmiths, etc. have fallen, and more than 90 Jewish tailors work in the city. The Jews contribute nothing to the *oneribus publicis* and denigrate all royal decrees. The 3,000 marks due to the city in 1744 have not been paid, and though they have not had a trade agreement with the city for years they carry on a brisk trade in all kinds of wares. . . . Because of all of these reasons, we will no longer permit the Jews in the city and decree *hanc dolosam gentem, adhibito brachio saeculari tam civili quam militari* to expel, drive, and evacuate them from the houses of the notables, citizens, and clerics and from the city and suburbs, and to annul and consider null and void their business agreements. Because our city well remembers that, since many years ago the Jews were to be expelled, and many high officials sent armed men from their estates who thwarted the removal with clubs and scythes *in oppositionem* to the commission's decree, we therefore beg the honorable headman of the castle of Lublin for help, so that we can be freed immediately *ex oppressione* of the Jews.

“At the same time we declare that if any counselor or magistrate permits the Jews to enter the city again he is to be punished with a fine of 1,000 marks and loss of office, and any ordinary citizen with a fine of 5,000 marks and a quarter year's imprisonment.”³

This complaint of the Christian citizens of Lublin spread far over the city, and it seemed that all classes were united in the goal of expelling the Jews. Eventually it resulted, as always, in a split between the officials and the magistrates.

The former—wealthy householders and large merchants—had business agreements with the Jews and did not want to forgo the high fees they received from the Jews. The magistrates, on the other hand, stood with the guilds and with the common man of Lublin and wanted the Jews out of the city at any cost. Therefore they again brought a complaint to the assessor's court in Warsaw and on 28 September 1761 once again procured a decree to the notables of Lublin to commit the *brachium militare* to the expulsion of the Jews from the city.⁴ This time the order was followed, and the Jews were driven with great difficulty from their shops and homes, from their streets and squares, that they had occupied for about 100 years and were cooped up in the narrow, dirty, and boggy Jewish city.

Only a few managed to remain in the city, but they lived as if on a volcano that might erupt at any moment.

Many wealthy Jews leased places at high rents in the grandest houses and palaces in the Cracow suburb, so with Prince Jablonowski, in the house of the governor of Chelm, of Messrs Rzewuski, Potocki, Goluchowski, Lanckoronski, Zamojski, etc., as well as in the cloister houses of the Piarists and Bernardines. According to an agreement with the city from the year 1770 they paid together 38 florins per month for the right to do business.⁵

The Jews who were pushed into the Jewish city could not endure the new, terrible conditions. So they did everything they could to return to the city. But the Christian merchants and guild masters were vigilant, so return was impossible for some time. The Jews had to be satisfied with piling their goods near the Castle Gate (illustration 12) and sneaking into the city to offer their wares for sale in the house of a friendly official or in the palace of a well known landlord.

Eventually dark clouds rose over the horizon of the Polish state. In 1772 the first partition of this once mighty state occurred, and a new Austrian border was drawn in the south of Lublin Province.

This fearsome catastrophe—with still worse to come—brought a part of the ruling classes to their senses, and now they began to consider how to establish order in the state and to heal the wounds of long anarchy. The improvement of the cities was addressed, and a Commission of Good Order (*boni ordinis*) was created, concerned with the reorganization of city conditions. Before this commission arose, among other things, the old Lublin business dispute, and once again representatives of the Lublin citizens and of the Lublin Jewish community went to Warsaw and sought their objectives through the old, time tested means, that is, money and good words, letters of protection, and intervention by great lords.

Jewish business rose and fell depending on the general economic cycle and also on the mood of the Christian business community. As in other cities, the Jews in Lublin were sometimes allowed to conduct their business in peace. At other times they came together to prohibit their business entirely and to drive them from the city.

The flames of hatred for the Jews rose again harshly in 1780. The common man of Lublin came to believe that all royal decrees simply remained on paper and decided to take matters into his own hands.

Three men—a triumvirate—were chosen and given the responsibility of dealing with things. The former city president Stefanowski and the Makarewicz brothers

received this high office, and assisting them was the head of the confraternity of businessmen, *nobilis* Haysler, by word and deed. The Jews, led by the heads of the community (Mendel and Leib, the sons of David; Solomon, son of Baruch; and Abraham, son of Meir), were in a very difficult situation, since this time their opponents did not await a solution from Warsaw but rather closed the Jewish businesses with armed force, confiscated their goods, drove the Jewish merchants out of the city, and invaded the Jewish city in order to destroy Jewish business there. Thus, among others, the goods of the merchant from Opatow, Pinkas Mendelowicz, were seized in the inn of Aba, son of Leiser, and taken away.⁶

This action of the triumvirate incited against it the Starost of Lublin (as well as steward of Cracow), Prince Lubomirski, as well as the sub-Starost Mr. Von Suchodolski. Prince Lubomirski addressed a sharply worded letter (Opole, 1 April 1781) to the general procurator of the Piaristen Order in Poland, Father Arciszewski, requesting that these things be stopped and the plundering brought to an end, and the sub-Starost Suchadolski—who until now had given military assistance to the magistrate—refused to go further.⁷ Also the president of the city of Lublin, Kurowski, realized that the plundering of Jews was too harsh and requested that the commandant of the castle military garrison calm the disorder. He declared that for six weeks the Jews would be allowed free trade in the city until the conclusion of a new business agreement. But barely had the drumbeat of the administrative officials sounded when a storm of protest broke out in the city against Kurowski and his allies (Pieniazek and Jelenski). “Kurowski has been corrupted by the Jews,” was the cry in the streets. “He is a slave of the Jews.” Immediately a council of citizens, officials, magistrates, and guild masters assembled who condemned the city president and sentenced him to a fine of five ducats.⁸

In Warsaw sat Bialobrzieski the Elder, representative of the commercial interests of Lublin, who was unconnected to the foregoing. He consulted with the best lawyers and sought protection. He took with him all of the privileges of the commercial interests and also sought the view of the Polish magistrate, in order to learn how things were with the Jews there. The Lublin Jews were represented by Bialobrzieski the Younger, and they succeeded in winning over one of the court assessors (Drzewiecki) as well as the Lublin officials. The conflict was dealt with over many sessions, and eventually both parties exhausted their funds on lawyers, conferences, travel, food, etc., and thus ruined the finances of the city and the Jewish community.⁹

The commission *boni ordinis* was unable to resolve the conflict, and just as Austria seized this part of the country following the third partition of Poland the Jews were driven out of the city and cooped up in the suburbs, as were those in Lemberg and Cracow.¹⁰ After 150 years of struggle they had to clear out of the

place and go to the boggy and crowded ghetto, where they lived for fifty years in gloom and filth. Only the reforms of Marquis Wielopolski (1862) opened the barricaded city doors to the Jews and let air and light into the ghetto. Through the Castle Gate (illustration 12), at which they had crowded for so many years, they again entered Lublin and leased their businesses and also their residences on Grodzka Street, in order to reach the Ring Place. From the Ring Place they expanded quickly into the old city to the west and southwest. Only the tiny alleys in the east (the eastern part of Jesuit Street, Dominican Street, and Gold Street) around the immense cloisters of the Jesuits (today the cathedral church) and the Dominicans remained in the possession of the Christians. The much larger remaining part of the city was eventually occupied by Jews. The few Christian merchants abandoned the old city and moved to the Cracow suburb, where the center of new Lublin developed and where all city buildings and hotels were located. The Jew remained in the filthy and unhealthy Jewish city and in the gloomy old city, where he struggled so bravely for his property for two centuries.

CHAPTER IX

Craftsmen

Crafts were closely bound with business in the Middle Ages. For the most part the craftsman himself sold the products of his own labor. Work places and sale places were almost always together. It was thus with the Christians and with the Jews. Manufacture developed early among the Jews of Poland, since according to Mosaic law many goods for Jews were to be produced only by their co-religionists. Jews could wear only clothes made by Jews and eat only meat ritually slaughtered by Jews. And so we encounter Jewish butchers and Jewish tailors in the ghetto from the very earliest time. At first they worked only for the Jews but soon extended their work to the Christians as well, resulting in conflicts with the city guilds of butchers and tailors. In the Middle Ages the guilds had the sole right to train apprentices, appoint masters, etc. Anyone not belonging to a guild had no right to engage in manufacture. He was considered a corrupter and amateur and attracted all of the abuse and punishments of the guild brothers. But the guilds were Catholic institutions. They had their patron saints, their place in the church, or even their own chapels. At religious and city celebrations the guild brothers turned out with their banners. How could a Jew be accepted by a guild? When the Lemberg Jewish furriers appealed to King Siegismond III for permission to join a guild, they received (1629) a negative judgment, which thereafter applied to other guilds and cities.¹

What was left for Jewish craftsmen? Either to give up manufacture entirely or, despite being forbidden, to continue to carry on. They generally chose the latter and thus engendered conflict in all of Poland with the guilds, which continued for centuries, like the conflict over trade. As an example we will present in brief the battle of the Lublin tailors.²

Similarly to the complaint of the Christian merchants, the complaint of the tailors' guild against the Jews led to litigation. The merchants had already reached an agreement in the 17th century with their competitors, in which they granted them several freedoms. By contrast, the guilds would not come to an agreement and sought from the magistrate complete prohibition of Jewish manufacture. Thus the Lublin royal court decreed on 27 May 1615 that Jewish tailors in Lublin could engage in manufacture only if they joined a guild. The guild would not, however, hear of admitting Jews and forbade the Christian masters to take on Jewish students, Christian apprentices to work with Jews, and Christian masters to provide goods to Jewish masters and businessmen.

The matter rose again after the great war. After the fire in 1656 the Jews entered the city and began to conduct trade and manufacture, and control by the guilds was

more difficult. As a result the anger against the Jews was greater. After many complaints and investigations the royal assessorial court in Warsaw issued a judgment in 1659 under which the Jews were prohibited from being tailors and subjected to a fine of 30 ducats. Moreover a permanent commission was established for the control of Jewish factories and businesses. From this incident we learn that the head tailor of the Jews was a certain Eisig Rubinowicz, who was ordered to pay the fine mentioned above. However, he refused to pay the fine and was—at the order of the provincial governor—imprisoned in the Jewish jail (21 June 1660). But the agitation in the city was so great that the Jewish elders released him from jail.

In 1670 it was decided by the guild that each master must affix a legible guild mark to each piece of his manufacture, through which clothes from a Jewish workshop could be identified. For the moment, all Jewish clothing merchants had to swear that the clothes found in their possession had been made in Christian workshops.

The ruling regarding guild marks was renewed by the guild every few years, and Jewish merchants were always severely punished for any infraction of the ruling. It was this way until the middle of the 18th century. Eventually the number of Jewish tailors grew so large that they could establish their own Jewish guild. The goals of the Jewish guild of tailors were similar to those of the Christian guilds, although it had no legal basis because it did not have royal approval.

It is difficult to determine the number of tailors in the Jewish guild, given the lack of guild records. Officials, magistrates, and guild masters in their declaration of 1759 said that 90 Jewish tailors practiced their craft in Lublin. The Christian guild of tailors had come to terms with so large a number, and they reached agreement (1757) with the Jewish guild under which 24 Jewish masters were permitted to manufacture men's and women's clothes. In exchange, the Jewish guild was to pay the Christian guild an annual fee and agreed that the rabbis would prohibit any supernumerary Jewish tailors and would expel them from the city.

However, like the trade agreement, this guild agreement came too late. The number of Jewish tailors was already so large that it could not be limited to 24. The so-called supernumerary tailors continued to work and declined to abide by the agreement. The result was dissension and brawls. The Christian master tailors, led by the tailors Luszczynski and Bialkiewicz, along with the journeymen and apprentices, fell upon their Jewish colleagues and beat them bloody. This was too much for the magistrate, and the officials had the leaders arrested on 6 July 1767 and restored peace and order in the city.

In 1777 and 1780 the agreement of 1757 was renewed. The Jewish guild agreed to pay 216 florins to the Christian guild annually. The number of authorized Jewish tailors remained unchanged.

The result again was friction and tumult in the city, because the Jewish tailors did not comply with the authorized number. Finally in 1789 the number was raised to 44. It was still at this level in 1792.

The two last agreements contained the following sections:

1. The number of Jewish masters is set at 44.
2. Each master must have only one journeyman and one apprentice.
3. Accommodation of foreign tailors or itinerant journeymen is prohibited.
4. When a place in the Jewish guild is vacant, the Jews may not name a new master without the permission of the Christian guild. The new master must pay an entrance fee of 20 florins to the Christian guild.
5. Solicitation of work in the houses, palaces, and cloisters is forbidden. Jews also may not take any work in a house in which a Christian master lives nor make clothes out of materials selected by the Christian, each under penalty of a fine of 14 marks.
6. Each Jewish tailor pays to the Christian guild 9 florins annually in two installments.
7. The agreement is to apply for two to three years.
8. Both parties recognize, in the event of conflict, the jurisdiction of the city courts.

The experience of many other craftsmen was similar to that of the tailors. They had to conduct a difficult battle with the guilds until they were finally recognized by them. The guilds were the ones who protested most vigorously all agreements between the magistrate and the Jews and repeatedly brought protests before the assessorial court. When the question of a new trade agreement came before the court session in 1781, all guild masters called on their guild brethren to join them in opposition. In the protocols of this session we can see the hatred that the Christian craftsmen held against their Jewish competitors, and it was finally decided to demand the expulsion of all Jews from the state and the city.

Of course under such conditions Jewish manufacture could not prosper, so even though the number of masters and journeymen rose from year to year they remained amateurs who barely understood their craft. There were of course exceptions, as there were also exceptional Jewish guilds. Some were numerous, rich, and strong, others numbered fewer members, and others existed only on paper. Rich guilds, like the Christian guilds, built or acquired their own synagogues. Thus today in Lublin we have the beautiful synagogue of runners (traveling furriers)—once the school of Saul Wahl—of the coppersmiths (the Kotler school)—once the school of Hirsch Doktor—of the tailors, bakers, etc. Poorer guilds satisfied themselves with a little room by the great synagogue or just a lamp in a synagogue, which the members lit each Sabbath. Unfortunately in recent times most guilds have disappeared, as have the guild records and statutes, which are important historical sources for opening the inner life of the Jewish community.

CHAPTER X

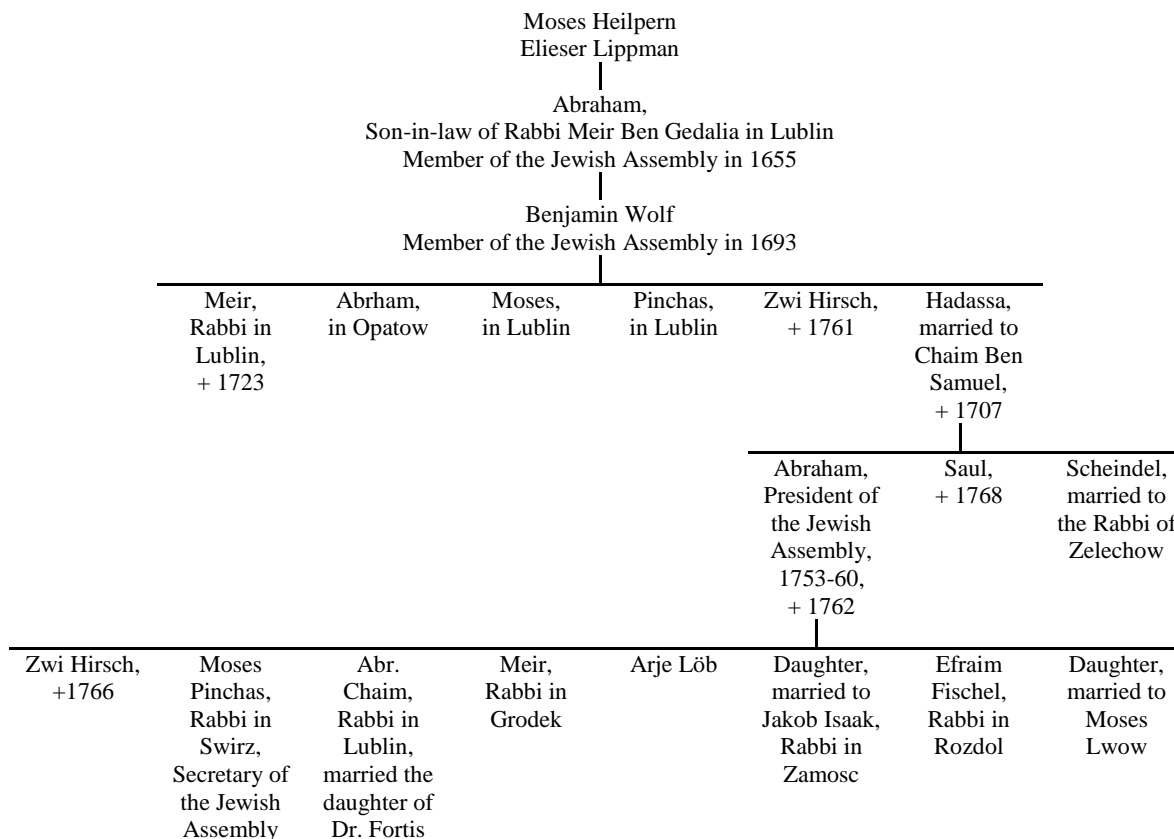
Abraham Heilpern and his Time (Concerning the Culture of Jews in the 18th Century)

The Lublin Jews always lived in contention and strife with their Christian fellow citizens. The conflict over trade and guild rights consumed all of their energy and burdened the growth of the community, which they had founded with such great effort in the 16th century. Similarly the finances of all Jewish communities were ruined. Heavy burdens weighed the Jews down—many fees to the state and city, gifts to the greater and lesser notables, to the clergy and the students. All of these often brought the community ship into danger, and only through great effort were the community leaders able to hold the ship in the water. The royal court, with repeated ritual trials held nearly every year in the 18th century, embittered the Jews still more. Payment of the kahal debt consumed nearly all income, and new debt was always required to retire at least a part of the old debt.

It is little wonder that only a few men were found would take on the office of community elder in such circumstances. On the other hand, when one was found, he held the office for his entire life and, despite the opposition of the community, would not leave it. Only the candidates selected by them could succeed in the annual elections. *Homines novi*, especially from the opposition, succeeded only infrequently. In all Jewish communities in Poland a few wealthy lineages ruled, which established themselves as oligarchies. Woe to those who dared to oppose them! Through the power of the community, in the tax assessment commission, in all courts, and through influence with the governors and deputy governors, the oligarchs were able to put down the upstarts and render them harmless. In fact, they often went further. Through their connections with the Jewish provincial and national assemblies they were able to undermine their credibility and ruin them materially and morally.

Such a powerful person is described in the annals of Lublin around the middle of the 18th century. He was named Abraham, son of Chaim (Abraham Rach), and founded the wealthy family Heilpern.

The family tree of Heilpern, reaching back to the 16th century:¹



It includes the finest names in Poland and partly outside the borders of this land. It can be followed farther back on the mother's side than on the father's. The ancestor of this family, Moses Heilpern, came from Brest-Litovsk. His grandson Abraham was a son-in-law of the famous rector of the Lublin Talmud high school, Rabbi Meir ben Gedalia Lublin (see above), and took part in the Jewish Assembly in Lublin in 1655. Abraham's son, Benjamin Wolf, sat in the Jewish Assembly in Yaroslav in 1693. Benjamin Wolf's eldest son Meir was rabbi in Opatow and thereafter in Lublin, where he died in 1723 and was buried in the old Jewish cemetery. Benjamin Wolf's daughter Hadassa married a prominent aristocrat, Chaim, son of Samuel and grandson of Wolf, authors of the work *Ir Benjamin*. This marriage produced three children: our Abraham; a second son, Saul; and a daughter, who married the Rabbi of Zelechow.

Chaim died in 1707, and Hadassa took over the raising the children, who were still minors. She was wealthy and generous. When the Lublin community found itself in financial difficulty in 1726, she lent it 3,000 florins, which had still not been repaid by 1765. She quickly introduced her sons into the life of the community. In 1732 both (Abraham and Saul) sat in the community assembly, and in 1739 Abraham already represented his native city in the Jewish Assembly in Yaroslav. Here he came into close contact with the influential Jews of Poland, and here he sought and found spouses for his children.

So he married his son Moses Pinchas with the daughter of the Jewish marshal in Reussen and merchant in Zolkiew, Israel Isser. Moses Pinchas was first rabbi in Swirz by Lemberg and thereafter (1740) rabbi in Zolkiew and secretary of the Jewish Assembly in the province of Reussen.

Abraham married his son Jacob Chaim to Chaya, daughter of the famous physician and president of the Jewish Assembly in Yaroslav, Dr. Isaak Fortis.² Two brothers of Fortis were physicians in Lemberg: Libermann Levy and Isaak. The first studied in Padua, the other in Frankfurt an der Oder. Both developed large medical practices in Lemberg and all of Reussen, which aroused the anger of Christian physicians against them. And so in 1710 proceedings were brought against them by the Christian physicians in the royal court, because they wore physicians' garb rather than simple Jewish clothes.³ Hatred was directed especially against Dr. Isaak, who numbered among his patients the highest nobles. He was well grounded in all aspects of knowledge, was a learned Talmudic scholar and received rabbinical approval for many learned works, and he had extensive knowledge of the New Testament. We are told by the Pastor of Lesajsk, Father Radlinski, that Dr. Isaak once fell ill in the city and lay in bed for a long time. He was visited there by his patient, the governor of the Podolish area, Joseph Potocki, who urged him to convert. He promised him land and honors, if only he would change his faith. Since he was unsuccessful in this effort, he sent our informant (Father Radlinski) to him to carry it further. He gave the doctor the old work of the Dominican Alfonso Bonhomine, *Tractatus Rabbi Samuelis*, to read, discussed the themes of the Catholic religion with him, and was astounded at how well versed the Jewish physician was in the New Testament and in the writings of the Church fathers. He soon had to abandon the plan to convert Fortis, to his great regret.⁴

Thanks to the influence of his father and stepfather, and thanks to his knowledge of the Talmud, attained by study with the Rabbi of Amsterdam, Jonatan Eibenschuetz, Jakob Chaim was elected Rabbi of Lublin and served in this post until his removal in 1769.

In the middle of the 18th century the great conflict of amulets broke out between Jonatan Eibenschuetz and Jakob Emden. The conflict swept up almost all of the larger Jewish communities and planted itself in Lublin as well. Our Rabbi Jakob Chaim did not ponder long and announced a great bann against Jakob Emden and his followers on New Moon Day Ijar 1751.

The bann was prepared by ten scholars of Lublin and by the father of Rabbi Abraham, Rabbi Chaim, and was published in the great Maharschal school in Lublin, followed thereafter in almost all synagogues in Lesser Poland.

These actions in Lublin and Lesser Poland were not left unanswered by Emden. He knew well that the current president of the Jewish Assembly, Abraham of Lissa (son of Joske), was estranged from Abraham of Lublin, since he saw him as a rival for the office of president and therefore turned against him with the goal of taking the field against the Rabbi of Lublin and his father. Emden's partisans let Abraham of Lissa know that when this happened, the eastern Jews "would find all doors closed" in the west. They hoped in this way to initiate political action and declared that the King of France, whose subject Emden was, would call the Polish Jews to account for the bann.

From the foregoing it could be foreseen that the matter would be taken up at the next Jewish Assembly. In fact, it came to a head at the Assembly in Konstantynow (1751) between the Lubliners and the followers of Abraham of Lissa. Abraham Heilpern, who had already been elected president of the Jewish Assembly, therefore had to resign the office, which he had sought his entire life and for which he had made so many sacrifices. Through Baruch Jawan, estate manager for Minister Bruehl, Emden's partisans found their way to Finance Minister Siedlnicki—under whom the Jewish Assembly was placed—and the latter thwarted the election of Abraham of Lublin as Jewish marshal and ordered him to make his son, the Rabbi of Lublin, available at the next Jewish Assembly.

Abraham of Lissa triumphed. He held his old office of Jewish marshal and humbled his rival. But soon events took a different turn.

The complaints of the Jews against the powerful in the national and local assemblies and against their business with tax monies increased daily and aroused ill feeling among those in authority. The last Jewish Assembly, in which the Jewish tax was allocated (Jaroslau from 15 March to 8 July 1739), had already resulted in a major budget deficit. The assessment was set at 323,000 florins, in addition to which 11,000 florins was given by the Jewish Assembly itself to the nobles and bishops for various *dona charitativa*, with the assessment raised to 34,000 florins for each of the next three years. How such high taxes were allocated is not discussed in the accounts. From other sources we learn that the great trials cost a lot of money: the ritual trial in Sandomir, the burning trial of the Reizes brothers in Lemberg in 1728, and the terrible ritual trial in Posen in 1736-1739. In addition to this, during the debates themselves, an unpleasant incident was reviewed in which the Rabbi of Szydlow gave himself to the Jesuits for baptism and persecuted his brothers and former colleagues as Johann Jakob von Szydowski. The president of the Jewish Assembly was Herschel of Chelm, Abraham of Lissa was his deputy, and our Abraham Heilpern of Lublin was one of the delegates. At that time Commissar Czapski had issued a series of ordinances in the name of Finance Minister Dzialynski that were to lead to the reorganization of the conditions in the Jewish Assembly and in the execution of its decisions.

The question had been touched upon in very high places in the Warsaw parliament for fourteen years. In the parliament of 1748 the dissolution of the entire Jewish organization was proposed, but for technical reasons it did not come to a vote. The conditions of the Jews in Poland steadily worsened. Ritual trials continued, and conversion preachers invaded the synagogue. Soon the Papal Bull of Benedict XIV (Castel Gondolfo, 14 June 1751) came to Poland, and it was followed by the execution decree and pastoral letter of Polish Bishop Joseph Schembek of Chelm (Skierbieszow, 9 December 1752) and Franz Kobielski, Bishop of Brzesc and Luck (Torczyn, 2 May 1752), through which many Jews lost their lives. In the greatest peril, the Jews of both dioceses petitioned Pope Benedict XIV, and he transmitted the petition to the nuncio in Warsaw. On 18 December 1752 the nuncio instructed Bishop Kobielski to correct the problem. The nuncio could not believe that the Jews were so horribly persecuted and directed the bishop to investigate the matter thoroughly.

All of these incidents were discussed at the Jewish Assembly in Konstantynow, and ways and means were sought to correct the problem. The most proven method was money, and this had to be raised quickly through heavy taxes. Jewish Marshal Abraham of Lissa, in office since 1740, sent the secretaries in all directions to raise the money. The tax rate played no role. The sums had to be raised and given to influential officials. Thirty percent was paid immediately, since the danger was imminent.

This effort was dependent upon the honesty of the secretaries, since it was impossible to control them and to know how much the officials actually paid and how much they hid. Public opinion branded many of them as “confidants of the children of Israel,” as swindlers and thieves. It is no wonder that opposition rose against Abraham of Lissa, led by our Abraham Heilpern of Lublin.

After fourteen years the accounts since 1739 were finally audited, and on 20 July Finance Minister Karl Count Siedlnicki summoned Jewish Marshal Abraham of Lissa and the secretaries, treasurers, and delegates of the local and great communities of Jaroslau. All books, accounts, receipts, and drafts were to be presented, and the leader of Radom, Kasimir Granowski, was named commissar of the Jewish Assembly and empowered to audit all accounts. The commissar was greatly angered, however, when only a few of the delegates from Przemyśl appeared at the appointed time, while neither the president nor the powerful officials presented themselves. After one week Abraham of Lissa finally appeared and presented the excuse that the secretaries and treasury officials remained in Zamosc, where the accounts were still being audited and the proof prepared. The commissar convened the Assembly on November 10 and ordered the Jewish marshal to inform all involved parties, as well as to announce in all communities,

that if any community felt itself to be short in its tax portion, it had the right to bring its complaint before the commissar in Jaroslau. At the petition an earlier deadline was set (at the beginning of September), and again the president was enjoined to inform everyone. The officials and committee members of the Assembly did not, however, appear by the second deadline, and the commissar, in order not to delay further the assessment, appointed an executive committee and entrusted it with all matters regarding the Jewish Assembly. As president of the committee our Abraham Heilpern was named, and this was confirmed by Finance Minister Siedlnicki.⁵

Thus Abraham finally reached the highest honor, which he had sought his whole life, and which was justly considered by all Jews to be the highest office in Poland. Finally he could deal energetically with the defense of Jonathan, whose case came before the Assembly at this time. On 2 Cheshvan the Jewish Assembly declared Jonathan completely innocent and had the writings of his opponents publicly burned in the market in Jaroslau.⁶

Thus Abraham began his service, but the high honor of Jewish marshal cost him dearly, since the heavens soon darkened for the Jews of Poland. One ritual trial followed another, such as the bloody trial in Zytomir (1753) and the trial in Jampol (1756), which devoured no fewer victims than the earlier ones. At this time the Jewish Assembly was convened in Konstantynow. A Jew of Jampol appeared before them and described the plight of his townsmen in gloomy colors. For the second time the Jewish Assembly decided to turn to the Pope, and the Jew of Jampol, Eliakim ben Asser Selig, was sent to Rome. He went through Venice and Mantua to Rome. However, before he could complete his mission, a new misfortune befell all of the Jews of Poland.

In Podolia rose the pseudo messiah Frank, a spiritual follower of Sabbatai Zwi. He gathered around him the rest of the followers of Sabbatai and declared his divinity. The pursuit of the Podolia community drove the sectarian into the arms of the Church, and here he found a powerful patron in the Bishop of Kamieniec Podolski, Dembowski. The Podolia community was ordered by the bishop to send their rabbis to a trial convened in Kamieniec, and here the pseudo messiah was inclined toward the Catholic Church. The answer to this was a bann in Brody, issued by a large assembly of rabbis on 20 Sivan 1756 at the order of the Jewish Assembly. The result of the bann was not long in coming. Frank and his followers were prosecuted everywhere by the Jews and were driven from the communities. In despair they turned to King August III and to his powerful Minister Bruehl and received support from them. Soon a second trial was ordered in Lemberg, at which Frank was to manifest the coming of the messiah. For the Jews his activities would have been of no importance, except for the pressing issue of ritual stories inserted as the last and seventh item of the trial.

The Jews were in despair. The executive of the Jewish Assembly, headed by Abraham Heilpern, sought to thwart the dispute by all means. Abraham reconciled himself with the Bruehl estate manager Baruch Jawan in order to find a way to the regime. In Jewish circles it was ascribed to his influence that Frank was to be baptized immediately after the trial. The plan of the Jews—to compel Frank to be baptized before the trial—was wrecked by his cunning.

The Lemberg trial began on July 10 and lasted seven weeks. Throughout, all of the Jews of Poland were focused on the last item, that is, in the question of Christian blood. The Rabbi of Lemberg, Chaim Cohen Rappaport, spoke for the Jews, and behind the scenes stood the delegates of the Jewish Assembly with Abraham Heilpern at their head. After the trial, Frank allowed himself and his followers to be baptized in the Lemberg cathedral and then went to Warsaw in order to complete the act of baptism in a celebration.⁷

The journey led him to Zamosc, where he observed Yom Kippur. From here he went to Krasnostaw, where “Prince Radziwill of Krupe” called on him and spent several hours with him. Soon it came to a ritual trial here, which had begun in Wojslawice and had its bloody conclusion here in the *Castle* of Krasnostaw.

From Krasnostaw Frank followed the path to Lublin. Surrounded by armed horsemen, the baptized pseudo messiah from the east traveled to the Kalinowszczyzna suburb. Here assembled a large crowd of Jews, and Wolf Zamojski, son of Suesskind, Koppels Hirsch, son of Arbus, with Leib Schmuekler and Israel Kuerschner hurled dirt and stones at Frank’s carriage so that his companions had to draw their swords. It came to a brawl, but soon the court watch marched out and restored order. A thorough investigation of the Jews was conducted and a sharp inquiry of the accused. On 6 October 1759—on the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles—the royal court under the chairmanship of Alexander Jablonowski sentenced the accused to two weeks’ arrest and the Jewish community to a fine of 2,000 marks to Frank.⁸

Frank lived in a nobleman’s palace in Lublin and took strolls with his adherents in the city and suburbs. He also visited the old Jewish cemetery and admired the beautiful gravestones. On 18 October one of his adherents died: Rabbi Moses. His remains were carried to the parish church accompanied by all the orders and guilds with banners and laid to rest there. The lofty eulogy was presented by Father Brzeski.⁹

On 23 October Frank left the city, and now the Lublin Jews could breathe freely. Abraham Heilpern could rest for a while, but soon new events required the harnessing of his entire energy. He was, however, too old and frail to hold his own

in face of the demands and laid aside the office of Jewish marshal, returned to the synagogue, and passed his time in study of the Talmud. The presidency of the Jewish Assembly was received by Rabbi Meir of Dubno, whose right hand continued to be Abraham's son, Rabbi Moses Pinkas, rabbi of Zolkiew, until the end of the Jewish Assembly (1764). Abraham did not survive the dissolution of the Jewish Assembly, as he fell ill and died on 15 Cheshvan 5523 (1 November 1762). He was laid to rest in the old Jewish cemetery in Lublin. A beautiful stone adorns this grave. An Artemis with bow and arrow—a symbol of the still strong hand of this man—was inscribed for him in bas-relief (illustration 51), and under it we read the epitaph in elaborate style of the “President of the Assembly of four nations . . . who conducted all the days of his life in righteousness. Today he is fallen—a prince and great man in Israel—all weep for him with bitter tears—his name was renowned in the Torah. Fame and praise to him, who calls the name of The One.”¹⁰

Seven years later his son Jakob Chaim, rabbi of Lublin, followed him to the grave and was laid to rest next to his father (1769).¹¹ The other children as well as the grandchildren and great-grandchildren were dispersed throughout the world, took on various surnames, and forgot the connection to their great lineage. In Lublin, however, there remained the synagogue founded by him, called the “Des Parnas Schul” and quite well preserved. Today an unadorned hall on the second floor of the house at 44 Szeroka Street, with many bookcases and two women's galleries, represents the assembly point of a small community that reveres the name of the founder.¹² Of all of the precious vessels there remains only an eight-armed candlestick (Menorah, illustration 33).¹³ Young people sit here daily and study Talmud. An old cripple guards the remains of the library. He is the permanent prayer leader, teacher, and official of the synagogue, the last Mohican of the once famous synagogue of the Heilpern family.

CHAPTER XI

Rabbi Yaakov Yitzchak Horowitz¹ (The Seer of Lublin)

“He was an angel of God. The great rabbis of the time knocked on his door. He never lifted his eyes without joining them with The One.” So said the Rabbi of Opatow, Rabbi Abraham Jehoschua Heschel, about the Rabbi of Lublin. The Maggid of Kozienice called him “Urim w’Tumim,” and the whole world gave him the name “the Seer of Lublin.” “His face was surrounded by a halo, since his spirit was rooted in the spirit of our Teacher Moses, in the spirit of the great Kabbalist Luria, and in the spirit of Israel, of the Man of the Good Name. He was strong, the Rabbi, endowed with all virtue, nearly perfect as an angel. As our prophet Jesaja, he lacked only the soil of the Holy Land. . . .”

The middle of the 18th century produced two movements in Polish Judaism, Frankism and Hassidism. Both emerged in one and the same province. The founders of both movements were born in Podolia, in farthest southeast Poland: Jakob Lejbowicz Frank in Ujscie, and Israel Baal Shem Tov in Okop, that is, Okopy Swietej Trójcy. What both sought from the outset remained their secret to the end of days, but in their later lives they struck out on different paths and served different ideals. Events drove Frank into the arms of the Church, and he became famous and great, but his beginning were drowned in the dogmas of the Catholic religion, as his adherents were dissolved into the Catholic families of Poland.

A different path was assigned to the founder of Hassidism. He wandered throughout his life in the Carpathians, always moved by his Abider, never came into conflict with the government, and worked quietly within Polish Judaism.

The dissolution of the national and state organizations of the Jews (1764) removed from the official synagogues the ability to control all movements and submovements within Judaism, so Hassidism was able to grow and spread throughout Poland, despite the opposition of the Jewish community.

The student and follower of the Master of the Good Name—the Maggid of Miedzyrzecz—deepened the roots of Hassidic learning and laid the foundation for the development of the “houses” of the *Zaddikim*.

It was not a strong, well organized, unified Judaism that was created from then on but rather the Rabbi and his house. Here was concentrated the life of a certain Jewish group, here the faithful lived out their lives, here they studied the Sohar, and here they found solace and support in all the circumstances of their lives. In the eyes of the rabbi the Hassid read his future, in his lips he found his fate

recorded, and in the joy and ecstasy at prayer and meals he found a remedy for the unpredictability of life.

The students of the Maggid carried his teachings and the teachings of his Master of the Good Name far to the west and north of Poland. One of these messengers was the Rabbi of Lublin, Yaakov Yitzchak Horowitz.

Yaakov Yitzchak was born in Jósefow nad Wisla (near Lublin). His father, Rabbi Elieser, was a rabbi there and raised and educated his children with great effort. The little Yaakov Yitzchak displayed great seriousness even at the tenderest age. He kept his eyes mostly closed and opened them only when he opened the holy books. When he was ten years old, Rabbi Süsche, a brother of Zaddik Elimelech of Lezajsk, came to Jósefow. One day during prayers he observed the young Yaakov Yitzchak and saw tears on his cheeks. The youth wept with bitter tears, and later blood appeared in his eyes. Rabbi Süsche raised his voice and said, “I have seen a soul in your heart, my child. Go to my brother Elimelech, and he will give you a spirit!”

From this time on the *Schechinah* rested on the boy.

Soon his father betrothed him to the daughter of a village innkeeper of Krasnobród. He had not known the bride before the wedding, and when he saw her shortly before the wedding, he flatly declared that he would not marry her. His father forced him to marry, however, and Yaakov Yitzchak permitted the ceremony to be completed. But immediately after the wedding he escaped parents, guests, and wife and fled the city. He drifted about for a long time and had a variety of adventures. Satan cast many stones before his feet.

One evening—so related the Rabbi of Nieswiz—he wandered alone into a forest. He was hungry and tired. He spied a light in the distance, and as he came nearer he observed a brightly lit window in a beautiful house. He entered the house and saw before him a remarkably beautiful woman, who immediately laid out food and drink for him. Then she came closer to him and began to tempt him. The young man jumped up, horrified, and began to explain to the woman the rules that married men were required to observe. The woman would not release him, however, and he raised his hand and called on the name of the Almighty for help. At the same instant a clap of thunder was heard, the house collapsed without injuring him, and the woman disappeared under the debris of the house. The young rabbi had emerged victorious over temptation in a battle with the devil. After much wandering Yaakov Yitzchak came to Miedzyrzecz to the Maggid, where other young people also appeared, in order to receive a new spirit from the source. Here resided the future foundations of Hassidism: Levi Izchak of Berdyczew and Zelman Senior of Liadi. Horowitz lived at the house of the

Maggid for a long time without attracting the attention of his surroundings, until an event suddenly thrust him into the foreground.

The Maggid conducted his prayers alone in a special room, and only toward the end of the prayers permitted the entrance of ten people of those closest to him, in order to say the closing prayers with them. Once our Yaakov Yitzchak came with the ten people. The Maggid looked at his face and ordered that another enter, but there was no one else, so Horowitz stayed in the room. As the Maggid sprang here and there during the prayer, casting his head and hands in all directions, Horowitz fell into a faint. The Maggid said, "I already knew that this one was not suitable. He has different eyes than the rest of the world. With his eyes he glimpsed the 'heavenly family,' and this led to his swoon."

After this event Yaakov Yitzchak left Miedzyrzecz and went to Ryczywól (near Pulawy) to Rabbi R. Schmelke, where he diligently studied Talmud for two years and immersed himself in study of the Kabbala. From here he went to Łażajsk (Galicia) to Rabbi Elimelech, brother of Rabbi Süsche, who had discovered in him the seer. Rabbi Elimelech had a great "court," and hundreds of pious Hassidim had traveled there in order to approach the divinity through the intercession of the rabbi. Here Horowitz met many colleagues and later rabbis, but he surpassed them all and became the favorite of the master and his intimate. Soon however he moved to the neighboring town of Lancut, where he founded his own "court" and won many followers. But soon he was "ordered by heaven" to leave this place and move to Wieniawa. An angel appeared to him as a simple but very pious man with this mission. Yaakov Yitzchak did not give much credence to this man, but when the order was repeated three times, the Rabbi saw that a higher power was involved and decided to move to Wieniawa.

But where was Wieniawa? No one in Lancut knew the directions there, and the puzzle was solved only by accident. In those days a Talmudic inquiry was sent to the rabbi of Lancut. In a divorce letter was erroneously written, "It happened thus in Czechów" instead of "It happened thus in Czechów, commonly known as Wieniawa." Thus our rabbi learned where the place was and immediately set out for there.

West of Lublin, on the great lake of Czechówka, lies the suburb Wieniawa (illustrations 54-58). Up until the great war of our days Wieniawa was a remarkable city community, which could look back on a history of several hundred years. Now it is incorporated into the city of Lublin. There is a small plaza here amidst humble wood houses, where the old and beautiful synagogue stands, which has seen better times (illustration 55). Now its roof is punctured, and wind furthers the progress of total destruction. Beside the synagogue is found the

community schul, and not far from both is found the cemetery with its simple white tombstones.

Here Yaakov Yitzchak Horowitz settled, and here he opened his “court” in one of the many small houses on a quiet lane. But there was no place for a miracle rabbi in the Jewish city of Lublin at that time. The old tradition of the community persisted, with its rabbis and rectors and the memory of its leading role in Poland, despite the many misfortunes endured by the Jews there and the great poverty that had befallen all Jews following their expulsion from the city (1796). Rabbi Asriel Horowitz, the “iron head,” saw to it that no Jew dared to say a good word about the miracle rabbi. Meanwhile the poor and unfortunate came daily from the small towns and markets in the vicinity to seek solace and help at the court of the rabbi. Soon were proclaimed the hundred-voiced fame, the great piety and learnedness, the kindness and generosity of Yaakov Yitzchak, and many unfortunate in Lublin came to Wieniawa under cover of darkness in order to see the rabbi with their own eyes. Soon the most wonderful stories were told about Wieniawa in the guild synagogues and cloisters. But all were passed quietly, from mouth to mouth, so as not to attract the anger of the “hard head” and of the men of the community. But wonderment spread through the narrow ghetto streets and opened the door of the Jewish city to the rabbi.

A Lublin merchant had something to settle one morning in Wieniawa and saw how the synagogue servant, as always, went from house to house and woke the pious for prayers with three hammer blows on the door. He knocked as well three times on the door of the rabbi and began to move on, when suddenly the door opened, and the rabbi himself bade the servant to stop. The *schames* waited in surprise to see what would happen, when the rabbi disappeared into the hallway and soon reappeared with a basin and pitcher, ordering the servant to wash his hands. The servant sank terrified to the feet of the rabbi and begged for his forgiveness. The Lublin merchant did not understand the foregoing, but he soon learned what it was about. The servant had gone to sleep late the preceding night, and when he awoke in the morning it was already time to wake people for prayer. He could not wash his hands—as required by the rules—and went out into the street unwashed. The rabbi “in his omniscience” knew this and himself brought the basin and pitcher so as to protect him from offense.

The news of these and other wonders soon reached Lublin and won hearts and minds for the Seer. Now began a migration from Lublin *ad limina* to Wieniawa, and soon the number of his followers was so large that it became necessary for him to move to Lublin. Here he founded a large “cloister” (Szeroka number 28 in the courtyard), in which he could pray and study with his followers undisturbed by the *misnagdim* (opponents).

Here soon moved the active life of Wieniawa. Thousands of Hassidim now moved to Lublin, among them men of the best reputation.

It was a momentous time. The great Corsican had conquered the whole world and destroyed and rebuilt nations. His power reached from the Atlantic Ocean to the Vistula, and the apparently defunct Polish state was recreated through his grace. In 1807 the Duchy of Warsaw was created, and all of its inhabitants were granted equal rights. All citizens, without regard for their religion, were to have equal obligations to and equal rights in the fatherland.

The news of these events reached the Jewish avenues and evoked many feelings. In the Hassidic cloisters the question was frequently debated. Napoleon, the Sennacherib of the North, was on all lips.

Not far from Lublin, in the town of Pulawy, where the old palace of the family of Prince Czartoryski was located, was the focal point of Polish politics. The rays of these politics reached to the nearby “courts” of the Seer of Lublin and of the Maggid of Kozenice. In local tradition there was a connection between the Kozenice Maggid and Prince Czartoryski, and it was known that the Maggid and Czartoryski had brought about these political changes.

A Hassidic legend relates that Rabbi Mendel of Rymanow urged his followers to pray for the well-being of Napoleon. “Why should we do this?” answered his student Rabbi Naftali of Ropczyce; “Napoleon is the greatest denier of God on earth.” “All are deniers of God,” answered Rabbi Mendel, “but he, the Sennacherib, must be victorious. The whole world is dependent on his victory.” But Reb Naftali would not allow himself to be so dismissed and persisted: “Why must we pray for him? He has put our children in school and our sons in the army. He will make us equal to all people and will break down the wall legally created between us and them that affirms that we are a ‘chosen people,’ as it appears explicitly in scripture: You have chosen us among all people, enfolded us with Your love, and found satisfaction with us.” “Yes! But Napoleon is the whip in God’s hand!” the Rabbi of Rymanow answered impatiently; “It is He who says to the people and the kings: because the Jews have been oppressed by you, by Me you will be punished.”

The rabbis could not agree and went to their teacher, the Seer of Lublin, in order to obtain a judgment.

Yaakov Yitzchak heard the conflict with great attention and thought about how to settle it. He pondered and looked out the window, looking first to the room and again out the window, but he could find no correct solution.

The disputants then turned to Kozienice to seek an explanation from the Maggid. The Maggid had just come from the bath—it was Friday midday—and he lay resting in his bed. Rabbi Mendel and Rabbi Naftali ignored this and boldly set forth their request, and the Maggid sprang from the bed and shouted at them: “It is said that Napoleon has a great protector in heaven, but we say, ‘You, Lord, are exalted for all eternity!’ He takes the Jews out of the cloister and sticks them in the army, where they are ordered to ignore God’s will! May all be condemned who lead us to sin!” The Maggid stood with raised hand and stared angrily but then fell powerless onto his bed.

The discourse and discussions in the Hassidic cloisters in Lublin, Kozienice, Przysucha, Ryczywól, Opatów, and Izbica had a basis in reality. In the July constitution of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807) Napoleon had declared the complete equality of all citizens and had ordered the destruction of the ghetto walls. To those Poles who were accustomed to the old order of things, this was a terrible blow. The leaders of the communities especially felt that equality would lead to the end of the *kahal* economy. The Hassidim also foresaw danger, and for the first time, since the beginning of Hassidism, they were brought into alliance with the leaders of the communities and the representatives of the *kahal* system. Every effort was made. In the time-tested manner all “agents” were sent to the ruling courts to defeat the constitution. On the other side the Poles also strove to achieve the same goal, and the combined efforts of everyone resulted in the suspension of the equality of the Jews for ten years by the Duke of Warsaw, King Friedrich August of Saxony, by the edict of 17 October 1808.

The Hassidim rejoiced, and the followers of the *zaddikim* loudly declared that the great miracle of the repeal of “the satanic constitution” was the work of the Lubliners, the Kozienicers, and other “good Jews.”

Soon there was a second opportunity to “rescue the Jews from the power of Satan.” The War Minister of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, ordered promulgated in newspapers and posters that all citizens, without regard to religion, were obligated to provide armed service to the fatherland. Again alarm spread among the Hassidim, and messengers went from Warsaw to Lublin and from here to Kozienice, Przysucha, Kazimierz, Izbica and the others courts of the Hassidim to seek support. The Maggid of Kozienice was close to Prince Poniatowski. His influence in the court of Czartoryski in Pulawy was well known by the Hassidim, and now he was pressed on all sides to apply his influence.

The Maggid applied himself to the work, and other *zaddikim* and community leaders also did their best. Thanks to their combined effort, personal military service was converted into a tax on all Polish Jews.

The success of this enterprise made the already strong influence of the *zaddikim* even stronger and led a great portion of Polish Jews into the camp of Hassidism.

Soon came the end of the Napoleonic phase. The great Corsican drove into Russia, and with him the Polish legions were driven to destruction. Hassidic legend has it that the Maggid of Kozienice begged Prince Poniatowski on his knees not to follow the King of the French into Russia, but his pleas fell on deaf ears. The consequences of these steps were soon evident. The King of the French lost almost all of his army and fled across Poland to his fatherland. On the way he stopped in Koznieice, and the Maggid saw with his own eyes the “Sennacherib of the North.”

Prince Poniatowski drowned in the Elster, and Napoleon ended up in English custody. The *zaddikim* observed the great upheaval in Europe, the fall of the great and powerful, and the rise of the small and weak. This was also the time in which the hour of Jewish salvation was supposed to strike: the hastening of the arrival of the messiah. The *zaddikim* of Kozienice and Przysucha joined each other in prayer with the Zaddik of Lublin to storm heaven with these ideas. Reb Levi Izchak of Berdyczew had solemnly promised them before his death to use all of his influence in heaven to persuade the “heavenly family” of the need for the prompt salvation of Israel. But the opinion in the heavenly sphere was different, and now the stormers of heaven had to atone for their boldness. The Maggid of Kozienice and the Jid of Przysucha died in this same year (1815), and the Lubliner was also called by death.

On the festival (Simchat Torah) in 1814 he sensed that the end was near and directed his followers not to leave him and to care for him well. The believers were dead drunk. Many tumblers and glasses on the table and window sill demonstrated the joy of these men. The Rabbi saw that his people did not understand and ordered his wife to protect him. The wife did so with great love and attentiveness, although she also did not understand her husband’s words. Suddenly there was a knock on the door. The wife had to leave the room for a while in order to open the door. When she returned, she did not find her husband. She saw only hazy spirits dragging him out of the window, but when she reached the window, he had completely disappeared, and the empty tumblers and glasses stood on the sill, as before.

The wife was desperate. She wept and cried out, but the *hassidim* could not be awakened from their drunken sleep. Soon a young man of the Zaddik, Rabbi Leiser of Chmielnik, came by on the path and heard a groan in the bushes. With determined steps he came forward and to his surprise he saw the Rabbi, lying broken on the ground and whispering prayers. Leiser called the people together. Soon the students decided who would take the Rabbi by the head and who by the

feet. Samuel of Karow received the great honor of holding the head of the “holy Rabbi.” The others helped and so brought the sick teacher to his bed.

For nearly a year he lay sick in bed, until after much suffering he finally departed this life on 9 Ab, 1815. He was buried in the old cemetery in Lublin (5675), and to this day the following inscription is found on his gravestone:

The stone, this holy *matzevah*, witnesses the holiness of our Rabbi,
The nobility of our strength, the light of our eyes, the love of our hearts.
And all of Israel weeps as our light is extinguished.
On this day, the house of Our Lord is burned.
That is the day of the death of the holy man,
The jewel of our time,
The venerable Rabbi, pious and renowned
From one end of the world to the other,
Reb Yaakov Yitzchak, son of the teacher
Abraham Elieser, haLevi Horowitz.
Many sheltered in his house, and many traveled in his light.
He was seen and celebrated by the men of his time,
But now joy is transformed into tears
On this bitter day, 9 Ab, “and the earth trembled.”

Four years later his opponent and enemy of all of the zaddikim, Rabbi Asriel Halevy Horowitz, Rabbi of Lublin, followed him to the grave. He was buried in the same cemetery not far from the Zaddik. Death joined for eternity those who had battled each other in life.

CHAPTER XII

A Tour of the Ghetto

When we study the illustration “Typus civitatus Lublinensis” (illustration 1) in the Braun album, we see two heights: a larger and a smaller. On the larger and higher is the old city with its walls, gates, churches, and palaces. On the smaller and lower is the castle. In the southwest the city is bounded by the Krakow Gate and in the northeast by the Castle or Jewish Gate, which leads across a bridge to Castle Hill. We see the old city from the eastern side and can observe the Krakow Gate, the roof of city hall (12), the Jesuit church (now cathedral), the parish church (11) with its tower, which is entirely different from the tower of the Mary Cathedral in Krakow, and the Dominican church with its cloister (13). All of these buildings, with the exception of the parish church, still exist today, although the tower of city hall is no longer standing.¹

From the Krakow Gate began the Krakow suburb, which in the 17th century had only small houses and, here and there, a nobleman’s palace. Only the beautiful churches provide anything worth looking at, and the artist has shown and depicted them. Around Castle Hill we see a wreath of low houses. This is the Jewish city, which covers from here to the foot of the castle, and also a part of the Podzamcze and Krawiecka Street. We will get to know this lower city along with the Jewish part of the old city, and now we begin our tour.

At the entrance to the old city stands the Krakow Gate, a structure of the 14th century. It consists of two parts, the proper gate building in the style of the time of the old knightly orders, and the gate tower, which was built behind it later. In olden times the moat ran before the gate, over which the drawbridge lay daily. Today the place is leveled and is surrounded by beautiful houses (illustrations 3 and 4).

We pass through the gate and enter the old city. Tall, noble houses with characteristic gables and tile facing on the cornices wink amiably at us and offer the greeting of the centuries. Dark staircases and long, nearly dark corridors lead to the vaulted rooms in which noble lineages and patrician families once lived. Now only Jews live here, who have their businesses nearby.

A few steps farther the street (Bramowa) flows into the Ring Plaza, that is, the old market. An unattractive house stands here in the middle and takes up the largest part of the market. It is the old city hall, as well as the palace of justice, in which the Polish royal court met through two centuries. Earlier it was a monumental structure with a beautiful tower, which we can still see in the Braun illustration. At the beginning of the 19th century, however, it was so totally rebuilt by the

Russians that it lost everything beautiful and valuable. In the old times nearly all of the ritual trials in superior court in Poland were held in this house.

Around the Court stand beautiful houses, including the ancestral house of Sobieski (Rynek 15, illustration 6), in which Peter the Great lived in 1716. In one of the houses (Rynek 8) is found today the offices of the Jewish religious community and the community library, which is only in embryo. The large courtyards are characteristic, with bridging galleries and many built-in wooden rooms, such as in the Seidemann house (Rynek 10, illustration 5).

The Ring Plaza presents the highest point in the entire plateau of the old city, which falls off to the west and east toward the fields and suburbs. We see this best when we turn into the third cross street (Rybna) and go to the end. A small house stands against the slope of the city hill. We enter it and note to our surprise that we find ourselves on the upper gallery of a quite large house with a triangular courtyard. It is the Kowalska house, number 5, whose main wing is built against the hill (illustration 9).

We leave the characteristic house to return to the Ring Plaza. On the way we encounter the beautiful entrance of the house at Rybna number 6 (illustration 8), with its tile roof, typical here in Lublin.

From the Ring Plaza, a street (Grodzka-Castle Street) leads directly to the Castle or Jewish Gate. This street (illustration 10) is interrupted in the middle by a very wide plaza, on which the parish church with its beautiful tower stood until the beginning of the 19th century (see *Typus civitatis*, illustration 1). The church was surrounded by the cemetery, in which the city families were laid to rest. In the 1830s the church was demolished, the cemetery removed, and the bodies moved to another cemetery. Today a small garden stands on this spot, overlooked by the windows of the Jewish home for orphans and elderly (Grodzka number 11). The east side of this park leads to the edge of the city plateau, from which we can see the castle and the Jewish city far into the suburbs (illustrations 7 and 27). We enter the orphanage.

In this establishment the children receive school instruction and full board. They are mainly war orphans, many from the provinces of the great Russian empire. Beside the children in the same house live the elderly and disabled.

We glance through a window on the second floor at the picturesque Jewish city surrounding the castle, leave the tidy house with the children and elderly, and head toward the Jewish Gate on Grodzka Street (illustration 12).

The gate, with its two connected houses, presents a unity. It descends from olden times, but it was completely rebuilt at the end of the 18th century and connected with the houses on the right and left. Already in the gate begins the active life of the Jewish city. We find here small businesses in which everything is offered for sale. Men and women hawk victuals and trifles. The houses connected on the right and left have their entrances in the gate itself. We enter the left entrance and find ourselves in a profusion of steps, which lead up and down and in all directions. We note that the house is situated on the edge of the city plateau. The difference in height between the upper and lower streets (Grodzka and Kowalska) is not as great as in the Rybna and amounts to just one story. On the Kowalska is a large warehouse, consisting of a three-story building with gables and two lower wings, which appears to date from the 17th century (Kowalska number 17, illustration 29).

We return to the Jewish Gate and go to the exit. We are assaulted by noise, cries, pleas, oaths, dealing, and bargaining. We have joined a throng by which we are unwillingly swept along. We are reminded of Eulenberg's poem on seeing the ghetto in Vilna:

This gekribbel and gekrabbel, this gekreisch and this geschnabbel,
that surge and wail through the Jewish street in the busy crowd,
heard once in the temple market, oh, the destroyed noble city.
Old sounds are heard, from Joshua's hard times,
Moses' word and David's psalm between grain and clothes merchants.
From rubbish, ever more fetid, rises a seven-armed candlestick.
Rags drift around the doors; the letters of Zion stand above;
All that laughs and bargains here is barely changed since Jacob.
Eternal people, tossed about, have you remained true to yourselves?

Finally we are in the Jewish city. From here a bridge over the moat led to Castle Hill. Here once stood the Russian general Peter Ivanowicz and received the pledge of the Lublin citizens. From here the Lublin citizens watched the terrible fire in the Jewish city on 16 October 1656.

Today there is a slope instead of a bridge, from which three paths lead. One leads directly to the Castle Street (Zamkowa) and to the castle. The other two lead around Castle Hill to the right and left, into the real Jewish city.

In the Jewish Gate and in its outer wings are found arches that have a door and a window on the street. They are called "knee arches," since the window presents a knee to the door and is constructed so that on unsettled days the Jews could close the door and sell goods through the window. (illustration 13).

From the three paths we choose the right and climb up the slope. Right by the Jewish Gate, at the entrance to Podwal Street (at Lazar), we see an old cloister-like house, which has seen better times. It is the so-called Jewish cloister,² once a hospital and Adalbert church, founded in 1611 (illustration 14). It was abandoned many years ago by the priests and serves as a residence for the poorest of the poor. The owner, a Christian, rents the individual rooms to several families with many children and the old church hall with its tall windows to the welfare society "Achieser" as a kitchen for the poor. The house is a true poor asylum, with dampness, dirt, broken arches, burned and rain-damaged ceilings, cripples, old people, and wretched children. The beautiful but neglected cloister building seems very strange to the visitor, with the remains of a sculpture hung with rags and the occupants' laundry hanging on thin lines.

We leave the poorhouse, cast another glance at the Jewish Gate and at the rear of the Grodzka Street, with its Italian-style terraced houses (illustration 15), and visit the land of the once independent community of Podzamcze. It consists of two streets, which surround the southern half of the castle. These are Krawiecka Street (Schneider Street) and Podzamcze Street, which is nearer to the hill. Schneider Street is very long. It surrounds the entire Castle Hill and forms on this side the outer city limit. Its houses are not old. They reach back only as far as the 18th century, but they are quite original, with mansard roofs, verandas, and balconies. They are arranged in such a way as to fascinate again and again with their abundance of forms. (illustrations 16-25). But they all have one thing in common: they are all dilapidated and have damaged roofs, warped floors, crooked stairs, and countless inhabitants. But from this comes a certain colorfulness, which makes a picturesque impression. Here and in a small alley live the poorest people, and here typhus almost never dies out.

The houses on Podzamcze Street (illustration 27) have other features. They are old, and they crowd each other so closely by Castle Hill that the cliff towers over them, and the castle, like a powerful bulwark, extends its walls and battlements on all sides. In one of these houses stuck to the hill (Podzamcze number 12) is found the synagogue of runners or furriers, known by the name of the legendary ephemeral king of Poland, Saul Wahl. The synagogue possesses neither architectural nor other special features. It presents a simple square hall on the first floor of this house (without any ornament), with a damaged floor beneath the women's synagogue. But the women do not fall through this opening, since the floor is covered with a grating over the broken spot. In the absence of historical documents, it is difficult to say whether the synagogue was founded by Saul Wahl or was only visited by him. Evidence for the first explanation is found in the words of the call to Torah used to this day for the festival (Simchat Torah): "With the permission of Lord and Prince Saul Wahl you will be honored to raise the Torah!"

Saul Wahl is remembered to this day as legendary king of Poland. The legend relates that the Polish lords could not agree on the election (*Wahl*) of a king, and since the election had to be ended, the Jew Saul was temporarily elected. And thus derived his name, “Wahl.” But soon the electors agreed, and Saul had to give the throne to another, true pretender to the throne. In the brief time that he sat on Poland’s throne, he granted his co-religionists many privileges.

This is the legend, which has many more details added. In reality, Saul (son of Juda) Katzenellenbogen was a very wealthy tax collector and financier in the court of Kings Stephan Batory and Siegismund III. He collected the entire income of the elders of Brest-Litovsk, where he had his established residence, as well as of the salt refinery and tolls. On 7 June 1589 he received from King Stephan Batory the title of Royal Agent or Official with all of the privileges pertaining thereto. Saul used these privileges for the benefit of his community and of all of the Jews of Lithuania. He defended them in disputes with the citizens of Brest-Litovsk and obtained various privileges for them.

The relationship of Saul Wahl to the Jewish community of Lublin cannot be determined, given the current state of historical research. He probably came here for the great masses as well as for the Jewish assemblies as representative of the Lithuanian community and spent several weeks here annually. Such a wealthy man must have permitted his own synagogue to be founded, where he could pray with his own countrymen and conduct consultations.

Saul died in 1617, and six years later the Lithuanian community separated from the Polish and founded its own organization in Brest-Litovsk, with Saul’s son, Meir Wahl, rabbi of Brest, at its head. With the founding of the Jewish Assembly in Brest, the connection of the Lithuanians to Lublin was broken, but the Wahls remained faithful to their family synagogue. In the first third of the 17th century, a son of Meir and grandson of Saul, Israel Wahl, lived in Lublin. He died in 1639 and was buried here in the old cemetery. It was probably his children who preserved the tradition of the house, in that from father to son they served in the position of leader of the family synagogue. Eventually this synagogue was taken over by the furriers’ guild, which was divided into sedentary and itinerant (runner) groups. From this was derived the name today, “the runners’ schul,” which has nevertheless not supplanted the name of the great founder of the synagogue, “Saul Wahl.”

We leave the small synagogue with its tradition; we leave Podzamcze Street and Krawiecka and return to the Jewish Gate (illustration 26). From here we enter Castle Street and observe the old houses (Zamkowa number 2, illustration 28), whose upper part lies high on Castle Street, with the lower part deep in the cliff of Castle Hill. The castle has only two interesting objects today: the church, with the

wonderful old frescos from the 15th century (restored by artist Professor Makarewicz) and the beautiful Gothic ribbed vaults, which rest on a pier; and the round tower. All the rest stems from the 1830s and serves as a prison. Now we climb to Zamkowa and walk to the left of the Jewish Gate on Broad Street (Szeroka Street), which was once the center of the Jewish city. This was also the name of the main streets in the ghetto of Krakow (on Kasimir) and in Lemberg in the suburb (today Kasimir Street).

Broad Street in Lublin is actually broad and is lined on both sides with two and three story houses. These were once gable houses in the style of the old city, on which the ledges were covered in the same way with tiles. Today most houses are so “fundamentally” renovated that the old can no longer be seen on them. Typical is the warehouse (illustration 29) at the entrance to the street (Kowoolska 17), closely connected to the Jewish Gate and well as to the group of houses number 9-21 (illustration 31), whose backs lean against Castle Hill. Here between houses number 7 and 9 the aforementioned Podzamcze Street begins, which is bridged over by the path to the castle (Zamkowa Street, illustration 30). A tradition, not quite believable, says that in house number 19 the Jewish Assembly was once held. This is difficult to verify since the last Jewish Assembly in Lublin was held in 1682.

At Szeroka number 2, in the rear wing of the first floor, the synagogue is located, which was built by Hirsch Doktorowicz, agent of King Wladyslaw IV. Hirsch Doktor received royal permission on 16 July 1638 to build this synagogue as well as to govern and rule it himself. The king forbade the leaders of the Lublin community under harsh penalty to interfere in the activities of the founder and to appoint him to their governing body. Years ago the synagogue was transferred to the guild of coppersmiths and is today called the Kotler Schul. The heads of the guild of coppersmiths “fundamentally” restored the synagogue a few years ago and sought to remove anything “old and unattractive.”

Today it presents an entirely modern structure with a women’s gallery sharply edging the upper part of the prayer room. A portal in the Renaissance style adorns the east wall with the Torah shrine, and attractive pews as well as good lighting present the features of this synagogue.

On the first floor of the neighboring house (Szeroka number 3) is the synagogue of business employees (Mschorsim Schul). Apart from a simple large room with several windows facing the street, the synagogue exhibits nothing characteristic. The women’s schul is housed in a neighboring room and is connected by a large opening to the main prayer hall.

On the same street at number 28 is the family house of Horowitz. These are the descendants of the Seer of Lublin, Yaakov Yitzchak Horowitz, who to this day are true to their lineage and have always owned the house. In the courtyard of this house, reached through a narrow hallway, stands a roomy house with a wooden roof and many large windows. This is the cloister in which “the Seer of Lublin” prayed and spent the largest part of his days. He had his residence on the first floor. The cloister presents a large badly painted hall with a wooden balcony. At the entrance we see a small cage-like enclosure; this is where the women prayed.

In the Napoleonic time the light of the Seer streamed on all sides from this cloister. This was the center for a great part of Polish Jews. Here plans were devised, and here the plans of the great were frustrated. Today the cloister is used as an asylum for the poor and disabled, who stay here day and night and in winter warm themselves by the great oven. A few houses farther (Szeroka 40) stands the Eiger family house. Here Leibele Eiger founded his cloister after he became a Hassid, and here he assembled his followers. Two houses farther (Szeroka 44) is found the synagogue of the Parnas, that is, of Abraham Heilpern (illustrations 32, 33, and 51). Opposite diagonally we see Jateczna Street (Fleischer Street), on which is located the complex purchased from Governor Teczynski at the end of the 16th century by Dr. Isaak Mai and given to the community for the construction of a synagogue, academy, and so forth.³ And in fact all of the community institutions were located here and the entire parcel built up to a not very wide plaza. (illustration 34).

The largest place is taken by the main synagogue, which bears the proud name of the first rector of the Lublin academy, Rabbi Solomon Luria (Maharschal Schul). Beside it, a second small school was built at the cliff of Castle Hill, which received its name from the third rector of the Academy, the Rabbi of Lublin, Rabbi Meir Lublin (Maharam Schul). Opposite these two synagogues stands the community school (Bethhamidrasch), where the academy was probably housed, whose head bore the proud title of rector. Near the synagogues stand the slaughterhouse and the bath (Jateczna 8). Here also stand the stalls of the butchers and other merchants; this was the true center of the ghetto. Here were also executed, according to the judgments of the Royal Court, Jews who were convicted in the ritual trials; many of the great of Israel breathed their last in the narrow plaza between the many houses of God.

All of these synagogues along with the school, the bath, the butchers' stalls, and so forth were destroyed by flames on 16 October 1656. The Royal commission of 1661 identified the ruins. But soon the synagogues and the other houses were rebuilt and stood through 200 years, despite the various catastrophes that afflicted the Jewish city. The fire of 1856 again reduced them to ashes. After several years they were rebuilt anew and eventually took their present form.

The synagogues of Poland present a unique chapter in the architectural history of the nation. They were built under either western or eastern (Byzantine) influence and were therefore arranged centrally or around a nave. Nave-type synagogues were either one-nave (Remoh Schul in Krakow; Runner Schul, Kotler Schul, and Maharam Schul in Lublin) or two-nave, like the oldest Polish synagogue in Krakow (the old schul) or the synagogue in Chelm. Both have vaults of two squares, each supported by a pillar.

More common than the nave-type in Poland is the central synagogue. Here the large prayer hall presents a square (with a cloister vault of wooden planks with paintings), whose plug-like centerpiece hangs below surrounded by a rosette (illustration 36).

On the longer dimension the vaulting is supported by a pillar, as in the castle church in Lublin. Occasionally these central supports are expanded to a four-fold pillar base, which contains a cornice by means of vaults. From these arise a cornice vault. Sometimes the cornice is omitted, and the vault rests on four free-standing pillars, by means of which the space is divided into nine equal squares. These four free-standing pillars enclose the almemor.⁴

The Maharaschal Schul in Lublin belongs—like the synagogues in Przemyśl (1595), Rzeszow, Opatow, Lancut—to the type of central synagogue with a cornice as central support, resolving itself into four pillars. Here, however, the pillars appear as a bundle of pillars, each of which consists of three pillars. The central support resolves itself here into twelve pillars, of which three on each side flank the almemor (illustrations 37 and 38), and all together support the powerful vault. The synagogue makes an imposing impression. It is very spacious and has women's galleries on the west side and on the north side. The prayer hall is bright. The high and large windows apparently stem from the last renovation; in olden times small windows were made because of safety considerations. At night the large chandeliers are lit (illustration 40) as well as the beautiful menorah (illustration 39), which is on the right side of the prayer lectern. On high holy days silver candlesticks (illustration 41) are placed on the prayer lectern and on the almemor. Normally they are stored in the safe of the religious community, like the Torah cover (illustration 59).

Under a roof of this synagogue is found the frequently previously mentioned Maharam Schul, which was also “fundamentally” rebuilt after the fire of 1856. It presents a long prayer hall, two thirds of which is reserved for men and one third for women. The two parts are divided by a half-high wall, on which stands a vault base that supports the plain cornice. In the middle of the men's prayer hall rises the almemor, surrounded by a very beautiful bronze railing (illustration 42) on

whose corners are found posts with carved and colorfully painted vases and fruit (illustration 43). A beautiful menorah (illustration 44), a brass cup (illustration 45), and beautiful chandeliers comprise the ornaments of this old synagogue, which were employed for military religious services during the War. It was remarkable to see the old militiamen enveloped in their prayer shawls on Sabbath as they listened attentively to the songs of the of the military cantor or the speech of the military rabbi. Thoughts of their schul at home were in many minds, and many tears were silently shed.

Besides the two synagogues, in the same house are located a small guild synagogue and the residences of the servants. The whole house makes the impression from the outside of a concert house or some other modern building rather than an old synagogue.

Diagonally across the same street rises the bethhamisrasch, the community school. It is a one story building (Jateczna number 6) with residences on the ground floor and an attractively spacious and vaulted hall for instruction and prayer on the first floor. It is noteworthy that in Lublin all synagogues, with the exception of the great Maharschal Schul, are located on the first floor. The bethhamisrasch belongs architecturally to the type of synagogue in which four free-standing pillars support the vault and divide the room into nine equal squares (illustration 35). Full bookshelves stand around the walls, and in them are found quite a few *rara avis* from the best printing era of Lublin. We find abundant libraries in the Lublin synagogues and cloisters, but most are neglected and incomplete and have never been recorded in a proper catalogue. Only a simple poster condemning book thieves protects these valuable bookshelves. Ah, if this poster could speak, how many stolen books would it report that have departed from Lublin to the west and are today an ornament of the libraries there?

The Lublin bethhamisrasch in its current form probably stems from the 18th century, except that the windows were enlarged later. Earlier another bethhamisrasch stood on the same land, which perhaps included the Talmud academy where the most prominent scholars of Poland held their discourses. But this house too looks back on a beautiful past. Here in these rooms the “finest citizens” of the Jewish city “studied” and prayed. Here “studied” Zederbaum (Eres), subsequently the publisher of Hameliz in Petersburg. At one of these tables studied Jechiel Mendelsohn, a friend of our greatest historian Grätz, and here Rabbi Leibele Eiger spent his youth until the time that he began his pilgrimage to Rabbi Mordche Joseph in Izbica and discovered the zaddik in himself. The spiritual transformation of this man followed his transfer from the bethhamisrasch to the cloister that he founded for his followers. A similar transfer was made by most Lublin Jews.

To the group of houses in the old ghetto center, on the old plaza of Dr. Isaak Mai, belongs the Talmud-Torah school, which is found behind the Maharschal and Maharam synagogue. Until the fall of 1917 the schoolhouse was one-storied. At the end of this year a second story was added, and thus it eclipsed the Maharam Schul a little.

We leave the old center of the ghetto. We leave the place of real life and go directly to the place of death. Our goal is the Jewish cemetery.

We walk to the end of Jateczna Street and come to a small wooden bridge on the Czechowka. The houses here are generally smaller, generally more widely separated, and generally more dilapidated. This is where the poorest of the poor live. The numerous warning signs, "Beware, typhus," which we found here in March 1918, best represent these residences of terrible misery. The bitter irony of the Lubliner has it that these poor people consciously located their residences in this place so that they would be next to the cemetery.

We pass the little bridge and the typical house at Jateczna 17 (illustration 46), and after a few hundred steps we see the old Jewish cemetery. On a few small hills, shaded by tall trees, stands the memorial of the Lublin ghetto. From the hills the white tombstones greet us from the far distance.

The cemetery is already 350 years old. The oldest tombstone stems from the year 1541 and belongs to the scholar Jakob Koppelman, who in local tradition is believed to be Jakob Pollak, the founder of Talmud study in Poland.

The district where the cemetery is located is called Grodzisko. This name indicates that a castle (grod) or some kind of fortress once stood here, which is also suggested by the topography of the place. In the first half of the 16th century a piece of the hilly land was already in the possession of the Jewish community, and they buried their dead here. But not until 1550 did the community purchase the rest of the place, expand the cemetery, and surround it with a wall.

We pass the small posts in the wall and enter the forecourt. Here is found the half-destroyed house of the watchman. Here was also found—so long as the cemetery was in use—the funeral chamber. All of the dead, who were brought from a distance from Lublin, were washed and dressed here. In the treasury of the Jewish community is found today the silver dipper with five death-heads and corresponding inscriptions, with which the dead were washed. It was donated by the father of Abraham Heilpern, Reb Chaim, and bears his date of death, 1707 (illustration 47). Today, because the cemetery is closed and the community buries its dead in a new cemetery (in Obywatelska), the funeral hall is completely destroyed, and the forecourt is overgrown with grass.

We enter the cemetery through a small door (illustration 48). The path winds between lawns shadowed by bushes and trees and climbs steadily up the hill. At first we see no tombstones, but the higher we proceed the more of them we encounter. Some stand straight, others at an angle, and most lie on the ground, half-covered with debris and soil. The higher we proceed, the thicker the forest becomes and the more impassable the bushes. We have to use all of our strength to push aside the branches and leaves in order to decipher a few still readable inscriptions (illustrations 49-50).

Soon we are at the highest point, the ridge line, which runs along the entire cemetery. From here a wonderful panorama opens before our eyes on all sides. To the north we see the small houses of the suburb Kalinowszczyzna. To the south the spires of the old city and the stout battlements and revetments of the castle tower. To the west the cemetery hill presents a depression, like a valley, from which rises the well-preserved ruins of the Franciscan cloister. In recent years there was a paper factory here, but it is now completely gone. For two centuries the Jews suffered greatly at the hands of the Franciscans. First they broke through the cemetery wall, then they forced a pathway through the cemetery, and always the fathers acted without regard for the Jewish treasury. Every few years the Jews would negotiate a contract with the cloister, in which the ownership rights of the community were established (for example, on 16 July 1622), but the Franciscans always found a loophole and began the conflict anew.

Near the end of the 18th century the Franciscans—like other orders—were banished from the land, and the cloister was sold to an individual. The old conflict, however, remained in the people's memory. The closeness of the cloister to the Jewish cemetery, and the fact that the cloister lay deep in the valley and the cemetery high on the hill, resulted in a variety of explanations in popular fantasy. Over time all of the memories were joined into one legend, which lives today in the vernacular and is told by mothers to their children:

“Behind the city of Lublin rose a large hill that belonged to two brothers. The two brothers lived together in discord and divided the hill. One gave his part to a sect that built a large cloister here, and the other gave his part to the Jews, who located their cemetery here. The cloister brothers wished to drive the Jews away, so when a body was brought to the cemetery for burial, they rang the church bells. The Jews were sickened by this. They complained to governors and kings, but to no avail: the monks would not yield and always rang the bells.

“One day a pious man died, a zaddik who had never done anything wrong in his entire life. The entire community accompanied his body to the cemetery hill, and as the bearers were close to the grave the cloister bells began to ring. The Jews

were despairing, but at that moment the burial cloth fell from the bier, and the zaddik rose and began to speak. The coffin bearers stood terrified. The zaddik called a boy to him and ordered him to run to his house and to bring a certain book from the library. The youngster ran as fast as he could to the city and after a while brought the requested book. The zaddik took the book and leafed through it until he found a prayer, which he began to recite in a loud voice. The zaddik prayed, the bells tolled, and the entire community stood petrified and did not move from the spot.

“Suddenly it could be seen that the cloister began to shake and the ground under it to sink. The zaddik prayed, and the cloister sank deeper and deeper. Soon a scream from below was heard. The people who conducted their prayers in the cloister began to abandon the building and scramble up the hill. Here they fell to their knees before the rabbi and prayed for forgiveness. The Jews also begged for mercy, and the rabbi closed the book, nodded to the boy, ordered him to return the book to the place it was brought from, and sank dead again on the bier.

“The cloister remained sunken. It stayed much deeper, as though in a valley. And so it stands until today.”

The true pantheon of the cemetery is found in its lower, second and third parts. Here stand the tombstones of Luria, of Shalom Shachna, and of all of the other rabbis of Lublin up to Asriel Halevy Horowitz and the rabbis of the 19th century (illustrations 52-53). Near them rest in peace the leaders of the community and of the Jews of the realm, among whom are the famous Abraham Heilpern (illustration 51) with his heirs and followers. We see a large stone at the grave of the Seer of Lublin, Rabbi Yaakov Yitzchak Horowitz. A pious soul visits the grave and leaves a note with name—cemetery calling card. One does not approach his grave, as with the grave of Jakob Koppelman, who was the first buried here.⁵

Next to the rectors, rabbis, community elders, and so forth, lie the notable physicians, the royal servants, the great merchants, and all of those who in their lives played a role in the community and in the Jewish world. The earth now conceals their remains, and time and weather weaken or completely upset their tombstones. Vines and bushes so cover these that one can approach the stones only with great difficulty. The rich ornaments on the stones—lions, leopards, candles, crowns, fallen trees, open books, and allegorical images (head and foot stones)—constantly weather, and the inscriptions on most can no longer be read. The editor of Lublin epitaphs, Mr. Nissenbaum, as well as another local researcher, Mr. Szper, took steps on behalf of the community to preserve these valuable historical monuments. They experienced a lack of support, however, and had to abandon their plan. And so the cemetery is meeting with total destruction, an incalculable

loss for history and art history. For the memory of the great, who lie there, this is an act of impiety and ingratitude!

We leave the cemetery and return to the Jewish city. From Jateczna we choose another path and reach Russian Street (Ruska Ulica), where the oldest Lublin suburb, "Czwartek (Czutek)," with the oldest Lublin church (St. Nikolaus), is found. Today Czwartek, like all of the surrounding streets, is occupied exclusively by Jews and leads to Lubartowska, the longest street in the new Lublin ghetto. Lubartowska Street makes an unusual impression. Next to tiny stalls stand four-story houses with modern facades and give the quarter the appearance of a major city. Living here are wealthy orthodox Jews, merchants who have their wholesale businesses and shops on the same street. The street is filled with people. All do business here, since the exchange for all kinds of goods is here, as well as for rubles and crowns, which were a favorite object of speculation during the occupation. Porters, girded with cord, stand by the shops and wait for business. These are strong Jewish men with healthy hands, in contrast to the narrow-chested Talmud scholars whom we encounter in the cloisters and classrooms of Szeroka. In a nook by a bend in the street stands a human bundle who sharpens the ears. Employees who have left their businesses for a moment, women with baskets, and children with schoolbags surround a blind man, who sings ancient songs with a sad voice to earn his bread. Various artists have depicted this blind street-singer, and a successful singer of Jewish songs, Adolph Donath, dedicated the following poem to him:

Behind the Jewish Gate
In the winding street
Stands the street-singer and sings. . . .
Sings of Moses' brazen cry of victory,
Of the world's never-resting hatred,
And of God, who created life.
Of the land of Mizraim
And all its plagues,
Of the starving children and their cries,
The thousand sons, who fell abroad,
And of the mothers in mourning clothes.
And in one breath he wails again
His overflowing painful,
Screaming, shrilling,
Breath-depriving Jewish song
Of the never-ending tears of the people
And of the never-disappearing yearning
For Jerusalem,
For Jerusalem.

Behind the Jewish Gate
In the winding street
Stands the big crowd and listens. . . .
But the singer, who is blind,
Does not see them
And the singer, who sings,
He does not hear them.
Does not see how the evil roll their eyes,
Does not observe that they do not understand the pain,
Does not observe that among all these children of God,
The bad, who follow the false path
And sell their own people,
Also are the righteous and good.
And all of these wise and gentle people place
Tremblingly their hands on their moist eyes,
Just as though he spoke his blessing,
Just as though the blind singer
Was chosen and sent by God:
A messenger of truth, a poet of truth,
An accuser and judge
In the foreign land. . . .

Behind the Jewish Gate
In the winding street
Stands the street-singer and sings. . . .

Lubartowska is over a kilometer long and leads to the new Jewish cemetery on Obywatelska Street. Thousands of large and small gravestones shine from afar from the square of the cemetery walls and show the extent of today's Jewish community in Lublin.

Before this community cemetery—surrounded by a low wall—lies the small Jewish military cemetery, where Austro-Hungarian officers and soldiers rest in peaceful community with their Russian comrades. The first casualties came from the battle at Krasnik in August 1914, as described by senior physician Dr. Specht in his sad tale. The cemetery was first established in the summer of 1918, and the bodies of all of the Jewish soldiers were brought here from the whole area around the city. It is very sad to see the long rows of graves, which until now have no tombstones and are adorned with no flowers. Everything is to come in early 1919! Next year—if the War is over—the wives and children of those who lie here will come and water the graves with their tears. Until then no sound will disturb the rest of those who passed their last days in the thunder of cannon and who

contracted their final malignant illnesses in the deep trenches. Poor Jewish soldiers!

We leave the ghetto and return to the city. The images we have experienced glimmer in our eyes, and we do not observe that we are in a European city, between hotels, coffee houses, and confectioners. Finely adorned ladies and elegantly dressed gentlemen promenade in the afternoon sun. Jews as well have had a major impact here, but these are modern Jews, often those who have turned their backs on the ghetto, gymnasium students in their Russian uniforms or students of the high school in Warsaw in their pretty corps caps. We remain on this boulevard not long and turn toward the suburb of Wieniawa and Czechowka, in order to get to know this Jewish place as well.

In the divorce letters until today it is written: “As happened in Czechow, which is called Wieniawa.” From this we can see that both settlements constituted a Jewish community. In reality, only Wieniawa is a complete Jewish settlement, with synagogue, school, bath, and cemetery. The synagogue stands on a hill amidst a small plaza, almost in the center of the district (illustration 55). It is a stone building with attractive architectural structures, nave-type, with antechamber and women’s gallery. Unfortunately, the roof is damaged from age and rainfall, and the whole house has been spoiled and soaked. The community was forced to remove the Torah scrolls and other ornaments from the synagogue and to conduct prayers in the nearby school (bethhamidrasch). Since that time the synagogue has continued to decay, and if a helpful hand does not come to the rescue it will be entirely destroyed.

Wieniawa gives the impression of a village (illustrations 56-58): small houses flush with the ground with verandas and gardens, vegetable patches, and wells in no way permit the observation of an original settlement and a large city nearby. Czechow or Czechowka stands nearer to the city and is separated from Wieniawa by large and beautiful gardens. The path leads along large and marshy ponds, which unite the two places. A small mill clatters here day and night, and from this mill a narrow and muddy Jewish street leads to the city. Small, half-collapsed houses (illustration 54) stand here thickly in confused disorder, and half-naked Jewish children wade in the dirt of the street and stare shyly at passersby. In one of these collapsed houses is found the “Stübel,” that is, the prayer room of the small community. In another the “Cheder,” the only school, is located. The monotonous singsong of the children and the loud clattering of the watermill present the unique harmony that finds its fulfillment in the grunting of a large herd of driven pigs. This is how the district appears today, and this is how it appeared centuries ago, when the Seer of Lublin, Yaakov Yitzchak Horowitz, from Lancut in Galicia, established his residence here. During his stay, these peaceful places were the goal of many pious and unfortunate men, who sought blessings and support with the

Zaddik. But when the Zaddik moved to Szeroka in Lublin, they fell again into their customary sleep, from which to this day they have not awakened.

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. General

Chapter I

- ¹ See the map of Lublin, illustration 2.
- ² Russko-Jewrejskij Archive (RJA), volume 3, number 127.
- ³ Zielinski, *Monografia Lublina*, throughout.
- ⁴ Lopacinski Library, manuscript, number 1302.
- ⁵ Main Archive in Warsaw, Royal Register, volume 45, folio 459.
- ⁶ Royal Register, volume 45, folio 719.
- ⁷ Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz dotyczacy Zydow w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1910), number 56.
- ⁸ Royal Register, volume 65, folio 170; RJA, volume 3, number 157.
- ⁹ RJA, volume 3, number 169; Bersohn, number 106.
- ¹⁰ Lopacinski Library, manuscript, number 1387: Summary of all Jewish Rights in Lublin, section 6.
- ¹¹ Bersohn, number 103.
- ¹² Miczynski, *Zwierciadlo korony polskiej* (Krawau, 1618).
- ¹³ Zielinski, *Monografia Lublina*, page 102.
- ¹⁴ Royal Register, volume 186, folio 75.
- ¹⁵ Lopacinski Library, manuscript, number 1387 (VIII and IX).

Chapter II

- ¹ Balaban, “Jakob Polak, der Baal Chillukim in Krakau, und seine Zeit,” *Monatsschrift fuer Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Judentums*, 1913.
- ² Balaban, *Skizzen und Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in Polen*. Berlin 1911: *Die Brueder Abraham und Michael Esophowicz, Ritter von Leliwa*.
- ³ RJA, volume 3, number 108.
- ⁴ Balzer, *Corpus juris polonici*, volume 3, page 263, note 270.
- ⁵ Royal Register, volume 43, folio 129: “Moyses Doctor hebr. in Doctorem Judaeorum lubl. constitutus. Sigismundus . . . Rex Poloniae . . . Quia licet nos ante annos aliquot constituerimus Moysen Doctorem Judaeum in seniore Judaeorum nostrum Posnaniae et alibi in terris Majoris Poloniae degentium, contulerimusque ei jurisdictionem et judicatum legalem Mosaicum in eisdem terris super Judaeis ubique exercendum. Quia tamen Judaei nostri lublinenses eundem Moysen sibi in doctorem et seniore suum in lege eorum Mosaica . . . acceperunt et elegerunt, Nos hanc electionem ratam esse et gratam habentes, praenominatum Moysen

Judaeum in doctoratum et senioratum Judaeorum lublin . . . conservandum duximus, relinquimusque et conservamus . . . dantes ei facultatem Judaeos nostros lublinensens judicandi, cognoscendi, diffimiendi et sine debito terminandi, eundem Moysen Judaeum eximimus ab omnium et singularium officialium jurisdictione, sic, quod coram nemine, nisi coram Nobis ipsis, vel palatino, aut vicepalatino lubl. sivi coram nostris auteorum commissariis comparari aut responderi teneatur. . . .”

⁶ Archive of Prince Sanguschko, volume 5, pages 334-7.

⁷ Balaban, *Geschichte der Juden in Krakau*, volume 1, page 13.

⁸ Balaban, *Wolczko nodworny fektor Jogilly* (kwartalnik histor. Lemberg 1911, page 222).

⁹ Balaban, *Jakob Polach*, note 1.

¹⁰ RJA, volume 3, number 30.

¹¹ RJA, volume 3, number 31.

¹² RJA, volume 3, numbers 32 and 33.

¹³ RJA, volume 3, number 24.

¹⁴ RJA, volume 3, number 57.

¹⁵ The complete document is in Royal Register, volume 22, folios 96b-100a.

¹⁶ RJA, volume 3, numbers 66 and 101.

¹⁷ The first to propose the hypothesis that Shachna was a son of Jossko was Leon Szper, in an essay in “Mysl zydowska.”

¹⁸ Royal Register, volume 47, folios 145b-146a.

¹⁹ Lopacinski Library, manuscript, number 1387, document I.

²⁰ Royal Register, volume 48, folios 145-146.

²¹ Rabbi Shachna also conducted a lively banking business with the Lublin citizens and nobility, as we see in a legal action with a Mr. Krycinski. The matter came before the king, who first awarded (2 December 1543) the claimed 110 florins to Schnacha but then later (17 November 1546) deprived him of them: Royal Register, volume 65, folio 272, and volume 71, folio 328.

²² Archive of Prince Sanguschko, volume 5, pages 334-7.

²³ Royal Register, volume 57, folios 268-70.

²⁴ Nissenbaum, *Lekorothe hajehudim b’Lublin* (1899), pages 18-19.

²⁵ RJA, volume 3, number 158; and *Relationes castris lublin*, volume 30, folio 769 (Central Archive of Vilna), also cited briefly by Zielinski, *Monografia Lublina*.

²⁶ Lopacinski Library, manuscript, number 1387.

²⁷ Klonowicz wrote mostly in Latin. Roxolania is in Latin, as is Victoria deorum, from which we give the following extract, which relates to Jews (Turowski Edition, page 223):

Interea celebres usuris aggravat urbes
miris aucupiis capatans ignobile lucrum

Et quamvis mercatur aquas, mercatur et auras
mercatur pacem et precio venalia jura.
Unde tamen mercatur habet, placetque monarchas
Undeque consueti jactat sua semina lucri
Quos dum praefecti spoliant, spoliantur ab illis
Non etiam fiscus tali securius ab arte est
Omnes usque adeo violentum fascinat aurum
Haec est Abrami (si Diis placet) unica proles
Justitiam et primi mores imitata parentis.

Chapter III

¹ RJA, volume 3, number 172.

² Horodecki, *Lkoroth harabbanuth* (Bibliotheka gdolah 33-35, Warsaw, 1911), pages 123-44; Biber, *Sefer maskereth ligdolei Ostroh*, pages 31 ff; Nissenbaum, pages 21-23; Nissenbaum's Album Epitaph, number 7.

³ Horodecki, *Lkoroth harabbanuth*, pages 147 ff; Nissenbaum, pages 25-7.

⁴ Buber, *Anschei Schem*, page 132; Horodecki, pages 175 ff; Epitaph number 7.

⁵ Horodecki, *Lkoroth harabbanuth*, pages 183 ff. He died in Ostrog in 1632.

⁶ RJA, volume 3, numbers 20-1.

⁷ Wadowski, *Koscioly lubelskie*, page 28.

⁸ Lopacinski Library, manuscript, number 1387. Pronouncement of Wladyslaw IV, 26 July 1638.

⁹ Wadowski, *Koscioly lubelskie*, page 29.

¹⁰ Nissenbaum, *Lekoroth hajehudim b'Lublin* (1899), page 41.

¹¹ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, volume 9, pages 336, 342, 357, 396, 496, 484, 489.

¹² Nissenbaum, page 51.

¹³ Warchal, *Zydzi polscy na uniwersytecie padewskim (Kwartalnik posw. badaniu przeszlosci Zydow w Polsce*, volume 3, 1913), page 64.

¹⁴ Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz*, number 292.

¹⁵ Warchal, *Zydzi polscy*, page 61.

¹⁶ Warchal, pages 66-7.

¹⁷ Friedberg, *Lkoroth hadfus haibri b'Lublin* (Wachstein, *Katalog der Salo Cohnschen Schenkungen*, volumes 1 and 2).

¹⁸ Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz*, number 76.

¹⁹ Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz*, number 103.

²⁰ Bersohn, *Dyplomatarysz*, number 178. See illustrations 59-61.

Chapter IV

¹ Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajow I zwyczajow za panowania Augusta III*, second edition (Petersburg-Mohilew, 1855), volume 1, page 139.

² Court decree. Special edition: Actum Lublini in judiciis ordinariis Tribunalis Regii, Sabbato ante festum Stae Margarithae virginis proximo a.D. 1598. Reproduction by Sleszkowski, *Odkrycie zdrad zydowskich* (Brunsberg 1621) and by Radlinski, *Prawda chrzescijanska* (Lublin 1733), pages 533-46. Description of the execution by Miczynski, *Zwierciadlo Krony polskiej* (Krakau, 1618), pages 14-16, and Sleszkowski, chapter 9. In the same sources, the letter of Treter to Cardinal Batory with the report of the fate of the girl. A biased report is in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 1886 edition, volume 2, 833-75.

³ The Jewish surgeon was executed at the accusation of a monk, who alleged that he had drawn a great deal of blood from him for ritual purposes. Source: special edition: Actum Lublini in judiciis ordinariis generalibus Tribunalis Regni, feria Quinta ante festum Sti Laurentii Martyris proxima a.D. 1636 Cracoviae in Officina typogr. Mathiae Andreoviensis a.D. 1636 (in my library). The surgeon was named Rabbi Mordechai ben Meir; see El Molei rachamim from the synagogue in Pinczow published by Dubnow (Woschod, 1895), I, 127-35, II, 72ff, and Berschadzki, 1894, IX, 60ff.

⁴ Source, reprinted by Berschadzki (Woschod, 1894), XI, and 1892, II.

⁵ The fast days of Lublin: from the essay of Lopacinski, statement of Nissenbaum (*Zczasow wojen kozackich*) *Przeegl histor.* 1909, 357.

⁶ See the following section.

Chapter V

¹ The complete literature with sources will be included in my next work, "Verfassung und Verfassungsgeschichte der Juden in Polen," published by the Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaften des Judentums. A small extract of this work in the Russian history: *Wsieobszczaja Istorja jewreiskawo naroda*, volume XI (Moscow, 1914): *Jewrejski sejm w Polsce ili waad korony i sejmiki ili waady okrugow*, 161ff. Here I give only the most important examples.

² Perles, in *Monatsschrift f. Wiss. u. Gesch. d. Judentums* 1876, 344-5.

³ Lewin, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Vierlaendersynoden*, I, 42, 43.

⁴ Perles, 110-11.

⁵ Dubnow, im Jubilaeumsheft Sokolows (Sefer Hajjoweil) und in der Jewr. Starina, 1910.

⁶ Demitbzer, *Kritische Briefe* (Graebers: Ozar Hasifruith IV, 584).

⁷ Kuntras ha Sma (Josue Falk Ben Alexander Cohen) *Dinei Ribith*, ed. Krakau, 1892.

⁸ Buber, *Anschei Sechm*, 222ff; Balaban, *Zydzi Lwowscy*, 422-9; Balaban, *Zydzi Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, I, 272-5.

⁹ Perles, 222-6.

¹⁰ Harkawi in Sokolows, Haasif VI, part 3, 155.

¹¹ Liynski: *Sefer Koroth Podoliah*, 64, section 69.

Chapter VI

¹ Hannover Natan Nata, *Jewein Mezulah, Anfang* (Krakau 1894, my Polish translation, Lemberg 1912).

² Lopacinski, *Z czasow wojen kozackich. Przegląd History czny* 1909, 229ff.

³ Lewin, *Die Judenverfolgungen im zweiten schwedisch-polnischen Kriege*, *Zeitschr. d. hist. Ges. fuer die Prov. Posen XVI*; Balaban, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Polen* (Vienna, 1915), 23ff.

⁴ Bibl. Lop. number 12 540, 4.

⁵ Lopacinski u. s. Anm. 2, 357 (Lustrum des Lubliner Palainats).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 252-3 (El Molei Rachamim).

Chapter VII

¹ Staatsarchiv in Posen, *Castrensia Kcyniensia* (Exin), volume 156, 874ff (Dekrete Johann Kasimirs de dato Warschau, 27, III, 1658, und Thorn, 17, I, 1659).

² *Ibid.*, folio 935b (Warschau 15, VI, 1660).

³ Balaban, *Dzielnica zydowska jej dzieje I zabytki* (Judenviertel in Lemberg, Lemberg 1909).

⁴ Source, printed by Radlinski, *Prawda chrzescijanska* (Lublin, 1733), 24f.

⁵ Aus dem Summar der Privilegien der Stadt Lublin gegen die Juden, Bibl. Lop. manuscript number 116.

⁶ Bibl. Lop. manuscript number 1387, Summar III.

⁷ *Ibid.*, printed in Bersohns, *Dyplomatoryusz* 212.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Summar V a/b.

Chapter VIII

¹ Fuerstl. Czartoryskische Bibliothek, Krakau, manuscript number 2196, number 214. Printed as extracts by Zielinski, 1, 159.

² Bibl. Lop. manuscript number 116 and 344 (complaint of 17 December 1743).

³ *Ibid.*, manuscript 108

⁴ *Ibid.*, manuscript number 344, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, manuscript number 107, settlement of 1 April 1770 (31 Haeuser).

⁶ *Ibid.*, manuscript number 116.

⁷ *Ibid.*, manuscript number 5, 117.

⁸ *Ibid.*, manuscript number 116.

⁹ Ibid., 117, number 1. It is a diary of the traveling delegation of Lublin merchants to Warsaw in 1780 and contains among others the following entries:

Immediate departure from Lublin to Warsaw, by water: 18 ducats

Conference with the Warsaw lawyers: 16 ducats

To Bialobrzieski the Elder as city plenipotentiary: 4 ducats

Notice that the Jews had just arrived in Warsaw: 8 ducats

Extracts and petitions: 10 ducats

¹⁰ Balaban, *Geschichte der Juden in Galizien* (Poland), 83 ff.

Chapter IX

¹ Balaban, *Zydzi lwowscy: Rzemieslo*, Balaban, *Zydzi w Krakowie*, 308-34; Wischnitzer, in “*Wsieobschtschaja istoria jewr. naroda*” (Russian), XI, 300 ff.

² Bibl. Lop. Manuscripts 342 and 114, summary of privileges of the guild of tailors in Lublin.

Chapter X

¹ Eisenstadt-Wiener, *Daath Kdoschim*, 57 ff.

² This is the Rabbi’s wife mentioned by Nissenbaum (101): Chaja, daughter of Dr. Isaak Fortis. After her death (1752) Rabbi Jacob Chaim married a daughter of his brother.

³ Cast. leop, vol. 493, 1302-4. Regarding Dr. Fortis in the Jewish Assembly see Simchowicz: *Monatsschrift f. Wiss. u. Gesch. des Judentums* 1910, 611, note 1.

⁴ Radlinski, *Prawda chrzescijanska Lublin 1783*, introduction.

⁵ Lewin, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Vierlaendersynoden in Polen*, *Jahrbuch der jud. liter. Gesellschaft in Frankfurt a. M.*, XI, 171 ff.

⁶ Specific documentary statements (Directives of the Assembly 1739, preparations for the Jewish Assembly 1753, i.e., decrees of Finance Minister Sedlnicki and of Commissar Granowski in my forthcoming “*Constitution and and Constitutional History of the Jews in Poland.*”)

⁷ Kraushaar, *Frank u Frankisci polscy*, 2 volumes (Cracow 1895); the chronology of the trial in Kamieniec Podolski in my essay, *Ltoldoth hatnuah hafrankith* (Heatid, IV, Berlin 1913); discussion of point 7 (blood libel) in my *Sketches and Studies toward the History of the Jews in Poland* (Berlin 1911): Official protocol of the Frank trial in Lemberg (17 July to 10 September 1759).

⁸ Central archive in Warsaw, Lublin Court Verdicts, volume 578f, 4796 and 555.

⁹ Kraushaar, volume 1, 162ff.

¹⁰ Nissenbaum, 104, album 18, see illustration 50.

¹¹ Nissenbaum, 89, album 19.

¹² Illustration 32.

¹³ Illustration 33.

Chapter XI

¹ Biographies in disorderly and confused form, as well as collections and legends about Yaakov Yitzchak Horowitz: *Sefer Niflaoth harabbi* (Warsaw 1911); *Sefer Niflaoth hachoseh* (Yiddish, Petrikau 1911); *Esser Oroth* (Petrikau 1907). VI. *Oholei Schem* (Bilgoraj 1910); *Khal Hassidim haschaleim* (Bilgoraj 1911); regarding the Napoleonic period: Gessen, *W efemiernom Gosudarstwie; Jewrei w warszawskom gosudarstwie 1807-1812*, Jewr. Starina (Petersburg 1910), 1-38; Frenk, *Hajehudim bimei milchamoth Napoleon* (Warsaw 1912), see page 28.

Chapter XII

¹ Pawinski, *Zrodla dziejowe*, volume 8, 174-77.

² Natan Hannover, *Jewein Mezula*, first chapter.

³ See chapter 6, page 8.

⁴ Register of poll-taxes from year 1674: Archive of the Finance Commission (Archiwum komisyyiskarbowej, Warsaw, Rymarskagasse); Zielinski; *Jewrejskaja Encyklopedia* (Russian), volume 2, under Lublin.

⁵ Koppelman lies at the very end of the cemetery. Before him we see two stones from the 16th century, one of which belongs to Cantor Abraham. A few steps from this cantor rests the “Seer of Lublin” (1815), and on the right of this one his enemy, “the iron head” (1818). Behind these rests Rabbi Shalom Shachna (1559). Solomon Luria lies nearer to the entrance in another row.

I have omitted from the old city everything that does not touch directly or indirectly on the Jews. Thus are left out the especially interesting Dominican church together with the old cloister, in which today are housed various welfare establishments, the Church of the Holy Ghost, and so forth. I have touched only on the castle, since it lies entirely within the ghetto, and the ghetto houses on Zamkowagasse lie against the castle walls. I have also, from lack of knowledge, not dealt with the historic and artistic monuments of non-Jewish origin, in order to remain true to the specific goal of describing Jewish monuments.

Podwal Street, on which the churches with the cloister are located, is still called “Am Lasar” by the Jews today. And the Jews have assimilated many street names to the Jewish style. Thus the suburb Czwartek is called “der Czutek,” the neighboring community Piaski, today suburb with the Piask station, and so forth.

The center of the ghetto has its analog in almost all cities. Thus are found in the so-called Synagogue Square in Vilna 14 synagogues; in the city in Lemberg are found, beside the synagogue, the Nachmanowicz, the Bethamisrasch, the Schneiderschule, the schools, and the bath.

The exteriors of the synagogues also have their characteristic features. In the cases where they were founded outside the city walls, they had to be built either of wood or with fortesslike bulwarks, with battlements and firing ports, in case they had to be used for defense. Almost all of the synagogues in Reussen, Lemberg-Vorstadt, Zolkiew, Tarnopol, Brody, and so forth are fortress synagogues, just as Lubom Luck, and so forth. In Lublin the synagogues were probably also fortified, but since the last fire no trace of the battlements and firing ports remains.