

LUZZATTO  
*and*  
AMSTERDAM

1736      1743



*A Contribution to the  
Luzzatto Commemoration*

*The stay of*  
**MOZES HAIM LUZZATTO**  
*at Amsterdam*  
1736-1743

by  
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AMSTERDAM MCMXLVII

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JOACHIMSTHAL'S  
BOEKHANDEL, UITGEVERS EN DRUKKERIJBEDRIJF N.V.







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.<sup>2)</sup>

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.<sup>3)</sup> 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 autochthon 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.

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

<sup>2)</sup> The arrival of the family Luzzatto is not a unique symptom either. Isaac 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 finally 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.

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

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.



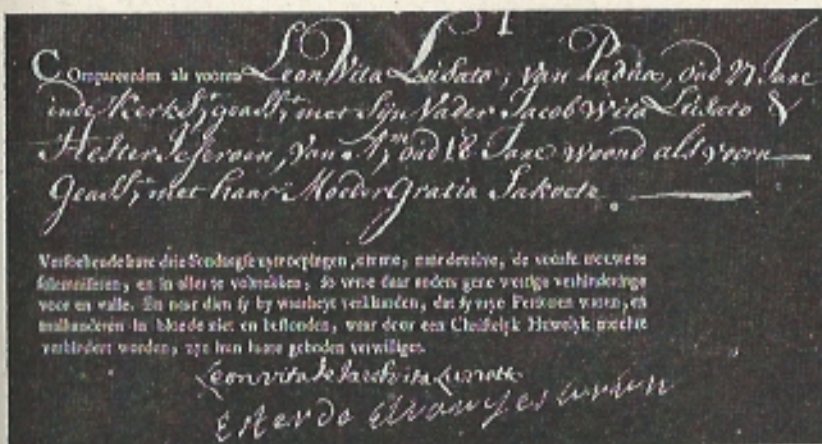
## ARRIVAL OF THE FAMILY

Moses' brother,

WE can conclude from the correspondence of Luzzatto, edited by Simon Ginzburg, that Luzzatto's brother preceded him to Amsterdam. When making researches already in 1941 I found in the *Puiboecken* <sup>5)</sup> the consecration of a marriage contracted

between  
Leon Wita Lusato  
and  
Hester Jeseroen

The text runs as follows:



Compareerden als vooren Leon Wita Lusato, van Padua, oud 27 jaren in de kerk S., geass., met zijn Vader Jacob Wita Lusato

<sup>5)</sup> Books in which the marriages contracted are registered. With regard to the name it is remarkable that it runs Wita Lusato. The father signs: Wita Luzzatto. Moses is sometimes called: Moses Luzzato. In the books of Ets Haim: Moses Haim Luzzato. He signs himself: Mosseh Haim Luzzatto. For the arrival of the family see: Ginzburg *Iggeroth* I p. XXIV (Introduction).

& 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 succeeded in obtaining a foothold in his new dwelling-place.

Moses a diamond-worker?

Perhaps Moses practised the diamond-trade. This however I could not ascertain. I think that it may be concluded from the place in *Lajeschariem Tehilla*, where he speaks of concave and convex glass. <sup>6)</sup>

Contrary to many others I do not conclude from this that Luzzatto 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. <sup>6)</sup> Further they probably 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-

<sup>6)</sup> As regards the metaphor of concave and convex glass in *La-jeschariem Tehilla* II, I cf. Ginzburg: *The life and works of M. H. Luzzatto*, Philadelphia 1931, p. 113). Also Rothstein: *Nesir Elohim*, Frankfurt a.M. 1875, note 28. As to the diamond-industry H. Heertje: *De diamantbewerders van Amsterdam*. My thanks to the president of the Algemeene Nederlandse Diamantbewerdersbond for the useful information.

<sup>7)</sup> Among others: Johann Kunkel *Volständige Glasmacherskunst* „nebst einem Anhang von den Perlen und Edelsteinen“, Nürnberg 1785. In the library of the Alg. Diamantbewerders 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.*

IN order to typify the milieu in which Luzatto lived in Amsterdam, is necessary 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.<sup>7)</sup> 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.<sup>8)</sup>

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

<sup>7)</sup> 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

Ribca Alvares Machado—Jacob de Chaves      Sara Alv. Machado—J. v. A. de Veiga

Mozes de Chaves

Sara da Veiga

<sup>8)</sup> Groeneveld p. 222 and 223. Stocks from the bankruptcy of Thomas Perrin are concerned here. Jacob belongs to the creditors „weegens actie in de Oost-indische Comp in Engeland” and „weegens actie in de Royale Bank van Engeland.” The relations of Chaves with England are always very intense.



Schilderijen, tekeningen, Groot Kunst  
Leeuwswaart, 2 andere Marekiten  
Door den e. Kalkaars Hond & de 14  
gewaardeert zo als agter yder post te  
ziet op den hi. Volgens schiedt minst dees gen.  
in acte van tekenen van dato 23 Jan. 1766.

Scheepvaart	
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	25
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	70
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	30
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	35
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	19
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	25
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	10
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	15
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	13
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	13
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	3
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	10
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	10
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	7
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	10
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	10
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	18
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	1025
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	6
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	4
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	3
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	2
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	6
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	3
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	4
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	6
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	4
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	5
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	3
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	6
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	6
Van Batavia door den Heer van Nieuw	3

*From „Staat en Inventaris van den Boedel en Nalatenschap van Wjlen d. Heer Mozes de Chaves”, See page 16. Here his paintings are mentioned. (Municipal-archive, Protocol notaris Jan Willem Smit, 9-12-1759.)*

	Frank	fl.	g.
En Veffwyver	1	45	3
En landschapje van Bith	1	3	3
En winterfe door J. Gysen	1	3	3
En minichworfje	1	4	1
En groot met geallchap door Gabel	1	6	1
En ruine door dekelve	1	6	1
En landschapje door Buit	1	45	1
En Kellens van Kalf	1	3	1
En landschap van vryhandt	1	5	1
En groot landschap	1	5	1
En winter	1	1	1
En man & een Vrouw d'r Baviera	1	2	1
En kerke door J. Keft	1	10	1
En Hukje met vogeltje van Bronckhorst	1	8	1
En Huk door Frans Hals	1	35	1
En haarslijze door Boon	1	10	1
En Huk door	1	4	1
En Roomfchier door Verbruggen	1	10	1
En Romeinsche hiftoir met het bevoel van Rubens	1	5	1
En yfftoot van G. G. de	1	5	1
En twee gefelschappen	1	5	1
En betrydenid van Oreo	1	2	1
En juff	1	5	1
En met branden van Troyen	1	1	1
En leuwaften	1	2	1
En de Portugueze Jode kerke	1	3	1
En Goben	1	2	1
Tekeningen V. Proothuyf			
En konftboek waar in de tekeningen a. 36	1	100	1
En Italiaanfche prenten te zaamen	1	60	1
En D. met verfehiede prenten	1	60	1
En D. met verfehiede werken en enige loofe	1	20	1
En D. als boven	1	10	1
En D. met Italiaanfche werken	1	6	1
En D. met differente prenten	1	12	1
En D. met de van de L. v. v. en andere	1	3	1
En D. met verfehiede beeffen	1	10	1
En D. met verfehiede d'ant Gallot	1	6	1
En D. met verfehiede	1	30	1
En D. met Engelfche gezigten	1	3	1
En D. met verfehiede van Picart	1	5	1
En D. met verfehiede Ornamenten	1	3	1
En D. met verfehiede	1	2	1
En D. met D.	1	3	1

Tekeningen 22. Frutkens



cannot stand the test of business in good faith. On the list of chief-participants 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....<sup>9</sup>

Since the 7th of October 1723 the family De Chaves resides in their country-house on the Vecht: Doornburg<sup>10</sup>), the beautifully forged gate of which still forms one of the sights of the district<sup>11</sup>). 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.<sup>12</sup>) 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

<sup>9</sup>) J. Zwarts. *Hoofdstukken uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*. (Zutphen 1929) p. 197.

<sup>10</sup>) R. v. Luttervelt: *De buitenplaatsen aan de Vecht*, 1943. Further J. Zwarts: „Doornburgh". *Het Joodse Buitenverblijf, waar Luzzatto's „La-Jeshariem Terilla 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 original mansion hardly anything remains.

<sup>11</sup>) Dr. R. van Luttervelt. *Schoonheid aan de Vecht*. Amsterdam 1944. p. 75

<sup>12</sup>) A. M. Vaz Dias: *Over den vermogenstoestand der Amsterdamsche Joden in de 17e en de 18e eeuw*. (Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 51) Page 174. The article of Vaz Dias is a foundation for the economical conditions about 1740. The quotation refers to revenue, rental value, number of maid-servants, carriages and countryseat. Fourteen Portuguese kept a carriage, twenty had a country-seat. Of the 552 Jewish inhabitants, there were in 1743:

110 fund-holders

96 merchants

100 „interlopers" (those who outside the guilds practised a profession) etc.

*Inventaris door de Schakelaar Donsan  
van het van H. Capadocia gemaakt  
Deert op de vrees is altyd ydel  
Joch haat by bedrocht. Ingeens aan de minne  
Donsgemaakt, de van Capadocia van de  
25 Jan 1760.*

En door met 47 liden, wegende R. 92 3/4	600
En door a 50 1/2	500
En door a 51 1/2	150
En door a 52 1/2	50
Vier liden paarden	120
Vier liden	50
En door a 52	80
En door a 53	10
En door a 54	150
En door a 55	20
En door a 56	15
En door a 57	300
En door a 58	150
En door a 59	250
En door a 60	150
En door a 61	120
En door a 62	130
En door a 63	200
En door a 64	400
En door a 65	10
En door a 66	5
En door a 67	25
En door a 68	10
En door a 69	5486

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



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

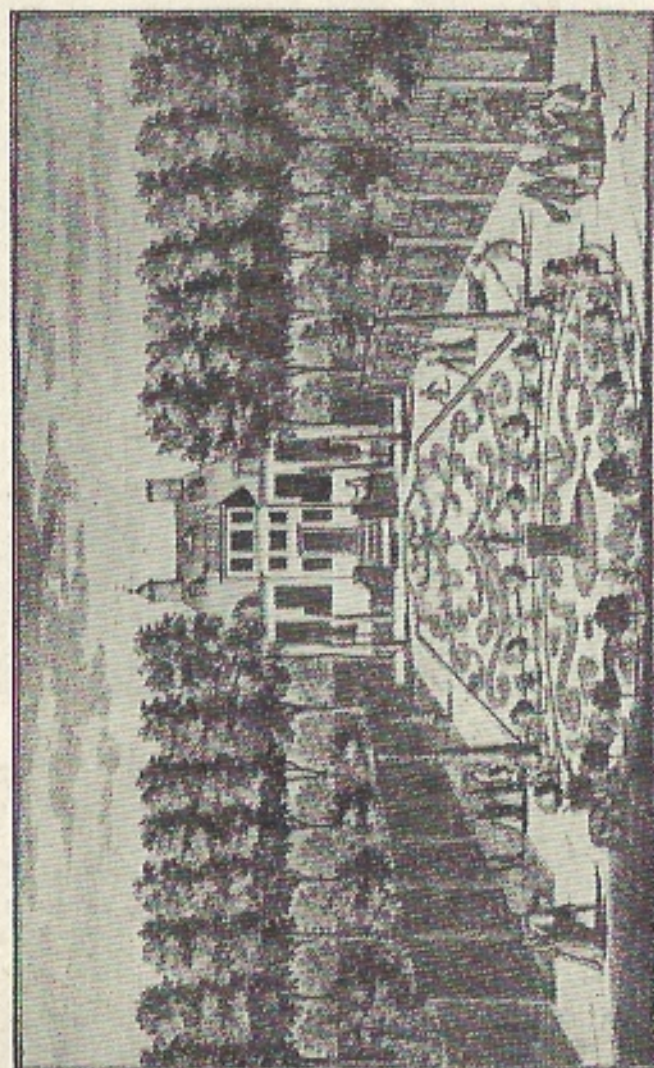
Mozes de Chaves had a great cultural interest. In the Jewish domain his ideology will have moved between the mystic pietism and the cool rationalism, those two far apart poles of the Portuguese-Jewish attitude towards life. From this point of view we also feel how this sly, coolly calculating business-man,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

He often was *parnas* and likewise governor of *Ets Haim*.<sup>14)</sup> He was one of the leading figures of *Mikra Kodesh* and he also seems to have been a connoisseur of the Jewish literature.<sup>15)</sup> 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 interesting 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” he meant the world-famous picture „The Letter”?<sup>16a)</sup>

#### *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.<sup>16b)</sup> 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 Rococo. In this connection I point to Francesco Lopez



„Doornburgh” — Countryhouse on the Vecht after an engraving by Bloteling  
See page 14.

<sup>13)</sup> Zwarts *l.c.* p. 297.

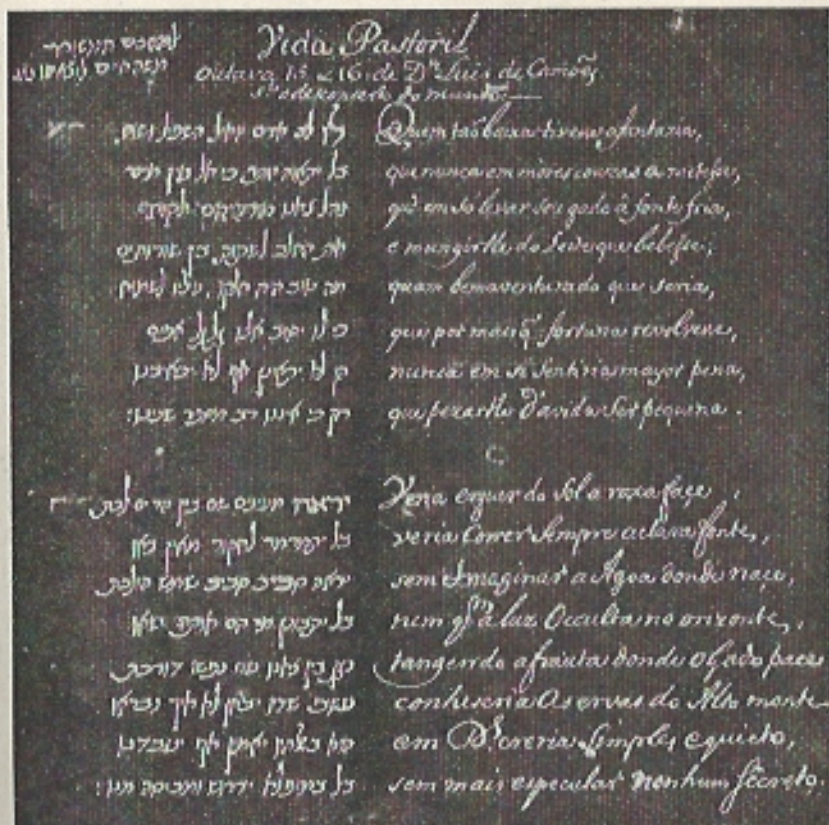
<sup>14)</sup> *Gedenkschrift... Ets Haim* by J. S. da Silva Rosa and Dr. M. C. Paralela, Amsterdam 1916. See the years 1720, 1737, 1738, 1753, etc.

<sup>15)</sup> Contrary to the generally accepted opinion, *Mikra Kodesh* is at first the *Chewra* of the rich *Parnassim*, not of the pupils of Luzzatto.

<sup>16a)</sup> These documents, historically very interesting as a catalogue of art, I found with the help of notes of the late D. Vieyra, at present in my custody in the *Livraria Montezinos*.

<sup>16b)</sup> A. M. Vaz Dias *l.c.* p. 174.





From „Emek Hasheterim” 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.<sup>15c)</sup>

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.

<sup>15c)</sup> 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.

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.<sup>15d)</sup> That „Meehkar”, 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 atmosphere, 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 Sefardim 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.<sup>15e)</sup>

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.<sup>15f)</sup> Is it not signi-

<sup>15d)</sup> 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.

<sup>15e)</sup> For the spiritual atmosphere 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 Hoepelroek en Pruikentooi* Nijkerk z.j. n. 375 etc.

<sup>15f)</sup> The poet Isaac da Costa also translated in the 19th century from Tasso.

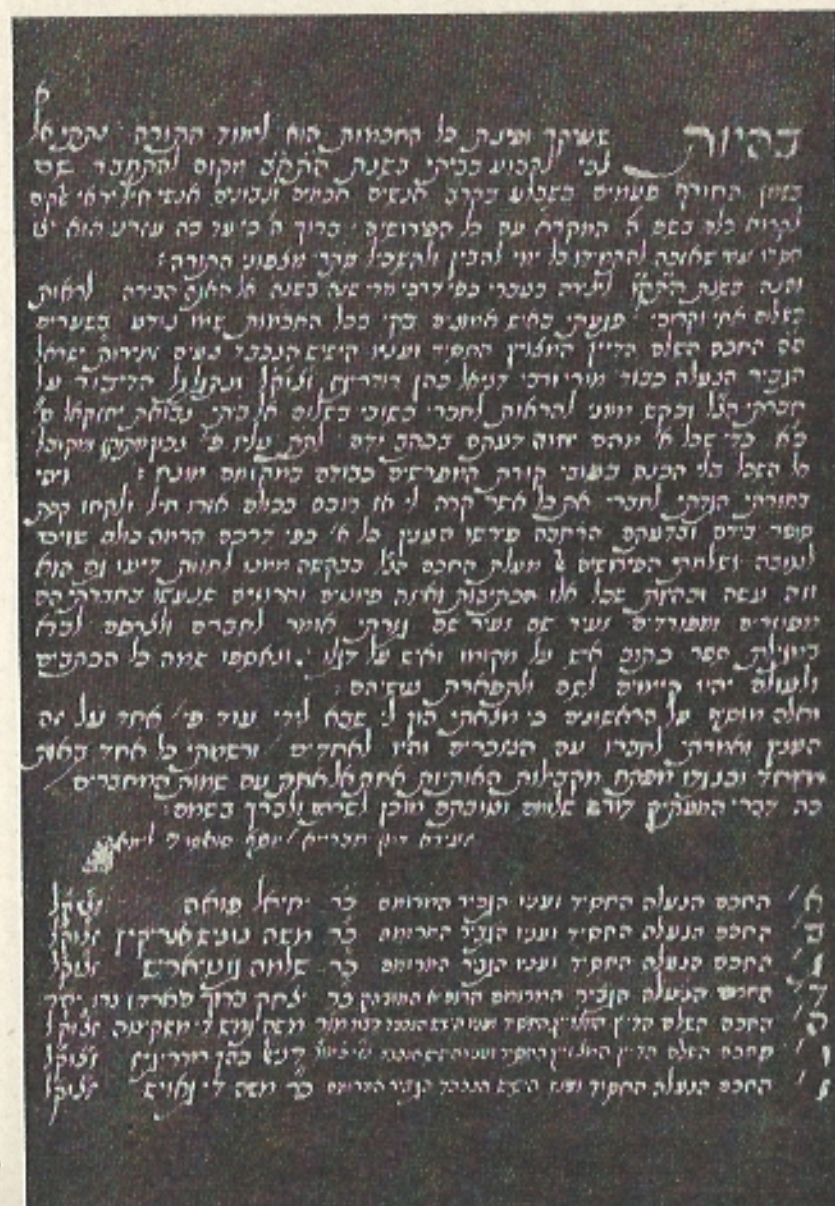


ficant that Luzzatto's only translated poem is a pastoral poem? <sup>13g)</sup>

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. <sup>13h)</sup>

<sup>13g)</sup> The facsimile: p. 18.

<sup>13h)</sup> The quotations from La-jesharim Tehilla are derived from the first edition which is not paginated. For the pastoral atmosphere which is imitated consciously along the Vecht compare the scene about the pastor. The „our“ has also been referred to by Ginzburg (113). The luxury of the cups („Kos“ and „Gwila“ 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.



First page of the register of Mikra Kodesh, with the name of Mozes de Chaves. See page 16.

(Livraria Montezinos)



WHILE in the beginning Mozes probably had to provide for himself by diamond-cutting, he gets an appointment as a teacher at the Medras <sup>16)</sup>, 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 protégés by preference learned men from abroad. <sup>16a)</sup>

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 whether it is allowed to eat a pheasant.<sup>17)</sup>

<sup>14</sup>) Archive Ets Haim. This archive has been entirely saved, like that of the community. In the year 1737 Mozes de Chaves is Tezarcizo, and later president. He died 1762. On the tombstone (19 Kislev 5522) a hebrew poem is found, in which his qualities are celebrated.

<sup>18</sup>a) *Gedenkboek* p. 44.

<sup>13)</sup> I. Maarsen: *De Reponsa als bron voor de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland. Bijdragen en Mededeelingen v.h. Genootschap voor de Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland*. V. Amsterdam 1933, p. 134. The story from Dibre David (No. 48) is not quite literally quoted. By „Ohel Ja'acob", probably the Jesjiba Emet LeJa'acob is meant. It is remarkable that in this connection also the name of Eleazar of Brody — then the Rav of the Ashkenazim is mentioned.

[illegible]



[illegible]

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

לל אלים · בני אלים · במקהלים ישאו זמרה ·  
בסוד עדה · תנו תודה · לשם קדשו ולתורה

יְשַׁלֵּם יִשְׁלַם בְּשִׁלוֹם רַב  
מִשְׁלֵם תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
יְהִי יָגֵל מֵאוֹר שְׁמִשׁוֹ  
יִזְרַח יִצְלַח לְעֵינָיו

*Le'el Eliem* by M. H. Luzzatto. (*Livreria Montezinos*)

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

<sup>18</sup>) P. 142. In possession of the Portuguese community.



[illegible]

*From „Kol telila ukeol zimra”, manuscript of David Franco Mendes*

See page 27.

(Livros Montezinos)

R. Abm. de Casseres, que cantara com agradavel melodia ja a solo e ja a duo, os famosas Hazanim R: Sen Rois Mendes e R. Aran a Cohen de Lara: acompanhados... do Compositor... assistio 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.<sup>19)</sup> From this it may be concluded, that Lazzatto 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 Chathanim in those years could only be carried out by high society.<sup>20)</sup> Simchath Thora was the climax of the Jewish ceremonies. Around those years (1742) the magnificent Gobelin-furnishings for the Chathanim were given which now again form part of the treasures of the community.<sup>21)</sup>

<sup>19</sup>) 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), Cincinnati 1925, p. 418). I recently found the original music for this poem which was composed by 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 possesses a rare example of the *Shire Hilloelim* 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.

<sup>22</sup>) Because of the high costs connected with the functions. Also De Pinto mentions that.

<sup>21)</sup> Found back 1946 in Germany in a farmhouse.



ROUND 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.<sup>22)</sup>

The family Luzzatto probably departed for Venice about 1738. From a notarial document of the 8th of January 1742 it appears <sup>21</sup> 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 ver-soeken 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 ge-liefde 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, Co-pijen 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 thought here

<sup>200</sup>) Heertje p. 21.

<sup>20</sup>) Notarial archive of the municipality of Amsterdam.

[illegible]

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)



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 antwoorde 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 Sefardiim*

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 interest 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<sup>25</sup>). 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 examine more closely the contact between Amsterdam and Erets Jisrael during the 17th, 18th and even the 19th century, for even so late Sefardic Jews went from Amsterdam to Palestine.<sup>26</sup>)

*Practical arrangements.*

A surprising find in the municipal-archives brought to light the authentic document, in which „Mossch 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.<sup>29)</sup> 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”

<sup>24</sup> Archive P. I. Community.

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

<sup>20</sup>) Notarial archives of the municipality of Amsterdam.[illegible]







## LUZZATTO-MANUSCRIPTS AT AMSTERDAM

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

1. *Derech Hashem*.<sup>29)</sup>
2. *Derech Chogmah*.<sup>30)</sup>
3. In the collection „Emek hashirim” of David Franco Mendes are five poems by Luzzatto.<sup>31)</sup>

*A letter from Luzzatto about Salomo Spiero(?)*.

In a manuscript-volume belonging to the Ashkenazic community<sup>32)</sup> 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.

<sup>29)</sup> Ginzburg: Bibliography No. 12 facsimile p. 34. Opposite the title-page are some figures the sense of which is not clear.

<sup>30)</sup> Ginzburg: Bibliography No. 6. Two copies.

<sup>31)</sup> 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 Isaac Cohen Belinfante.

<sup>32)</sup> This volume — *Tifereth Bachuriem* — contains i.a. a most important correspondence between Isaac Saruco and Joshua Pardo about the Sabbatai Tzvi-movement, which I hope to publish elsewhere. For Luzzatto's interest in *Megale Amukoth*, Ginzburg *Iggeroth* I 59, 105 a.l.o.



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







*Melecheth Hahigajon.*

In another volume, for the greater part identical with the former<sup>33)</sup> 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.<sup>34)</sup> The title-page gives a place-name: Hamburg. A date is not given. Interesting pen drawings illuminate the manuscript.

VII

LUZZATTO'S INFLUENCE AT AMSTERDAM

*David Franco Mendes: Mercator Sapiens.*

IN 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<sup>35)</sup>. 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.<sup>36)</sup>

<sup>35)</sup> About him the fundamental bibliographic article by D. Montezinos in *Joodsch-letterkundige bijdragen* 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 Fonseca from Maarssen. He must often have been in contact with Luzzatto, for Doornburgh is situated there too.

<sup>36)</sup> 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 auction 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.

<sup>33)</sup> *Itar Saferiem* (Livraría Montezinos). This is a collection which resembles the one mentioned under 32.

<sup>34)</sup> „Hu'tak hifikiedoeth R. M. H. Luzzatto.”



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<sup>33)</sup> *Itur Soferim* (Livaria Montezinos). This is a collection which resembles the one mentioned under 32.

<sup>34)</sup> „Hu'tak bifkiedoeth R. M. H. Luzzatto.”

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## ביאת הכישור

זאת המעשרה בליל רוב ימי היום הגאולה שעלין  
לא עבד יימנו: אורחיה לא ראינו: הוא אשר דבר פ  
ה לגב חין המכשירים טוב משמיע הישועה: חמור  
לא ישיבו אחר לעלית עלמים: כי לא אילא וכח  
ובן אדם ויהי: רכבת אורה דהרס המער למען  
היה השירה הזאת לעשג לחיה ולמזכרה חדשים  
לעקרים חמליה אשר יעשה נאמריה הימים נאמן  
הוא יבדיל וקיס במחמרת אילנה ה נחלת צמח  
קדוש ישראלי: באלה הדברים יחיו לב לבאים ויחלם  
הישועה ויקרו שיע דשנים ופוששים המתחזים  
למציא פדיון נפשם כהחריך הקן:  
חבריה במשעטרתם אש ויהחזק דוד נה לחן לפק:  
חנכי אים נער דוד פרחקן מנילים:

## תוספת

## המעתיק:

נשיאות ושפלות  
כוכב לבת בכורי דמא

שבייה כוכב לבת	בתי נשיאות	בתי שפלות
1 חמיה	בז טלה	בא בכוזנים
2 לבנה	בח שור	בב עקרב
3 כוזרים	בש תאומים	בג קשת
4 כוכב	בי כרמל	בד גדי
5 צדק	ביא אריה	בה דלי
6 נינה	ביב בתולה	בו דגים
7 שבתאי	בא נאזנים	בז טלה

בהקדמה מוסדאמן קח ללוי  
השפיות הוא המשרים המלא כמקור  
או כירי כפי המכירות ל המלות וכן כמיה  
השעה יא יא שברכת מרדכי מאל חבירו ברמנת  
השבעה המשרים הממונים על כלל יחמם  
יכנס הדבאכל כיום קונה היה כנזב וכיס  
למה דאק כי נס זה לנחמיה ונא



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 Fonseca 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.<sup>37)</sup>

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 which leave no place for national consciousness.

#### Consciousness of national redemption.

That Franco Mendes thought in a consciously national way appears from his *Bieath Hamashiach*<sup>38)</sup> which was offered in vain to Hammecassef<sup>39)</sup>. 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*.

<sup>37)</sup> 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.

<sup>38)</sup> Title-page. See p. 40.

<sup>39)</sup> Letter from D.F.M. to Hammecassef bound in one of the manuscripts of the drama.

## EPILOGUE

The 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 Rococo-periods. 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,<sup>40)</sup> has been preserved.

<sup>40)</sup> Of course I am willing to give all the information about the historical documents referring to Luzzatto's stay at Amsterdam. The address of Ets Haim is:

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Amsterdam — Centrum.  
Holland.