LUZZATTO

and

AMSTERDAM

1736 1743



A Contribution to the Luzzatto Commemoration

The stay of

MOZES HAIM LUZZATTO

at Amsterdam 1736-1743

by

Dr. JAKOB MEYER

Librarian of Ets Haim and the Livraria Montestros



AMSTERDAM MCMXLVII

JOACHIMSTHAL'S BOEKHANDEL UITGEVERS EN DRUKKERUBEDRUF NV.

זכורת האריך

בוטם לדיווען דבי מדיבין שמי הדבה מלא הלא המלא הלאי הלאיה לעשור שבל המקובל הלץ הלאיה הפיטעים המלט המקובל הלץ הלאיה הפיטעים המשור ברשהידבישה הפיטעים ועיל הביע נשינים בשורה בלין הקדעה מה משה וכדי וליים ליים הלאים חבשה ובעברי ביעור לעיל בי ביעור לונים העיל של מלאים הפער לעשור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור לעשור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור ביעור הביעור ביעור ביעו

ואשא כושלי

ילוט לווה חב שלבו לבולל : ארולם בבלל : שלפו טבולל : אר בלוחן שלן באלמיר : אם בלוחן שלן באלמיר : בחבו לב ווספולל באלמונולל

העלב על פריקתן וטארבית נפשר שנא המיד ולוד הא מקילן: דור פראובן ישבים שר וגשפורו חפשר בישראל.

عدر والعاجة والعدائم

From "Sockath David", manuscript by David Franco Mendes. The poem is dedicated to Benjamin di Elie Hacohen.

(Livraria Montesinos)

PREFACE

ON the occasion of the Luzzatto-commemoration in the Jewish world, the Jewish community of Amsterdam does not want to stand aloof. Was it not at this town that the vexed man found the rest necessary for his creative power, which enabled him to do pioneer work for the Jewish history of civilization?

In spite of the circumstance that the Jewish archives and libraries are not yet quite ordered, we have made an effort to collect the documents that give a rather complete idea of the stay of Luzzatto at Amsterdam. In order to give an impression of the state of the Jewish collections we have endeavoured to reproduce the documents in facsimile. They are borrowed from the Sefardic community, the rich collection-Montezinos and the municipal-archives of Amsterdam. The letter of Luzzatto has been found in what remains of the archives of the Ashkenazim.

Whereas this study gives an idea of the large sources that are still present in Jewish Amsterdam, the publication of it also demonstrates the stubborn will to regain the contact with the Jewish world. At the initiative of Joachimsthal at Amsterdam a scientific monthly review will appear that has in view the documentation of the historical sources in our hands. We apply to the Jewish world in America and Palestine to support us in this important work. It is well-known that Amsterdam once formed the glory of world-Jewry. May the important Jewish centres of today enable us to describe and spread the history if this glory now.

We beg to tender our best thanks to the Board of the Pekidim and Amarcalim who enabled this publication to be brought about. Finally we are grateful to the staff of the municipal-archives for the unrestricted help given to us when tracing the deeds concerning the life of Luzzatto.

Amsterdam, May 29th., 1947.

The instability of thus gained wealth determines a decline of the spiritual conjuncture that does not fail to count in all domains of life. A small group of wealthy Jews dominates the patriciate of the community. By the sides of it a middle-group exists that is totally taken up and lost in the rage of speculation. Finally a large group of proletarians is constantly extended by the arrival of many beggars who are attracted from far-away countries by the blinding fame of the proverbially rich Amsterdam Sefardim. *)

For a good analysis of the history of the Amsterdam Sefardim of the 18th century the separate families must be taken one by one out of their own much restricted and separate clan. Genealogical studies demonstrate in a striking way that for instance the rich patricians mixed only in an utterly restricted circle. 3) In this connection it is to be observed (and this is important for the history of civilization) that unlike in London, here at Amsterdam an autochton small body of Sefardim has maintained itself as leading group which was of deciding importance for the spiritual stability of the community.

These leading Sefardim also maintained their cultural level in the 18th century. They have always kept up contact with the Sefardic centres. A study of archives in connection with the spiritual inheritance of the baptized poet Isaac da Costa brought to light complete correspondence between Amsterdam—Hamburg—London and other kehilloth. In this international contact a continuous interest for Jewish world-events crystallised.

strates in a social-economic sense the same mentality wich led these as a rule sober business-men in a cultural-historical sense to Sabbathianism.

The grandezza of the Sefardim remained a strange conglomeration of humanistic vision of life, Spanish pride and Jewish solidarity. Even in their big country-houses on the Vecht, the bonds with the Jewish style of life are cultivated and there was enough affection to Judaism left to receive the poor Mozes Haim Luzzatto and to give him the opportunity of expanding his spiritual aspirations to the full.

Let the documents speak for themselves.

[&]quot;) The arrival of the family Luzzatto is not a unique symptom either. Issue all the indigent Jews who come from Spain (which is right), we opened it for those from Italy, from France, from England, from the Levant, from Poland, from Barbary and finaly from Asia, Africa and America and thus we, about 400 jechiediem, find ourselves charged with the care of about 800 families who live or die at our charge (cited in connection with J. d'Ancona in Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland, by Brugmans and Frank, Amsterdam 1940 p. 301). I add some interesting data. On the 4th of May 1730 a marriage is contracted between Moses Raphael d'Ancona "van Venetien" and Sara Rodrigues Gomes "van Madrid". In the year 1727 between Jacob d'Ancona "van Venetien" and Hester Moresko "van Venetien". Both the last-mentioned data I am taking from the notes of the late J. d'Ancona.

³⁾ This lasted far into the 19th century! It led to regrettable in-breeding with all its consequences.

ARRIVAL OF THE FAMILY

Mozes' brother,

WE can conclude from the correspondence of Luzatto, edited by Simon Ginzburg, hat Luzzatto's brother preceded him to Amsterdam. When making researches already in 1941 I found in the Puiboeken 4) the consecration of a marriage contracted

between
Leon Wita Lusato
and
Hester Jeseroen

The text runs as follows:

Comparenden sta vocani Leon Wita Leidato; van Ladino, ond Marc inde Rock Signall, oner Sijn Valer Incob With Lidato & Hester Signand, som A nod 18 Jane wound all voornGendlinder hanri Noeder Gratia Inkouta

Vertochendelene deie Goodingsen vertochingen, en me, enerdereine, de vocale neunen filementen, en in oller is volmisken, so were bear noden gere vertoge verhinderinge voor en valle. En nor den si by manlese verlanden, den sy me Freizen veren, en mallenderin in bliede siet en bestochen, verr deur een Chestelek Henrick met in verbieder verdom, ze inn han geboden verwilige.

Commission verdom, ze inn han geboden verwilige.

Commission de lander status verdom en Chestelek Henrick met in de status de lander status verdom verdom

Compareerden als vooren Leon Wita Lusato, van Padua, oud 27 jaren in de kerk S., geass., met sijn Vader Jacob Wita Lusato & Hester Jeseroen, van Am. oud 18 Jare woond als voorn. geass. met haar Moeder Gratia Sakoete

signed.

Leon Vita de Jacob Vita Luzzatto Ester de Eliau Jesurun.

The marriage was contracted on 22nd of February 1737. It appears therefore that Jakob in any case had succeed in obtaining a foothold in his new dwelling-place.

Mozes a diamond-worker?

Perhaps Mozes practised the diamond-trade. This however I could not ascertain. I think that it may be concluded from the place in Lajeshariem Tchilla, where he speakes of concave and convex glass. 5)

Contrary to many others I do not conclude from this that Luzatto was a grinder of lenses. Subconsciously the parallel with Spinoza plays too great a part; it is even carried through so far that, also in connection with Luzzatto, it is accepted that (similary to Spinoza's refusal in the matter of the professorship at Heidelberg) he would have refused to accept financial support from the Chaves. The forming of a legend here confuses the reality.

In the first place diamond-workers occupied themselves with the art of glass in the 18th century. (a) Further they problaby made use of objects with concave and convex glasses — just as afterwards — in order better to observe the diamond while cutting. Just about the year 1730 the specialisation of this trade begins at Amsterdam becoming more important along with the extension of luxury.

Moreover it is a striking fact that in these years Venice disappears from the world-market as a diamond-centre and has to yield its place gradually to Antwerp and Amsterdam. Finally I may add that in those years the diamond trade is nearly the only pro-

⁵⁾ Books in which the marriages contracted are registered. With regard to the name it is remarkable that it runs Wita Lusato. The father signs: Vita Luzatto, Mozes is sometimes called: Moses Luzate. In the books of Ets Haim: Mozes Haim Lozato. He sings himselfs: Mosesh Haim Luzzatto. For the arrival of the family see. Ginzburg Iggeroth I p. XXIV (Introduction).

¹⁾ As regards the metaphor of concave and convex glass in La-jesjariem Tehilla II, I cf. Ginzburg: The life and works of M. H. Luzatto, Philadelphia 1931, p. 113). Also Rothstein: Nezir Elohim, Frankfort a.M. 1875, nate 28. As to the diamond-industry H. Heertje: De diamontbewerkers van Amsterdam. My thanks to the president of the Algemeene Nederlandse Diamanthewerkershoud for the useful information.

^{*)} Among others: Johann Kunkel Volständige Glaszmacherskunst "nebst einem Ankang von den Perlen und Edelsteinen", Nürnberg 1785. In the library of 'the Alg. Diamanthewerkers Bond many other examples may be found.

fession Jews are allowed to practise, because it is not organized in guilds. It is clear that I adhere to the well-known Amsterdam tradition that has Mozes acting as a diamond-cutter for some time, a tradition that still lived in the mind of the poet Isaac da Costa whose father Daniel Haim, born in 1761, had still personally known David Franco Mendes.

III

THE SOCIAL MILIEU

Mozes de Chaves.

I N order to typify the milieu in which Luzatto lived in Amsterdam, is necressary to view his Maecenas Mozes de Chaves in a historical way.

His family belonged to the oldest Amsterdam Sefardim. In the years 1614 already a Shelomoh de Chaves is mentioned in the archives of the community. The ancestor of our family (which seems to be another branch) is Mozes de Chaves, born in the year 1621 at Corvilha and married 1651 to Rachel de Matthos. 7) Their son Jacob married in 1691 Ribca Alvarez Machado and thus became allied to the richest families. I find this Jacob mentioned a few times amongst the speculators in the beginning of the 18th century. 8)

His son is our Mozes who (1718) married his cousin Sara da Veiga. According to Zwarts he was chief participator of the Utrecht Provincial Company. It is typical that this milieu is also closely involved in speculation. In order to maintain their influence as directors they even do not stand away from special tricks that

Riben Alvares Machado-Jacob de Chaves Sara Alv. Machado-J. v.A. de Veiga

Mozes de Chaves

Sara da Veiga

⁷⁾ Information from Ph. A. Sondervan, as per information given to him by Jhr. E. V. E. Teixeira de Mattos. Remarkable, here also, is the in-breeding. Antonio (Mozes) Machado-Rachel Ximenes Cardoso

^{*)} Groeneveld p. 222 and 223. Stocks from the bankruptcy of Thomas Perrin are concerned here. Jacob belongs to the creditors "weegens actie in de Oostindische Comp in Engeland" and "weegens actie in de Royale Bank van Engeland." The relations of Chaves with England are always very intens.

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From "Staat on Inventaris van den Boedel en Nalatenschap van Wijlen de .

Heer Mozes de Chaves", See page 16. Here his paintings are mentioned.

(Municipal-archive, Protocol notaris Jan Willem Smit, 9—12—1759.)

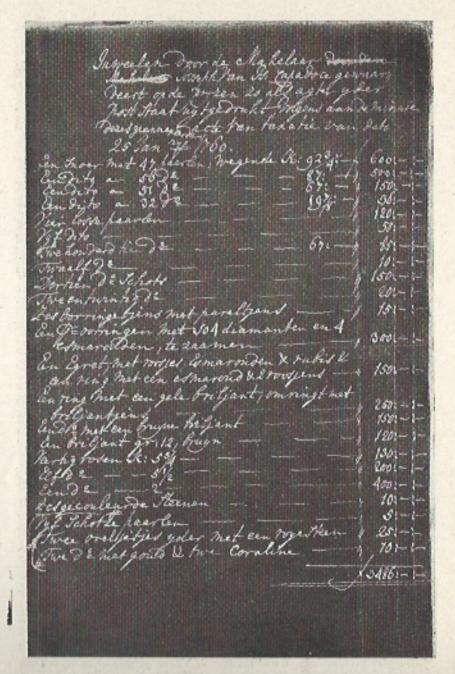
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cannot stand the test of business in good faith. On the list of chiefparticipators the name of Jacob de Chaves, later on Luzzatto's pupil, is mentioned three times: as Jacob de Chaves, as Jacob de Mozes de Chaves and as Jacob de Chaves Junior....

Since the 7th of October 1723 the family De Chaves resides in their country-house on the Vecht: Doornburg 19), the beautifully forged gate of which still forms one of the sights of the district 11). They had beautiful paintings made there, as was the custom at the time. Jewish biblical, but also allegoric representations adorned the interior. It inspired many poets.

Mozes de Chaves is the highest assessed tax-payer, according to the "quohier der Personeele quotisatie anno 1743". His income is then f 50.000 a year. ¹²) No wonder that now and then he has to suffer from the inimical feelings of his non-Jewish surroundings. The 18th October 1729 a deed is executed by the notary Johannes de Jong at Utrecht, in which is demonstrated in a colourful way that "die schuyt naar Amsterdam" had not taken him on board, for all his asking. Another document even states that this also happened once, as "zijn huysvrouw onverwagts op gemelde hofsteede (Doornburgh) in 't kraambed is bevallen." For a moment we get a

110 fund-holders
96 merchants
100 "interlopers" (those who outside the guilds
practised a profession) etc.



Jewels of Mozes de Chaves valued by the Jewish broker J. van Is: Capadose. Also from "Staat en Inventaris". See page 16.

J. Zwarts. Hoofdstukken uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland, (Zutphen 1929) p. 197.

¹⁶⁾ R. v. Luttervelt: De buitenpleatsen aan de Vecht, 1943. Further J. Zwarts: "Doornburgh". Het Joodse Buitenverblijf, waar Luzatto's "La-Jeshariem Tehilla onstond. (Vrijdagavond V, 1 p. 294). Some weeks ago I visited the place myself and discovered that most of the details given by Zwarts if not all are the products of his imagination. Of the orginal mansion hardly anything remains.

¹¹⁾ Dr. R. van Luttervelt, Schoonheid aan de Vecht. Amsterdam 1944, p. 75
12) A. M. Vaz Dias: Over den vermogenstoestand der Amsterdamsche Joden da de 17e en de 18e eeuw. (Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 51) Page 174. The article of Vax Dias is a foundation for the economical conditions about 1740. The quotation refers to revenue, rental value, number of maid servants, carriages and country-seat. Fourteen Portugese kept a carriage, twenty had a country-seat. Of the 552 Jewish inhabitants, there were in 1743:

glimpse here of the antisemitism of the 18th century as a shadow even in the quiet, rustic district of the Vecht.¹³)

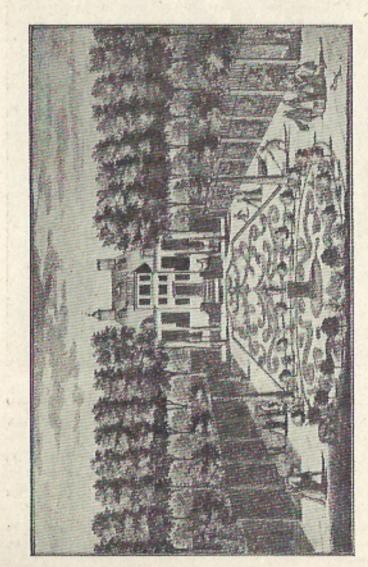
Mozes de Chaves had a great cultural interest. In the Jewish domain his ideology will have moved between the mystic pictism and the cool rationalism, those two for apart poles of the Portuguese-Jewish attitude towards life. From this point of view we also feel how this sly, coolly calculating business-man, could be a benefactor of a poor poetic dreamer.

He often was parnas and likewise governor of Ets Haim.¹¹) He was one of the leading figures of Mikra Kodesh and he also seems to have been a connoisseur of the Jewish literature. ¹⁵) I even found a Hebrew poem about pastoral life which he had written with no little skill.

Besides he had the love for art and science of the 18th century. Imposing is his property of pictures and jewels. A part of his will, also interestings as a catalogue of art, I inserted entirely for curiosity's sake. Many great Dutch masters are represented together with Italians. Would by the "blauwe Niesje door vermeer van Delft" be meant the world-famous picture "The Letter"? ¹⁵a)

La-jesharim Tehilla.

A good deal of the mentality and the spiritual atmosphere of the family De Chaves resounds in La-jesharim Tehilla which, as is known, was written on the occasion of the wedding of Luzzatto's pupil Jacob de Chaves with Rachel Veiga Henriquez, a daughter of Isaac da Veiga Henriquez, likewise one of the highest-taxed persons of the year 1743. ¹⁵b) This allegoric poem can only be understood as a piece of lyric poetry of the Dutch Sefardic wig-period, the spiritual expression of a period, during which a certain Jewish atmosphere can mix with the late remains of the Baroque and the full bloom of the Roccoo. In this connection I point to Francesco Lopez



¹⁵⁾ Zwarts Lc. p. 297.

¹⁴) Gedenkschrift... Ets Haim by J. S. da Silva Rosa and Dr. M. C. Paraira, Amsterdam 1916. See the years 1720, 1737, 1738, 1753, etc.

⁽¹⁾ Contrary to the generally accepted opinion. Mikra Kodesh is at first the Chewra of the rich Parnassim, not of the pupils of Luzatto.

¹⁰a) These documents, bistorically very interesting as a catologue of art. I found with the help of notes of the late D. Vieyra, at present in my custody in the Livraria Montexinos.

¹⁶h) A. M. Vaz Diax Le. p. 174.

Yeda Pastorel 一つ(())カマカ(対) Oldava 15 × 16 de D' Luis de Carroy Quenta ban tiven ofortaxa פין לב לונים עלול בפכון ופון que nuncarem mores conces de metefar, בל יצווה יותו כייול ען משי god em to lever de a godo à fonte frie, עהל עוע מדעיקס חקודו את יחוב לשקק בן שרותים e mungiotte de Sevegor bebefer; יוה עוב הה חלקן, עלנו לשנים quan bemaverherado que seria, والرجاد بالمرابع gen pot mais fortuna revolvere, nunca en se Sentiriarmagor pena, que perarto d'avidar Set pequena. רק כי לינון חב מחובר שעוני Vena enquer de vola rexa façe יראורן מענים שם נין שרים לכת יו veria Comer Longer allaw fortes , בל ישרמר לקב מאן פאן sem Imaginat a Agos bonde nace, ייוום קביב קכים שומו מיפת nem of a laz Occultor no orizonte, צל יקבום מני קם אותו יואן tangendo afranta donde of ado pares כון בין פונן עם נפשו דורכת conhecina Oservas do Alla monte שוכ שנו יכון לון יוך נביאן em Bereria Simples equieto, פון כאון יאון יאף יעבדען Jem mais especular nonhum fecreto בל בית פלא ידיום ומביקה מן:

From "Emek Hashieriem" by David Franco Mendes. See page 19. ...
(Livraria Montezinos)

de Liz, the decadent art-lover of the Hague, who was even in touch with Jud Süsz who also stayed in the Netherlands. 15c)

Let us turn to the poem itself. By "jesharim" no doubt the "De Chaves" are meant. Just as in the case in the title of Mesilath jesharim. The De Chaves are the "righteous", as counterpart to his merciless pursuers.

The allegoric characters of the drama also are probably to be understood as real persons who cannot easily be identified. How far, however, riddles and pseudonyms are applied here is not always to be clarified. It is generally known, that the 18th century gladly made use of them. ¹⁵d) That "Mechkar", this solitary searcher who leads a wandering life, is Mozes Luzzatto himself and that by the "M" and "Ch" the initial letters of his own name are meant, seems doubtless to me.

Besides I want to point out that, contrary to all Luzzatto's biographers, it is my opinion that the contents of this poem only refer to the life of his benefactors, and not to his own. It must have been his intention to celebrate his rich friends who only wanted to hear the songs of their own surrounding and own athmosphere, according to the style of this abundant period.

The luxurious atmosphere of the wig-period also stands out unhampered. Striking is the rustic atmosphere with its predominant "pastoral" characteristics. A well-known feature of the Dutch Sefaidin is the modishness which surely led to the conscious imitation of the pastoral life. The poem of Mozes de Chaves that I mentioned above, praises the life of the shephard as well.

By "Tifereth" the real "gravidade" is meant. It is a technical term. In the comparison of the oar something resounds of the boating on the Vecht which at present is still a favourite pastime. The gardens with their special structure and the fancy-rocks are conjured up before our eyes, just as the imitated waterfalls which do not occur in our country. ¹⁵e)

The poem sings of the luxury of the cups, the wealth of the festive board and the richness of the jewels. In the final hymn there is a conscious thought of musicians, present in the music-loving milieu of the Portuguese Jews; of the halls, adorned with scenes of pastoral love borrowed from Guarini's "Il pastor fido" or taken from Tasso's "Gerusalemme liberata", so much loved by the rich Sefardim of the 18th and even 19th century. ¹³f) Is it not signi-

¹³e) Eduard van Biema. Episoden uit het leven van Francesco Lopez de Liz (Jaarboek Die Haghe 1914—1915, also separate). Compare for the contact of Jud Süsz with Amsterdam, also Selma Stern: Jud Süsz, Berlin 1929, pp. 23/24, 74, 96.

¹⁵d) The Livraria Montezinos possesses several manuscripts (also from Franco Mendes) of riddles. Particularly interesting is the fact that I also found several riddles in M.S. referring to this marriage.

¹⁶e) For the spiritual atmophere of this period in connection with literature: R. van Luttervelt: Buitenplaatsen. For pictorial art H. E. van Gelder: Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden, Utrecht. z.j. p. 408 etc. and Prof. Dr. A. A. van Schelven: Van Hoepelrok en Pruikentooi Nijkerk z.j. p. 375 etc.

¹⁵f) The poet Isaac da Costa also translated in te 19th century from Tasso.

ficant that Luzzatto's only translated poem is a pastoral poem? ¹⁵g)

The literary interpretation of La-jesharim Tehilla will have to
do justice to a historical explanation of the milieu of the family
De Chaves, those wealthy, art-loving personalities of the time of
crénoline and pride in wigs. ¹⁵h)

ששיקר ועינה כל החכמות הוח לימוד הקורה יהקים! לכי לקכוע ככיהי נשנת התקם חקום לחקתבר שם כזמן החורף פעתים כשכוע בקרב חנשים חבמים ונכונים חנשי חיל ירחי שקם לקרות כלה כשם ה המקדה עם כל השרושים ברוך ה כיעל כה עודע הוה ים חקרו עש שחוכה לחקחיבו כל יווי להבין ולהשכיל מהרי מלפוני החורה ומנה בשנת ההקיף ליניה בעברי בפי דובי חרי שנה בשנה הל חתום הבירה (רחוק בצלים אתי וקרוכי בנעקי בחים אחונים בקי ככל החביווה שיוו נודע בשערים שק החבק השום הדיין החצוין החפיד ועניו קיצים הנכבר בשים ענירוה ישחו הנביר הנעלה כבור מורי ורבי לניאל כהן דוררים, וצוחן ונקעול הדיבור על חברקי הנל ובקש וווע להראות לחברי בשובי בשלום אל ביהי עבואה יחותאל שי כח כדי שכל ח' יוחם יחוה דעקם בכהב ידם וחת עליו כי נכניוחקים מיקובל מל הזכל בלי הכנם בשובי קורה היותרשים כבודם ביוקוחם יווניו : בחורתי הנדתי לחברי את כל אתר קרה לי אז רוכם ככולם אורו חיל ולקחו קפת קופר בידם ובדעקם הרחבה פרתו מענון כל א' כפי דרכם הרחה כולם שויכד לעובה וצוחף הפיחצים ל מעלה החכם הל בבקשה ממנו לחנוק דיעו נה הוא זוה עשה וכהקות שכל אלו הפתיבות ואינה פיוטים וחרונים שנעשו בחברהי הם יופיורים ומפורדים ועיר זם ועיר זם נורקי חומר (חברם ולניפם לכרו ביוניות חשר כהוב חים על מקומו והים על דולו . ונאספו אמה כל הכהבים ולעולם יהיו ביינוים לשם ולתפחרה עושהם . וחלם מוסף על ברחשונים בי מנחרי בון ל שבח ליכי עוד פי אחר על זה השנין והמרהי (חפרו עם המוכרים והיו לחתים ורשטהי כל חתד בחוד ירוחד ובנוכו חפקת מקבינות האוהיות אחת אל אתק עם שמוה המחברים כה לכרי המעקים לודש שלווש ועובהם מוכן לשרוש ולברך בשמם שניום דיון חבריים / מפן פושפי לייום ל החכם הנעלה החקיד ועני הנכיר החרומם כר יקיאל פוואה החכם הנעלם החקיד ועניו קוניל החרומה כר משה נופש שעריקין החכם בנשנה החקיד ועני הנכר היורותב כר שלחה וועיחרים תחנש הנעלה הוכיר החרוחם חרופים השנהן כר ילחק ברוך מחרדו נרו יחר החכם הצלם הליץ החלוי נהחפד שנו היצ הנכו בנו מור ורשה נורץ לי משקיעה חבוק קחבם השלם הדיין החלוין החקיר ושניה שמונה שיביול קינו כהך מוריעים החכם הנעלה החפור ופנו היציא הנכבר הנציר הצרונם כר משם

First page of the register of Mikra Kudesh, with the name of Mozes.

de Chaves, See page 16.

(Livraria Montezinos)

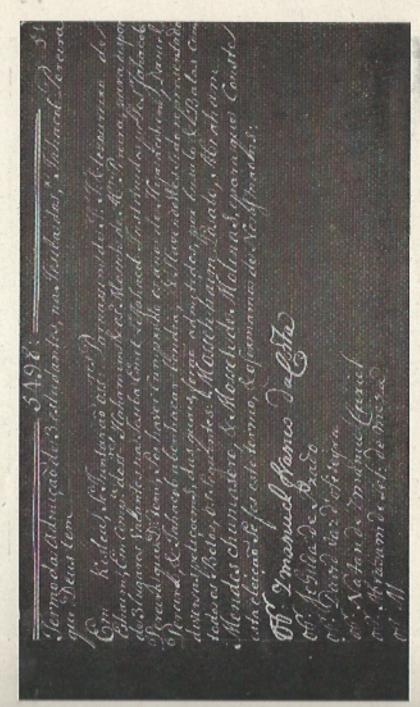
¹⁵g) The facsimile: p. 18.

which is not paginated. For the pastoral atmosphere which is imitated consciously along the Vecht compare the scene about the pastor. The "car" has also been referred to by Ginzburg (113). The luxury of the cups ("Kos" and "Gwi'a) too occurs repeatedly. As to the action of the poem, it is very interesting to analyse the intrigue of "Pride" who is said to be also a son of "Truth". The moral ideas of the Jews were very liberal and such problems may form a part of every-day life.

WHILE in the beginning Mozes probably had to provide for himself by diamond-cutting, he gets an appointment as a teacher at the Medras ¹⁶), in the year 1738. Unmistakably the influence of Mozes de Chaves, the tesoreiro de Ets Haim was of settling importance in this matter. It grew into a habit that the rich Sefardim in Ets Haim created the possibilities to provide for their protegé's by preference learned men from abroad. ¹⁶a)

His salary amounted to Fl. 50 a year. Behind his name it says moreover Fl. 89.— "Em lugar (= in loco) de Aron Cohen de larra." The meaning of this is not quite clear. Underneath behind the name "Selomoh Acatan" is mentioned again: "Em lugar de Mosseh Haim Losato de Fl. 50: Fl. 80.—." This is not clear either. In any case Mozes earned Fl. 130 a year, which certainly was a reasonable income for that time, if we consider that Fl. 6 monthly is paid to a poor family by the "sedacah".

He is appointed as a teacher at the "Jesiba" Emet Le-Jahacob. That he actively joined in Halachic discussions appears from the place in the Responsa of David Meldola, where Luzzatto makes a deciding remark in the discussions wether it is allowed to eat a pheasant. 17)

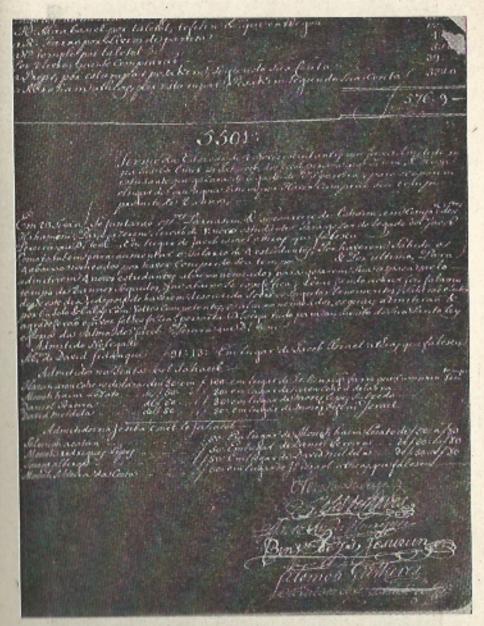


From the archives of Ets-Haim. (See page 22).

¹⁸) Archive Ets Haim. This achive has been entirely saved, like that of the community. In the year 1737 Mozes de Chaves is Texoreiro, and later president. He died 1762. On the tombstone, (19 Kisley 5522) a hebrew poem is found, in which his qualities are celebrated.

¹⁸a) Gedenkboek p. 44.

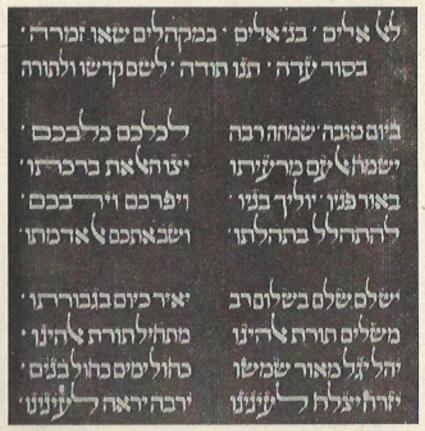
¹⁷) I. Maarsen: De Reponsa als bron voor de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland. B\(\tilde{q}\) land. B\(\tilde{q}\) land. B\(\tilde{q}\) land. V. Amsterdam 1933, p. 134. The story from Dibre David (No. 48) is not quite literally quoted. By "Ohel Ja'acob", probably the Jesjiha Emet LeJahacob is meant. It is remarkable that in this connection also the name of Eleasar of Brody — then the Raw of the Ashkenazim is mentioned.



From the archives of Ets Haim. With the signature of Mozes de Chaves.
(See page 22).

The community.

WHETHER Luzzatto had contact with the Portuguese community I was not yet able to ascertain. The only thing that is to be determined is that David Franco Mendes in his important "Memorias de estabelce e progresse dos Judeos Port, en Espanh, nesta cidade de Amsterdam" informs us, that Luzzatto in the year



Le'el Eliem by M. H. Luzzatto, (Livraria Montezinas)

1742 made a little poem in honour of both Chatanim on Simchath Torah. 18)

"1739 — Em Simchat Thora do Ao; 5499 sendo Hatan Tora Is nun Hen e HaHtan Beresit Aron de Jos. de Pinto; compos o H. H. R. Mosseh Lusato, o Pismon Le'el Eliem; e adolfa delle

¹³⁾ P. 142. In possession of the Portugese community.

בשמחת תורת שתתצט שם דק השנם חחד המעוחל שכמיישעם פרעותריר יושה חיים לונחטו ולשל בשירים החלה (בבול החדצים היקרים קובור העולה ינחה כי אכרגם טועם חינו קים חכן דורם והוביר העניקר חקרן כי יופף כי נישון חרן ברחשות ונרעו בשר על ידי היורע בעשף ומוא בבל העוץ החפוד והעטן כדר קבוהם די החפידים ושיררו א הם בטעיתות קולם יחד שלוריםי הלפור המפוחרים והיקרים כהר שמואל רודרצים יצינלים: וכחר להרן קכהן כדי לארא: חלקת כולם בחים העחים עד עולם כפתחם שענו כל קעם קהל ולול עד-מחד בשתוקה וכהי שינחה נדולה כלכ ולב כל שוענים: נישאו להם החתנים תשאות חרטענס דוקאדום מלכד המלבוקם במעודדו

From "Kol tefila wekol zimra", manuscript of David Franco Mendes See page 27.

(Livraria Montezinos)

R. Abm. de Casseres, que cantarao com agradavel melodia ja a solo e ja a duo, os famosas Hazanim R: Sen Rois Mendes e R. Aran a Cohen de Lara: accompanhados... do Compositor... asistio nateba e com esta noville foi o concurso de gentes innumeravel, o siliencio summo e o contento da congregen inexplicavel".

This poem "Le'el Elim", of which the Livraria Montezinos contains a manuscript (by Franco Mendes), was part of the official liturgy for some time. ¹⁹) From this it may be concluded, that Luzzatto had an important influence on the community. The evening on which it was sung made such an impression on Franco Mendes, that he speaks of it several times in enthusiastic words. It must be considered that the functions of the Chattanim in those years could only be carried out by high society. ²⁰) Simchath Thora was the climax of the Jewish ceremonies. Around those years (1742) the magnificient Gobelin-furnishings for the Chattanim were given which now again form part of the treasures of the community. ²¹)

¹³) J. d'Ancona p. 300. Still occurs in Machzor by Silva Mendes (Amsterdam 5531). Reference to Idelsohn in Hebr. Union College Jubilee Volume (1875—1925), Gineinnati 1925. p. 418). I recently found the original music for this poem which was composed bij the Chazzanim of the community and which will be published shortly. The Hebrew story of David Franco Mendes is borrowed from his Kol tefila wekol zimra, manuscript on the Livraria Montezinos (20 E 15). The Livraria Montezinos also posseses a rare example of the Shire Hilloclim which were written in the year 1745 by Benjamin Dias Brandon, Joseph Siprut de Gabay and Eljaschib Nathanel Zarfati, in honour of Jacob de Chaves, Chatan Thora and Jacob Hiskia de Vega Hendriquez, Chatan Beresjit — Utrecht 1745.

¹⁶⁾ Because of the high costs connected with the functions. Also De Pinto mentions that.

¹¹⁾ Found back 1946 in Germany in a farmhouse.

THE DEPARTURE OF MOZES

Social-economic uncertainty.

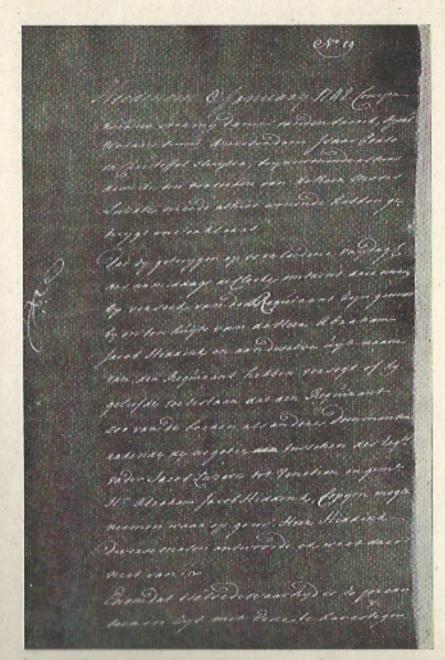
R OUND about the year 1740 the economic position in the community is bad. Above I pointed already to the pessimistic note of Isaac de Pinto. The stock of capital decreases. De Pinto recommends sending the numerous poor to the colonies.

Ets Haim also shares in the depression. In the years 1739 and 1751 deficits had to be made good by deduction from the reserve-capital. The first reason for the departure of Mozes is to be found here. His family had already preceded him. In those years it is also prohibited for the Jews to trade in old clothes. There is even a tendency to organise a guild for the diamond-workers to cross the Jews in this respect. ²²)

Departure of the family.

The family Luzzatto probably departed for Venice about 1738. From a notarial document of the 8th of January 1742 it appears 22 that Jacob Luzzatto at this time is in connection with Amsterdam. Before "Daniel van den Brink, notaris binnen Amsterdam", appeared on that date "Isaac Porto en Christoffel Sluyter, ten versoeken van den Heer Moses Luzato mede alhier wonende." They bore witness that they "den Heer Abraham Jacob Hiddink uyt naam van den Requirant (Mozes Haim Luzatto) hebben versogt of hij geliefde toe te staen, dat den Requirant (M. H. L.) zoo van de boeken als andere documenten rakende de negotie tusschen des regts. Vader Jacob Luzate tot Venetien en gene Abraham Jacob Hiddink, Copijen mogte neemen." The said Hiddink seems to have refused this.

Though this documents is not quite clear, the importance of it is great, in view of the scarcity of data. For a moment I thougt here



Notarial document of the 8th of January 1742, before Daniel van den Brink. See page 28-

(Municipal-archives protocol Daniel van den Brink 8-1-1742)

¹⁰⁾ Heertje p. 21.

²⁰⁾ Notarial archive of the municipality of Amsterdam.

of a rupture with the father. Would Jacob Luzzatto have broken the contact with his son? From the information that the said Mr. Hiddink "diverse malen antwoordde ik weet daar niet van", it certainly appears that Mozes inquires in vain about the business of his father. Alas, history leaves us in doubt on this subject for the present. Remarkable is the contact with non-Jews of which one (Christoffel Sluyter) is summoned by Mozes as a witness.

Palestine-orientation of the Sefardiem.

With regard to the departure of Luzzatto to Palestine, it must be remarked, that in the 18th century a keen national-Jewish orientation existed stressing Erets Jisrael. The archives of the Sefardim do not leave us in doubt. People have particular interst for Jerusalem, Tiberias and Safed. It is not unlikely that, as regards the departure of Luzzatto, we have to think of a more regular contact between Amsterdam and Palestine than we hitherto supposed ⁵⁴). Constantinople was a joining link here. Probably the mail was delivered both ways via this town. From a historical point of view it is necessary to examen more closely the contact between Amsterdam and Erets Jisraeel during the 17th, 18th and even the 19th century, for even so late Sefardic Jews went from Amsterdam to Palestine. ²⁵)

Practical arrangements.

A surprising find in the municipal-archives brought to light the authentic document, in which "Mosseh Haim Luzzatto" on the 19th of April 1743 arranges his departure and puts his affairs in order. He authorizes Jacob de Chaves, his pupil, to arrange all his interests and affairs. 24) He is about "om zig buyten's lands te begeeven." Jacob is appointed his executor in case of his decease. To him he leaves "al zijn goederen en koopmanschappen."

In the first place it is striking that Mozes became a merchant at this time. Secondly, that he leaves his business and trade to Jacob de Chaves with the limitation (afterwards inserted) "in Europa".

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²⁴⁾ Archive P. I. Community.

²⁵) For example V. N. Coronel, author of Zecher Nathan, Vienna 1872, whose correspondence with D. Montezinos I have also traced.

²⁶⁾ Notarial archives of the municipality of Amsterdam.

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Luzzatto arranges his departure. (From municipal-archives Protocol Jan Burels 19-4-1743) See page 30.

May I conclude that Luzzatto had the intention of trading in Palestine?

With the help of this we in any case succeeded in getting exact information about the departure of Luzzatto for Erets Jisraeel. For the rest all we know about him is derived from the letter, formerly in possession of Sigmund Seeligmann, published by Ginzburg. ²⁷) Another later letter from David Franco Mendes to Luzzatto, a copy of which is kept in the Livraria Montezinos, will be published elsewhere by A. de Jong ²⁸).



Signature of Luzzatto under the document, before his departure.

^{2 3)} Iggerath II 403.

²⁸) d.d. 22 Sjewath 1744. About the cantact with the Ashkenazim I could not determine anything. Cf. note 17. It is remakable, that R. Arjeh Leib ben Saul, who was the Raw of the Ashkenazim here from 1740.—1755, belonged to the fiercest antagonists of Luzzatto. Apparently there was no question of any conflict. About Arjeh Leib the study of A. Frank (Amsterdam 1935), Cf. Ginzburg Iggeroth II p. 309, 327, 439 and 467.

LUZZATTO . MANUSCRIPTS AT AMSTERDAM

I N the Livraria Montezinos the following Luzzatto-manuscripts are to be found:

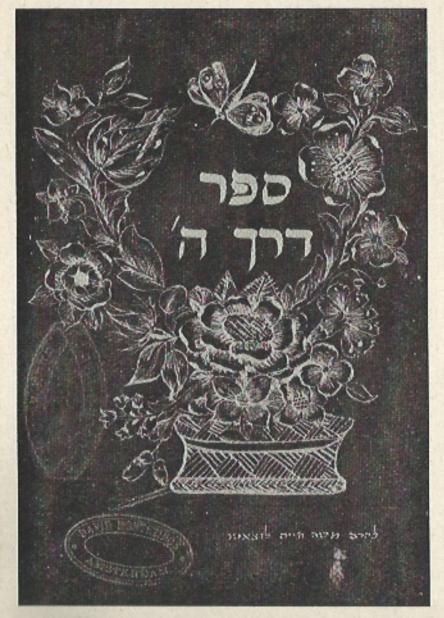
- 1. Derech Hashem.29)
- 2. Derech Chogmah. 34)
- In the collection "Emek hashirim" of David Franco Mendes are five poems by Luzzatto. 31)

A letter from Luzzatto about Salomo Spiero(?).

In a manuscript-volume belonging to the Ashkenazic community 32) I found a letter of Luzzatto about a cabbalist, "Salomo", who lived in Krakau and who, as appears from an information therein, died in the year 1740 at the age of 48 years.

Nineteen verses, all beginning with "Nathan", give a rhymed glorification of Nathan ben Salomo Spiero, whose Megale Amukoth obviously made an enormous impression on Luzzatto. Would a son of Nathan be meant by the here mentioned Salomo?

In any case this manuscript gives a view on certain influences, that have worked on Luzzatto. In this way it is a contribution to his life, while the fact that it is written in Amsterdam forms an indication of the activity of Mozes in the case in question.



Title-page of Derech hashem (Livraria Montezinos). See page 34.

³⁹) Ginzburg: Bibliography No. 12 facsimile p. 34. Opposite the title-page are some figures the sense of which is not clear.

³⁰⁾ Ginzburg. Bibliography No. 6. Two copies.

³¹) Ginzburg: Bibliography: No. 28, 32, 71, 73 en 76. It is to be noted that the titles given by Ginzburg are not always exact. I was lucky to find the original catalogue of the David Franco Mendes library, in manuscript by Issue Cohen Belinfante.

³²) This volume — Tifereth Bechuriem — contains i.a. a most important correspondence between Isaac Saruco and Joshian Pardo about the Sabbatai Tswi-movement, which I hope to publish elsewhere. For Luzzatto's interest in Megale Amakoth, Ginzburg Iggeroth I 59, 105 a.s.o.



Title-page of Emek Hashieriem by David Franco Mendes. In this collection are five poems by Luzzatto. (Livraria Montezinos) See page 34.

הכוכתב מכתב כושה תים בלקים התיהעולה בהרר משה חיים לוצאטותע משר עשה לשבם כב יו וביל שהים

איתכנשר שלון אינחנרו והחן להלילה וכא ואוריה מלפרץ ालनेरात्मे वर प्राप्ति गराम निष्यम् तर्म पर् פאקעות רש מעלבתם שפרון ברינטים יעל נולופול דבל דעורן מהמכותון נה משפרותו מרושלו וחבן יקרולו י שפיר וזרונא בקריטיתם וכתבייתא יעלה עושקתא וינשתבתאי כל יעלוהי בר זא לשיעהם מילין לה אפשר למיפרץ בשפוותאי סמא דמלהם תצופקא אמשרא דרעוורא ידתעוב במעורתאיי פוס ממול רברבתא מני ציב קבירתא י מקרא ושוטר וברייתא : אם מספה נידל מעולתו להללה ועונס שבחו למללון וכבול הפחוקו -לפלפלה לו יוכל קיריעה להכילה , בחשר לו דותנה תכלה ידיו רב לה, בכל התורה בנסתר ובנצלה, כישובעה ובפלוסופה ובקבלה; בכשובת שאלה, בעל פה ידע בכל אלה מאור הצולה, ריש מותבה א ודים מלקן לו היד העידור מעשלהן בשר נאס קון קר אכן אמחולה כוש של כל קון תלה תלה, נידות לתנאום לק לעילו יצובאו באורעילו ופיבורו באיני ונעלהן במקרח תוצה רוא דמלכה רבי בבפרו קים, לית כאורית מנה אבר לא אמר על בי הוא זהי מוד ישובנון, אין בשפתו שילהר לשונו קד וצין ומצוחצין אין בדם בפתניוף יוואת שפתין עלהן תעיד יום ולוה פקל התפולהן הרב קחשושטון

Letter by M. H. Luzatto. From the manuscript volume "Tifereth Backuriem. See page 34.

(N.I.H.S.)

Melecheth Hahigajon.

In another volume, for the greater part indentical with the former ⁵²) I found a brief introduction to the logica, to which I could not give nearer identification for lack of study-material. Could it be possible that this article is one of the lost manuscripts from the library of Franco Mendes?

Asiefath Jaakov.

I found a partially vanished manuscript among the remains of the badly damaged library of the Ashkenazic Beth Hamidrash. It is called: Asiefath Jaakov, and contains explanations about the dream of Nebukadnezar and has been copied in charge of Moses Haim Luzzatto. 34) The title-page gives a place-name: Hamburg. A date is not given. Interesting pen drawings illuminate the manuscript.

³⁰) Ittur Soferiem (Livraria Montezinos). This is a collection which resembles the one mentioned under 32.

LUZZATTO'S INFLUENCE AT AMSTERDAM

David Franco Mendes: Mercator Sapiens.

I N consequence of their age-long isolation the spiritual life of Jewry in these Low Countries has remained almost unknown. The inner questions that ruled Jewish spiritual life in the Netherlands even in the second half of the 18th century, have never yet been the subject of serious consideration. I especially would like to draw attention to the person of David Franco Mendes who is most important for Jewish history on the eve of the Emancipation and who is pre-eminently to be considered as Luzzatto's pupil.

David Franco Mendes was born in 1713. Luzzatto had a lasting influence on the development of his best years, a threefold influence in my opinion. Within the scope of this article we must refrain from a more specified analysis of the purely literary and of the linguistic side.

Mysticism.

In Franco Mendes there lurks a conscious urge towards mysticism, as is evident from many of his unpublished works. Among the manuscripts of Ets Haim are samples of works in Geomanicia, copied and revised by him ³⁵). There is also a strong orientation towards the mysticism of Luria that finds expression in many manuscripts revised also by David Franco and which contain the life and history of Luria. ³⁶)

M) "Hu'tak bifkiedoeth R. M. H. Luzzatto,"

³⁵⁾ About kim the fundamental bibliographic article by D. Montezinos in Joodsch-letterkundige b\(\tilde{q}\)dragen 1867. He died in 1792. His simple tombstone is excavated by D. H. de Castro. The inscription only mentions his name. He married in 1750 his cousin Rachel da Fonteca from Maarssen. He must often have been in contact with Luzzatte, for Doornburgh is situated there too.

³⁸⁾ This is also in 19th century Amsterdam. The family Lehren and their circle also link up with Dutch-Jewish relations. A glance at the libraries, put up for nuction during the 19th century at this place, shows us much about the spread of mysticism. Ets Haim reflects this in a rich variety of very important material.

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המעתיק:		תוספת			
		ת ושפלות בכוזרי רמי	נשיאו כוכבי לכת		
נפלותם	בתיע •	שיאיתם 2		שבי הכוכם רכת	
במאנם עקיב קשת קשת הזלה הזלה	ניינייה ברפנעת המיים הכיים וכיים	שור שור תאיניים טרשן אריה בתילה ביאונים ביאונים מיל המליה ש מופן מיל חביר! מיל מיל המליה וכן מ מיל מיל המליה וכן מ מיל מיל מיל מניל מניל מיל מיל מיל מיל מניל מיל מיל מיל מיל מיל מיל מיל מיל מיל מ	פינות ה' המ כפי התחברו ה שברבתן ה ה הנשחתים ה פי הר ב וכע ביו פי הר ב וכע ביו	חש אכיקר באבים באבים	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Page from "Geomancia", manuscript by David Franco Mendes. See page 39.
(Livraria Montezinos)

ביאת הכשירו

זחת המחברת כילת רוב ייעודי הגאולה אעלין לו עדקיימו: אורותינו לא ראינו: היא אזר דכר פי ל לעביאין המבזרים טוב משמעש קיזועה: זמרו לא יזובו אחור לעלמע עולמים: כי לא איז ל וכנב אין המבזרים טוב משמעש קיזועה: זמרו לא יזובו אחור לעלמע עולמים: כי לא איז ל וכנב על יזרם ויתניזם: תפער לוותה בחרט הזמר למש לבקרים חקדי ה אזר יעזה באחרית היימים נאין לבקרים חקדי ה אזר יעזה באחרית היימים נאין הוא יבר ירן וקים במאינרן זימלנו ה עלמו מאות שמנו קרוז יזראל: באלה קרברים יחין לב לכלים נימלם יחיל הייזועה ניקרי זיני רשים בהאריך הקן: משור עדים בהאריך הקן:

חפרתוה בחישיני כם שב ליהחור דוד כה לחין לפך. חפבי אש לער, דור פריקקו מנינדים The inner mystic orientation that prevailed in the Sefardic milieu far into the 19th century, will yet have to be the subject of historical research. Therefore it will be necessary to publish a modern edition of the manuscripts of Franco Mendes, which are a rich source for such a study. It is partly the purpose of this article to rouse interest for this work in Erets Jisrael.

History.

Luzzatto also asserts his influence on the historical consciousness of his pupils. It is not by chance, that David Franco Mendes and David de Fonsèca occupied themselves first with the history of the Sefardim. The work of the former I already mentioned. Some of the unedited manuscripts of the Fonseca have not been traced yet. 37)

No doubt Luzzatto had a feeling for the romantic-historical bonds with the past and passed it on as a creative motive to his pupils. When the Emancipation has done its levelling work, all this makes way for the characterless and apologetic features wich leave no place for national consciousness.

Consciousness of national redemption.

That Franco Mendes thought in a consciously national way appears from his Bieath Hamashiach 19) which was offered in vain to Hammeassef 29). There is a deliberate and conscious separation between the German Aufklärung and David Franco Mendes. Yet on the eve of the French Revolution the creative forces of the ancient longing for Zion are alive in him. Therefore he too deserves a place in the classic history of the Chibbath Tsion.

EPILOGUE

he short time of preparation did not allow us to complete this study as we would have liked. To reach that goal it would have been necessary to analyse the inner spiritual structure of the Amsterdam milieu in its development during both the Baroque and Rococoperiods. Such a study offers great possibilities also for the examination and study of Luzzatto's lyrics in these years. We have restricted ourselves here to supplying some new material and giving indications. The carrying of a single buildingstone "which the future builders may not despise too much."

May above all the Jewish world experience that also in the remainder of the Amsterdam Jewry of the present day, the love for Luzzatto, once was offered to him in this town, 40) has been preserved.

¹³) For the importance of it, J. H. Buzaglo — Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der P. I. te 's-Gravenhage (1690—1730). 1939. The Livraria Montezinos possesses a copy.

²⁸⁾ Title-page, See p. 40.

¹⁰⁾ Letter from D-F.M. to Hammeassef bound in one of the manuscripts of the drama.

⁽⁰⁾ Of course I am willing to give all the information about the historical documents referring to Luzzatto's stay at Amsterdam. The adress of Ets Haim is:

Jonas Daniel Meijerplein 5 Amsterdam — Centrum, Holland,