SAFED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A CITY OF LEGISTS AND MYSTICS

Safed is a small city in Upper Galilee situated on a hill in a mountainous country, and forming part of the Holy Land assigned in the Scriptures to the tribe of Naphtali. Of the various cities of Palestine boasting of a large Jewish population it is relatively the most modern. Neither the Bible nor the Talmud has any definite reference to it, whilst the mention of a locality Zephed, by Kalir, is obscure, and can serve little for purposes of identification.[1]

Yet this was the spot of which R. Joseph Caro wrote in the sixteenth century: "After nearly fifteen hundred years of living in the exile and persecution, he (God) remembered unto his people his covenant with their fathers, and brought them back from their captivity, one of a city and two of a family, from the corners of the earth to the land of glory, and they settled in the city of Safed, the desire of all lands."[2]

The impulse under which the "one of a city and two of a family" acted when they preferred the "land of glory" to the great commercial centres of Europe was a religious one.

Samuel Usque, the famous author of the "*Consolacam as tribulacoes de Ysrael*" ("The Consolation and

the Tribulations of Israel"), has the following passage in praise of the country in which most of his fellow-sufferers from the Pyrenean peninsula found an asylum: "Great Turkey, . . . there the gates of freedom and equal opportunity for the unhindered practice of Jewish worship are ever open to Israel; they are never closed against thee. There thou canst renew thy inward life, change thy condition, strip off thy habits, cast away erroneous teachings, recover thy ancient truths, and abandon the practices which, by the violence of the nations among which thou wast a pilgrim, thou wast forced to imitate. In this land thou receivest boundless grace from the Lord, since therein he granteth thee unlimited freedom to begin thy repentance."[3]

The inducement thus held out to the exiled from Spain and Portugal was not only that they would in the new country be allowed to serve their God, without let or hindrance, but also that an opportunity would be granted them of a total regeneration and renewal of heart.

The sense of sin apparently weighing so heavily on Usque may be detected also in other writers, as, for instance, Joseph Jabez, who depicted the spiritual condition of the Jews in Spain in the darkest colours, and describes the men who witnessed the expulsion as an "evil generation, increasing rebellions and transgressions without number." He declared that it was mainly the Spanish Jewesses who remained faithful, and who themselves suffered, and made their husbands suffer, martyrdom for the Sanctification of the Name.[4]

Another instance is found in the chronicler Abraham ben Solomon, of Torrutiel in Spain, who says, "Our iniquities had increased over our heads, and our trespasses had grown up unto the heavens, seeing the evils and the sin and the terrible pride so rampant among the Jews in the kingdom of Spain." Jabez and Abraham ben Solomon belonged to the anti-rationalistic party of the Spanish Jews, and may have exaggerated the evils of the situation in their accusations, but their feelings were very likely shared, to some extent, by all other exiles.[5] Nathan Nata of Hanover, the well-known author of the *Yeven Mezulah*, concludes his account of the terrible suffering of the Jews during the Chmielnicki persecution with the words: "What shall we speak, or how shall we call ourselves? The Lord has found out our sins. Does God execute judgment without justice?"[6] The sufferers of Spain doubtless viewed their misfortunes from the same standpoint. And since these evils must have been in some way proportionate to the greatness of the catastrophe which had overtaken them, those of deeper religious sensitiveness must certainly have felt the need of a new life and a regeneration.

It is to this need that we have to attribute the fact that large numbers of the exiles were impelled to emigrate to the Holy Land, the country which, from the times of the prophets down to Judah Halevi in the twelfth century, and from the time of Judah Halevi down to the disciples of Elijah Wilna and Israel Baal Shem in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was always considered a country of great "spiritual opportunities."

As a Spanish Jew of the thirteenth century who took a vow to emigrate to the Holy Land expressed it, "There (in Jerusalem, or near it) is the place for fulfilling the commandments and receiving upon oneself the Kingdom of Heaven. Our worship there is acceptable, for there is the House of our God and the Gate of Heaven."[7]

Indeed, it may be stated without fear of contradiction, that there never was a time in which the Holy Land was not an object of attraction and deep longing for the pious Jew, even though he was not always able to gratify his longing in this respect. As we know now, there were for centuries after the destruction of the Holy Temple, every year during the Feast of Tabernacles, large meetings on the Mount of Olives constituted of pilgrims from Palestine itself, Babylon, Egypt, and perhaps also from Europe.[8]

These meetings were probably brought to an end in the eleventh century through the troubles of the Crusades; but the second decade of the thirteenth century witnessed the famous pilgrimage of three hundred Rabbis from France, England, and Spain to the Holy Land.[9] In the fourteenth century the well-known traveller Pharchi explored the Holy Land, and reported about different settlements in various localities.[10] Emigration to Palestine assumed, however, larger dimensions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, caused by the general distress of the Jews in almost all parts of Christendom. The majority of the refugees escaped to Turkey, but a considerable minority, com-

posed, as already indicated, of the more spiritual-minded among them, directed their steps to the Holy Land.

As hinted before, Safed has no Biblical nor even Talmudic record. Its first appearance in Jewish history dates from about the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the traveller Samuel ben Shimshon reports the existence of a community there of more than fifty members. Somewhat later it is mentioned in connexion with a document relating to the Maimonides controversy, which bears also the signatures of R. Moses ben Judah and his colleagues, the Rabbis of Safed.[11] R. Hananel Ibn Askara and R. Shem Tob Ibn Gaon, of Spain, migrated to Safed in the same century;[12] whilst R. Isaac ben Joseph Chelo, of Laresa in Spain, and Pharchi, mentioned above, visited Safed in the fourteenth century and speak of a large Jewish community dwelling there.[13] Joseph Mantabia, who visited Safed in 1481, speaks of it as a "fine" community, numbering about three hundred families, including those living in the neighbouring villages.[14]

It is, however, not until the last decade of the fifteenth century that Safed begins to be especially noted for the importance of its Jewish population. The man who was the most significant factor in the development of this Jewish settlement, which excelled Jerusalem not only in the size of its Jewish population but also in the number of great men it harboured, was R. Joseph Saragossi. Saragossi, hailing perhaps originally from Spain, was an exile from Sicily, and, after a residence in Beyrout and Sidon, finally settled in Safed,

where he most likely established a school. He was of humble disposition, making peace between man and man, including non-Jews, and he probably did his best to blend the various elements of the new settlement, consisting of natives, of exiles from Spain, and of immigrants from the Barbary States, into one great community.[15]

The preference given to Safed, a non-Scriptural town, over Jerusalem, the historical metropolis of Palestine and the holiest city of the Holy Land, may be accounted for by the unfavourable conditions prevailing in Jerusalem at that time. As evidenced by certain contemporary documents, the administration of the Jewish community in Jerusalem was influenced by a rather ungenerous spirit, imposing heavy taxes on new arrivals, and making residence there a great hardship. The Mohammedan population seems also to have been hostile to the Jews, rapacious, and extortionate.[16] Safed, on the other hand, never having had before this time an important Jewish population, the community there had no occasion to make regulations calculated to exploit the foreigner, whilst the non-Jewish population seems to have been more kindly disposed toward the Jews, sparing them the heavy taxation which was the rule in Jerusalem. R. Obadiah of Bertinoro, who had no opportunity to visit the north, writes, in his famous letter dated 1489, that, according to report, the Jews of Safed and of other places in Galilee lived in peace and in quiet, not being exposed to persecution on the part of the Mohammedans. He writes, "They are mostly

poor, spending their time in villages, going about peddling in houses and on farms, asking for food." [17]

Another reason which may have been decisive in favour of attracting immigrants to Safed was the simple life led by the inhabitants of that city. The old saying, "Love work and hate lordship" (in modern parlance, snobbery), was followed by them to the letter. An anonymous traveller who passed through Safed in the year 1496 writes of the learned Rabbi Pharez Colobi, the head of the community, that he kept a shop where articles of food were sold, by which he made a living. [18] Shlomel of Moravia, the author of one of the legendary biographies of Loria, writing from Safed in the year 1607, says of its citizens that there were to be found among them "great scholars, saints, and men of action, full of Divine wisdom, so that they were worthy of the gift of the Holy Spirit," but what he seemed to admire most was the simplicity and the humility of spirit which they possessed. "None among them," he writes, "is ashamed to go to the well and draw water and carry home the pitcher on his shoulders, or go to the market to buy bread, oil, and vegetables. All the work in the house is done by themselves," without servants. Shlomel's statement may be illustrated by the following story: Once, R. Abraham Galanti, the leading disciple of Cordovero and the author of many works, was carrying a sack of flour on his shoulders from the market. But there came the famous scholar R. Solomon Sagis (?) and snatched away the sack from the shoulders of Galanti, and pronounced an oath, that no

man should be permitted to carry this sack of flour to its destination except himself, who was so much younger and stronger. On another occasion, Galanti was carrying a cask of water on his shoulders from a village near Safed when the Saint R. Misod met him and said, "Master, give me a drink, as I am very thirsty." Whereupon Galanti offered him the cask. R. Misod then snatched away the burden and carried it to Galanti's home in Safed. [19]

Thus material as well as spiritual considerations combined to make Safed the chosen city for the time being. The rapid growth of Safed may easily be seen by the fact that whilst, according to one account, Safed counted three synagogues in 1522, and could point perhaps to only one Talmudic college established by Saragossi, it could a few years later boast of being the centre of learning in Palestine, and, in 1603, according to Shlomel's letter of that year, it contained not less than eighteen Talmudic colleges and twenty-one synagogues, besides a large school for the children of the poor, with twenty teachers and four hundred pupils, maintained by wealthy Jews in Constantinople, who also provided the latter with clothes. The Jews in Turkey were particularly interested in maintaining the Safed schools, and special messengers were sent from this community to collect moneys. We even find mention of a single bequest for the Yeshiboth of Safed amounting to 100,000 *lebanim*. [20]

The history of the world, some maintain, is but the record of its great men. This is especially true of the

history of Safed in the sixteenth century, which is essentially spiritual in its character, made and developed by men living lives purified by suffering, and hallowed by constant struggle after purification and holiness. The two figures standing out most prominently among these are R. Joseph Caro, the leading legist of the time, and his contemporary, R. Isaac Loria, the generally recognised head of the mystical school of Safed. It will, therefore, be advisable to group our remarks around these two heroes. From their eminence we shall be able to obtain a general view of the lives of the other mighty men in Israel engaged in the same general religious activities and pursuing the same spiritual ends, contributing their share to the fame which Safed has achieved in Jewish history.

R. Joseph Caro was born in the Pyrenean peninsula (probably Spain) in the year 1488, whence he emigrated as a boy of four, in the year 1492, with his father Ephraim, who was also his first teacher. After many wanderings and great suffering, they reached Nicopolis, in European Turkey, in which city the son Joseph remained until the year 1522.[21] He was advised there by his Maggid, a kind of Mentor-Angel (of whom more presently), to leave this place, whose inhabitants seem to have been rather close-fisted in their relations to the poor, and lacking in devotion to the Torah, and to move to Adrianople, in European Turkey, one of the various gathering points of the Spanish exiles.[22] There he remained for some years, serving in the

capacity of the head of the Yeshibah, or Talmudic College. It was in this town that he began the composition of his work *Beth Joseph*, which occupied him for the next thirty years of his life (1522-1552).

The *Beth Joseph* is a gigantic work comprising four big folio volumes, the first edition of which appeared 1550-1559. It forms a sort of commentary to R. Jacob ben Asher's "Digest of the Law," *Arba Turim*, tracing each law to its original sources for nearly fifteen hundred years, pursuing it through its various stages of different interpreters and codifiers, giving in disputed cases the arguments on both sides, and bringing it down to his own time. It is hardly necessary to point to the tremendous learning and unsurpassed acquaintance with the Law in all its branches and ramifications displayed in the *Beth Joseph*. But what distinguishes it above other work of its kind is not only its comprehensiveness, covering as it does all the contents of the Oral Law which had not become obsolete by the destruction of the Holy Temple, but also the methodical treatment in which he was a master, and which enabled him to bring system and order into this chaos of argument, accumulated in every department of the Law, in its passage through the discussions of the schools for many centuries. Caro was by this work soon recognised as the greatest legist of his time, and was appealed to in matters of law even by his contemporaries, as the first Halachic authority.

Next to this in importance is his work *Shulchan Aruch*, which he finished in the year 1555. It forms

only a sort of manual intended by Caro to serve chiefly as a repertory for his great book. The *Shulchàn Aruch* soon proved to be the most popular code with students, both on account of its practical qualities and its close correspondence with the greater work of Caro, in which the origin of each law could be easily traced. It passed through several editions, and it is still consulted with profit by Rabbis engaged in giving ritual decisions according to the Law of Moses and the Talmud, even at this day representing the great bulk of the Jews—eleven millions and nine hundred thousand out of twelve millions. The *Shulchan Aruch* is disfigured by a few paragraphs expressing views incompatible with our present notions of tolerance. But there the discretion of the Rabbi comes in. By tacit consent these are considered obsolete by all Jewish students. Every Jewish scholar well knows that the fugitive from the tyranny of the pious royal couple, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, was not the person to make an effort to suppress intolerant matter. To meet intolerance with equal intolerance was considered a sort of self-defence. Nay, the student is even convinced that Caro himself would have hesitated to put such laws into practice. He would rather have followed the rule laid down by himself for himself, which was never to be betrayed into anger, even in matters of religion.

The other works of Caro published during his life or after his death add little to the greatness of Caro as a scholar, except, perhaps, certain portions of his *Keseph Mishneh*, forming a commentary to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, and in his *Kelale ha-Talmud*, on the methodology of the Talmud, as well as certain Responsa embodied in various collections, in which Caro's passion for system and order and lucid and logical thinking is displayed even more clearly than in the works before named.

There is still one work to be considered, which brings us closer to Caro's personality, and that is the *Maggid Mesharim*, which appeared some thirty years after the death of its author.[23] The *Maggid Mesharim* is a long dream, lasting for nearly half a century. For, remarkable enough, the great legist and logical thinker was at the same time a dreamer of dreamers. Caro was passionately fond of the Mishnah, to which he is supposed to have written a commentary, lost to us, and its contents became so identified with his own self, that they shaped themselves into a species of Genius taking the form of a living reality personified in the Mentor-Angel above mentioned. This Mentor-Angel addresses him with such expressions as, "I am the Mishnah that speaketh through thy mouth; I am the soul of the Mishnah; I and the Mishnah and thou are united into one soul."[24]

As a rule, this *I-Mishnah* appeared to him in the depths of the night, after Caro had studied for some time one or more chapters of the Mishnah. Then the voice of his beloved, as Caro expressed himself, would begin to sound in his mouth, "singing of itself."[25] The voice was also audible to by-standers, as is clear from the famous letter of Alkabez, of whom I shall speak

later, who was once fortunate enough to observe his friend Caro in such a fit of ecstasy, and who has left us a full account of the message delivered by the Mentor-Angel on that occasion.[26] From a description given by Caro himself of his prospects of being worthy one day to hold communion with the prophet Elijah, and the manner in which this communion will take place, we may also conclude that the listeners recognised in the strange sounds of the Mentor-Angel Caro's own voice, though to Caro himself these sounds appeared something alien, *not* himself. His other organs seem to have been at complete rest, which fact produced the impression in Caro that he served only as a sort of musical instrument to the sweet melody of the Mishnah. On the other hand, his mental faculties remained fairly unimpaired, as he retained complete recollection of all the Mentor-Angel revealed to him.

This recollection he wrote down in the *Maggid Mesharim*, which thus forms a mystical diary, recording the spiritual experience of a long lifetime. The fact that the book containing these recollections fills only a small volume proves nothing against this theory, as we possess it in a very defective state, whilst we also know that he did not always commit to writing the contents of his visions, for which neglect he is reproved by the Mentor-Angel.[27]

It must, however, not be thought that it is the explanation of obscure passages of the Mishnah that are revealed to Caro in his Mishnah visions. In the whole of the *Maggid Mesharim* there are only a few

lines of a legal nature. Caro was sober enough not to allow his mystical proclivities to have a marked influence upon his judgment in matters of law. What occupied his thoughts in these moments of rapture was chiefly the mysteries of the Torah, as well as matters of conduct, falling under the heading of "superior holiness." I say "chiefly," for the "I," or Self, occasionally asserts itself and introduces matter which is rather of a private nature, as, for instance, his matrimonial affairs. From these we learn that he became a widower twice. His third wife, who brought him a large dowry, was the daughter of R. Zechariah Zechsel.[28] Caro also refers in a somewhat unkindly manner to certain great personalities. These reflections, which might have better been left unexpressed, were jotted down probably in moments of depression and resentment, for which we may not judge him too severely.[29] In the great majority of cases, however, Caro's Self was under the strict control of the Mishnah, or his ideal Mentor-Angel.

The Mentor-Angel is very exacting in his demands. "I am the mother that chastises her children," the Mishnah says to him, "be strong and cleave unto me."[30] This chastisement consisted partly in imposing upon Caro a number of regulations of an ascetic nature. He is bidden to fast on various occasions, and even on ordinary days his menu is prescribed for him, reduced to a minimum. He must not fully satisfy his desire for food and drink, not even in the first meal after a day of fasting.[31] Of course, he must not indulge in

much wine, but he is at the same time rebuked by his Mentor-Angel for having allowed himself to be filled with water.[32] He is likewise warned against too much sleep, and when he married one of his daughters and, according to custom, spent much time at the banquet, so that he went to bed late and got up just one hour after the breaking of dawn, he was reproved for his slothful behaviour, and the Mentor-Angel tells him that it would only serve him right were he to abandon him, seeing that he separated his heart from the Torah for so long a time.[33] On another occasion, when Caro went to market to buy meat and poultry for Sabbath and failed in his errand, the Mentor-Angel declared himself responsible for this failure, proceeding to say that he wanted to show Caro that meat and wine are the habitation of the Evil One, that the Sabbath can be honoured without such luxuries, and concluding his admonition with the words, "Think about nothing but the Law of the Lord; thou art strictly observed in all thy actions, hence, be careful."[34]

Other instructions worth mentioning here are these: Be exceedingly lowly in spirit.—Never be betrayed into anger, not even in matters relating to Heaven.—Be chaste in thy behaviour.—Have always thy sins before thine eyes, and mourn over them.—Never speak an idle word.—Give a mild answer to every man.—Never indulge in laughter and in scoffing.—When thou readest the *Shema*, let thy thoughts be so single-minded that they become the seat of the Divine Presence.[35]

He is also reminded by the Mentor-Angel of the necessity of reading devotional books; among these the abridged version of Bachye's "Duties of the Heart" is especially recommended.[36] He is further bidden by the Mentor-Angel to devote himself more diligently to the study of the Cabbala, which Caro seems to have neglected for a long time. "If thou wilt have appointed times for the acquisition of the knowledge of the Cabbala, I will open thy heart so that thou shalt receive the most hidden secrets unrevealed to man for many years."[37]

The Mentor-Angel, however, was not always severe. His motherly ways are not limited to chastisement. Thus he once began his address, "Behold, I kiss thee the kiss of love; behold, I embrace thee."[38] Nor does he confine himself to rebukes and strictures. He also holds out hopes and promises. These give us a fair insight into Caro's aspirations as a scholar and a saint. They may, perhaps, be summed up in the following three points.

The first aspiration was that the books with which Caro happened to be occupied, especially the *Beth Joseph*, should be free from error, and after publication accepted as standard works all over the Dispersion, whilst he himself should be recognised as an authority of the first rank.[39] There is a human touch in the fact, that notwithstanding this anxiety Caro regards it as a joyful message when his Mentor-Angel tells him that he will be blessed with a son who, besides being one of the greatest mystics of the

time, will also write strictures on his father's works.[40] Caro was especially anxious for the privilege of spreading Torah in Israel, and had the repeated promise from his Mentor-Angel that he would be worthy of presiding over the greatest gathering of disciples in Israel, and that he would also receive sufficient material support for his college to enable his disciples to devote themselves entirely to the study of the Torah.[41]

As a mystic, all things on earth are to Caro only a reflex of some original in heaven, and thus in his capacity as the master of the greatest Torah-school here below, he is brought into communion with its prototype in the regions above. It is from there that his Mentor-Angel often brings him greetings in the typical expression, "Peace from the College of Heaven."[42] Sometimes the greeting begins with the words, "Behold the Holy One, blessed be he, and all the sons of the (heavenly) college, send unto thee peace, and are opening unto thee the gates of light."[43] Occasionally these greetings drift off into a string of solemn promises of the bliss and reward awaiting Caro in the world to come, where he will associate with all the heavenly hosts and the souls of the departed saints and scholars whose interpreter he was in this world.[44] It is interesting to see how the Mentor-Angel, with pedagogical insight, uses these very promises for a moral lesson. For instance, in one place where he gives him a full description of the glorious reception with which he will meet in the

circle of the righteous, headed by the Divine Presence, and the fêtes which will be given in his honour, he winds up with the words: "Beloved, the Holy One and all the members of the Heavenly Academy send me to make thee acquainted with this secret, in order that thou mayest see thyself in this high degree, and thus thou wilt never come into the power of sin, not even by an evil thought. Should temptation become overpowering, rebuke it and say, 'Shall a man like me, whose future is meant for such glories, allow himself to sin, be it even only by an evil thought?'"[45] This is indeed one of the Mentor-Angel's pedagogical tactics, to impress Caro with his great importance, and at the same time show what duties such importance involves. By the very breath of his mouth when occupied with the uttering of the Mishnah, Caro creates whole hosts of angels, surrounding him as a suite surrounds a king. Every word of his, every thought, creates worlds; but so does it destroy worlds if it is of an unworthy and idle nature.[46]

The second aspiration of Caro was that he might be worthy to settle in the Holy Land.[47] This is a thought which probably occupied his mind for many years before he settled in Safed. The promise to help him realise that wish turns up again and again in the addresses of the Mentor-Angel. Solomon Alkabez, in the letter referred to above, reports how the Mentor-Angel said, "Lose no moment to go up to the Holy Land, for not all times are favourable. Regard not your stuff (i. e., household things) . . . I

will maintain thee." It would seem that material considerations, at least for a time, prevented Caro from accomplishing the wish of his heart, for we find in another place, in which the Angel promises him that within a year he will be in Palestine, he says to him: "There is no need for thee to trouble thy mind; thou hast wanted nothing these last forty years, and thou wilt never know want. Thy income is prepared for thee. Thou hast seen this very moment that the Holy One, blessed be he, gave thee as much profit in two thousand Zuz as in five thousand."[48] When Caro tarries too long on his way, through war and other causes, the Mentor-Angel telis him that he may stay in certain cities, such as Salonica and others, for some time, but he must never settle anywhere until he reaches the Holy Land. Of course, with this aspiration is also connected his hope that he will be worthy of becoming the head of the Yeshibah and an elder of the Holy Land.[49]

His third aspiration was that he should die the death of a martyr at the stake. This is a wish which Caro cherished when he was still in Nicopolis, and which mingled with his dreams throughout his entire life.[50] Caro assures us that in visions without number he received the promise that he would be worthy to be burned for the sanctification of the Holy Name,[51] so that every taint of sin which may have cleaved unto him in his passage through this world would be removed, and his soul cleansed, and thus reach the degree of the holy

and pure ones. Here again the Mentor-Angel employs this dearest wish of Caro's heart for his pedagogical purposes, as when he tells him: "Behold, I have singled thee out to be a burnt-offering, to be consumed in fire for the sake of the sanctification of the Name, but thou knowest that in the burnt-offering no blemish may be found, not even in thought. Hence, take care that all thy thoughts are absorbed by the Torah."[52] On the whole, the promises of the Mentor-Angel were fairly kept, except this. Turkey was perhaps at no time the country in which the crown of martyrdom could be easily gained. For this, one had to go to the lands of Christendom, where love was preached and murder acted. Caro showed no particular desire to return to Europe. In this connexion it is rather interesting to note that Caro was not quite free from anxiety, for he found it worth his while to write down the following apparently good message of his Mentor-Angel: During the afternoon prayer, when the reader was chanting the portion from the scroll of the Law, I was told, "Know, my beloved and dear Joseph, that the Sultan will win the battle in which he is now engaged against the King of Edom."[53]

The *Maggid Mesharim* occasionally contains references to different personages mentioned in Caro's other works. But whilst in these latter they are cited with their proper titles, as "Rabbi," "Master," or "the great Rabbi," in the *Maggid Mesharim*, as befitting a production of an angelic being, this official stiffness dis-

appears. Titles are, for the most part, dropped, and they are introduced with such endearing epithets as "my chosen Moses" (Maimonides), "my saintly Asher" (Rosh), "my God-fearing Jonah" (Rabbenu Jonah), "my dear Jacob" (Jacob ben Asher, the author of the *Turim*), "my modest Jeruham" (author of a well-known code of the Rabbinic Law). But the name which occurs most frequently is that of "my chosen Solomon." [54] This name is at most times used for Solomon Molko, but it is not impossible that in one or two places it refers to Solomon Alkabez, two beautiful souls who seem to have been the especial favourites of Caro.[55]

We must digress for a moment from Caro himself to consider the career of these two worthies. Solomon Molko deserves a monograph to himself. He would best form the subject of a great historical novel. If our novelists were somewhat less of realists, and would stop their eternal harping on the problem of mixed marriages, which is certainly no problem to those who begin to consider it in the light of a problem, and if they further possessed something of the sympathetic intuition of a Disraeli and the artistic insight into the past of a Sir Walter Scott or Charles Reade, they would find Molko the hero of one of the greatest historical romances ever written. For our purpose of presenting the friend of Caro a few data must suffice.[56]

Solomon Molko was born in Portugal about the year 1501, as a crypto-Jew, or Marrano, where he

received the name Diogo Pires. He was endowed with all the graces of Nature calculated to make his personality both pleasing and impressive. He enjoyed an excellent education, and at an early age he was able to speak and write Latin, the learned language of the time. Like so many other Marranos, he received, in secret, instruction in Hebrew subjects, such as the Bible and the Talmud, and even the Cabbala, in which branches of study he acquired great proficiency. His various accomplishments secured for him rapid advancement in official circles. He was very young when he was appointed secretary at one of the high courts of justice in Lisbon. He was also a great favourite at the Court. But neither the duties of his office nor the diversions of Court life were sufficient to fill the vacuum he felt under the false life he led. His thoughts and his heart were with Judaism, over whose destiny and his part in it he constantly brooded. This brooding soon resulted in all sorts of visions and wild dreams, which visited him day and night. At the first impulse, supposed to have been given him by the famous adventurer David Reubeni, who was then travelling in Europe in the questionable capacity of an ambassador of the lost Ten Tribes, he was initiated into the covenant of Abraham, and became a Jew. This occurred about the year 1523. He then entered upon a course of ascetic practices, fasting for many days without interruption, depriving himself of sleep, and spending his time in prayer and meditation, which was naturally followed by more visions of an apocalyptic

nature. The visions were manifested to him, as in the case of Caro, by a Maggid, who communed with him from heaven in dreams. In obedience to the command of this heavenly messenger, he left Portugal for Turkey, which was a safer place for men of Molko's cast of mind. There, as it would seem, he spent the next five or six years. The appearance of this enthusiastic, handsome young mystic made a deep impression upon the Jewish communities visited by him. Molko probably visited also Jerusalem and Safed in Palestine. There is no positive evidence for this fact, but it is hardly possible that he should have failed to explore the places which he saw with his spiritual eye in his mystic moments. Legend reports also that even after his death he would pay visits to his *fiancée* in Safed on every Friday evening, reading in her presence the Sanctification-Benediction over the cup of wine (*Kiddush*) with which the Sabbath is initiated. This would doubtless suggest that he had once been at this place.[57] The end of the year 1529 finds him at Ancona in Italy where he preached on the advent of the Messiah. His sermons seem to have made a great sensation, and were listened to by large crowds, both Jews and Christians, including some high dignitaries of the church. Some time after this he repaired to Rome, in which city he had again all sorts of visions and dreams. He soon gained access to the Pope, Clement VII, who felt rather attracted toward him, and together with certain cardinals, not less favourable to Molko than the Holy Father himself, protected him against the

dangers threatening him from the Roman police as a renegade from the Christian faith. He predicted to the Pope the flood which was soon to come upon Rome, and went to Venice for a time. He returned to Rome and had several more conferences with the Pope and other high personages, all the time preaching publicly repentance as a preparation for the approaching advent of the Messiah, in which he was to play a conspicuous part, either as the forerunner of the Messiah or as the Messiah ben Joseph. But all the patronage he had did not protect him from the intrigues of his deadly enemy, the Jewish physician Jacob Mantino, who is not to be held entirely guiltless of his falling into the hands of the Emperor, Charles V. The latter, in turn, handed him over to the Inquisition. The end was that Molko was burned as a heretic in Mantua, in 1532. When approaching the stake, he was offered pardon in the name of the Emperor, if he would recant. Molko replied that he longed for the death of a martyr, to become "a burnt-offering of sweet savour unto the Lord; if he had anything to repent of, it was that he had been a Christian in his youth."

Caro's acquaintance with Molko must have been formed either in Adrianople or in Salonica, both of which cities were visited by the latter during his travels. The acquaintance grew into a strong attachment, at least on the part of Caro, who thought himself indebted to Molko for certain spiritual influences which he had on his life. Thus said the Mentor-Angel to Caro, "God brought thee together

with my chosen Solomon to see whether thou wilt know him, and it was a merit (or rather, good fortune) that thou didst learn to know him and also didst learn from him to fear me."[58] It is, however, an exaggeration to think that it was Molko who converted Caro to his belief in the Cabbala, or that it was the martyr-death of Molko that incited in Caro the desire to end his life in a similar manner. Cabbala was in the air; the greatest men of Israel were committed to it, and it required no special agencies to make Caro one of its adherents. The fact is, that Molko was lovable, and Caro loved him. That the tragic death of Molko made a deep impression upon Caro, and mingled with his dreams and visions, only proves that the legalistic studies which formed the main occupation of Caro's life, do not incapacitate a man for the qualities of admiration and love. As to the longing of Caro for the death of a martyr, we have seen that he had the privilege of calls from the Mentor-Angel while he was still a resident of Nicopolis, and it was there that he received the promise of martyrdom for the first time from his heavenly messenger. This occurred about 1522, long before Caro even knew of the existence of such a person as Molko. It is to be noted that martyrdom in case of necessity is a regular command, forming one of the six hundred and thirteen laws. According to some authorities, the supreme act of martyrdom, like the fulfilment of any other command of the Law, should be preceded by a benediction, namely, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the world, who hast

sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast bidden us to hallow thy Name among the many." Now, if we consider how anxious a legist of Caro's frame of mind must have been to fulfil a commandment,—the characteristic of the legalistic saints of every generation,—no further explanation is needed for Caro's longing for martyrdom. It was simply his desire to fulfil a commandment of the Torah. As one of the saints expresses it: If the Heavenly Court were to decree hell punishment against him, he would jump into the pit with all his might and without a moment's delay, embracing with joy the opportunity to fulfil a Divine command.[59]

Much less is known of the life of the second Solomon — Solomon Halevi Alkabez. There are no records enabling us to determine the place where he was born, nor the dates of his birth and death. We know, however, that he flourished about the first half of the sixteenth century, that he was the disciple of Joseph Taytasak, Rabbi of Salonica, and that later he became the master and brother-in-law of the famous Cabbalist Moses Cordovero. His acquaintance with Caro probably dates from the third decade of that century, he having met him in Salonica or Adrianople. Alkabez was a scholar and a poet. Of his books it suffices to mention here the *Manoth ha-Levi* (Gifts of the Levite), a homiletical commentary on the Book of Esther, in which he showed his wide acquaintance with Rabbinic literature, having had, as it seems, access to manuscripts which he very judiciously used in the

said work. The story is that the title of the book was suggested by the fact that it formed a present to his *fiancée* on the occasion of the Purim festival. His father-in-law and the girl, the tradition is, were more pleased with this gift than with costly jewelry, which young men were then in the habit of sending to their sweethearts on the day of Purim. But he is best known by his poem, *Lechah Dodi*, "Come, my Beloved, etc.," with which he and his friends used to receive Queen Sabbath. The Sabbath was to him a living reality to be welcomed after a six days' absence with that expectant joy and impatient love with which the groom meets his bride. It is perhaps one of the finest pieces of religious poetry in existence, and has been translated by Herder and by Heine into German. Catholic Israel, whose love for Bride Sabbath and whose hope for final redemption it echoed so well, soon honoured Alkabez' poem with a prominent place in almost all its rituals; and the *Lechah Dodi* is now sung all over the world on Sabbath eve, when Queen Sabbath holds her *levée* in the tents of Jacob.[60]

To return to Caro and Safed: When Caro arrived in Palestine, which could not well have been earlier than after the middle of the year 1536, Safed was already grown to the size of one thousand Jewish families. The additions to the community were mostly made up of Spanish and Portuguese exiles, who were soon in a position to build a second synagogue for the purpose of accommodating their newly-

arrived countrymen.[61] Their numbers were so increased that they considered themselves strong enough to attempt to force their special usages with regard to the regulating of dowries upon other sections of the community. The Spanish language, the vernacular of the Sephardim, became soon the teaching medium in the schools, suppressing all other languages.[62] They quickly won, both by their numbers and by the distinction of their leaders, such an exceptional position that we find men of importance and standing among the native Jewish population vain enough to call themselves Sephardim, the name common to Jews hailing from Spain and Portugal.[63] There is reason to believe that at this time also a German Jewish community was established in Safed, perhaps presided over by the father-in-law of Caro. We have furthermore references to a Portuguese synagogue, an Italian synagogue, and a Greek synagogue, dating from about the same time.[64] The constitution of these communities seems to have been strictly autonomous, each community having its own synagogue, its own preacher, and its own Yeshibah. They were even, to a certain extent, jealous of every outside interference, and it was expected that each new arrival would join the congregation composed of his own fellow-countrymen.[65] On the other hand, there is evidence that they had a *Beth ha-Wa'ad* (meeting house), forming a sort of general board consisting of the Rabbis of the various synagogues, to which occasionally Rabbis attached to no congregation in particular were invited.

This board probably dealt only with matters of grave importance and of general interest.[66]

The means of gaining a livelihood were various. The natives, or, as they were called, the Moriscos, were probably still engaged in peddling, as their ancestors had been.[67] There is also evidence that they cultivated the ground in the neighbouring villages, producing wheat, barley, beans, cotton, oil, wine, and figs. Those, again, who possessed some capital, which was probably the case with many of the Spanish immigrants, were engaged in trading, exporting grain, wine, and oil to Damascus and other places, and importing from there articles for which there was a demand in Safed.[68] There also grew up in Safed a large trade in the weaving of wool and in the manufacturing of clothes; these trades were entirely in the hands of the Jews.[69] Indeed, R. Levi ben Chabib, of whom I shall speak presently, sarcastically asks whether it was because of the large quantity of clothes manufactured there that Safed arrogated to itself the leadership of Judaism.[70] Wealthy Jews in Constantinople and in Damascus would, as it seems, send ships laden with wool to Safed for the purpose of encouraging the wool industry there and giving employment to those engaged in it. About the year 1600, such a ship, containing wool to the value of nearly 100,000 *Keseph* and 10,000 *Keseph* in cash for the desperate poor, was wrecked on its voyage, which caused distress in Safed.[71] There was also in Safed a great demand for such artisans as weavers, smiths, tailors, tanners, wood-workers, and builders.

There was probably also some demand for men connected with the printing trade, which was established in Safed about the year 1653 by two German Jews. The first book printed there was the commentary of R. Moses Alsheich to Daniel, and was followed by several other works. "The print of these books is excellent, and testifies to the good taste and the prosperity of the Safed community at that time."[72] The only profession for which there was not any room in Safed was that of teacher, since the community was, we are told, sufficiently provided with schools and instructors. Nor was there any place for servants, as everybody, as we have seen, attended to his own domestic work.[73] The prosperity was so great that they were envied for it by their brethren abroad. Thus a Roman Jew writes in 1543, "The good message has come from the land of Desire (Palestine) that the Lord remembered his people and his land and the Children of Israel, granting to them wealth and honour in most trades."[74]

However, men did not settle in Palestine for the purpose of developing the natural resources of the country. What led them there was, as indicated above, the spiritual wealth which the Holy Land alone could afford. In such wealth, Safed, at this period, was particularly rich. I have already mentioned the letter of Shlomel, with its reference to the population of Safed and the various Talmudical colleges maintained there.[75] Though Shlomel writes at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is nothing

to indicate that the last decades of the sixteenth century witnessed a particular increase of immigration out of proportion to that of the preceding decades. Indeed, we shall see later on that in his time the glory of Safed was already on the wane. We have the right to assume that the number of Rabbis of the sixteenth century was at least not smaller than that of the seventeenth. Shlomel's statistics are, of course, like all statistics, not very reliable; indeed, the number three hundred occurs too frequently in the letters relating to Safed. It has also to be pointed out that the term "Rabbi" with Shlomel does not exactly mean the officiating minister, but simply a man who, both on account of his learning and his saintly life,—two indispensable qualifications for a Rabbi in olden times,—might easily perform the functions of a Rabbi. Still, there can be little doubt that no place in Jewish history since the destruction of the Holy Temple could point to so brilliant a gathering of men, so great in their respective branches, so diversified in the objects of their study, and so united by the dominant thought of religion, as were attracted to Safed during the greater part of the sixteenth century.

The fame of the "saints and men of action" must have spread "outside of the land" early in the sixteenth century, and it was probably the desire for their society which determined Caro in his choice of Safed. For such was the promise given him by the Mentor-Angel: "I will give thee places to walk among these that stand by" (Zech. 3: 7), "making

thee worthy to go up to the land of Israel and join there my beloved Solomon and the Associates to learn and to teach."[76]

The most prominent among these was doubtless R. Jacob Berab.[77] Berab, who was an emigrant from Castile, Spain, and held the office of Rabbi in various Jewish communities, settled in Safed about the year 1535, where he soon became the recognised head of the Jewish community, which consisted at that time of at least seven congregations. It seems that he gathered around him some of the best minds of Safed, who acknowledged themselves as his disciples. Caro himself recognised him as an authority, quoting him as a rule with the epithet "our great master." Berab has left us a volume of Responsa, to which are appended commentaries on certain portions of the Talmud, but he is best known to history by his unsuccessful efforts to re-introduce the institution of "Ordination" (*Semichah*) among the Jews. This attempt was made in the year 1538, and bears evidence to the high position held in Jewry by the sages of Safed, both by their numbers and by the weight of their great learning: this fact alone could have emboldened Berab and his friends to embark upon their daring enterprise.[78] Ordination, as they intended it, was not the mere ceremonious laying on of hands in connexion with a candidate for Rabbinical office with some solemn speech attendant thereon. What Berab aimed at, was the re-establishment of the body of the Sanhedrin (that could exist only in Palestine), which

would wield supreme authority over the whole of Israel in various ways, thus forming a new Jewish spiritual centre. His great opponent in this matter was R. Levi ben Chabib, a former resident of Safed, living then at Jerusalem.

This is not the place to enter into the arguments of both sides, which both parties drew from the Talmud. There may have been also some petty personal jealousies; some of the arguments are certainly of a rather petty character, particularly on Berab's side. Berab was something of what we might call a strong man, of strenuous tendencies, and his treatment of Ben Chabib was by no means tender. But there is no doubt that Berab's aspirations were of great national importance, and if realised would have served to strengthen the bonds of union in Israel. The scholars of Safed worked in harmony with Berab, twenty-five of their number signing the epistle sent to the sages of Jerusalem that contained the resolution of the former to re-introduce Ordination. The resolution was soon translated into action, Berab ordaining four elders, representing the flower of Safed's scholarship.[79] Caro, who was one of the four, and apparently figured also among the signatories of the correspondence with Jerusalem, is especially complimented by his Mentor-Angel for the zeal shown by him for the great cause. He must also have entertained the hope that he might succeed one day where Berab had failed; at least, he received the heavenly promise that he would be the instrument through which Ordination should be

restored.[80] This is another of the Mentor-Angel's unfulfilled prophecies.

The excitement of the Ordination controversy subsided with the death of Berab, which occurred shortly after 1540. Caro, who devoted his time to lecturing to his disciples, writing his books, and attending to social work, or, as it is usually called in Hebrew literature, the "needs of the congregation," was constantly growing in influence and authority. He apparently felt trouble in his mind about this interference with his studies, for we find that the Mentor-Angel has to comfort him and make it clear that the social work in which he was engaged was also a part of his duties, which he had no right to ignore.[81]

His most formidable rival was R. Moses ben Joseph Trani, who settled in Safed in the year 1518, and became Rabbi of the Spanish congregation Beth Jacob, and the head of the Yeshibah connected with it, in 1521, which offices he retained until his death in 1580.[82] Like Caro, he was ordained by Berab, to whom he stood in the relation of a colleague-disciple, and he showed even more zeal for the honour of his master than Caro. Indeed, he resents in one place the indifference of Caro to the attacks made on Berab in connexion with certain legal decisions.[83] Trani wrote several works, one of which was of a semi-philosophical nature on doctrinal questions, but he is chiefly famous for the collection of his Responsa, which show him to have been a Talmudist of the first order and regarded as such by his contemporaries. Though

generally, like all other Rabbis of the place, confined in his jurisdiction to his own congregation, he seems to have been regarded by the whole community as a specialist in real estate questions. "I have," he says, "been one of the first in everything relating to the holiness of the land in the city of Safed since the year 5335. God put it in my heart to build up the desolate places thereof. I have watched over them in most of their building enterprises, that no man should encroach upon the property of his neighbour, and other matters relating to questions of surveying and ancient lights, even with regard to the synagogues which were built all these years, when (the worshippers) coming from Turkey and other places divided according to their languages." [84]

Several cases occurred in which Trani had the opportunity to clash with Caro's opinions; the most important of these seems to have been one in connexion with the observance of the Sabbatical Year, the laws in regard to which were not considered entirely obsolete in the Holy Land. The great majority of scholars, however, were in favour of Caro's opinion, to enforce it as the norm for the practice.[85] This case arose in the year 1574, a year before Caro's death, but his recognition as a master of the Holy Land or, as he expressed it somewhere else, "the great codifier of the Holy Land," came long before. In almost all the Opinions of that generation, Caro's signature appears first, and his Yeshibah had, according to tradition, a seating capacity of seven hundred students.[86]

This is probably an exaggeration, but the attendance at his Yeshibah was undoubtedly very large, and included some of the greatest names of the time. As one of the Safed scholars expressed it, "We are all his disciples, drinking his waters, and bound to honour him." [87] Among these, Cordovero and Alsheich deserve special mention, both because of their connexion with the history of Safed and their influence on posterity.

R. Moses Cordovero was born in 1522 and died in 1570. Little is known about his private life except that he married a sister of Solomon Alkabez. In Talmud he was a disciple of Caro, who was apparently very proud of him and applied to him the verse, "My son, if thy heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice, even mine" (Prov. 23: 15). We know also that he acted as one of the Dayanim (Judges) of Safed and had a Yeshibah of his own. A Responsum of his incorporated in the Responsa Collection of Caro, testifies to his ability as a Rabbinical scholar, but his fame rests on his mystical work, in which he by far excelled all his predecessors.[88] At the early age of twenty, the Voice warned him to "heal the altar of the Lord which is broken down," under which he understood his neglect of a proper study of the mysteries of the Torah.[89] The "healing" came from his brother-in-law, Alkabez, in whom he perceived a holy angel come down from heaven, and who apparently figured at that period as the leading Cabbalist of Safed. Even Caro himself did not hesitate to seek instruction from Alkabez about a certain

obscure passage in the Zohar.[90] At the age of twenty-six (1548), we find Cordovero in the company of the Associates (*Chaberim*). This was a society consisting of mystically-inclined students of Safed, apparently presided over by Alkabez. Very little has come down to us relative to the activity of this society, beyond the fact that its members used occasionally to undertake excursions to visit the graves of the ancient Rabbis supposed to be buried in the neighbourhood of Safed, on which occasions they would discuss mystical subjects.[91] But we possess in manuscript a list of moral precepts drawn up by Cordovero, of which there is good reason to assume that they were not meant exclusively for the guidance of their author, but formed a sort of hand-book for all the Associates. The following extracts will convey some idea of the frame of mind and the tender conscience of these men.

They are bidden not to divert their thoughts from the words of the Torah and things holy, so that their hearts become the abode of the *Shechinah;* not to be betrayed into anger, as anger delivers man into the power of sin; not to speak evil of any creature, including animals; never to curse any being, but to accustom oneself to bless even in moments of anger; never to take an oath, even on the truth; never to speak an untruth under any condition; to be careful not to be included among the four classes excluded from the Divine Presence, namely, the hypocrites, the liars, the scoffers, and the tale-bearers; not to indulge in banquets except on religious occasions.

They are enjoined to mingle their minds with the minds of their fellow-men (that is, not to stand aloof from the world, but to share both in its joys and in its sorrows), and to behave in a kindly spirit toward their fellow-men, even though they be transgressors; to meet with one of the Associates for one or two hours every day for the purpose of discussing matters spiritual; to talk over with an Associate every Friday the deeds accomplished during the week, and then set out for the reception of Queen Sabbath; to pronounce Grace in a loud voice, letter by letter and word by word, so that the children at the table can repeat after the reader; to confess their sins before every meal and before going to sleep; to use the sacred language when speaking with the Associates, and to let this be always the language of conversation on Sabbath with other scholars as well. In another set of precepts drawn up by Alkabez, dating from this time and probably also meant for the guidance of these Associates, we have the ordinance that the students should rebuke or admonish each other, but the person admonished or rebuked must not make any reply in his defence before the lapse of three days.[92]

The most prominent among those for whose benefit these regulations were composed was the author himself, Cordovero, whose interviews with Alkabez seem to have been more frequent and of a more intimate nature than those of the other Associates. At a later period the relations of the latter to their master appear to have been almost forgotten, and they are

quoted as the Associates of Cordovero. Indeed, it would seem that it was the great popularity achieved by the works of Cordovero that is responsible for the comparative oblivion into which the mystical writings of Alkabez fell, so that the greater part of them remained unpublished.[93]

Cordovero's *magnum opus* is the *Pardes* (the Garden), the clearest and most rational exposition of the Cabbala in existence, distinguished by the same qualities of methodical thought and logical argument which distinguished Caro's works in the department of things legal. The *Pardes* gave rise to a great number of works written by various mystics in Safed, in Italy, and in Germany.[94] The book is still considered a standard authority, even by modern scholars who have ever written anything worth reading about the Cabbala. Cordovero wrote besides this many other works, some of which are extant only in manuscript. The library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America possesses a fine copy of his famous work *Alimah*, known from quotations by certain mystics. But these by no means fully represent his literary activity. R. Menahem Azariah, of Fano, in Italy, one of the greatest of Cordovero's students, states that the *Pardes*, in itself a big folio volume, forms only a thirtieth part of the works which Cordovero wrote, not counting many additions, appendixes, and a number of larger and smaller treatises which he composed.[95] His master, Caro, who survived him, gave the funeral oration at his death, in which he spoke of him as "the Holy Ark

of the Torah, to be hidden away in the grave," whilst Loria is said to have seen two pillars of fire attending the hearse, a compliment shown by Heaven only to one or two men in a generation. Loria is also reported to have applied to him, in allusion to his name (Moses), the well-known phrase, "Moses is true, and his teaching is true."[96]

The second of the disciples of Caro deserving especial mention is R. Moses Alsheich, who survived his master for many years, being still alive in the year 1593. The master of his early youth was probably Joseph Taytasak. We possess from Alsheich a volume of Responsa in which his opinions in matters of the law were solicited by various Rabbis of repute. He also wrote Talmudical discourses and a commentary to the *Midrash Rabbah* lost to us. He lectured in two Yeshiboth in Safed (which Vital attended in the capacity of a pupil), and performed all the other functions of a Rabbi of that time. He is, however, best known by his homiletical Commentary on the Bible, which was studied both by preachers and laymen for centuries afterward, and is still popular with preachers in various countries. This Commentary is usually cited under the title, "the Holy Alsheich." Loria gave the testimony that most of his interpretations "hit the truth," though in spite of the efforts of Vital he did not admit him into his mystical circle.[97]

Besides these and other Rabbis known more or less to posterity, we have in the contemporary literature any number of references to sages and saints of Safed flourishing about this time, in addition to a goodly number of Rabbis and students whose spiritual pedigree cannot be easily determined. The influence of these scholars was not confined to the schools. A religious atmosphere seems to have pervaded all classes of the Jewish population, so that the impression the Safed of the sixteenth century leaves on us is that of a revival camp in permanence, constituted of penitents gathered from all parts of the world. Life practically meant for them an opportunity for worship, to be only occasionally interrupted by such minor considerations as the providing of a livelihood for their families and the procuring of the necessary taxes for the government. Prayer was the main and universal occupation. For this purpose special teachers were appointed to instruct women and children in the liturgy and in the prescribed benedictions.[98] But the regular order of the service, with its fixed hours, morning, afternoon, and evening, did not satisfy their longing for prayer. For them the day began in the middle of the night, when the "learned" and the "men of action" would repair to the synagogues dressed in black, seating themselves upon the floor and reading a special liturgy, the burden of which was mourning over the destruction of the Holy Temple and the downfall of the people of God, and which concluded with a confession of the sins of Israel delaying the redemption.[99] The example set by them seems soon to have infected the general Jewish public. The man who was especially distinguished for his religious activity among the masses was the mystic R. Abraham Halevi Beruchim. His main work was of a missionary nature. He was constantly preaching to the multitudes and exhorting Israel to repentance. In the middle of the night he would rise and walk through the Jewish quarter, exclaiming in tears, "My brethren of the House of Israel! Is it not known to you that our Strength, the very Divine Presence, is in exile because of our sins; that our Holy Temple is laid in ashes; that Israel is subjected to the most bitter persecutions, saintly men and women being daily martyred by sword and by fire. . . .? And ye, my brethren, allow yourselves to enjoy your sleep on your beds in quiet and rest. Come, my brethren; come, my friends! Rise, ye holy children, blessed by the Lord, and let us supplicate the Lord our God, the King who sitteth on the throne of Mercy." Thus he used to walk about, knocking on the doors, giving the inhabitants no rest until they rose and went to their places of worship, so that at one o'clock in the morning the voice of prayer or of the study of the Torah could be heard from all the synagogues. On Friday afternoon, again, he would go about in the market-place, in the high-roads, reminding the people to be prompt in their preparations for the coming day, so that they might not, by being late, become involved in the sin of the desecration of the Sabbath.[100] The eve of the New Moon offered

another opportunity for an additional service, when all the people fasted, and "men, women, and students" would spend the day in supplications, confession of sin, and in various ascetic practices. The eve of the seventh day of Passover, of the first day of the Feast of Weeks, of the Day of Atonement, and of the seventh day of the Tabernacle Feast were also distinguished by special readings from the Scriptures and the chanting of hymns, lasting nearly the whole of the night.[101]

R. Abraham Halevi was probably assisted in his missionary work by certain "saints and men of action" of whom it is reported that they used, on certain occasions, to preach on the subjects of meekness, sin, and repentance. Possibly they were members of the society Tent of Peace (*Succath Shalom*), mentioned by R. Eliezer Azkari, for which he wrote his devotional treatise, *Sepher Charedim*. In this he tried to show how "those that tremble at the commandments of our God" (Ezra 10: 3) should consecrate the whole of man, in his various functions and different occupations, to the service of the Lord. The thought absorbing the minds of the "tremblers" and forming the object of their discussions at their meetings, was the delay of the advent of the Messiah, and the sins responsible for this delay, but it was also a part of their programme to cause "the many to turn away from sin" by lectures and exhortations. Like the Associates of Cordovero, the members of this society were also pledged to auricular confession, each of them giving at their weekly meetings a full and detailed account of

his actions during the preceding week. The necessity of having to lay bare one's life before his fellow-men, and the shame following upon it in the case of an unworthy action would, so they thought, prove a preventive against sin. It should, however, be remarked that Vital; notwithstanding all his other vagaries and ascetic tendencies, protested against this institution, and declined to follow his friends in its practice.[102]

Besides the Tent of Peace, we have also on record the existence of a Society of Penitents, especially distinguished for its ascetic practices, which were of a very severe nature. Some of its members, we are told, refrained from food and drink during the day, performed their afternoon devotions in tears, and put on sackcloth and ashes. Others, again, observed every week a fast extending over two or three days and nights in succession.[103] R. Elijah de Vidas, in his attempt to show how much one can accomplish in the ascetic line, points with evident pride to these Penitents, saying: "I saw many of them rise in the middle of the night, when they would commence to study, which occupied them until the morning, and then fast the whole of the day. All this they were able to accomplish by special Divine aid, for man does not live by bread alone."[104] Of the Associates of Cordovero we read that some among them used to observe a fast extending over three or four days and nights, at the change of the four seasons of the year. It is further recorded that there were many pious

scholars who refrained from wine and meat during week-days, whilst others observed on certain days of the year the same laws of levitical purity in respect to their food as the priests in olden times when eating the heave-offering and other sacrificial pieces.[105]

It should, however, be remarked that "doing penance" and chastisement of the flesh were not considered by them as synonymous with repentance. Repentance meant chiefly the absolute determination never to return to sin at the very risk of one's life, which must precede all regeneration of the heart. As Azkari himself expresses it, "Fasts and ascetic practices are vanity and the work of error without this preceding resolution," and he goes on to quote his contemporary, the Saint R. Jacob Gavinezo, who communicated to him the fact that a man committed a most atrocious crime after a continuous fast of three days. Like the sacrifice in the Temple, penance is only of value when preceded by purification of the heart, humility, and meekness.[106]

It is hardly needful to say that charity formed an important item in the Safed scheme of salvation. The injunction of the mystic is to give alms every day according to one's means.[107] This injunction, though originally intended for a small circle, was accepted by the general public, following the example of the saints of old, who used always to make some donation to the poor before beginning their prayers. The custom in Safed was to make a regular collection during the morning prayers in the synagogues. The men, however, with special aspirations to saintliness would tax themselves to the amount of twenty per cent of their income, and it is stated that even among the poor there were persons known to give two tithes. Others, again, would adopt boys and girls early orphaned, educating them in their own families, and bringing them into the holy state of matrimony when they approached the marriageable age.[108]

Yet Safed shows certain characteristics of its own which greatly redeem it from many an unpleasant feature which we are accustomed to associate with the modern revival camp. It is true that the strain was great, salvation being the absorbing topic of the community, and the terror of sin delaying this salvation ever present. No opportunity was allowed to pass for reminding men that Zion was still in ruins, and that man is a sinful creature and in need of grace, hence the injunction to confess sins before meals and before retiring to sleep, whilst the 137th Psalm, "By the rivers of Babylon we sat, etc.," was added to the Grace after meals.[109]

That this strain should produce certain psychological phenomena more interesting to the pathologist than to the theologian, is hardly necessary to state. The literature of the time, abounding in stories of all sorts of demoniacs, bears ample evidence to this fact.[110] We also have stories of men who through their importunate storming of Heaven for Salvation were, for some relapse from grace, suddenly hurled down to the very depths of hell, and doomed to perdition. The

most tragic among these is the story of Joseph de la Reina, who flourished in Safed in the early decades of the sixteenth century. De la Reina is a sort of Jewish Faust, who, in his passion for salvation, did not hesitate to employ certain exorcisms and conjurations of a very daring nature. He succeeded in bringing the Evil One into his power, whose destruction is a preliminary condition to the advent of the Messiah. But in an unfortunate moment he was persuaded to show compassion to this fallen angel, allowing him to smell of the frankincense. The fiend then regained his former strength, and achieved full mastery over his captor, who, after realising his fall, abandoned himself to the most revolting immoralities, and ended his life by suicide.[111]

In spite of this strain, however, with all its hysteria and its dire results in some cases, it must not be thought that the Safed community was constantly on the mourning-bench and spent all its vitality in groaning and lamentations. Cordovero laid down the rule not to indulge in pretentious meals except on religious occasions, but these religious occasions were happily not infrequent, and the people were apparently not slow to avail themselves of the opportunities given to them. The Sabbath was such an opportunity, being held as a day of joy and recreation in every respect, physically and spiritually. Fasting was not only strictly prohibited on the Sabbath, but it was considered a religious work to partake of three meals, which, Caro's Mentor-Angel to the contrary notwithstanding, had to be distinguished by certain delicacies. Wine also was served at these meals, which even the Penitents would drink. The meals were further distinguished by a special set of hymns sung or chanted during the intervals between the various courses.[112] The prescribed ritual, again, in the synagogue was all joy and promise, containing no confession or the slightest reference to anything of a despondent nature. Indeed, the Sabbath should give man a foretaste of the blissful Messianic times when sin and sorrow shall have disappeared from the world.[113] Reluctant to part with these hours of serene peace and unalloyed joy, and anxious to prolong them as much as possible, the Sabbath received an extension both at the beginning and at the end. Thus they would, early Friday afternoon, dress in their best clothes and set out in groups to receive Queen Sabbath, with song and praise, reciting certain Psalms and singing certain hymns composed for the occasion. In like manner, they would refrain from work for several hours after the Sabbath sun had set, and spend them in chanting hymns and in feasting. They had even a special society whose members would meet to spend the end of the Sabbath, reaching way into the night, with song and dance. The New Moon was also observed as a partial holiday, affording an opportunity for relaxation and enjoyment, not to speak of festivals prescribed in the Bible, such as the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles.[114]

All these things must have contributed more or

less toward mitigating the evil effects of an exaggerated asceticism. Nor must it be forgotten that joy forms a prominent feature in the programme of the mystic. His maxim was: the Divine light reaching man through the fulfilment of the commandment is only in proportion to the joy expressed by him when performing a religious action.[115]

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that Safed was just as famous for its scholarship as for its piety. Most of the leaders of the ascetic and mystical movements were at the same time distinguished scholars. Ranting in such intellectual society was just as much out of place as idle brooding and unprofitable gloom. The study of the Torah, to which they were so much devoted, was always considered a joy, and the Safed of the sixteenth century must have been a veritable Paradise on earth to any man with a tendency toward intellectual pursuits. If his interests lay in the regions of the visible, he would attend the lectures of Caro, Trani, or Sagis, and various other Rabbis at the head of the great Yeshiboth of the place. If he were mystically inclined, he would attach himself to Alkabez or Cordovero; if he had a taste for homiletics, he would go to listen to the Biblical expositions of Alsheich, whilst he might also spare an hour for the lectures of R. Samuel de Useda on the Chapters of the Fathers (*Pirke Aboth*), whose work on this ethical tractate is still considered a standard commentary. He might besides this pay a visit with profit to the ancient R. David ben Zimra, who, though at the period

of his second settlement in Safed, he must already have reached the age of ninety, was still a member of the General Board mentioned above, and interested in public affairs. An occasional walk with Vital might also have possessed its own attractions, for, besides being an adept in the Cabbala, he was, like so many devotees of nature-mysticism, likewise interested in alchemy, astronomy, astrology, magic, and all kinds of occult sciences. In the way of recreation one might attend recitals of the mystical bard, R. Israel Nagara, the author of the hymn book *Zemiroth Israel*, who, though somewhat "vividly erotic" in his metaphors, counted angels among his auditors, and probably came often to Safed on visits to his father, R. Joseph Nagara, a famous scribe of that city.[116]

Safed reached the zenith of its fame with the advent of Loria.[117] R. Isaac Loria was born in Jerusalem in the year 1534. He was a descendant of the famous German family Loria, on account of which fact he was also called Isaac Ashkenazi. It is not impossible that his ancestors came from the Rhine Provinces, from which most of the earlier scions of the Loria family hailed. Elijah Loanz (flourished about the end of the sixteenth century), who claimed some relationship with our Loria, was a native of Frankfort. One branch of this family settled in Poland, whilst the other seems to have emigrated to Palestine. The emigration of German Jews to Mohammedan countries was by no means confined to this case. The impulse to this

expatriation from a land in which they had lived for many centuries and in which they had almost the claim of original settlers, came from the Epistle of a certain Joseph Zarphathi, whom fate drove from Germany to Turkey in his early youth. In this Epistle he described "the happy lot of the Jews under the Crescent as compared with their hard fate under the shadow of the Cross," and called upon them to escape from the German house of bondage and emigrate to Turkey. If the German Jews, he said, could realise but a tenth part of the prosperity awaiting them in Turkey, they would brave rain and snow, and would rest neither by day nor by night before reaching there. Another inducement that he offered them was that there is a route to the Holy Land lying open to them through Turkey. Though distance forbade emigration *en masse* from Germany, there can be no doubt that Zarphathi's Epistle was not quite without effect, for we soon find small congregations, both in Turkey and in Palestine, composed of Jewish emigrants from Germany. The Karaite Elijah Bashiatsi, of Adrianople, even complained of the bad influence of these newly-arrived Rabbinical students from Germany, alarming the community with their fringes and phylacteries, and their long gowns and their hoods, making themselves conspicuous and overawing the crowds.[118]

The birth of Loria was, as in the case of so many wonder-men, heralded to his father by the prophet Elijah, who said unto him: ". . . Be it known unto

thee that the Holy One, blessed be he, sent me to bring thee the good message that thy wife will bear thee a son. Thou shalt name him Isaac; he will deliver Israel from the power of the Husks (that is, the powers of evil and contamination which are at war with the powers of the good and the holy, and obscure them); and he will redeem many souls that are undergoing the agony of transmigration, and through him shall be revealed the teaching of the Cabbala to the world." He was further bidden not to begin the initiation of his son into the covenant of Abraham until aware of the prophet's presence in the synagogue. The father did as he was bidden, and the boy proved indeed a wonder-child. At the tender age of eight he was considered to be a marvel of Rabbinical learning, so that none of the Jerusalem scholars could compete with him in a Talmudical discussion. Unfortunately, the father, Solomon, died about this time, and left his widow in such needy circumstances that she was not able even to procure the necessary books which her son required for his studies. There was nothing left for them to do but emigrate to Cairo, where her brother, the wealthy tax-farmer Mordecai Francis, resided. Mordecai received them kindly, and made generous provision for his sister and those dependent upon her. Her son Loria he adopted as his own, and placed him under the care of R. Bezaleel Ashkenazi, the famous author of the *Shittah Mekubezeth*, under whose guidance he continued his Rabbinical studies until he reached the age of fifteen, when he

married the daughter of his benefactor.[119] His introduction to the teaching of the Cabbala followed some two years later. According to legend, it took place in the following way: A stranger, whose business transactions led him to Cairo, came one day to perform his devotions at the synagogue in which Loria was in the habit of worshipping. It so happened that he took his seat opposite Loria and ostensibly began to read his prayers from a written book which he held in his hands. Loria, whose curiosity was evidently aroused by the sight of the manuscript, managed to take a glance at the volume, and was surprised to see that its contents embodied the great mysteries of the faith. Whereupon he approached the owner of the book and questioned him as to his person and his profession, and also demanded from him some information as to the contents of the manuscript. The owner, who felt embarrassed by Loria's importunate questioning, stated finally that he was a mere Marrano, and even ignorant of the Hebrew letters of the Torah, and confessed that he was only simulating the reading of the volume in his hands out of sheer shame before the other worshippers, who were all reading their prayers from the prayer-books open before them. Loria then began to urge him to sell him the manuscript, since it was of no real value to its owner. This request was at first refused, but afterwards our Marrano agreed to part with his treasure on condition that Loria would employ his good offices with his father-in-law, the

tax-farmer, to have the duties upon the wares which he was about to import to Egypt remitted for him.

The book, as it seems, proved to be the Book of Splendour, or *Sepher ha-Zohar*, ascribed to R. Simon ben Yochai, of the second century, and being, as is well known, the main classic of the Cabbalists. Loria then, for eight years, abandoned himself to the study of the Cabbala with all the energy and "fanatical enthusiasm" of which he was capable. The principal subject of his devotion was the Zohar, but it would seem that during the first six years of his study he did not always succeed in divining the real meaning of its supposed author, Simon ben Yochai. However, he received indications from "heaven" that to reach the desired end it would be necessary for him to submit to a more austere mode of living than had been his habit until then. He thereupon retired to a certain village, in the neighbourhood of Cairo, which belonged to his father-in-law, where he built for himself a cottage on the banks of the Nile. Here he lived during the whole week, returning to his family in the city only for the Sabbath. The other six days were spent in strict solitude, and in fasting, praying, and frequent ablutions, beside other kinds of voluntary self-chastisement. This continued for two years, when Loria, by reason of his holy life and complete absorption in meditation upon the holy mysteries, reached the degree of being worthy of the gift of the Holy Spirit, as well as of having communion with the prophet Elijah. Nothing is known of Loria's occupation during the

next eight or ten years, preceding his emigration to Safed. We are told that this exodus was undertaken in obedience to a distinct command from Heaven, which announced to him that his tenure of life would be a short one, and ordered him, among other things, to leave the polluted land (Egypt) and go up to Safed in Upper Galilee.[120]

It will have been observed that no mention has been made of Loria's master in the department in which he was most to excel. Legend, which has served us as the source for the preceding description, is quite silent on this point. Nor was there any real need for a master in human shape. For, according to legend, it was the prophet Elijah himself who performed the functions of teacher in the case of Loria. It is further narrated that every night Loria's soul, released from all earthly ties, would ascend to heaven in the company of the "ministering angels," who watched over him until he reached the abode of the Celestials. Upon his arrival there, he would have his choice of attending any of the super-mundane academies, in which the souls of departed saints and great sages continue the occupations which formed their moments of bliss in the course of their earthly careers. But it may be humbly suggested also that Loria had, besides, a very fair library, in which, apart from the Zohar, were contained the works of various mystics who had preceded him. We know that he occasionally referred to them, assigning to each his proper place in the chain of mystical tradition. It is also

possible that in the beginning he may have received some aid from R. David ben Zimra, at that time the Chief Rabbi of Cairo, who was also a great Cabbalist; as well as from his master, Bezaleel, who is recorded as having been learned in the mysteries of the Torah.[121]

More important is the indebtedness of Loria to Cordovero. This indebtedness is suggested by a passage in the "Writings" of Loria, in which Cordovero is cited as "our master and teacher."[122] The vagueness of the plural, however, as well as the uncertainty as to the genuineness of these "Writings", make it rather hazardous to base an important biographical fact upon them. But we are fully justified in doing so after the evidence of Sambari, who reports that "Cordovero was the master of Loria for a short time," whilst Conforte describes him as a disciple-colleague of Cordovero.[123] This evidence gathers strength from certain occasional remarks in a version of the life of Loria, in which the personal relations between the two masters are not entirely obliterated. Thus we learn that among the "men of wisdom and understanding whom Loria found in Safed upon his arrival there, were Caro, Cordovero, and R. Joseph Ashkenazi." The fact that these three sages were singled out by name, would suggest that Loria came into close relationship with them. From another place it is clear that it was practically Cordovero himself who designated Loria as his successor. Naturally, legend accounts for it by a miracle. Indeed, we are told that it was only to spare Cordovero's sensitiveness that Loria hesitated so long before

revealing his greatness to the world.[124] But we may conclude that while Cordovero lived, Loria occupied the inferior position,—that is, that of a disciple in the presence of his master.

I lay no claim to be initiated in the science of the invisible, and am thus unable to determine with any exactness how far this indebtedness of Loria to Cordovero extended. To cite a Biblical expression frequently used in such connexion, I am merely "looking through the lattice." And what one can perceive by means of such dim vision is that all the Cabbalists laboured under an awful alternative—the dread of confusing the creature with his Creator, and the dread not less keenly felt of the *horror vacui*, or a God-less world, in addition to the well-known metaphysical, or rather physical, difficulty of the possibility of evolving a finite world from the Infinite. This dread called into being a whole system of emanations and immanations, of straight rays and reflected lights, of radiations and beams, crossing each other and commingling, and forming endless combinations, creating universes. But these universes are, on the other hand, affected by a whole series of checks and balances, or defects and faults, disabling them from becoming identical with the life permeating them, but (just because of these defects) giving them tangible substance, by which process alone the creation of the world, as we see it, becomes possible. Still, this world, notwithstanding the endless gradations and disguises and husks, is not only reached by a Divine Essence, which created it, but is pervaded by it and is full of it. Cordovero's expression with regard to the first immanations, that they are identical and not identical, may be applied also to all other developments in the scale of the universes.[125] They are just effect enough not to be entirely confused with their cause, but in such close proximity or contiguity to the cause that they cannot be thought separated from the cause. Some mystics were bold enough to declare the world not only united with God, but one with God. Even the lowest worm in this scale becomes to a certain extent identical with all the causes of worlds or emanations preceding it. There is, accordingly, a constant blending of the temporal and the eternal. Indeed, the action of the first emanation, which assumes some room for immanation, became possible only by the process of the Divine Essence concentrating itself into itself, and thus making a place for a world or the possibility of emanations. This self-concentration of the Divine, creating space for the universes, or for ideas or attributes from which a universe might evolve, is counteracted by a process of expansion, or an outflow of the Divine Essence, thus making Creation God-full. The impossibility, however, on the part of the universes, or the "vessels", to become a real receptacle for the light emitted from Divine Grace, inasmuch as the receptacle cannot be identical with the thing received, caused a deterioration in the

descending *scala* of universes or worlds, which brought about the condition of chaos, in which the origin of evil is to be sought. The chaos is so thorough and so complete that evil cannot be entirely without good, indeed, it would have no existence; whilst the good, in the lower worlds at least, is not entirely free from evil. This is especially the case with this world of ours, the most substantialised. It is the world of the Husks, of mere appearances or disguises, obscuring the real realities, and but for the "sparks", or beams, of the holy and pure scattered in it, it would disappear into nothingness, and be swallowed up by its own unredeemable darkness. The elimination of evil, and the restoration of the world to Divine goodness, is the great problem under which creation is labouring.

Loria is usually described as the author of this system of Concentration, called in Hebrew *Zimzum*. Now, it is true that Cordovero, as far as I could see, only once uses this term in his *Pardes*.[126] But it should be remarked that R. Sabbatai Horwitz, the author of the *Shepha Tal* (Abundance of Dew), an avowed disciple of Cordovero, and considered the best expounder of his system, is constantly operating with Zimzum, at the same time giving the most lucid expositions of the Concentration theory to be found in any Cabbalistic book; but he never so much as mentions Loria. However, I am prepared to accept in good faith the testimony of R. Menahem Azariah of Fano, mentioned above, who spent a large fortune in procuring the writings of Cordovero and in giving

them wide circulation, but who subsequently declared that the system of Loria bears the same relation to that of Cordovero as the latter sustains to the Biblical commentaries of Kimchi, which give only the simple meaning of the Scriptures and never touch on the mysteries of the Torah.[127]

Some light perhaps may be thrown on this point by a remark ascribed by legend to Cordovero himself, to the effect that Cordovero on a certain occasion expressed his opinion that there was no real disagreement between his system and that of his successor (Loria); only whilst he himself dwelt more on the aspect of the *Sephiroth* (Emanations), his successor enlarged more on the *Parzuphim*, as they are to be found in the *Idras* of the Zohar.[128] Parzuphim, a Greek term, signifies, when occurring in the regular Rabbinical literature, faces, visages, forehead, and features. The mystic seemed to use the term in the wider sense of the "full stature," comprising all parts of the human body, allegorised, sublimised, to represent attributes and ideas. Starting from the favoured notion of the mystics, conceiving man as a microcosm (or the world in miniature), virtually connected with and focussing all the different orders of creation, and pressing (rather unduly) the logical consequence involved in the Scriptural statement, "So God created man in his own image" and similar verses, the mystic reverses the process, and if he does not exactly create God in the image of man, he conceives even in the ideal universe "man in enlargement", and looks to

his image for the illustration of all Existence and Generation. His language then becomes less abstract and his metaphors much bolder. He imposes on himself, it is true, absolute silence with regard to the Infinite, or the Unknowable, or the Super-Essential, who is transcendentalised beyond language and beyond thought. But more intrepid grows his phraseology when he reaches the first manifestation of the Most Hidden of all Hidden, which he terms the Original Man, or the Ideal Man (*Adam Kadmon*), the archetype of creation, endowed with certain qualities making it possible to establish likeness "between the image and him who fashioned it." The danger of this system, with its bold negations on the one hand, and its hazardous "anthropology" on the other, is evident enough and needs no further explanation. It should, however, be remarked that no one felt this danger more deeply and warned against it more emphatically than the Cabbalists themselves. It is sufficient here to refer to the compiler of the Idras, which, as just indicated, were the main source of Loria's inspiration. The Idras may, perhaps, be characterised as the mystical anatomy of the "Original Man". They dilate, naturally, upon the corporeal expressions of the Bible in connexion with the Deity, but add to them also limbs and organs of the human body not occurring in the Scriptures, describing them minutely and explaining them in a theosophic and mystical manner. But this lengthy discourse (especially the so-called Great Idra, claiming to have been promulgated in the circle of the ancient Rabbis) is prefaced by a solemn warning by R. Simon ben Yochai, the alleged hero of this gathering, not to take these metaphors and terms literally. He enjoins them to rise and lift their hands when he pronounces the anathema over those not heeding his warning, with the Scriptural words, "Cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image an abomination unto the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall answer, and say Amen" (Deut. 27:15).

Loria was apparently more given to this branch of the Cabbala than to any other. This is, at least, the impression one receives on examining the works or the hymns attributed to him. There the anthropomorphistic element is more conspicuous, and the terminology more concrete than in the works of his predecessors, and it is not impossible that it was just this novel feature in his teaching which proved attractive to the more daring spirits. But there must have been, besides, something great and attractive about Loria's personality that gave him this overwhelming influence in a city so abounding in great scholars and great mystics as was Safed. This will be more clearly seen if we follow his career in his new home.

The whole ministry of Loria in Safed lasted at the utmost six years.[129] With the exception of R. David ben Zimra, whom he had known in Cairo, there is nothing on record to show that he had any connexion

with the leading spirits of Safed before his settling in this city. But we find him soon, as shown before, in the society of Caro and Cordovero, the recognised heads of the Talmudic and mystical schools respectively. His relation to Cordovero was that, as we have already pointed out, of a disciple or disciple-colleague to his master. As to Caro, we are in possession of a Responsum showing that Loria solicited his advice in the decision of a civil case, which suggests a certain subordination on the part of Loria in purely Rabbinic matters. But this did not prevent Caro from being counted, according to legend, among the greatest admirers of Loria. Their relations must have grown more intimate when Loria's son became engaged to a daughter of Caro. Shlomel, to whom we owe the knowledge of this fact, reports in this connexion, in the name of Caro's widow, that when her husband came home from the banquet given in honour of this betrothal, he said to her, "My wife, I can hardly describe to you how much I profited in my knowledge of the secrets of the Torah coming from the mouth of Loria at this banquet. Not even an angel is in possession of such heavenly lore as he displayed this night, his soul being that of an ancient prophet." It should, however, be noted that Shlomel naïvely proceeds to say that Loria rather discouraged Caro in his efforts to become his disciple in the Cabbala, maintaining that Caro's soul was only fit to receive wisdom on the plane of Cordovero. As a proof of this, Loria is supposed to have given the fact, that as

often as he began to reveal some great mystery to Caro, the latter would fall asleep, so that Caro himself became convinced that he was not sufficiently prepared for the revelations of Loria.[130]

The ascendency of Loria probably dated from the year 1570, when he succeeded Cordovero as the head of the mystical school. But whilst Cordovero was admired and revered as a saint and a scholar, Loria was looked upon as one of those superhuman beings who, by a special act of Providence, are permitted to visit us mortals for the especial purpose of our salvation. Their real home is heaven, and they come to us only on leave of absence. According to his biographers, his face was shining like the sun, and his thoughts were chaste and holy. In his knowledge of the Divine there was none like him since the glorious days of R. Simon ben Yochai. He was, moreover, master of all the sciences. He knew physiognomy and chiromancy, and understood the conversation of the trees, and the language of the birds, and the speech of the angels. Looking at the forehead of a man he could tell at a glance from what particular source his soul was derived, and the processes of transmigration through which it had passed, and what its present mission was on earth. He also could discern the souls of the wicked which (as a punishment) had taken up their abode in woods and in stone quarries, in the beasts of the field, in insects and unclean birds. He was able to tell men their past as well as predict their future, and to prescribe for them the rules of conduct calculated to

make amends for their shortcomings in a previous existence.[131]

The name under which Loria usually appears in this new hagiology is ARI (Lion), forming the anagram of the Hebrew words signifying "the Divine Rabbi Isaac," whilst his disciples and other enthusiastic followers are termed "the Lion-Whelps." Probably they included among their number several of the old Associates of Cordovero who, indeed, under the leadership of Loria seem to have become more consolidated and to have figured more prominently as a compact body than in former days. It is true that we have indications that some of the disciples of Cordovero hesitated for some time in their recognition of the new master, putting him to the test in various ways. But all opposition seems soon to have ceased, so that Loria maintained the field.[132]

The most important acquisition to the Lion-Whelps was R. Chayim Vital who, it seems, had until then pursued his mystical studies entirely independent of the Cabbalists of Safed. At the time of Loria's appearance on the stage, Vital was living in Damascus, occupied in writing a commentary on the Zohar. He paid little attention to the rumours reaching him from Safed, that a great new master had arisen in Israel. These rumours, however, were strengthened by visions in dreams of the night, which, according to legend, Vital could no longer disregard, so that he determined to go to Safed and meet Loria. They had hardly met

before Vital had occasion to learn that at last he had found a master. He soon became the most devoted member of Loria's school and the most active in the propagation of his teaching.[133]

The text-book of the school was the Zohar, which Loria would expound to his disciples after due preparation for it on their part. The Idra, referred to above, seems to have been the object of their particular inquiry and curiosity. But it must be remarked that even in the narrow circle of his trusted pupils, Loria was not very communicative in the revelation of what he considered to be the "mystery of mysteries." The few revelations he did make were made, according to the testimony of his disciples, only under protest, at their urgent solicitation and at the very risk of the life of the master, he having been apparently unwilling to reveal such great secrets to insignificant mortals. But even his disciples could not prevail upon him to give a presentation of his system in a book for the benefit of posterity. Nay, even the permission to take down notes of his lectures was given only grudgingly and, as it seems, was withdrawn subsequently.[134]

Next to the mysteries of the Torah, it was apparently the personality of Loria himself which exercised their minds. Loria, it is true, was vaguely known to the general population of Safed as "the Holy Man" and "the Divine Cabbalist." Occasionally he gave an edifying lecture in some synagogue. There is also a tradition that he was a member of the Board of Censors in Safed, composed of various Rabbis who

were responsible for the morals of the city, and that he distinguished himself there by defending the honour of a woman who lay under grave suspicion.[135] According to another account, he came also in contact with the world through his business relations, to which he gave up three days of the week.[136] I do not think that this report is correct. It is more probable that he had some competency granted to him by his rich uncle and father-in-law. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that he was best known to the Associates, numbering ten or twelve, who constituted the inner circle of Loria's acquaintance and converted themselves into as many Boswells. None of his movements escaped them. They watched to see how he rose from his bed and when; how he washed his hands, how he cut his nails, how he read his prayers, how he ate his meals, and more often, how he fasted and when; how he said Grace after meals, how he addressed himself to his fellow-men, and what his relations to them were; how he prepared himself for the Sabbath, and how many garments he wore on that day; what songs he intoned during the meal, and how he cut the bread, and what shape the table had at which these meals were served. This fitted in well with their system, in which man, as already hinted, plays the important part, especially the "superman," surrounded by that Divine halo which makes him, to use a Talmudical expression, a partner of the Holy One, blessed be he, in the creation of the world.[137] In the Talmud, this distinction of creating worlds is

bestowed on the man who administers justice.[138] In the Cabbala, this function of creating worlds, and not less of destroying worlds (in the case of evil-doers), is extended to all the actions of man by reason of his soul being the *plexus* of the whole scale of worlds. This makes a whole universe sensitive to all his motions. In the case of Loria arose a whole literature, dealing with what is called Attentions, or Devotions, including the rules of conduct observed by Loria. The Attentions are for the most part of a mystical nature, bearing upon Loria's interpretation of the contents of the ritual and the mystical meaning which he divined in the performance of every commandment; but there are also Attentions of more general interest.[139]

Loria's first care was naturally for the young "Lions", or the Associates, who were apparently in need of a little taming and discipline, to effect which he erected for them an "enclosure", or rather, square, a block of buildings, providing chambers also for their wives and children. Isolation from the world, though living in the world, forms a part of the programme of every mystic. But the experiment was not successful. After a few months had passed, the women began to quarrel, and imparted their grievances to their husbands, leading to unpleasantness among the Associates. This mortified Loria very deeply.[140]

The Associates were divided into two classes, probably in accordance with their knowledge of mystical lore, but this did not prevent Loria from considering them as one body in the fullest sense of the word,

each of the Associates being held only as a member or a joint of the body, so that in loving himself he loved the whole organism. Loria further bade them to pray constantly one for the other, and especially to feel the distress of each other in the case of sickness and misfortune. The love of the organism, however, extended to the whole of Israel, and Loria prescribed, that before beginning prayers man should receive upon himself the affirmative commandment, "And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Lev. 19: 17), so that he may pray for Israel, in Israel, and with Israel. And it was this overwhelming sense of his solidarity with Israel which urged him to read the Confession prescribed for Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) in all its fullest details, explaining that though there may be sins which he himself had not committed, he felt himself to be a member of the great body of Israel whose individual members form only one great unit of souls.[141] Vital, the favourite pupil of Loria, prescribes as one of the conditions for the acquiring of the gift of the Holy Spirit, "Love all creatures, including non-Jews."[142] Loria himself was careful not to kill any living creature, be it even an insect or a worm. This was probably a result of his belief in the teaching of Metempsychosis, so prominent in Loria's system, which peopled for him the animate world with the souls of a fallen humanity, now appearing in the shapes of lower creation.[143]

Prayer, as may be expected, was to Loria one of the main functions of life, there being, according to him,

no prayer in which man, by reason of his close communion with God, does not become the receptacle of new Divine light and a new outflow of Divine mercy. Every word of the ritual, every letter in it, had, besides its literal meaning, also its awful mysteries, occupying a most prominent place in the writings attributed to him or to his disciples. He saw in the lack of proper devotion during prayer the great obstacle in the way of the redemption of Israel.[144] It is hardly to be wondered at that such sublime prayer, accompanied by all the "Attentions" as Loria prescribed them, should be preceded by a series of ablutions, forming a part of the mystical programme at all times. It is reported that Loria said that physical purity, obtained by such ablutions, is greatly helpful to man, and he would perform them in the severest cold. On the other hand, it is recorded that when his mother objected to them on account of his delicate health, he would defer to her wishes cheerfully.[145]

This trait of considerateness was an essential feature of his character. He led, as we can imagine, a very simple life, dressing very plainly and spending little on himself, but he would accept the budget of his wife without a protest, and grant all the expense she considered fit.[146] It was also his custom to pay for any object required for religious purposes the amount asked, whatever it might be. Anger he declared to be the source of all evil, considering it as a sort of spiritual suicide, and though he was very tender in the treatment of his disciples, he once

rebuked one of the Associates who showed too much resentment against his brother for not being sufficiently attentive to his studies.[147] The man who is betrayed into anger puts up a strange god in his heart, which is a sanctuary, and where the Divine Presence should dwell. Hence, let no man be betrayed into anger, either against a Gentile or a Jew, not even in the case when he has been robbed or insulted, but let always his mind remain calm. "The Lord, his God, is with him, and the shout of the King is in him." It is reported that the Loria Associates made it a rule not to initiate anyone into the mysteries of the Cabbala who was by temperament inclined to anger.[148] There is also a story about Loria that he would, on his walks, usually place himself behind a certain student of Safed. It seems that his disciples rather resented this humility of their master, and expostulated with him. His answer was to the effect that he could see that the student felt especially honoured by walking before him; since this was his desire, Loria thought it his duty to satisfy it; just as we, according to the Rabbinic law, are bound to provide a proper escort for the poor of noble descent, if they have been accustomed to it all their lives.[149]

It is hardly necessary to say that Loria was charitable; he had appointed times every day when he gave a certain amount of alms to the treasurer of his synagogue, but he further considered it as a solemn act, and would, as in the most important prayers, stand on his feet when he gave his *Perutah*. Often he

would give all the money in his possession, not looking to see whether anything remained in his pocket.[150] This is certainly against all the rules of scientific charity. I hope that we shall overlook this defect in his character when we remember the remark of a French philosopher of the eighteenth century, who said that "magnanimity owes no account of its motives to prudence."

He was especially strict in the fulfilment of the command bidding us to pay the workman his wages on the very day on which he has performed his labour (Deut. 24 : 15), and it went so far with him that he would not allow himself to read the afternoon prayer before getting the necessary money to pay off debts of this kind, saying, "How dare I approach my Maker when such a commandment came within my reach and I did not accomplish it?"[151]

In this connexion, the following story may be reproduced: As we have seen, many Jews in Safed were engaged in the clothing trade. Among these was R. Abraham Galanti, referred to above. One day Galanti came to Loria asking him, as the phrase was, to "give an improvement to his soul,"—that is, to tell him whether Loria had not detected that he was backward in the fulfilment of one of the commandments. Loria at first declined to comply with his wish, as Galanti was one of the scholars and saints of Safed; but after much urging, he fixed his eyes on Galanti's forehead and said to him, "that he was defective in the commandment 'Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him'"

(Lev. 19 : 13). The mystical notion is that sin and passion leave their impression on the face of man, and disfigure the image of God. Galanti went home trembling in every limb, and deeply mortified that he should have disgraced himself so far as to be involved in the sin of dishonesty. He put on sackcloth and spread ashes on his head in accordance with the usage of penitents, and called a meeting of all the hands engaged in his factory. When they arrived, he said to them: "Know ye not that I am only flesh and blood, and therefore subject to error? Accordingly, I must ask that you should examine most carefully your accounts with me, to see that I do you no wrong." Their answer was: "We have no account against you. Since we have been in the master's employ we are wanting in nothing, and the Lord has sent us his blessing. There is none among us who would think of making a bill of his demands." Thereupon the Rabbi said: "It is through your negligence in this respect that I have become the victim of sin. I will, therefore, put money before you; take what you desire, and forgive any claims you may have against me." But they would not touch the money, except one woman, who stretched out her hands and took two *Perutoth*. Galanti then went to Loria, who said, as he came out to meet him, "Why did you feel so mortified?" Galanti answered, "Is it a small matter that I should feel that I may possibly have robbed somebody? Now, if I have found grace in your eyes, tell me if the mark of this sin is still upon my forehead?" Loria answered, "No sign of sin is visible any longer," and revealed to him that the mistake consisted in the fact that this woman who had taken two *Perutoth* was one of the best weavers in his factory, and should have been better paid than the other employees. "But they are very particular in heaven about such things," said Loria, "hence the ugly mark which I perceived on you." [152]

Sabbath was the day of days with Loria and the Associates, new heavenly light reaching our sublunar regions on that day. The preparation for the Sabbath began Friday morning, when Loria would read the portion of the week from a scroll of the Pentateuch. Then would come dressing the hair, ablutions, and arraying himself in white garments in honour of the Sabbath. Early in the afternoon, Loria would form a procession, together with the Associates, to the fields to receive there Queen Sabbath with the song, "Come, my Beloved." [153] It was on such occasions that Loria, who was otherwise, as we have seen, rather reserved in revealing the mysteries of the Torah, would become communicative and uncover Divine secrets which no ear had been worthy enough to listen to before. And not only would the living profit by this hour of grace, but also the souls of the departed would benefit, wandering about for eternities, and taking up their abodes in the different kingdoms, the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal. These would on such occasions come to Loria, asking for his prayers to lift them up into the higher regions. "He saw spirits everywhere, and

heard their whispers in the rushing of the water, in the movements of the trees and grass, in the song or twittering of the birds, even in the flickering of flames."[154] The neighbourhood of Safed, to which legend, long before this period, had transferred from Judæa the earthly remains of prophets and ancient sages, became to Loria, who saw their souls hovering on the graves, a veritable Valley of Jehoshaphat in the hour of resurrection. He held intercourse with them, and united, in "concentrated prayer," his soul with theirs.[155] But, above all, it was contemporary humanity which harboured these souls, if such an expression be permissible with Loria. Indeed, recognising as Loria did, by the process of metempsychosis, in every person he met old acquaintances from history, with whom he had associated in a former existence, and believing further, as he did, that it was only with the advent of the Messiah that this transmigration of souls would cease, all limits of space and time practically disappeared for him. To him the "generations past and the generations to come formed with those who are alive one single whole." All souls were evolved from the "original soul" of Adam, derived from the different parts of his body, and they suffered by his Fall. All live eternally, and are swayed by almost the same passions and by the same ideals as they were before. A certain neighbour of Loria, of a quarrelsome disposition, was none else to him than Korah of old, whilst Loria himself was a spark of the soul of Moses.[156] R. Abraham Halevi, referred to above, was

reported by legend to have perceived the Divine Glory during his prayers at the Holy Wall in Jerusalem. Loria thereupon discovered in him a spark of the soul of the prophet Jeremiah, who, according to a Rabbinical legend, had a similar vision on the same consecrated spot.[157] R. Moses Alsheich, again, famous, as noted above, for his homiletical works, was pregnant with the soul of R. Samuel ben Nachmani, the famous Agadist of the fourth century.[158] Loria himself and the Associates, in their present capacity as mystics, represented the reincarnation of the supposed heroes of the Zohar, headed by R. Simon ben Yochai and his son R. Eleazar.[159] Men were not to him what they were, but what they had been once, and it was their former existence which determined his relations to them. Thus it is reported that one morning his disciple R. Samuel de Useda entered the house of Loria, who was lecturing to the Associates. Loria, upon perceiving him, at once arose before him and greeted him with the words, "Blessed be he that cometh," took him by the hand, placed him at his right side, and had a long conversation with him. Vital, who was present, was curious to know why his master showed this young man so much honour, and asked him the reason. He said: It was not before him that I arose, but before the soul of R. Phinehas ben Jair, who lived some eight hundred years ago, and was especially distinguished by his acts of charity and lovingkindness. Of this soul the young man became possessed to-day. Upon inquiry, Useda confessed that that morning, on

his way to the synagogue, he had passed by a house from which the voice of lamentation and crying reached his ears. When he went in, he found the tenants all naked, robbers having taken away their clothes. He at once gave them all the raiment he had on, and returned home, where he clad himself in his Sabbath garments.[160]

Such things Loria saw best on the eve of the Sabbath by the aid of the Divine light radiating from the holiness of the day to come. When the prayers and the songs in the fields were over, Loria would return home, where he would be met by his mother, whom he kissed on entering the house. As it would seem, he was accompanied by Vital, who used to spend the Sabbath with him. Then would begin, as we can imagine, the *Kiddush* (Sanctification of the day over the cup of wine), and the meal, at which any number of concentrated "Attentions" were observed. We are also in possession of three mystical songs composed by Loria himself, sung at the three meals by which the Sabbath day was distinguished.[161]

The Sabbath emitted its rays, lighting up the whole week, sanctifying even such moments of human life as those in which material needs and common passions are very little favourable to spirituality. Loria, in common with other mystics, succeeded in spiritualising the whole life of man, just as the legalist finds nothing in human affairs which is either above or below the Torah. De Vidas, referred to before, the favourite pupil of Cordovero, wrote a book, *Reshith Chochmah*, dealing with such topics as the fear of God, the love of God, holiness, humility, sin, reward and punishment, and repentance, but he did not disdain to devote whole pages to such subjects as the intimate relations or intercourse between the sexes, commerce and trade, good manners and social etiquette, all of which form a part of the sacred life. The same thing may be observed of the pupils of Loria. The book, *Ez ha-Chayim* (The Tree of Life), ascribed to Vital and supposed to represent a compilation of the most important of Loria's teachings, is prefaced among others by this motto, "Depart from evil and do good" (Psalms 34 : 14). It is followed by a number of rules, some of which we have already met with in the preceding remarks. The first of them impresses upon the mystic the necessity of the strict fulfilment of the Law in all its minutiæ, whether Scriptural or traditional.[162] "The Gates of Holiness," by Vital, gives a set of rules for those who are in search of eternal perfection, the absorption in the Divine, and is pervaded by the same spirit of loyalty to the Law, both in its ceremonial and moral parts.

Thus the Safed of the sixteenth century, at least, is free from all antinominian tendencies, which are the supposed inevitable consequences of mysticism. The Safed Jew of that period saw no antagonism of principle between Caro and Loria. Caro was for him the authority, Loria the model. But just as Loria was amenable to the discipline of the Law, so was Caro not unresponsive to the finer impulses of love and admiration.

Loria died in the year 1572 (according to some, in 1574) after a short illness of three days.[163] Vital took over the leadership, and it was under his direction that various writings and works were soon compiled and put into circulation, claiming the authority of Loria. How far Loria would have felt himself responsible for all that was then written and said in his name, is a question not to be easily decided. Probably he would have disowned a great deal of what was afterwards known as the writings of Loria. I have already referred to his hesitation in giving publicity to what he considered to be the secrets of the Torah, but he must also have felt that his highly-coloured metaphors and rich imagery might become a stumbling-block to those who had not passed through all the grades of holiness, and were not satisfied with being brought near God on the "religious-fatigue" system, but preferred to have God brought down to them. We have it also on good authority that before his death he said to his disciples, "Know for a truth that you have not a single Proposition (of the mystical lore expounded by Loria) that can be considered complete." When they said to him, "Not even R. Chayim Vital?" he answered: Perhaps he knows a little more than you, but not much.[164]

The Propositions, however, concerned only a few exalted personages among the mystics, who made them the special subject of their studies and further development. What filtered through these Propositions and reached those who laid no claim to this title, "was not metaphysic but moral, not immanence but sin," or rather the fear of sin. The Propositions placed man, as already hinted at, upon a pedestal, the eminence of which caused giddiness to many an exalted personage, who, deeming himself a god or a demi-god, lost his balance and fell beyond hope of redemption. The great majority of Israel remained mindful of the old warning, "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God: for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few" (Eccles. 5:2). Haste and rashness became especially discredited after the bursting of that theological bubble known in history as the Pseudo-Messianic claims of Sabbatai Zebi. The Propositions, with the over-emphasis of the God-likeness of man, were only allowed to stand so far as God-likeness demanded superior holiness on the part of man With a proper instinct the people at large left the *Ez ha-Chayim* by Vital, with its Propositions, to the few, and it lasted nearly two centuries till it first appeared in print; but his book "The Gates of Holiness," with its deeply ethical contents, became at once a popular tract, and passed through many editions. Likewise, the Jewish public took but little notice of R. Moses Chayim Luzzatto's "One Hundred and Thirty-Eight Doors of Wisdom", but it did appreciate at once his noble "Path of the Upright", preaching morality and holiness. The book is constantly going

through new editions, and in certain parts of the East there are special "Path of the Upright Societies" devoted to the study of this book. The Safed influence is especially marked on the devotional works of R. Isaiah Horwitz, R. Aaron Kaydanower, and R. Elijah Cohen, which works became the common spiritual good of the people. Their morality is austere, their tone sombre, and their demands on man's religious capabilities exacting. All this is traceable enough in the work of the Safed penitents. They certainly have not erred on the line of self-complacency and self-righteousness. They warn man not to behave "as so many fools do," who are so over-confident of their salvation because they are engaged in their trade the whole day, recite punctually the three prescribed prayers for the day, and neither steal nor rob nor commit any other acts of gross immorality, and harm nobody. These are cheap virtues, according to our moralists, of which even the Gentiles are not devoid, and which one's neighbours from motives of self-preservation would compel one to observe. What justifies man to entertain exalted hopes of the "world to come" is, according to the stern moralists, the minute observance of the Law in all its details "in great love," the constant increasing in the quality of saintliness, the possession of the quality to please God and man, and the readiness to give up his life in perfect joy for the sake of the love of God. On the other hand, they have, as indicated above, retained enough of the Safed emphasis of the God-likeness of man to disregard in the end the

dualism of flesh and spirit, a conception un-Jewish in its origin, and now revived only under a mistaken notion of "spirituality." In spite of the ascetic teachings, with their depreciation of the "turbid body," to be threatened by the terrors of hell and cajoled by the joys of paradise, they were thus able to insist upon the holiness of the flesh (*Kedushath ha-Guph*) and upon its purity as much as upon that of the soul, as well as to accord to the flesh a share in the bliss to come, held out to man as a consequence of a holy and religious life, which a supercilious philosophy entirely denied.[165]

Caro passed away in 1575, Trani five years later (1580). The decline of Safed soon set in. Samson Bak, who travelled in Palestine in 1588, was compelled to leave Safed for Jerusalem on account of the distress which had overtaken the former city at that period. R. Isaiah Horwitz, who settled in Palestine soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes the Jerusalem population as richer in numbers than that of Safed.[166]

The men who succeeded Caro and Loria were, for the most part, their disciples. R. Moses Galanti, an ordained disciple of Caro and an adherent of Loria, R. Yomtob Zahalon, described as the head of the city of Safed and of the Yeshibah, and R. Joseph Trani, the son of R. Moses Trani, who obtained in later life even more distinction than his famous father, seem to be the most prominent names of this period. At least this is the impression we receive from their Responsa

collections, in which they figure as men of weight and authority. They still meet in the general board; and in a document giving the minutes of such a meeting dating from the first decade of the seventeenth century, we have the signatures of not less than twenty Rabbis, with some of whom we made acquaintance in the former pages. Mention is also made of a rabbi Joshua ben Nun, who is described as the Chief Rabbi and the head of all the heads of the colleges, and who was, besides, the administrator of all the charities of the city. The old devotion to the study of the Torah and the occupation with mystical literature are still continued. After they finished their prayers, the whole congregation formed themselves into groups, listening to lectures on such subjects as Bible, Halachah, Hagadah, or the Zohar, so that none left the Synagogue to go to business before he gave some time to study. The fifth day in the week (Thursday) seems to have been a special day of devotion, when they would all gather in one big synagogue to pray for Israel and to bless those who sent support for the poor of the Holy Land. The service would conclude with a sermon by Galanti and other men distinguished for their humility and saintliness. It is not impossible that this synagogue was the one built by a wealthy man in Constantinople in memory of Loria, and richly endowed by him.[167] None, however, was sufficiently great to make his authority felt in such a way as to give him any real prominence over his contemporaries. Even Vital's authority does not seem to have been quite undisputed. He afterwards left

Safed and died in Damascus in 1620, and the sons of Caro and Trani emigrated to Turkey. The Chmielnicki persecutions of the middle of the seventeenth century, which must have taxed the resources of Jewry to its utmost, probably withdrew a good deal of the support which Safed had received till then for its Talmudical Colleges; whilst the excesses of certain Cabbalists about the same period, who joined pseudo-Messiah movements, must have put a damper upon the zeal of the mystics and the study of mysticism which was the special glory of Safed.

Safed thus ceases to be a centre of attraction. It decays slowly, and Jerusalem comes to its rights. It lives on the past, profiting by the glory of Caro, Trani, Loria, and Cordovero. Even to-day the Synagogue of Caro and the Synagogue of Loria form the main sights in Safed. But it is not any longer the Safed of the sixteenth century.

APPENDIXES

The following two Appendixes bear upon the subject of the ninth essay, "Safed in the Sixteenth Century"—A City of Legists and Mystics." In Appendix A are published, for the first time, from manuscripts, four lists of moral precepts and usages observed by the saints of Safed, in some cases by the community at large. They throw important light upon the spiritual history of the community in that century, and they are often referred to in the Notes on this essay. These four lists were composed by R. Moses Cordovero, Abraham Galanti, Abraham Halevi, and Moses of לוריאה (Lieria?). The first three are famous names, and occur often in our text, whilst Moses of לוריאה is known only by a reference to him in the Responsa of R. Abraham de Boton, in connexion with a money litigation, where he is called *Chacham*. Three of these lists are reproduced from a manuscript in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, whilst the first was copied from MS. C 812, X 893, bearing the title *Likkute Shoshanim*, in Columbia University Library, containing only this list, but in a better text. On the other hand, there are missing in it the last five precepts, which were supplied from the Seminary MSS. They are indicated by square brackets.

Appendix B forms an attempt to furnish a list of the names of the sages and the saints of Safed in the sixteenth century, not all of whom could well be brought into the text. It is impossible to adhere rigidly to the date, and there occur names of persons who come to the front in the first two or three decades of the seventeenth century, after the disappearance of Caro, Trani, Cordovero, and Loria. But as they were more or less connected, either as disciples or followers of the authorities just mentioned, and certainly had already reached the meridian of life when the seventeenth century broke upon them, we have a right to include them in this list. Others, again, came to Safed only in their old age, or they may have stayed there only for a time, but they all contributed to the fame of Safed in that century. The sources used are the regular biographic and biblio-

graphic authorities, such as Conforte, Sambari, Azulai, Michael, to which general references are given. In other cases, references are given to Responsa and to the Diary of Vital, and to the book גלגולים. In questionable cases, the doubt is indicated by a query. Of course, this list is to be considered as a mere attempt. It is impossible to obtain certainty in all cases, for there occur in the Responsa names connected with Safed for which there is really no authority that they ever lived in this place, their opinions having been obtained through correspondence with the Safed Rabbis.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

OCCURRING IN APPENDIX B (PP. 302–6) AND IN THE NOTES ON "SAFED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY" (PP. 317–28)

AN. JB. Letter by an anonymous traveller, published in the *Jahrbuch für die Gesch. des Juden.*, vol. 3. Leipzig, 1863.

AZ. or AZULAI. Chayim Joseph David Azulai.—שם הגדולים.

AZKARI. Eliezer b. Moses Azkari.—ספר חרדים (ed. Warsaw, 1879).

BERTINORO. Letters of travel by R. Obadiah, of Bertinoro, published in the *Jahrbuch für die Gesch. des Juden.*, vol. 3. Leipzig, 1863.

CALIMANI. R. Baruch b. Simchah Calimani.—Introduction to the Commentary of R. Moses Alsheich to the Pentateuch (Venice, 1601).

CARO I. R. Joseph Caro—Responsa.—אבקת רוכל.

CARO II. Responsa on דיני נשים (ed. Mantua, 1730).

CHABIB. R. Levi Aben Chabib.—Responsa (Venice, 1565).

CH.Y. חמדת ימים, ascribed to Nathan of Gaza; but see also כבוד חכמים by Menahem Mendel Heilperin (ed. Livorno, 1762–4).

CON. or CONFORTE. David Conforte.—קורא הדורות (ed. Cassel).

FRUMKIN. Arye Löw Frumkin.—אבן שמואל.

GHIRONDI. Samuel Mordecai Ghirondi, partial author of תולדות נדולי ישראל.

ג"ל. ספר הנלגולים (Przemysl, 1875).

KAHANA. David Kahana.—אבן נגף.

KAYDANOWER. R. Zebi b. Aaron Samuel Kaydanower.—קב הישר.

MI. Heimann Joseph Michael.—אור החיים (Frankfort, 1891).

MM. מגיד משרים, by Caro (ed. Wilna, 1879).

MN. ספר הכונות ומעשה ניסים (Constantinople, 1720).

PARDES. Moses b. Jacob Cordovero.—פרדס רמונים.

RABINOWITZ. Saul Pinchas Rabinowitz.—מוצאי נולה (Warsaw, 1894).

RADBAZ (usually abbreviated ר"ד"ב"ז). David b. Solomon Abi Zimra.—Responsa.

SAMB. or SAMBARI. "Mediæval Jewish Chronicles" (ed. Neubauer, Oxford, 1887).—Containing also extracts of the Chronicles of Joseph b. Isaac Sambari, pp. 115–162.

SCHWARZ. תבואות הארץ, by Joseph Schwarz (ed. A. M. Luncz, Jerusalem, 1900).

SG. Moses ben Jacob Cordovero. ספר נרושין, Venice, 1600.

SH. J. Baruch (Jacob b. Moses Chayim).—שבחי ירושלים (containing also a traveller's account of Palestine, in 1522, by an anonymous author. Livorno, 1785).

SHLOMEL. R. Solomon b. Chayim Meinsterl, better known as Shlomel.—שבחי הארי, together with the לקוטי ש"ם (Livorno, 1790).

TRANI. R Moses b. Joseph of Trani.

VITAL. R. Chayim b. Joseph Vital.—שבחי ר' חיים ויטאל (Ostrog, 1826).

אלה הדברים

אשר דיבר משה איש האלהי הרמ"ק זללה"ה אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם ויש בו ל"ז דברים.

א' אל יפנה לבו מלהרהר בדברי תורה ודברי קדושה שלא יהא לבו פנוי וריק מהרהורי מצוה בתורה ובמצות כדי שיהא לבו משכן לשכינה.

ב' שלא יכעום כלל שהכעס מביא לאדם לידי כמה עבירות וצא ולמד ק"ו ממרע"ה וכבר ידעת מרז"ל בזוהר על ענין פנם הכעס בפסוק חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו ונו' ובפסוק טורף נפשו באפו ונו' ואפילו יקומו כנגדו יהיה מן הנעלבים.

נ' לעולם יהא דעתו מעורב עם הבריות ויתנהג עמהם בנחת ואפילו על העוברים על התורה יתנהג בנחת.

ד' שלא לשתות יין ביום כלל ועיקר אלא בלילה ומזון חיין משבתות וימים טובים ור"ח שישתה ביום.

ה' למעט בבשר ויין בימי החול אפילו בלילה מפני שנותן כח לסמ'.

ו' שלא להרהר בדברים בטלים בשעת תפלה אלא בדברי תורה ועשיית המצוות ודברי קדושה.

ז' שלא לומר נאי על שום אדם אפילו על שום בריה ובהמה.

ח' שלא יקלל שום אדם מישראל אפילו בשעת כעסו אלא אדרבה יברך ובזה יתברך ואברכה מברכיך.

ט' שלא ידבר בבית הכנסת אלא בדברי תורה.

י' שלא ידבר במילי דעלמא כלל ועיקר אלא בדברי תורה.

י"א לא תנע בנופו יד ולא יוריד ידו למטה מטיבורו.

י"ב שלא ישבע שום שבועה קלה כל שכן חמורה אפילו באמת.

י"ג שלא ידבר שקר ומדבר שקר ירחק ולא יוציא שקר מפי בשום צד ואופן.

י"ד להתחבר עם אחד מהחברים בכל יום לשאת וליתן בענייני העבודה.

ט"ו לשאת וליתן עם החבר הנז' בכל ערב שבת מה שעשה בכל ימי השבוע ומיום יבא לקבל פני שבת מלכתא.

י"ז לכוון בתפלתו כל מה שיוכל לפחות יכוון בשלש ראשונות ובארבע כריעות ובארבע זקיפות שמי שאינו מכוין בהם השכינה צווחת עליו נתנני ה' בידי לא אוכל קום.

י"ז להזהר להתפלל תפלת מנחה בטלית ותפלין ובחזרה.

י"ח לברך ברכת המזון בקול רם כדי שיאמרו בניו אחריו אות באות מילה במילה.

י"ט ליזהר שלא לאכול ביום ראשון בשר ולא תבשיל של בשר ולא יין וליזהר משחוק בו ביום יותר מיום אחר זולתי ביום טוב ור"ח וסעודת מצוה.

כ' בכל לילה ישב על הארץ ויקונן על החרבן ויכוון לבכות גם על עוונותיו שמאריכין קץ הנאולה.

כ"א שלא לקבוע סעודת רשות בביתו זולתי סעודת מצוה.

כ"ב בכל יום חול קודם ברכת המזון יאמר מזמור על נהרות.

כ"ג ליזהר משיחה בטלה כל מה שיוכל והיא אחת מעשרה מילי דחסידותא דרב דלא שח שיחה בטלה מימיו.

כ"ד ליזהר שלא יהיה מאותם ארבע כיתות שאינם מקבלות פני שכינה והם כת חנפים כת שקרנים כת לייצנים וכת מדברי לשון הרע.

כ"ה ליתן צדקה בכל יום לכפר הטאתיו שנאמר וחטאך בצדקה פרוק.

כ"ו לכוון בקריאת שמע מאד בטהרת רעיונים יהיו הדברים על לבבו.

כ"ז לשמוע קריאת התורה מפי ש"צ כראוי ולא יטרידהו שום דבר.

כ"ח ליזהר לשלם נדרו מיד ולא יאחר נדרו שלשים יום.

כ"ט ליזהר להתודות קודם אכילה וקודם שינה.

ל' שלא יאמר שהחיינו בין המצרים ולא יאכל בשר ולא

ישתה יין זולתי המתענה שמותר לו מפני התענית.

ל"א להתענות כפי כחו.

ל"ב להרהר בדברי תורה על כל לעיסה ולעיסה כדי שיהיה המאכל כמו קרבן ושתיית המים והיין כנסכים.

ל"ג לעסוק בכל יום במקרא משנה תלמוד קבלה פסק.

ל"ד ללמוד כל התלמוד שלשה פעמים כנגד שנים עשר חודש.

ל"ה להוריד דמעות בכל התפלות ולפחות בתפלה אחת מהן.

ל"ו להתענות שלשה רצופים ארבעה פעמים בשנה בארבעה תקופות ואם יוסיף הרי זה משובח.

[לדבר בלשון הקודש עם החברים בכל זמן.]

[לאמ' על השלחן קודם ברכת המזון ב' פרקים ומזמור אחד.]

[ללמוד בכל ליל שבת משניות כפי כחו.]

[לחזור בכל שבוע כל המשניות שיודע.]

[לידע בכל שבוע ב' פרקים משניות על פה לפחות.]

ע"א

מנהגים טובים וקדושים הנוהגים בא"י הועתקו מכתיבת יד החכם השלם כמוהר"ר אברהם גלנטי יחי' היושב בצפת תוב"ב לי"א.

אלה הדברים אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם

א' ערב ר"ח כל העם מתענין אנשים ונשים ותלמידים ויש מקום שבו מתכנסים אותו היום וירשבים שם כל היום כלו בסליחות ובתחנונים ודויים ומלקיות ויש מהם שמשים על בטנו אבן גדול דמין סקילה ויש מי שמחנק בידיו בגרונו וכיוצא ויש מי שמשים עצמו תוך שק א' ומסחבים אותו סביבות ב"ה.

ב' ליל ר"ח יש אנשי מעשה שמשכימין בחצות וקורין בספר תהלות.

ג' מניחין טלית ותפלין בכל תפלת מנחה כמו בשחרית ונתפשט מנהג זה בכל העם.

ד' ערב פסח אחד חצות מתקבצין בבתי כנסיות ובבתי מדרשות וקורין בהלכות קרבן פסח בהרמב"ם ומתפללין מנחה גדולה ויוצאים

לעשות המצות שמורות ויש נוהגים וקוצרים החטים בידם ומקיימין לקט שכחה ופאה תרומות ומעשרות וחלה ומברכין על אכילת מצה ליל פסח במצה שנעשה עליה עשרה מצות.

ה' ימי חול המועד אחר הצות היום מתקבצין בבתי כנסיות וקורין שיר השירים ומתרגמין ומפרשין אותו יום יום.

ו' ליל ז' של פסח עומדין בחצות לילה וקורין עד קריעת ים סוף שבמדרש ויושע ומרננין ברנה של תודה עד הבוקר ואומרים בקשות ובסיום הבקשות עומדין על רגליהם ואומרים בקול נעים מזמור בצאת ישראל ממצרים.

ז' כל לילי ספירת העומר מכונים בכל לילה תיבה אחת ממזמור אלקים יחננו שיש בו מ"ט תיבות ואות אחת שבפסוק ישמחו ויראו בכל לילה כשקורין מזמור זה אחר ספירת העומר כשמניעין לאותה תיבה שהיא כנגד אותה הלילה מרימים קול באותה תיבה להורות כי תיבה זו היא של לילה זו ויש קבלה בידם שמי שמכוין בזה לא ינום לילה אחת בבית האסורים אפי' שיהיה אסור ברצוני נפשות.

ח' ערב שבועות ישנים שעה אחת או ב' שעות אחר שעשו צרכי מועד לפי שבלילה אחר האכילה מתקבצים בבתי כנסיות כל קהל וקהל בב"ה שלו ואינם ישנים כל הלילה וקורין תורה נביאים וכתובים ומשניות מהר ודרשות בקראי עד אור הבקר ואז כל העם טובלים בבקר קודם תפלת שחרית כדאיתא בזוהר פ' אמור מלבד הטבילה שטובלין בערב שבועות.

ט' כל ע"ש יוצאים לשדה או לעזרת ב"ה ומקבלים שבת כלם מלובשים בבגדי שבת ואומרים מזמור הבו לה' בני אלים ופזמון של שבת ואח"כ מזמור שיר ליום השבת.

י' ליום י"ו בתמוז בחצי היום מתקבצים בבתי כנסיות ובוכים וקוננים ומספרים על שבאותו היום ובאותה עת נעשה בטול שבסבתו אנו נולים בארץ הגוים.

יא' ערב ט"ב נוטל אדם קיתון של מים וישב בין תנור וכירים ודומה כמי שמתו מוטל לפניו.

י"ב ביום ט"ב אינם יוצאים מב"ה כל היום כלו ושם קורין ספר בן גורין ושבט יהודה ואינם אוכלים בשר ערב ט"ב.

י"נ ליל יום הביפורים אינן ישנין כל הלילה דוגמת מיקרי דושלים לא היו ישנים כל הלילה ועוסקין בהלכות י"ה ובהלכות שביתת עשור ובשירות ותשבחות ובפיוטים.

י"ד ערב ר"ח מתענין אנשים ונשים ותלמידים.

ט"ו ליל הושענא רבה קורין כל הלילה בספר תהילים וסליחות בין ספר לספר.

י"ו אנשי מעשה כל ערב נ' רגלים קונין כבש אחד ומחלקין אותו לעניים.

י"ז אנשי מעשה עושין כמו נ' קילאוש סולת ועושין מצות שמורות ונותנים נ' מצות לכל אחד ואחד.

י"ח להתפלל עם הצבור ערב ובקר וצהרים.

י"ט להיות מעשרה ראשונים בבקר ובערב.

כ' שלא לדבר כל זמן תפלה וכל זמן שס"ת פתוח אפי' בדברי תורה.

כ"א לקבוע עתים לתורה ביום ובלילה ושלא לישן קודם קביעת עתים לתורה.

כ"ב יש אנשי מעשה שקורין על השלחן מזמור על נהרות בבל.

כ"נ לעבור על פשע ולסלוח לכל מי שמצער אותו בין בדבור בין במעשה וכ"ש שלא להוליך אותו בערכאות שמייקר שם ע"ז להשביחה.

כ"ד ליטול ידיו בקומו ממטתו קודם שינע בשום דבר וקודם שידרוך על נבי קרקע להעביר רוח הטומאה.

כ"ה כשיוצא מפתח ביתו לישים ידו על המזוזה לזכור ייחוד ה' ומצותיו.

כ"ו להזהר בנדרים ושבועות כי בעון נדרים בניו של אדם מתים שנא' לשוא הכיתי את בניכם וכו' וכתיב כי לא ינקה ה' וכו' לשקר לא אמר אלא לשקר.

אלה דברי הברית אשר כרת ה' עם ישראל אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם והם סיג לתורה והם כנגד חשבון השם יהו"ד הקדש והמקיימם אלקי יעקב בעזרו.

כ"ז יש יחידי סגולה מקיימין מצות עשר תעשר כנ"ל בספרי דהיינו ב' עשורי' דהיינו חומש מכל ריוח שיבוא לידם ומניחין אותו בארגז

להיות מזומן לידם למצוה הבאה לתת בעין יפה הפקדון אשר הפקד אתו וכרכתב ר' עובדיה ריש כ' פאה בפירושו למשניות ואפי' מי שהוא עני ידענו שרגיל לעשות כן.

כ"ח יש נוהגין להקבלת שבת אחר מנחה מלובשים בבגדי שבת קורין שיר השירים ואח"כ הפיוט של הקבלת שבת בואי כלה. ובליל שבת קורין ח' פרקים ממ' שבת ובבקר ח' ובמנחה ח' דלהכי כיון רבינו הקדוש לסדר כ"ד פרקים במ' שבת כנגד כ"ד קשוטי כלה. ועתה ינדל נא כ"ח ה' אלהינו להיות על ימין המתאמת לעבוד את יוצרנו ית' בסור מרע ועשה טוב. אכי"ר.

אלה הם חסדיות אחרות נוהגים בצפת תבו"ב ויש מהם שנכתבו ג"כ למעלה ואלו באו מן החסיד העליון כמ' אברהם הלוי רושב צפת תבוב"ב יצ"ו.

א' מנהג רוב בעלי תורה יראי שמים שמתפללין מנחה בטלית ותפלין ויחידים מניחים כל היום ואפי' בדרך.

ב' רוב הקהלות מתענים ערב ר"ח ואפי' הנשים קרוב לאלף (לערב?)

ג' יש חברת בעלי תשובה שמתענים תמיד ומתפללים מנחה בכל יום בבכיה ודמעה ומלקות ושק ואפר ויש מהם שמתענים בכל שבוע ב' ימים וב' לילות ויש ג' ימים וג' לילות.

ד' רוב בעלי תורה כשקמים בחצי הלילה ללמוד יושבים לארץ ומתעטפים שחורים ומקוננים ובוכים על חרבן הבית וכן עושים חברת בעלי תשובה יום המשמר.

ה' רוב בעלי תורה לומדים משנה ע"פ יש מהם ב' סדרים ויש ג' וכו'.

ו' כמה בעלי תורה יראי שמים טובלים לקרי שלהם. ועוד ע"ש טובלין להבדיל בין קדש לחול ולובשים לבנים כל השבת.

ז' כמה כתות יוצאים ע"ש מבעוד יום לבושים לבנים ומקבלים פני שבת וקורין מזמור הבו לה' בני אלים ופזמון לכה דודי ומזמור שיר ליום השבת ואומ' בואי כלה.

ח' בכל ג' סעודות משוררים ומהללים ומזמרים וכן בר"ח וסי'

שי"ר ועוד למדים מס' שבת בנ' סעודות ח' פרקים בכל סעודה.

ט' רוב המדינה מניחים פיאה רוחב אצבע מראש האזן ויש מניחין רוח ב' אצבעות.

י' יש מהם שהולכים על כל חצר וחצר ועל החניות להזהיר על השבת ולהכניסו מבעוד יום.

י"א יש מהן אוכלין חולין בטרחה ב' פעמים בשבת קורם דפסח ובי' ימי תשובה.

י"ב יש מהם שמשיאים את בניהם ובנותיהם מי"ג ומי"ד שנים חפך מן המניחים אותם כ"ה שנים ויותר בשביל הממון עד שיעשה כמה עברות ומתחייב כמה מיתות.

י"ג יש חברה שהולכים כל מוצאי שבת לשורר ולרקד ולשטח חתן וכלה.

י"ד רוב בעלי תורה אוכלין מצה שמורה ליל פסח ויחידים כל ז' ומחמירים כמה מיני חמרות.

ט"ו כל בעלי תורה לומדים ליל שבועות עד אור הבקר וליל הושענא נ"כ וכמו כן והמון העם קמים ליל הושענא לסליחות.

י"ו בכל ב"ה גובים צדקה קודם תפלה בשירת הים.

י"ז יש מלמדים סובבים במדינה ללמד נשים וקטנים תפלה וברכות.

י"ח כמה בעלי תורה לומדים כל ליל ששי.

י"ט כמה בעלי תורה חסידים שאין אוכלין בשר ושותין יין כל השבוע שמתאבלין על ההרבן ועל עונותיהן.

כ' כמה בני אדם שעושים ר"ח קרוב לשבת באכילה ושתייה ומלבוש וכן מוצאי שבת שלחן ערוך ונר דלוק.

כ"א כמה בני אדם שאין נשבעין כלל ואפילו באמת ונזהרים לדבר אמת.

כ"ב כמה חסידים מתענין ד"פ בשנה נ' ימים ונ' לילות בארבעה תקופות.

כ"ג מנדלים יתומים ויתומות בתוך בתיהם ומשיאים אותם סמוך לפרקם.

כ"ד בר"ח ניסן מתקבצים ת"ח ועוסקין במלאכת **משכן**.

כ"ה בר"ח ניסן מתקבצים כמה כתות ומתעסקין בכל כלי המשכן וקורין פ' ויהי ביום השמיני עד וירא ונו' ופ' ויהי ביום כלות משה וקרבן נחשון ובכל יום קורין קרבן נשיא וכו'.

ואלו אחרים קבלתים מה"ר משה מלוריאה יצ"ו

א' להניח טלית ותפלין במנחה והמחמירין כל היום **והטעם** א' שמצותן כך היא ב' שבעודן עליו לבו נמשך ליראת ה' ואהבתו נ' **התקונים** כתיבת יד אומרים כי כל תפלה שאין בה טלית ותפלין אינה מתקבלת מפני שסמאל רודף אחריה ובהיות התפלה בטלית ותפלין אין לו רשות ויכולת עליה ד' שהתורה והמצות שאדם עושה בעולם הזה עושין לו מלכות לעולם הבא ומי שאינו מניח תפלין כל היום אינו זוכה לעטרת זהב גדולה שמרדכי יצא מלפני המלך יח' ששבעים שרים רודפים ומקטרגים תמיד על ישראל שנא' שרים רדפוני חנם והמניח התפלין בכל תפלה ובכל היום הוא קושר אותם שנא' לאסור מלכיהם בזיקים זהו ואת עורות נדיי העזים הלבישה על ידיו אלו תפלין של יד ועל חלקת צואריו אלו תפילין של ראש.

ב' להכנים שבת מבעוד יום לפחות שעה אחת קודם וזהו זכור את יום השבת יום השבת לא נאמר אלא א"ת מכאן שצריך להוסיף מחול על קדש ואם אינו מוסיף קובר את בניו שנ' וביו"ם השב"ת שנ"י כבשי"ם ס"ת מתים ר"ל אם תראה תנוקות בני שנה שמתו תמימים בלא עון תדע שאבותיהם מחללי שבת אין לי אלא להוסיף מחול על קדש בכניסתו ביציאתו מנין שנא' על כן בירך ה' את יום השבת יום השבת לא נאמר אלא את ואם מכניסו מבעוד יום יורש גן עדן ולפי' ר"ת של פסוק זכור בגמ' גן ואם מחללו יורש ניהנם ולפי' זכור את יום כך כתב.

נ' ללבוש בגדים לבנים בשבתות ובי"ט טעם א' זהוא מנהגו של ר' יהודה ב"ר אלעאי שלובש לבנים ומתעטף לבנים ודומה למלאך ה' ב' שהנשמות בשבתות וי"ט לובשי' לבנים בגדי אור וזהו על כן באורים כבדו ה'. נ' אשריהם ישראל שמה שעושין למטה עושין כנגדו למעלה בחול ה' מתלבש בדין שהוא שחור וכן השכינה שנא' אלבש שמים קדרות שחורה אני ונאוה בשבת ה' ושכינתו

מתפשטים ומתלבשים ברחמים שהוא סוד בגדי לבן ולפי' חייבין ישראל לשבת במקום ואם ח"ו אינו עושה למטה אינו עושה למעלה. (אמר שמ"י והרמז לזה שבת במ"ק עם האותות עולה י"ב עת במ"ק עם המלה עולה נ"כ י"ב ועל זה אמר הכתוב בכל עת יהיו בגדיך לבנים.)

ד' שעושין משמרה ערב ר"ח ומתקבצין בבתי כנסיות ובבתי מדרשות ורוב היום בתפלה ודמעה ושק ואפר סמנם תשוב"ה תענית שק וידוי בכיה הספד על שני סבות על חרבן בית המקדש ועל עונות ועון שנא' והתודו את עונם ואת עון אבותם וטעם התענית א' להרתיש כח החומר וזהו ויחבוש את חמורו מלשון חומר ב' בזמן שבית המקדש קיים מקריב קרבן ועכשיו מקריב חלבו וזהו אדם כי יקריב מכם ממש חלבכם ודמכם נ' שבזמן שאדם הוטא מפריד הרחמין מן הדין ובזמן שהוא מתענה ועושה תשובה הוא מחברם זהו ונרנן מפריד אלוף אלפו שהוא רחמים [פ"ו נמ'] אלקים. הרשע הוא מפרידם ומהזירהו הוא מחברם בחלב ודם שהוא רחמים ודין.

ה' יש חסידים ואנשי מעשה שרורשי' בכל משמרה ומשמרה דברי כבושין והכנעה ועניני תשובה וחמר העבירות ובני אדם שבים לקונם.

ו' יש בני אדם יראי שמים שהולכים על כל הבתים לבקש על המזוזות שמא הם פסולות ואם הוא עני נותנים אותו לו מבים הצדקה וטעם המזוזה כי מזוזה בנימ' אל"ף דלי"ת וכו' וכן פי' ועשו לי מקדש מזוז"ה קנ"ה דל"ת שד"י ושכנתי בתוכם לפי שסמאל הוא יושב לפתח הטאת רובץ ובהיותו מניח המזוזה הוא ניצול.

ז' שרוב מדינה מניחים פיאה רוחב אצבע מראש האזן וטעם מצוה זו לפי שבואת המצוה בלבד הוא נכר בין בחיים בין במות שהוא יהודי וזהו כל רואיהם יכירום ובחייו יכירו שהוא יהודי ופי' יהודי כי ליהודי ששם המפורש חתום בו שהוא כפולה ועוד כל מי שאינו מניח פיאה כחות טומאה דנגמת פרות שולטין על נשמתו פא"ת ראשיכ"ם ול"א תשחי"ת ר"ת פרות וטעמים נדולים יש ואסור לנלותם אבל חסידים ואנשי מעשה מניחים פיאה רוחב הצדיה ומצוה זו אינה כשאר מצות שהיא תמיד עמו ביום ובלילה מיום שנולד עד יום מותו ובמותו הולכת עמו. (ופי' היינו יהודי אם תשים יו"ד תוך

ד הרי יהוד.)

ח' שנזהרים שלא לנלח שער הערוה ושער בית השחי וטעם מצוה זו לפי הפשט שלא ילבש נבר שמלת אשה. עוד ששערות אלו אסורות להשחיתם כי שערות קדושי' בם ולא אוכל לפרש והעובר מובטח שביציאת נשמתו יתנלנל באשה וזהו שלא עשני אשה וזהו לא ילבש נבר שמלת אשה שיתנלנל בנוף אשה העוברת על לאו זה.

ט' שכמה חסידים ואנשי מעשה אינם מדברים משעה שיתחילו להתפלל עד שיסיימו עלינו לשבח וטעם הדבר א' [שמשעה] שהתחיל לדבר עם המלך אין ראוי לחזור לדבר עם העבד. ב' שהתפלה במקום קרבן ופי' קרבן הוא על ידי עניינו אחד שמקרב אותייות ה' המיוחד אחת אל אחת וזהו קרבן אל ה' ממש. הנ' שמקרב ומערב הרחמים עם הדין והדין עם הרחמים וזהו ה' הוא האלקים היינו מדת הדין עם מדת הרחמים והמדבר דברי חול מכניסם סמאל בקדושה הפך מעשה מרע"ה שנא' בו ויך את המצרי זה סמאל שרצה לכנס בקדושה והרג אותו וטמן אותו בחול מלשון ולהבדיל בין הקדש ובין החול.

י' שיש חסידים שהולכים ע"ש ב' שעות קודם היום על הבתים ועל המבואות להזהיר בני אדם על שמירת שבת שכל המקיים שמירת שבת כאילו קיים כל המצות וזהו שב"ת נימ' תשב הסר תרי"נ ישאר פ"ו שהוא אלקים שבר"א שמים וארץ ומנין שעובר על תרי"נ מצות שנא' עד אנה מאנתם לשמוע מצותי ותורותי מצותי מצות עשה ולא תעשה תורותי תורה שבכתב ותורה שבעל פה.

APPENDIX B

(For List of Abbreviations see pp. 290-1.)

AARON B. ELEAZAR (the Blind). Mi., p. 147.

ABRAHAM ארומטי (ארואיטי). See Manasseh b. Israel's *Nishmath Chayim*, III: 10; Caro I, 124.

ABRAHAM DE BOTON. Con. 48 a.

ABRAHAM GABRIEL. Con.; Mi.; נ"ל, 88 b.

ABRAHAM GALANTI. Con.; Samb.; Az.

ABRAHAM B. GEDALIAH B. ASHER. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

ABRAHAM HALEVI ברוכים. Con.; Az.; Mi. (p. 61. See references, but confused there with Abraham Halevi the Elder. Cf. Frumkin, 72).

ABRAHAM B. ISAAC LANIADO. Mi., no. 145.

ABRAHAM B. ISAAC ZAHALON. Mi.

ABRAHAM B. JACOB BERAB. Con.

ABRAHAM LACHMI. See Manasseh b. Israel's *Nishmath Chayim*, III: 10.

ABRAHAM SHALOM (the Elder). Con. (see especially 33 b); Samb.; Mi.

ABRAHAM SHALOM (the Younger). Con.; Mi. (p. 122).

ABRAHAM B. SOLOMON עלון. See Preface to Zechariah b. Saruk's Commentary on Esther.

BENJAMIN HALEVI. Con. (p. 49 b.) (?); Samb.; Mi. (pp. 280–281).

CHAYIM B ISAAC ההבר. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

CHAYIM VITAL. See text.

CHIYA ROFE (the physician). Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

DAVID AMARILLO. See Solomon Adeni, Introduction to his Commentary מלאכת שלמה.

DAVID DE קאיטריש. Con. 48 a. See Notes.

DAVID COHEN. Vital, 14 b.

DAVID HABILLO. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

DAVID NAVARRO. Con.; Samb.

DAVID B. ZECHARIAH ורנק. See Mi., nos. 718 and 813. See also Frumkin, 58.

DAVID ABI ZIMRA. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

ELIEZER AZKARI. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

ELIEZER GINZBURG, son-in-law of רמ"א. See David Grünhut, טוב רואי, title page.

ELEAZAR B. ISAAC ארחא. Con.; Az.; Mi.

ELEAZAR B. YOCHAI. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

ELIJAH FALCON. Con.; Samb.; particularly p. 152; Az., and *s. n.* Moses Alsheich; Mi. See Manasseh b. Israel's *Nishmath Chayim*, III: 10.

ELIJAH DE VIDAS. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi. See also text.

ELISHA GALLICO. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi. See also Zunz, Introduction to De Rossi, *Meor Enayim*.

GEDALIAH ALKABEZ. See Az. Cf. Steinschneider, Catalogue, col. 1002.

GEDALIAH CORDOVERO. Con.; Mi.

GEDALIAH HALEVI. Con. 48 a; identical with Vital's brother-in-law; see Vital, 3 a, and נ"ל, 87 b.

ISAAC ALFANDARI. Con. 46 b.

ISAAC ארחא. Con., especially p. 41 a.

ISAAC DE BOTON. Con. 48 a.

ISAAC COHEN. Vital, 20 a, 23 b; cf. Con. 41 a.

ISAAC GERSON. Con.

ISAAC KRISPIN. Samb. 152 (?).

ISAAC LORIA. See text.

ISAAC B. MENAHEM בסמו. See Neubauer, Cat., no. 411.

ISAAC MISOD. Con. 36 a. Perhaps identical with Isaac b. David, called "Misod," mentioned by Trani, I, 32.

ISAAC משען. See Az.; Abraham b. Asher and references; Con. (?).

ISHMAEL HALEVI ASHKENAZI. Vital, 14 b.

ISRAEL CORIEL. Con.; Samb.; Az.

ISRAEL SARUK. Con. 46 b; Az., and sub Solomon Loria.

ISSACHAR SASSON. Con.; Samb.

JACOB ABULAFIAH. Samb.; Az. MN 7 b and 12 a. See, however, Modena, *Ari Noham*, 19 b.

JACOB איש תם, etc. Samb. 151 (?).

JACOB אלטרף or אלטריין or אלטרס. Vital, 14 b; Samb.

JACOB BERAB. See text.

JACOB BERAB (B. ABRAHAM) (the Younger). Con.; Samb. 162.

JACOB B. CHAYIM. Pref. to באר שבע.

JACOB FALCON. Con.
JACOB גוילי. Perhaps a corruption of גוינזו. See Samb.; Vital, 25 a, 151, and Azkari, 95.
JACOB SASSON. Con. 48 a.
JACOB ZEMACH. Con.; Az.
JEDIDIAH GALANTI. Con.; Mi.
JEHIEL GINZBURG. See תולדות משפחת גינצבורג, p. 187.
JEHUDAH B. URI (of Heidelberg). See Caro II, 62 c.
JEREMIAH OF CANDIA. Con. 48 b.
JONATHAN GALANTI. Con. 48 a.
JONATHAN SAGIS. Con. 48 a; Vital, 23 b; ג"ל, 88 a.
JOSEPH ARZIN. Vital, 23 b; ג"ל, 81 a. Cf. מאמין כח, by R. Moses Almosnino, 18 b.
JOSEPH ASHKENAZI. Con.; Samb.; Az. Cf. Kaufmann, *Monatsschrift*, vol. 42, p. 38 seq., and Bloch, vol. 47, p. 153.
JOSEPH BARZILLAI. Mi.
JOSEPH קלדירין. Con. 48 a.
JOSEPH OF ליריאה (LIERIA). Az.; Samb.
JOSEPH SAGIS. Con.; Samb.; Az. (?).
JOSEPH SAJJAH. Con.; Az.
JOSEPH SARAGOSSI. Samb.; Az.
JOSEPH SKANDRANI. Con. 30 b; Az.; Mi., no. 1042.
JOSEPH B. TABUL. Con. 40 b and 48 a; Vital, 23 b. Probably identical with Joseph Maarabi.
JOSEPH TIBBON. Con. 41 a.
JOSEPH VITAL. Samb.; Az.
JOSHUA B. NUN. Con.; Az.
JUDAH מישען. Vital, 23 b; Con. 40 b; ג"ל, 88 a.
LAPIDUTH. Az. See Vital, 1 a.
LEVI B. CHABIB. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi. See also Frumkin, 30 a.
MENAHEM B. ABRAHAM GALANTI. Kaydanower, ch. 15.
MENAHEM HA-BABLI. See Caro II, 35 b (?).
MENAHEM GALLICO. Ghirondi, 252.
MISOD AZULAI. Con. Perhaps identical with Misod Maarabi. See Shlomel, 34 b, and Con. 40 b.
MORDECAI HA-COHEN (author of a commentary on the Bible). Con.; Az.
MORDECAI DATO. Con. 42 b; Landshut, עמודי העבודה, *s. n.*

MOSES ALKABEZ. Con.; Ghirondi, 242.
MOSES ALSHEICH. See text.
MOSES BARUCH. Con.; Az. See also Caro II, 17 a.
MOSES BASULA. Con.; Ghirondi, 250. Cf. also Mortara, p. 7.
MOSES CORDOVERO. See text.
MOSES GALANTI. Con.; Samb.; Az.
MOSES HALEVI טרינקי. Con.; Samb.
MOSES B. ISRAEL NAGARA. Con.; Samb.; Az.
MOSES JONAH. Con. 41 a; ג"ל, 89 a.
MOSES B. JOSEPH TRANI. See text.
MOSES OF ליריאה (LIERIA). Boton, לחם רב, no. 184.
MOSES B. MACHIR. Con.; Az.
MOSES MINTZ. ג"ל, 88 b; *Ez ha-Chayim*, 6 a. Cf. Mi., no. 531.
MOSES NIGRIN. Con.; Az.; cf. also Ghirondi, 226.
MOSES ONKENEVRA. Az. See Caro I, 124, spelled somewhat variously.
MOSES OF ROME. See שערי נ"ע.
MOSES SAADYA. Con.; Samb. See also Caro II, 17 a. Cf. Vital, 12 b, 15 b.
PHAREZ COLOBI. See text.
SABBATAI MANASSEH. Samb.; cf. Caro I, 124, and ג"ל, 91 a.
SAMUEL BIAGI. See Manasseh b. Israel's *Nishmath Chayim*.
SAMUEL GALLICO. Con.; Az.
SAMUEL B. SHEM TOB ATIYA. Con.; Samb. See Frumkin, 51.
SAMUEL DE USEDA. Con.; Samb.; Az.
SAMUEL VERGA. Con.; Samb.; Az.
SHEM TOB ATIYA. Con.; Az.
SIMON ASHKENAZI. See *Peri Ez Chayim*.
SOLOMON אבסבאן. Con.; Samb.; Az. See also Jewish Quarterly Review, IX, p. 269.
SOLOMON ADENI. See his Introduction to his Commentary מ"ש to the Mishnah (Wilna, 1887). For this reference I am obliged to Dr. L. Ginzberg.
SOLOMON ALKABEZ. See text.
SOLOMON COHEN. Con. 48 a.
SOLOMON SAGIS. Con.; Az.
SOLOMON סירילין. Con.; Samb.; Az. Cf. Frumkin, 44.
SOLOMON B. YAKAR. Chabib, Responsa, 322 a.

SULAIMAN B. אוחנא. Con.; variously spelled. See especially p. 42a, and Cassel's note; Samb.; Az. ם 1, identical with the writer of the same name known by his notes to the Siphre and the Mechilta. Cf. Pardo's Preface to his commentary to the Siphre.

TOBIAH HALEVI. Con.; Samb.; Az.; Mi.

YOMTOB ZAHALON. Con.; Az.

ZECHARIAH B. SOLOMON זעבשיל (father-in-law of Caro). Differently spelled by various authors. Samb.; Az.; Mi. (p. 364). Cf. also Frumkin, 59.

NOTES

[46] שערי הקדושה, Rabbi Chayim Vital, Warsaw, 1876, p. 9 a., to be quoted in this article as Vital.

[47] See Vital, 15 a.

[48] See *M. P.* 21 b.

[49] See Horodetzky, *Hashiloah*, XV, 167.

[50] See *M. P.* 21 b and 24 b.

[51] Vital, 17 a.

[52] Vital, 9 a.

[53] See *Aboth*, IV: 4.

[54] *Derech Erez Zuta*, 10.

[55] *M. P.* 22 a.

[56] See Vital, p. 13 a, who introduces this passage with אמרו, whilst the whole style proves it to be a Midrash. Cf. *Shabbath*, 31 a, but it forms no exact parallel passage.

[57] Guttman, דרך אכונה ומעשה רב, Warsaw, 1898, 7 a.

[58] *Sefer Chasidim*, Parma, 363.

[59] *M. P.* 28 a.

[60] הנהגות *of Rabbi Melech.*

[61] See below, p. 216.

[62] *M. P.* 26 a.

[63] See Horodetzky, *Hashiloah*, XV, 170.

[64] See *Kethuboth*, 50 a. See also commentaries.

[65] *Aboth*, V: 10.

[66] See *Baba Bathra*, 7 b.

[67] See לקוטי אמרים, ed. Wilna, 1896, p. 52 a seq.

[68] Guttman, ibid., p. 11 a.

[69] See below, p. 277, the story of Loria and Useda.

[70] See Chayim Meïr Heilman, בית רבי, Berditczev, 1892, II: 3 a.

[71] See *Little Sefer Chasidim*, 13 a. See also below, p. 238.

[72] See *Sefer Chasidim*, Parma, 477 and 478.

[73] See Kaydanower, ch. 7.

[74] See above, p. 157, and also below, p. 270.

[75] Ps. 16: 8, 9 seq.

[76] See עמק המלך by Naphtali Bacharach, 121 c, to be quoted hereafter as Bacharach.

[77] See Bachye, חיה"ל, 126 b seq.

[78] See Rabbi Judah Halevi, *Divan*, II, 91 a.

[79] See *Zohar*, ed. Krotoschin, to Num., p. 222 b. Ibid. to

Deut., p. 281 a. Cf. Luzzatto, כס"ל ישרים, 29 a. See also *Sefer Chasidim*, Parma, p. 240, note 1.

[80] See בית רבי, I: 16 a.

FOUR EPISTLES TO THE JEWS OF ENGLAND

[1] Published in The Jewish Chronicle, London, 1901.

SAFED IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(For List of Abbreviations see pp. 290-1.)

[1] See Schwarz, p. 476; cf. Baedeker, Index. See also Rapoport, Introduction to קורא הדורות of Shalom Cohen (Warsaw, 1838).

[2] See Caro I, 1.

[3] See Graetz, *Geschichte d. Juden*, 2d ed., IX: 29 seq.; cf. also English Translation, IV: 400 seq.

[4] אור החיים, ch. V; cf. Kayserling, *Geschichte d. Juden in Portugal*, pp. 42 and 96.

[5] See Neubauer's "Mediæval Jewish Chronicles," I: 111. Similar sentiments may also be found in R. Isaac Arama's חזות קשה.

[6] Ed. Pietrkow (1902), p. 42.

[7] See *Responsa* of R. Asher (Rosh), VIII: 10.

[8] See Epstein, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLII, p. 18, and Büchler, XLIV, p. 241 seq.

[9] See Graetz, *Geschichte*, VII: 13; cf. Schwarz, 443. Of course, this brief outline has to be completed by the accounts of the travels of Benjamin of Tudela, and R. Pethahiah, and similar works.

[10] See Pharchi, כפתר ופרח.

[11] See Hebrew Appendix *Ozar Tob* to *Magazin*, I: 027; see also Graetz, *Geschichte*, VII: 182; cf. Hebrew periodical *Jerusalem*, edited by Luncz, II, p. 7.

[12] See Graetz, *Geschichte*, VII: 308-9, and *Jerusalem*, II, p. 12.

[13] See Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, 261, from an unpublished MS. (cod. Paris, 1070); cf. also Pharchi, 284.

[14] See *Jerusalem*, VI, p. 337.

[15] See Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX: 28; cf. the Hebrew translation, VII: 26, notes 2 and 4. The name points to a Spanish origin; cf. also Azkari, 24 a, and Azulai, *s. n.* The date of Saragossi's settling in Safed cannot be ascertained, but it must have been during the first two decades of the sixteenth century.

[16] See Bertinoro, 209 and 222; cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, VIII: 278, and IX: 26, and Rabinowitz, 213; but see also Luncz in *Jerusalem*, I, p. 58. It should, however, be remarked that the travellers are not quite unanimous in their evidence as to the hostility of the Mohammedan population toward the Jews. On the other hand, it seems that matters with regard to taxes deteriorated later in Safed. Cf. Caro I, 1, and *Jerusalem*, V, p. 161.

[17] See Bertinoro, 222.

[18] See An. Jb., 277.

[19] See Shlomel, 42 d; see also Kaydanower, ch. 16, and טהרת הקודש, I, 43 a.

[20] See Sh. J, 16 b; Shlomel, 43 a; see also Responsa of R. Solomon Cohen, II, 38; Responsa לחם רב, by R. Abraham Boton, 148; מאמין כח by R. Moses Almosnino, 16 a.

[21] See in general about Caro, Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX, Index; Rabinowitz, Index; Cassel, *Joseph Karo und das Maggid Mescharim* (Berlin, 1888), and the authorities mentioned in Dr. Louis Ginzberg's article "Caro," J. Encycl. See Neubauer, Catalogue, no. 2578, containing a list of ten eulogies on the death of Joseph Caro, and as to the *untrustworthiness* of the Mentor-Angel, see Rabinowitz, p. 43, note 4.

[22] MM 17 a.

[23] Cassel, ibid., is almost the only writer who doubted the authenticity of this work. His arguments are in every respect weak, whilst there is contemporary evidence to the contrary. See Rabinowitz, 242 seq., Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, IX: 150, and Ginzberg, ibid.

[24] See MM 4 a, 13 c, 18 c, 23 d, 33 b, 49 a.

[25] See MM 3 c.

[26] See Horwitz, של"ה (ed. Warsaw), 162 a seq.

[27] See MM 22 c.

[28] See MM 11 c, 12 a, 17 a, 25 c, cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX: 340 and 561, but see also Hebrew translation, VII: 415, and appendix at the end by Jaffe.

[29] See especially MM, pp. 25 c and 26 a about הר"ט (ר' יוכף? טאיטאצק); cf. Kahana, 77, note 1.

[30] See MM 18 c and 28 a.

[31] See MM 4 a, 16 a, 37 a.

[32] See MM 6 b, 34 a, 50 a.

[33] See MM 28 a.

[34] See MM 35 c.

[35] See MM 2 b.

[36] See MM 30 d, 37 b.

[37] See MM 16 a, 18 d, 46 a.

[38] See MM 46 d.

[39] See MM 3 a, 14 a, 21 c, 24 c, 25 d, 34 d, 44 d.

[40] See MM 3 b.

[41] See MM 3 d, 21 b, c.

[42] See MM 52 b.

[43] See MM 29 d.

[44] See MM 3 b, 41 d.

[45] See MM 3 b.

[46] See MM 13 a, 18 c.

[47] See MM 8 a, 10 b, 19 d, 23 d, 26 b.

[48] See MM 8 b, c.

[49] See MM 50 d.

[50] See MM 4 d, 13 d, 14 a, 19 d, 20 d, 21 a, 27 a, 29 b. About Nicopolis in particular, ibid., 17 b.

[51] See MM 25 c.

[52] See MM 12 d, 13 a.

[53] See MM 23 a.

[54] See MM 5 a, 6 b, 8 d, 14 c, 25 b and c, 27 a, b, c, 28 d, 30 a and b, 34 b, 42 c.

[55] See MM 3 d, 4 b and c, 8 c, 9 c, 16 d, 19 d, 24 d, 30 c, 46 c, 50 a and d. About the possibility of references to Alkabez, see Rabinowitz, 245, note 1. See also below, note 76.

[56] The following remarks about Molko are mostly based on Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX, Index. See also English translation IV, Index, and Vogelstein and Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, II, Index.

[57] See Graetz, *Geschichte*, VIII: 253 and 562, and references given there, to which Sambari, p. 147, may be added. See, however, Rabinowitz, 152, note 1. His doubts are fully justified, as there is not a single real trace in all the contemporary literature coming from Palestine pointing to Molko's staying in that country.

[58] See references given to MM in note 55, especially the one to MM 50 a.

[59] See above, note 50. See also Horwitz, של"ה, I, 134 b, and Guttman, דרך אמונה ומעשה רב, Warsaw, 1898, 14 b.

[60] See Azulai *s. n.*; cf. also Ghirondi, p. 380 seq. See also Alkabez, Introduction to his ברית הלוי (Lemberg, 1863); cf. Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, IX, 150, and Rabinowitz, 245. See also Landshut, עמודי העבודה, *s. n.*

[61] See MM 50 d (headed עכום), which is dated in the MSS. of the MM the second Adar רצו (March, 1536), and it is clear from the contents that Caro was still in חוין לארין at that period. For the fact that there were about one thousand families in Safed, I have only the authority of Graetz, *Geschichte*, VII : 302. See Trani, III, 48.

[62] See Trani, I, 28; Caro II, 16 c. Alsheich, Responsa, no. 27, and cf. Shlomel, 43 a.

[63] See Frumkin, 7.

[64] See Responsa of Berab, no. 22; Bacharach, 109 c; Boton, לחם רב, no. 92, and Vital, 13 b. There are also in the book תקון ישכר, by R. Issachar b. Mordecai b. Shushan, references to קהלות הספרדים and קהל האשכנזים.

[65] See Trani, III, 48.

[66] See Trani, I, 106; II, 115 and 131; Responsa by Alsheich, no. 27; Responsa by R. Joseph Trani, I, 82.

[67] See Sh. J., 16 b, and Bertinoro, 222.

[68] See Sh. J., 16 b, and Trani, III, 46.

[69] See Berab, no. 22; Trani, I, 171; II, 25; Radbaz, II, 638, and Responsa of R. Moses Galanti, no. 11.

[70] See Chabib, 292 d.

[71] See R. Chayim Alsheich's Preface to the Pentateuch Commentary of R. Moses Alsheich, ed. Venice, 1601, p. 6 a. Cf. Leo Modena's *Briefe* (ed. by Prof. Dr. L. Blau), Letter 147.

[72] See Berliner, periodical *Jerusalem*, II, 68 seq. The Jewish Theological Seminary Library possesses the most important productions of this press.

[73] See Sh. J., 16 b, and Shlomel, 43 a.

[74] See Responsa of R. Isaac de Latas, p. 54; cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX, end.

[75] See above, p. 209.

[76] See MM 19 d; cf. ibid. 4 d. There can be little doubt that the Solomon mentioned there is Solomon Alkabez.

[77] About Berab and the history of the Ordination controversy, see Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX : 300 seq.; Rabinowitz, 218 seq.; and the references given there, especially to the אגרת הסמיכה forming an appendix to the Responsa of Chabib. It should never be forgotten that in judging Berab we are entirely dependent on material coming from an opponent, who in the heat of the controversy could with all his meekness not remain impartial to his antagonist, and therefore large deductions should be made from all that is said in the aforementioned appendix of the harshness of Berab's character and of the real motives for his action. Cf. also Frumkin, 38 seq.

[78] See Chabib, 186 d, 198 d, 302 b, and 305 c.

[79] See Chabib, 188 d. Of the four ordained, we have only the names of Caro and Trani. Graetz, *Geschichte* IX : 307, note, and Frumkin, 73, note 1, advance hypotheses as to the names of the other two. Yachya in his שלשרת הקבלה speaks of ten who received the Ordination, but the meaning of the passage is not quite certain.

[80] See MM 29 a; cf. Graetz, ibid. 311. Caro seems to have given up the matter altogether afterwards, there being not a single reference to the Ordination question, either in his חשן משפט, no. 61, or in his commentary to Maimonides' משנה תורה ה' סנהדרין, IV. Only in his בית יוסף to the חשן משפט, no. 295, there is a faint reference to it. Cf. Azulai's ברכי יוסף to חשן משפט, 64.

[81] See MM 16 d.

[82] About Trani, see Fin, הכרמל (octavo edition), II, 586 seq.

[83] See Trani, II, 67; cf. also I, 41 and 47.

[84] See Trani, III, 48.

[85] See e. g. Trani, I, 156, 189, 274, 336, II, 46 and 180; cf. Caro I, 24.

[86] See אהבת ציון, Anon., 26 d. Cf. also Caro I, 14, where he speaks of his lack of time, which is given to lecturing to the *Chaberim* both in the morning and in the evening.

[87] See Alsheich, Opinion incorporated in Caro I, 73.

[88] See Caro I, 92; II, 14 seq. Cf. R. Menahem Azariah of Fano, Preface to the פלח הרמון. Cf. also Azulai; Conforte; Sambari; and Kahana, p. 80 seq.

[89] See *Pardes*, Preface.

[90] See ברית הלוי, 39 b seq.

[91] See SG, pp. 1 a, 23 a and b, 24 b; cf. Kahana, p. 80, note 2.

[92] See Appendix A. 292, 293. With regard to Alkabez see טהרת הקודש, II, 25 b.

[93] See אור הישר by Popers, 23 b. See also reference given above, note 60.

[94] See Kahana, p. 145, note 6, to which are to be added R. Menahem Azariah of Fano and R. Sabbatai Horwitz, the author of שפתי טל.

[95] See Preface to the work mentioned in note 88. Cf. *Catalog der hebräischen Handschriften der kgl. Bibliothek in Modena*, S. Jona, p. 10 seq.; cf. also Kaufmann.

[96] See the authorities quoted above in note 88; cf. also Bacharach, 7 a and 33 c.

[97] Besides the usual authorities, such as Conforte (Index), Sambari (Index), and Azulai, *s. n.*, see also Calimani, and Alsheich's Preface to his Commentary to Proverbs. Cf. Leo Modena's *Briefe*, Letter 98. Most of the biographers give the relation of Loria as stated in the text. Cf. also Vital, 2 b. Rabbi Abraham Chazkuni, however, in his book זאת חוקת התורה, states in the name of Alsheich that he had a direct tradition from Loria regarding a certain mystic point, whilst according to Calimani he was one of the direct recipients of Loria's mystical teachings. See also Steinschneider, *Jerusalem*, III, no. 33 c, to a MS. חזות קשה by Alsheich on the precarious condition of the Jews of Safed. Unfortunately, the MS. was inaccessible to me.

[98] See Appendix A 298 : 17.

[99] See Appendix A 297 : 4; 293 : 20.

[100] See Conforte (Index), and Azulai, *s. n.* Cf. Bacharach 109 c; Ch. Y. II, 4 a, and IV, 10 b; Kaydanower, 93, and Popers, 7 b.

[101] See Appendix A 294 : 1, 2; 295 : 6, 8; 296 : 13, 14, 15; 297 : 2; 298 : 15.

[102] See Azkari, Preface; cf. Kahana, p. 149.

[103] See Appendix A 297 : 3.

[104] See ראשית חכמה (ed. Cracow), 174 a.

[105] See Appendix A 294 : 36; cf. 298 : 11, 19, 22.

[106] See Azkari, 95 a seq.

[107] See Appendix A 293 : 25, cf. *Baba Bathra*, 10 a, ש"ע א"ח, no. 92, end.

[108] See Appendix A 296 : 27; 298 : 16, 27.

[109] See Appendix A 293 : 22; cf. 294 : 4.

[110] See Shlomel and Vital, where such legends are scattered over the books, parallels to which are to be found in Bacharach's and Kaydanower's works in various places. Sambari, of whose chronicles the Jewish Theological Seminary Library possesses a good copy, is also replete with such stories. Cf. also נשמת חיים, III, 10; see Kahana, pp. 146, 148, and 150. Yachya in his שה"ק has also any number of such stories.

[111] The legend about Joseph is incorporated in the book לקוטי ש"ם (Livorno, 1790); Kahana, p. 11, note 5.

[112] See Appendix A 293 : 21; 297 : 8.

[113] Cf. *Shabbath*, 12 a and b, and the references given there on the margin to the codes of Maimonides and Caro.

[114] See Appendix A 293 : 19; 295 : 9; 297 : 7, 8; 298 : 13, 20.

[115] See אורחות צדיקים incorporated in the Hebrew book mentioned above in note 111, 69 b.

[116] See Azulai, *s. n.*; Ch. Y., II, 55 b.

[117] The main sources for Loria's biography are the legendary accounts, of which two versions exist. The one is that first published in the *Sammelwerk* נובלות חכמה (see Zedner, 356), and republished any number of times both as appendix to other works as well as by itself under the name of שבחי האר"י. This is the version made use of by almost all writers on the subject. The second version, strongly related to it, but in a somewhat more connected form as well as more precise in its dates, is the ספר הכונות ומעשה נ"ם published first in Constantinople in 1720, and then in Safed by R. Samuel Heller in the year 1876. See also אור האבת by Moses Mordecai Lebtob, pp. 214-216, where the first two or three pages of this version are reproduced. Sambari's account of the life of Loria is omitted by Neubauer, but the Jewish Theological Seminary Library possesses a photograph copy of the whole work as preserved in the Paris MS., and a copy of the omissions relating to Safed from the Oxford MS. This account of Sambari is almost identical with the second version. Much material is also to be found in Bacharach, 6 a, 7 b,

10b to 14a, 33a to 34a, 77a, 109c, 116b and c, 126a and d, 138a, 141c, 142a and b, 143a, 146b, c, and d, 152 to 154. Bacharach's story is, as is well known, based on Shlomel. Kaydanower has also various legends about Loria (see chs. 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 16, 22, 31, 34, 46, 48, 77, 80, 87, and 93), which agree on the whole with the second version. Ch. Y. also made use of this version. This version, hardly known to any modern writer except Bloch, in his *Die Kabbalah auf ihrem Höhepunkt und ihre Meister*, (Pressburg, 1905), is extant in various MSS. It is hardly necessary to say that all these legends are greatly exaggerated, and sometimes even written "with a purpose." Cf. Modena, ארי נהם, ch. 25; but on the whole, the legends fairly represent the estimation in which Loria was held by his contemporaries. Cf. also Calimani, Conforte Index, Sambari Index, and Azulai, *s. n.* See further, Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX, Index, and Kahana. The account in the text is mostly based on the Constantinople edition, to be quoted as MN, the initials of the *Maaseh Nissim* version. Cf. also Dr. Ginzberg's article "Cabala," Jewish Encyclopedia, and the literature given there about the various mystical systems, to which has to be added Bloch as above. The reader who will study the question will find that we are still in want of a good exposition of Loria's Cabbala, its strange and bewildering terminology, and how far it is to be considered a development of Cordovero's system. The best essay on this subject is undoubtedly the just mentioned article by Dr. Ginzberg, and the book of Mieses mentioned by him; but even in these articles we have more of the system of Cordovero as expounded by R. Sabbatai Horwitz than that of Loria as conveyed by his disciple Vital.

[118] See Graetz, *Geschichte*, VIII: 211-213. See also ibid., p. 292, note. Cf. Frumkin, pp. 15, 58, 61-68. From the Responsa of R. Samuel de Modena, 2, it is clear that the German-Jewish settlements in the Turkish Empire preceded those of the Spanish Jews. Cf. Solomon Rosanis, דברי ימי ישראל בתורכיה, p. 163 seq. Graetz's statement in *Geschichte*, IX: 24, that the Jewish settlement in Jerusalem counted in the year 1522 fifteen hundred families rests on a mistaken reading of his authority, where Graetz, by some oversight, added the word מאות, which is not to be found in the text. The sense in the

Sh. J. is plain enough, that the German community counted fifteen families. Cf. Schwarz, pp. 453 and 457. See also Epstein, משפחת לוריא, pp. 33 and 35. It is interesting to see that our Loria's son was named Solomon Loria, probably after his grandfather.

[119] See MN 2a. Cf. Azulai, *s. n.*, and Ch. Y., 13b. According to Conforte (40b), however, Loria was the pupil of R. David Abi Zimra and the colleague of R. Bezaleel, a view which is supported by Vital, 9a, רדב"ז רבן.

[120] See MN 2a-b. The MS. has the following important additional matter: ויתן לו הספר ההוא וילך ויתבודד בביתו בחצירו ששה שנים . . . ולפעמים אומרים לו . . . צריך סינופים אחרים קשים מהראשונים וכראותו כן יצא מחצירו והלך כן להתבודד במצרים הישנה סמוך לנהר נילוס ב' שנים אחרים ובכל ערב שבת הולך לביתו. Sambari has the following words: במצרים הישנה בכפר אחד שנ' המקייאץ שבצוען מצרים הנקרא אל'רודא ע"י חכיו שהיה עשיר גדול וזה הכפר היה ברשותו. See Shlomel's chronology (p. 33d), which is somewhat different. It is to be observed that the MS. contains no statement as to the date of Loria's leaving Egypt, so that it may be fixed with Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX: 587, not later than 1568. This would allow ample time for his making the acquaintance of Cordovero, who died in 1570, and becoming his regular disciple. Kahana's arguments against Graetz (p. 150) are not convincing. We have always to remember that the tendency was to reduce Loria's residence in Safed to a minimum, so as to make him entirely independent of Cordovero.

[121] See Shlomel, 33b, and Preface to the עץ החיים. About the mystical writings of R. David Abi Zimra, and those of R. Bezaleel, see Azulai, *s. n.*

[122] See Kahana, p. 203, note 1.

[123] See Sambari, 151, and Conforte, 40b.

[124] See MN 1b. The MS. adds Joseph Ashkenazi.

[125] See *Pardes*, 77a.

[126] *Pardes*, 26a.

[127] Introduction to the פלח הרמון, 3b.

[128] See MN 2 b and 3 a. More fully in the MS. 3 a-b. וכובש נביאתו מפני הרמ"ק . . . וביום שנפטר אמר להם . . . שבימי היו צינורי קדושה חתומים כתבתי דברי בסיתום גדול בבחינת ספירות אבל אחרי מותי יתגלו יותר הצינורות ויפרש האיש ההוא דברי בבחינת פרצופים כדאיתא בס"פ ד"צ אידרות. See also Preface to עה"ח. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX: 589. See also Bloch (as above, note 117), p. 35.

[129] See above, note 120, and below, note 163, as to the date of Loria's death.

[130] See Shlomel, 44 b, and Bacharach, 6 c. It is to be noticed that Vital maintained a sceptical attitude toward the relations of Caro's Maggid. See Kahana, p. 268, text and notes, and Rabinowitz, 243. It is not impossible that the distrust was mutual.

[131] See Shlomel, 34 b seq. See also Preface to עה"ח.

[132] See MN 3 a and 5 b. The author of the קול בוכים was a disciple of Cordovero.

[133] See MN 3 a b.

[134] See MN 4 a b. The MS. 5 a has that Loria said: לכן עצתי שכל אחד מכם יכתוב לו מה שישמע ממני . . . אמנם לא ניתן רשות לכתוב זולת למה רח"ו. The question whether Loria wrote anything, and how far these so-called traditions in his name are to be relied upon is still a very mooted one. See Kahana, p. 202, text and notes, and references given there. The general impression one receives from the various legendary accounts quoted above is that he declined to write anything, and that he was reluctant to impart any mystical knowledge even by word of mouth.

[135] See Azulai, *s. n.* See MN 3 a with regard to Loria's serving on a board.

[136] See Modena, ארי נהם, p. 66.

[137] See such works as the ספר הכונות in its various editions and arrangements (Zedner, 379), and the נגיד ומצוה by R. Jacob ben Chayim Zemach (Zedner, 299).

[138] See *Shabbath*, 10 a.

[139] See above, note 137, to which has to be added the פע"ח by Vital.

[140] See Shlomel, 141 b. הכנר seems to mean a block of buildings with a synagogue attached to it. According to the Ch. Y., 34 c, it means a College or a Yeshibah. See also Vital, 15 a.

[141] See Graetz, *Geschichte*, XI: 587 seq., and references given there. See also כונות (ed. Jessnitz, 1723), 1 a.

[142] See above, p. 168.

[143] See כונות, 2 d; cf. Kahana, p. 203, note 5.

[144] See כונות, 11 c.

[145] See כונות, 1 b.

[146] See נגיד ומצוה, 45 b.

[147] See כונות 6c. Cf. אורחות צריקים, 67 a.

[148] See Azkari, p. 48. See also the statement of the traveller Samson Bak, *Jerusalem*, II, p. 145.

[149] See כונות, 3 a.

[150] See ש"ע האר"י הלכות צדקה.

[151] See כונות, 1 a.

[152] See Ch. Y., IV, 53 a and b.

[153] See כונות, 3 b seq., 24 b seq. Bacharach, 11 d.

[154] See Shlomel, 39 c, Bacharach, 11 a, and Ch. Y., I, 37 b.

[155] See Shlomel, 39, and Bacharach, ibid.

[156] See גלגולים (Przemysl, 1875), 86 a and b.

[157] See Azulai, *s. n.*, and Kaydanower, ch. 93. Cf. *Pesikta Rabbathi*, 131 b seq., and the Second Esdras, ch. 10, *v. v.*

[158] See Azulai, *s. n.*

[159] See Shlomel, 39 a, Bacharach, 10 d. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, IX: 588. See also ג"ל, 50 seq.; 61 seq; 87 d seq., about various contemporaries of Loria. Cf. also Steinschneider, Catalogue Munich, 2d ed., Berlin, 1895, pp. 250–1.

[160] See Shlomel, 35 b.

[161] See כונות, 1 b, and Ch. Y., I, 48 b, 51 b, and 59 b.

[162] See Preface to the עה"ח.

[163] The date of Loria's death is given by most bibliographers as the year 1572. Against this we have, however, the evidence of Conforte, 41 a, who fixes it in the year 1573, for which he is attacked by Azulai and others. Sambari, p. 151, fixes it in the year 1574, which is also confirmed by the traveller Samson Bak. See *Jerusalem*, II, p. 146, text and notes.

[164] See the statement of R. Moses Galanti, the Younger, in the preface to the book כנן דוד, by R. David Abi Zimra (Amsterdam, 1679).

[165] Horwitz is the one who dwells more on the mystical exposition of the ideal man than any of the authors of ספרי מוסר

who became popular with the large masses, and a careful reading of the first seventy pages of his של"ה (ed. Warsaw, 8°) will show that it is chiefly the קדושת הגוף and the hope consequent upon it which he is aiming at. Cf. especially page 19 b; 20 a seq.; 28 a seq.; 30 b seq.; 33 a seq.; 47 a seq.; 59 a seq.

[166] See *Jerusalem*, II, p. 143, and Frumkin, 117.

[167] See Azulai under these names. Cf. also Shlomel, 36 a and 41 d. See also the Responsa of R. Joseph Trani, I, 82. Cf. also Sambari, 161, with regard to the Loria Synagogue.

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