EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Sunday, February 26th

10:00      WELCOME ADDRESS
10:30      **Keynote:** Tom Cohen, York University, Toronto

1:00-3:00    Joanna Weinberg, Oxford University, **Real or Virtual Contact? Johannes Buxtorf's Reading of Jewish Literature**

3:30-4:30    Jay Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts, **Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System**

4:30-5:30    Andrew Berns, UCLA, **Medicine as a Cultural Connection Between Jews and Christians in Early Modern Italy**

5:45-6:45    Yaacov Deutsch, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, **A Jewish-Christian Commentary on Luke**

Monday, February 27th

9:00-10:00    Daniel Schroeter, University of Minnesota, **A Jewish Merchant Family and a Moroccan Ruler**

10:00-11:00    Daniel Jutte, Harvard University, **Jailhouse Encounter: A Sixteenth-Century Jewish-Christian Tale and its Historiographical Ramifications**

11:30-12:30    Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, **The Early Modern Inn as a Space for Religious and Cultural Exchange**

1:30-2:30    David Graizbord, The University of Arizona, **Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792**

2:45-4:15    **Round Table:** David Ruderman, University of Pennsylvania
Tara Nummedal, Brown University
Tom Cohen, University of Toronto
REAL MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Real or Virtual Contact? Johannes Buxtorf's Reading of Jewish Literature
Joanna Weinberg, Oxford University

Introduction

Johann Buxtorf the elder (1564-1629), long-time professor of Hebrew at Basel, ethnographer, lexicographer, and textual critic, belongs to the category of the ‘accepted’ Hebraists and is usually regarded as one of the most distinguished Hebraists of the early modern period. Buxtorf’s description -- or polemical ethnography (in Yaacov Deutsch’s formulation) -- of Jewish life from cradle to grave, the Synagoga Iudaica: das ist, Juden-Schul... (1603) should be seen in the context of an emerging systematic empiricism which was led by curiosity, fuelled by the impact of humanism and also, not least, driven by a desire to control another faith. What is particularly striking about Buxtorf’s effort at describing Jewish beliefs and ceremonies is the extent to which his reading of the whole gamut of Jewish literary production is reflected in this work. Buxtorf cast his critical eyes into every nook and cranny of Hebrew literature. Even his retrospective description of his sources for the book (which also gives of an account of how Jews aided him in his investigation by providing him with some of the books) in a letter of 1606 does not adequately convey the scope of his consumption of Jewish books.

This presentation will attempt to analyse how Buxtorf read Jewish books by examining one passage from the Sefer ha-Hayyim written by Hayyim ben Bezalel (Cracow, 1593), which Buxtorf chose to integrate into his polemical critique of Jewish allegiance to the Talmud in this opening chapter of the Juden—Schul. Hayyim ben Bezalel, fated to remain second fiddle to his brother, the Maharal of Prague, had his own battles to fight against both Jews and Christians. In the selected passage, Hayyim ben Bezalel defends the Talmud as a unique possession of the Jews and suggests a reason for the apparently ‘bewildering Aggadot’.

By close scrutiny of both texts we consider how and why Hayyim ben Bezalel’s plea for the Talmud engaged Buxtorf’s attention and influenced the development of his argument?
Bibliography


Stephen G. Burnett, From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies, Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew learning in the seventeenth century, Leiden 1996, ch. 3.


Eric Zimmer, Rabbi Hayyim bar Bezael of Friedberg, the brother of the Maharal of Prague, Jerusalem, 1987.
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Chapter 1 of Johan Buxtorf’s Judenschul

Translated by Joanna Weinberg, Oxford University

These rules which Christ himself reported, and others to which he referred are still in use and observed among the Jews and described in the Canon Law and Ordinances concerning spiritual matters and the religious life, and I shall devote a good part of this book to them. I will make clear how the Jews came to observe such commands of men rather than the commands of God right up to the present day, and have thereby abolished God’s commands through their rules and thus fallen into this terrible state of disbelief and misunderstanding of God’s word. The learned Mosche mikkotzi wrote a book explaining the six hundred and thirteen commandments which among the Jews is called Sepher Mitzvos gadol, the Great book of Commandments. He taught in the Jewish academy of Toledo, Spain, in 1236 A.D. where about twelve thousand Jews were living, as he himself writes in connection with the hundred and twelfth negative commandment. In his preface he writes as follows....

“And who can tell all the blemishes that render food forbidden, the difference between cooking milk and meat, the defilement caused by the dead, lepers, the rules about animals that died a natural death and [unclean] insects? What about the nature and characteristics of the Masorah, the vowel points and accents, the letters, some of which are suspended, some elevated above the word, some upside down etc. Who will tell us the correct interpretation of all these matters: it therefore follows indubitably that one has to have another explanation of the Written Law from where all this can be learned.”

So far we have followed the Rabbi.

This is exactly the way that the devil first seduced the Jews away from the true word of God and brought them- - in his usual masterly fashion-- to man’s commandment. So securely did he attach them that neither Isaiah nor Christ nor anyone else has been able to drag them away until this very day. Then
where shall we find the true interpretation of the written law? The answer is surely not Wecker’s *De secretis* or Smokehole’s/Reuchlin’s *De arte cabalistica*, much less in Marcolfus. We shall find it in the **holy Talmud** [my emphasis].
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Real or Virtual Contact? Johannes Buxtorf's Reading of Jewish Literature, Joanna Weinberg, Oxford University

From chapter 1 of Johan Buxtorf"s Judenschul

Dieweil dann solche Auffsetze / die Christus daselbst vermeldet / und andere / darauf er gedeutet / noch heutiges tages bey den Juden breuchlich sind und gehalten werden / und in ihrem Jure Canonic und Ordnanßen / von Geistlichen sachen / und Frommen Leben / beschrieben seind / deren ich ein guten theil in diesem Büch zu entdecken fürhabens bin / will ich weiter allhie anzeigen / auß was grund und ursachen sie darauff gerahent / daß sie auff solche Menschen-gebott mehr / dann auff Gottes Gebott gehalten haben / und noch heutiges tages halten / und also Gottes Gebott durch ihre Auffseße auffgehebt haben / und dadurch in gegenwärtigen greulichen Unglauben und mißverstand Göttliches worts gerahent sind?


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Real or Virtual Contact? Johannes Buxtorf’s Reading of Jewish Literature
Joanna Weinberg, Oxford University

From part 1, ch 2 of Sefer ha-Hayyim (Cracow, 1593, 5a-b)

...The Talmud is shown respect only by Israel and likewise, Israel is shown respect by the Blessed God only on account of the Oral Torah which is the most conspicuous and prominent sign that distinguishes Israel from the peoples...

That is why we are accustomed to conclude each tractate with the words ‘our honour is upon you and your honour is upon us’ [play on hadran alakh vehadrakh alan] Indeed, there is nobody who turns his mind to the Oral Torah – may it not be forgotten, God forbid -- apart from us, and that is why ‘we are mindful of You’ (da’atan alakh). Similarly, the Oral Torah is that which protects Israel and that is why it is called ‘Gemara’ which is shorthand for Gabriel, Michael, Raphael and Uriel. In other words, a divine angel is stationed in protective stance around the one who studies Gemara: Mishael on the right, Gabriel, on the left, Uriel in front and Raphael behind him and over his head the Shekhinah of God which which is crowned with the words of the sages- and this is what is meant by ‘You are mindful of us’ (da’atkh alan), i.e. your providential care is extended over us. And since Israel and the Oral Torah are two twin gazelles it is right that they should not be taken away from each other in this world nor in the world to come. And since the Talmud is only sufficiently loved and esteemed by keepers of Torah but not by those who lurk in street corners we acknowledge that our portion is among the keepers of Torah and not among those who lurk in street corners. We see that the first set of tablets which the blessed Lord wrote were broken and that only the other set of tablets which Moses wrote remained- this being an indication that the words of Torah will only come to fruition as a result of being written down by humans- I refer to the writing down of the Oral Torah - and it is only with regard to the second set of tablets that it was said, ‘in order that it should be good for you’ (Deut. 6, 3).
And those who scorn find an opportunity to place their scorn on ‘this holy book’ on account of the esoteric aggadot that it contains - apparently it would appear that they are not only not beneficial, but that are actually harmful. However, our rabbis of blessed memory already made an analogy in connection with this issue in chapter ‘bameh madlikin’ (Shabb. 31a). They compared it to a person who ordered his servant to bring a kor of wheat to the upper chamber which he duly did. He then told him to put a kav of humtin inside it which he refused to do. He said to him: ‘Then it would have been better had you not brought the wheat.’ For humtin is fine sand which does not cause plants to grow and yet, the fine sand is the only means by which the wheat is preserved. So, too, the produce of Torah is only only preserved by means of the bewildering aggadot which tensures that their wisdom is concealed; for otherwise, the enemy would have already set his hand and tongue against the sages of blessed memory and turn their words into heresy – this was what was done with the written Torah-- with the consequence that nothing would be left which could distinguish us from all the nations; but now by means of the bewildering aggadot this holy book is despised in their eyes and they will therefore not transpose its words into their words. Consequently, these words are left in our hands in their integrity for the dogs cannot touch them, and through them it is shown that we alone are the people of the Lord and his flock.
לפני השם יתברך רק בשביל היא מהודר ליה converter. כך ישראצא רקstylesheet.css');"}

והנה אנשים שוניםadoxoxocadoxocadoxadoxox, סיכום מנגנים הבודדים...

בשלא שמעון ג"ירה של כל הקשר הנמצא בקרן, כל הוחזק על ברכה והקרון.

ולכןangan של כ"ק כדי שהבנים של בני ישראל והקרון.

אינו מודים של זה מיתון, כאשר יש לו את ויהי תבואתה של תורה,<Contact me for more information.>
Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System

Jay Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts

Introduction

In the two decades preceding the French Revolution, the rabbinic court of Metz functioned within a complex world of overlapping legal jurisdictions. The extant records of the *beit din* in the years 1771-1790 contain evidence of familiarity with French law and even an interest in taking that law into consideration in its own deliberations. From time to time, the *beit din* instructed litigants to consult French *avocats* in order to clarify a legal question, and in some cases the *beit din* itself initiated the consultation. There were also, certainly, instances when individuals sought the opinion of French lawyers on their own. Whatever the circumstances, it is clear that the Metz *beit din* wanted to avoid running afoul of French law and legal norms. But the occasional collaborative relationship with French legal officials and institutions also offers important evidence of the rabbinic court’s integration within the legal structure of the state and of the permeability of legal boundaries.

My approach to law as a source of social and cultural history is informed by recent work in French legal history. Historians have begun to focus on lower level courts as places “where judges, lawyers, litigants, and communities came together to negotiate, contest, and use the law’s symbolic and, at times, coercive authority. More and more, historians view courts as arenas for negotiation where justice came to be understood as “a mode of social interaction between individuals, communities, and the state.”

Broad social, economic, and political forces in the second half of the eighteenth century fostered an awareness of French law among members of the Jewish community, while the demands of daily life called for a familiarity with the particulars of the French legal system. At the judicial level, this was achieved, in part, through consultation with French *avocats*. Precisely what motivated these consultations is deceptively simple. In

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seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, consultation had become a well-established facet of legal culture. It was a service provided by lawyers, known as avocats consultants, who did not plead cases but offered professional counsel outside the courtroom. Hervé Leuwers’s recent study of lawyers traces the growth in the honor and independence of avocats in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, first under Louis XIV, when a series of royal ordinances and judicial arrêts de règlement enhanced the public standing and legal competence of avocats.2 Their professed impartiality and their reputation for dedication to the public welfare helped create a bond of trust with clients and judges alike. Their interest and ability to disseminate their ideas formally in print as consultations, mémoires judiciaires, or factums enabled them to become an influential voice of public opinion.3

Legal consultation also served as a bridge between the Jewish and French judicial systems. The talmudic aphorism dina d’malchuta dina, a fundamental principle of accommodation to the law of the state, implied that there were two distinct legal frameworks to which Jews needed to conform. In the Metz beit din records there is clear evidence of the conviction that this could not be achieved without knowledge of the larger legal setting. And within the French legal establishment there was, as well, a parallel interest in facilitating the legal integration of the Jews. This is evident from the regular interaction with a cadre of bureaucratic officials, at varying levels, that included notaries, translators, scribes, sheriffs, and avocats.

Because the boundaries between the two legal systems were permeable, it was important for the beit din to define with great care when recourse to the civil courts was justified and when it was not. In spite of its growing prevalence in the eighteenth century, or perhaps precisely because of it, recourse to the arkha’ot (non-Jewish courts) remained a highly contentious act that was viewed, in theory, as a betrayal of the sovereignty of the Jewish community and Jewish law. Nevertheless, medieval and early modern codes also spell out clear guidelines when remaining within the system is not possible. In Metz, the beit din frequently provided details on how to approach the civil courts. Equally important are the numerous instances when the rabbinic court recommended that the litigants seek the

legal expertise of *avocats*. Examples range from questions concerning endorsement of letters of exchange to the payment of civil court expenses in Lorraine.\(^4\)

In source 1, which concerns a dispute between physician Feibelman and the family of the late Jacob Steinbiedersdorf over a claim of unpaid medical bills, the *beit din* based its ruling on the standard of “trustworthiness” as understood in French law. It therefore urged the parties to consult French *avocats* for clarification. Source 2 also concerns a dispute over a medical bill. In this instance, the *beit din* differentiated between the part of the case it would handle itself and the part that required the advice of *avocats*. At issue, according to the *beit din*’s understanding, was whether a physician enjoyed privileged status over other creditors. Consequently, the *beit din* instructed the two sides to seek the legal opinion of *avocats* and concluded that their opinion would be binding on the two parties, in accordance with the law of the land.

Source 3, which will be the main focus of discussion, is the text of a consultation provided by two *avocats*, one of whom was Pierre-Louis Roederer, who would later emerge as a champion of Jewish emancipation. This is a Hebrew translation of the French text, dated 30 August 1773, which I found in the Archives départementales de la Moselle; I do not know if the French original is still extant. The document is an opinion crafted in response to questions concerning an inheritance dispute between natural heirs and beneficiaries of the will of Reizele Elzus. The relevant part of the case is found in lines 1-29. The fact that this consultation was translated into Hebrew raises several intriguing issues. Closely related to this is source 4, drawn from the Metz Pinkas Beit Din, which involves the same dispute, approximately two years later (though undated). (It should be noted that Neta Emrich and Neta Gompertz are the same person.) The two sources complement each other, together providing a more complete story of what was at issue and the divergent approaches of Jewish and French law.

Even prior to their civil emancipation, Metz Jews found in the law a rather predictable ordering of reality that was governed by rules and regulations. Law was a realm that offered some respite from the randomness of social, economic, and political disabilities that are more familiar from commonly known historical sources. At the risk of overstatement, I am suggesting that the civil courts were, in the broad sense, an arena where Jews were viewed, to a certain degree, as members of a shared public. In

\(^4\) Pinkas Metz Beit Din, Record Group 128, Box 2, Collection of Rabbinical and Historical Manuscripts, YIVO Archives, vol. 1, pt. 1, 21b; vol. 1, pt 2, 38b.
France, law offered a universal language and though there was no presumption of equality, Jews enjoyed within the legal sphere the illusion of citizenship before they were actually admitted as citizens.

Bibliography


Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System
Jay Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts

Pinkas Metz Beit Din, Vol. 1, pt. 1, 35a
Translated by Jay R. Berkovitz

24. Concerning the claim of Feivelman the physician against the estate of Jacob Steinbiedersdorf z”l [in the amount of] 343 livres for treating and visiting him and members of his household during his life. …
31. And after they offered lengthy arguments, we the beit din issued a ruling that for the period when the physician is trusted regarding his claim in the civil court so that the defendant cannot counter with “I paid,” then for the period that he has trustworthiness, if he swears that he only received the aforementioned 84 livres for payment of the bill he claimed today, he must also include in his oath that he is including in his bill only 10 sou for each time he visited R. Jacob or members of his household, and that he is entitled to 36 livres for twelve visits he made during the night, and six livres for consultation. Thus the estate must pay immediately the amount for which he will swear. And if the apotropsim refuse to pay him, then he is entitled to take them to the civil courts. But during the time when he does not have trustworthiness in the civil courts he may not claim anything. And concerning the aforementioned trustworthiness, it is incumbent on the parties to ask two avocats, and on the basis of their opinion the matter of trustworthiness will be determined. That is, each of the parties will choose one avocat and then the beit din will go with them to hear what they say.
42. The ruling was issued by the beit din today, Wednesday, 28 Tammuz 5532 [1772]
Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System
Jay Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts

Pinkas Metz Beit Din, Vol. 1, pt. 1, 35a

עִדְּשׁ שָׁתָב חָק כ"ה פִּיוְבָלָם רְפֵאִים מֹגְבָּהָמְרִים יַעֲקֹב שְׁטָב"ד יֵלָשׁוּנָה מֶה... 24. שָׁמֵשִׁים בּוֹכֵר אוֹתוֹ וַאַחַת בְּנֵי בּוֹחֵי... 25.

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Pinkas Metz Beit Din, Vol. 2, p. 85b

1. And after we heard their arguments, we decided that the aforesaid parties
2. will ask the opinion of avocats as to what is dina d’malkhuta [the law of the land], viz. whether a physician has priority over all other creditors, and if he is considered trustworthy concerning all that he says/testifies,
3. and if he is considered trustworthy in this [specific] case, where the rental contract had already been sold. And even if he has trustworthiness, whether the trustworthiness stands even when no oath is taken,
4. that is, that he is not required to swear that he was not paid nor [swear] concerning the number of times he visited the patient. And the parties are obligated to uphold all that is stated by the avocats
5. from the standpoint of dina d’malkhuta. This ruling was issued by the beit din today, Wednesday, 11 Sivan 5543 [1783] […]
Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System
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Pinkas Metz Beit Din, Vol. 2, p. 85b

1. והבחינו ששמענו דבריהם. פסקנו שצהריים
2. והם שליחי פאודותאקטיב בבר tong דינם דמלくださו אם הזמנה מוקדש לכל בעל
3. והם יש לאמנות לכל מה שיאמר
4. והם יש לאמנות בבודך זה השכר נכתר השטרشدroat. ראו, אם יש לאמנות. אם
5. והאמנות והא פי' אל שבותה
6. ודרינו של' יש' לשבע שלח פ藝術 ב tung פגיעה שדה' והמקל את湖泊ל. וכל מה שרצה
7. והם שליחי פאודותאמט מזוحيים השלים
8. כאשרALAR הם מצרה דינו דמל לך. הסכם הזה לא מפי ב' ד ו' ו' ו' א סרי חכמה' ל"פ.
9. והם יש לאמנות. אם יש לאמנות
10. והם שליחי פאודותחא" י"ח ח" י"ח ח" ת" י"ח ח" שנא' א" ב' ו' ו' ו' והרב מ"ח ו' ו' ו' ו' והרב מ"ח ו' ו' ו' ו' ו' והרב מ"ח ו' ו' ו' ו' והרב מ"ח ו' ו' ו' ו' והרב מ"ח ו' ו' ו' ו'และישכם. והח' מ"ח מודריך ליר
Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System
Jay Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts

Copy of a Consultation of M. Roederer and Pakain
Advocates here who were approached by the heirs of M. Reizele, 30 August 1773

Archives départementales de la Moselle, Consistoire israélite 17J24
translated by Jay R. Berkovitz

1. The undersigned legal advisors who saw the will of Reizele Elzus, the widow of R. B[erman] Speyer, dated 12 May 1766 and its codicil dated 20 December 1769 and the formal announcement of them both dated 14 March 1773, the inventory [of the estate] from the 19th of the following April, and the account of the completion of the inventory from the 20th of the aforementioned month, the claim that was made in the bailliage court in this city on the 7th of the month of June 1773 by Neta Gompertz on his own behalf and with the power of attorney of his wife, and acting as a guardian for his sons, with a written record [mémoire] were consulted on the matters on which there were questions and their opinion on the first is that Neta Gompertz cannot claim the moveable items from the room that was given to him by Reizele according to a note [of indebtedness] in Hebrew [lit. “in the holy language”], insofar as he himself did not claim it until a large number of arguments opposed to him had accumulated. – And how can one validate the Hebrew note at the same time that he would like to certify Reizele Elzus’s will, which weakens it [the Hebrew note] insofar as it bequeaths to others the moveable items in her bedroom, and in particular the clock that is one of the moveable items, to Neta Gompertz.
10. In truth, Neta Gompertz could have chosen either that he would not accept the gifts from the will in order to claim [what is owed to him in] the Hebrew note of indebtedness or to renounce the Hebrew note of indebtedness in order to receive the gifts that were bequeathed to him according to the will.

11. However Neta Gompertz, knowing that the two notes/contracts could not be simultaneously upheld, has nullified his Hebrew note in order to accept the will upon himself—First he wanted to validate the will at the time of its announcement. Second, he was present at the reading of the inventory.[.]

12. He saw that the moveable items from the room of the deceased were included and he did not object or present his Hebrew note of indebtedness, even though it was the appropriate time to present it so as not to confuse the estate with the moveable items that belonged to him from the room that was encumbered to him according to the note of indebtedness. In the third case he claimed the clock pendulum that was given to him as a gift in the will, and not as part of the moveable items that belong to him on the strength of the contract.

13. Fourth, his claim in baillage court was to secure an order to certify and validate the will and to distribute the gifts to him and to his sons, and he did not make an announcement concerning any residue of rights from another vantage. All of these reasons together are sufficient to verify the explicit nullification that Neta Gompertz enacted concerning his rights from the Hebrew note. Nevertheless, with all of these objections to Neta Gompertz on account of his explicit acceptance of Reizele’s will and the implicit nullification of the Hebrew contract; without a doubt if the will cannot be validated in all of its details / and if there is a judgment of the beit din that nullifies or weakens some details within it, then Neta Gompertz is discharged from his acceptance of the will and he is free to strengthen himself with the power of the Hebrew note of indebtedness – and if he wants to combine his rights from the will with those from the note of indebtedness, this is prohibited, as there is an important general principle, [namely,] that it is impossible to divide the acceptance of a will,
24. just as it is impossible to divide the acceptance of natural inheritance, and just as the natural heir cannot inherit only part of an estate, and renounce
25. the rest, because just as he is obligated to renounce the entire estate or the accept it,
26. the beneficiary of a will cannot divide a will so as to accept one part and to renounce the rest. Neta Gompertz is required to rely on the power of
27. his acceptance of the will, or to renounce it entirely, in the first way if the gifts that are given him are diminished, he may not
28. make up the difference with the rights in the Hebrew note of indebtedness, and if he chooses the second way to affirm the note of indebtedness, he is required to entirely renounce
29. the rights from the will without any residue.
30. And regarding the second question, that Elia Gompertz was charged with the care of money and precious stones and other items from the estate of Reizele Elzus
31. he cannot keep the deposit which is in his care under the pretext that not all of the beneficiaries together want either divide it according to
32. the will or to give it to the natural heirs, to each the amount he is entitled. There are ways to force him to give it up. The first
33. is to summon him to judgment to transfer the deposit, or to hand it over, and they should send for the beneficiaries with the same summons,
34. those who are not here, whether in the homes in which they lived before their travels, or in the lord prosecutor general’s [procureur général] office, in order
35. to command him according to the law of transmission from the deposit, or the division/distribution, and the sentence will be the same for all of them/ and the second way is
36. to claim the transmission or the distribution on the condition that first he will repay all of the expenses and obligations of the estate, and for the rest of the property
37. deposited in his care, the portions which are due, either as gifts or as inheritance, to those who are not currently present. There is no doubting [this] as it has undergone review and is enduring law.
Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System
Jay Berkowitz, University of Massachusetts

Copy of a Consultation of M. Roederer. Archives départementales de la Moselle. Consistoire israélite 17J24

Traduction de la Consultation de M. Roederer 1773
Archives de la Moselle Consistoire israélite 17J24
12. בל"ה כ"ד
בצל של צ'ראיץ והוגהו - בר 어렵תי החיצן של ק"ה, ז"הו בת הכמות. ב_splits של הוא, zeigt

13. "וכל של צ'ראית[כ"ד]
הוגהו בצל המצוות של כו' חByEmail של אלהו של הנך[כ"ד]

14. הוא ההו בצל המצוות של מזהו החיצן של עצו של הנך של הנך[כ"ד]
אנפוס[כ"ד], על פ"ח נ"ה, הוגהו ג"ע[כ"ד]

15. הל"ה ח"ז כ"ד של עצו בחכמה של מזהו החיצן של מזהו החיצן של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]
筮"ח או בישית[כ"ד]

16. בתゾ[כ"ד], נ"ה בצל המצוות של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]
המכח"ס[כ"ד], בצל החיצן של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]
r[כ"ד], עבד[כ"ד], בצל החיצן של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]
ולא[כ"ד], בצל המצוות של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]

17. על[כ"ד], שד[כ"ד] ושה[כ"ד], בצל המצוות של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]
כפ"ע[כ"ד] בצל המצוות של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]
ולא[כ"ד], בצל המצוות של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]

18. על[כ"ד], שד[כ"ד] ושה[כ"ד], בצל המצוות של כו' חByEmail[כ"ד]
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לא יכויל עלבב הפיקוד וشهدת תחתיו בה"פ אמת'לך שבל המקבל ממנה תחתיו。

מרצו'ם ותחלקה בחרת
אלה התאורה ואלמוסר לדי דחייש'ם \תחלקה לכל אחיו מה שמאיגיל, וי' אופני'ם.

להכירה אחר \תחלקה, בריאה פל
לתומך אחיה במשפע \לעשון המסרירוה וא \תחלקה הממה שייש תחתיו, זבאותו זמנה.

יומיות אחיה \תחלקה ממנה
לא נאנו כל \ן ביבים \שחי \דיהם בחל explan ת saç אמרי התה פארקריר.

 Fernandez, ד"י

לצור \"ה' מפשפ \varchar(1) המפרסיר \varchar(1) \וחליקה\" \וחליקה, \וחסננ탭 \ הדי' \שוק \לכל \ווד.

ורתפ\\u05d9 וחיי הווא

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ל \ח Playstation \וחליקה \לע \נתאי \ש тогда \כ פירס \כ \חסננ_TAB \וחבוי \מחזבון.

בפצק \וחליקה \מנצ'ין \ן \בתורת \מנהנה \וא \בתורת \ירהוש \לא \אתור \ש \ירשין פ \שנת.

וא \לפקסמן \דה\" [לא \휀ור \קולוס] \בלי \סמק "ח\" \[די' \כורמא]\.

24
Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System
Jay Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts

Pinkas Metz Beit Din, Vol. 1, pt. 2, 16a. Record Group 128, Box 2, YIVO Archives

1. Concerning what was claimed by the heirs *par bénéfice d’inventaire* of Reizele a”h, widow of *Parnas u-Manhig* Berman Speyer z”l, and those who are also beneficiaries
2. as stated in the will, claimed against other beneficiaries named in the aforementioned will that they want to invalidate the will prepared in French in the year 1766, according their reckoning, in May, and also the codicil
3. that was prepared on 20 December 1769, according their reckoning. And their attorney, *dayyan* R. Yozel Morhange, advanced in their presence several arguments to invalidate the will and the codicil in their entirety,
4. so that everything in the will belongs only to the heirs. They also argued against Neta Emrich, one of the aforementioned beneficiaries, that since it is known according to several witnesses that Neta
5. owed a large sum to Reizele, and no [evidence of a] debt from him was found in the estate, therefore he [must] reveal to them what he owes the estate […]

10. […] And Neta responded that he has nothing at all that belongs to the estate and owes not even a cent to it,
11. but to the contrary, the estate owes him as per an *arrêt* of the *parlement* and also other written documents [relating to] six thousand *livres* to which he is entitled from the estate of *Pu”M*
12. Berman Speyer, which is prior to all the aforementioned beneficiaries and natural heirs. Neta also claimed that since he has a note that was executed on the day of his wedding, signed by *Pu”M*
13. Berman Speyer and his wife, [stating] that following the passing of both of them, Neta would take the moveable items, except for silver and gold and precious stones, which are in their designated room. And if the heirs do not give
14. these [to him], they are obligated to give him two thousand livres in exchange for the moveables. And now that the time has come to collect, he should be given, as a priority, one of the two aforementioned items.
15. Neta also claimed that insofar as is mentioned in the will that the estate shall pay him all that the aforesaid woman owes him according to his notebook, and he showed the beit din that
16. she owes him [as recorded] in his notebook the amount of four hundred eighty two livres, therefore the estate shall pay him this amount as a priority. The heirs responded that he already received
17. during the woman’s lifetime the moveables in exchange for the note. And even if you say that he received nothing, he is entitled only to the amount of two hundred livres that is mentioned in the Neta’s contrat de mariage
18. that the moveables are appraised at the aforesaid amount. Also, they are not obligated to pay him a cent of all his claims, since [at the time] of the woman’s inventaire
19. Neta only advanced the claim concerning the notebook and nothing else, therefore they are not obligated to pay him anything of the foregoing claims except what
20. he is entitled to receive as per his notebook, and this also an oral claim. The heirs also demanded of Neta that insofar as it is stated in his contrat de mariage that
21. the income of the house in which Neta now lives belonged to Pu’”M Berman and his wife Reizele all the days of their lives and the use belongs to him, therefore Neta must show quittances
22. for the entire rent of the house from the time he lived there until the death of Reizele, or he must pay the [back] rent. And Neta replied that he owes nothing
23. because she forgave him the rent. And after their protracted arguments and having seen the will in French and the codicil, written documents of Neta, and also
24. the compromise signed by all the aforesaid natural heirs and beneficiaries, we have ruled that with respect to the will and codicil in French, insofar as some of the aforementioned heirs
25. and beneficiaries signed it, [indicating] that they agree to carry out everything that is written in the aforementioned will and codicil. Therefore, those who signed it are obligated to fulfill the will and codicil in its entire contents. Indeed, those who did not sign it can refuse to uphold [lit. “invalidate”] the will and codicil concerning all that is written therein. That is, they are initially obligated to pay from the estate all the expenses and debts that are elucidated below. And following this, all those who did not sign shall take from whatever remains in the estate, each one, whatever he is entitled to according to the portion of his inheritance and not according to the value of the will, and [as for] what remains after the distribution of the inheritance, those heirs who signed and the other beneficiaries, those who signed [are entitled] to what remains, each one according to the portion of his bequest.

29. And those remaining beneficiaries who did not sign cannot collect anything from the estate. Indeed, if it is confirmed by two competent witnesses that at the time of the preparation of the will the moveables and silver mentioned explicitly in the will were actually there -- that which she gave to the beneficiaries, namely, the silver lamp that she bequeathed to Gumpel b. Neta or the [clock] pendulum for Neta. Likewise, the clothing that she left to those mentioned in the will and codicil, these things will be given to the beneficiaries. But if the aforesaid is not confirmed, they will get nothing from the portion of the heirs who did not sign it. And concerning Neta’s arguments, we the beit din have ruled that he must take a stern oath with the holy ark open, a half hour after the morning prayer in the old synagogue on a day of gathering [Monday or Thursday], with no leniency, that he has in hand nothing that belongs to the estate, either what he had owed her in writing or orally, or anything at all that is in his possession from the estate and that she gave him orally an unconditional gift that he acquired lawfully, and he should also include [in the oath] that the debt in his notebook is trustworthy, that he gave her the article mentioned in the notebook and did not receive anything in exchange for it. He should also include that
36. the woman forgave him all the rent for the house claimed by the heirs and that he did not receive the furniture in exchange for the two thousand livres. And following the oath, Neta shall
37. collect, after the payment of all the expenses of the estate the entire amount that he claimed as per his notebook. And all the moveables that are listed in the inventory
38. of the notary or according to two competent witnesses what was there, at the time of the death of the woman, in her designated room, those moveables Neta can take
39. against the note of indebtedness, except for the silver and gold and precious stones, prior to the other beneficiaries. Indeed, of whatever was not confirmed he cannot collect a cent on the strength of the note.
40. And as to the claim of six thousand livres advanced by Neta, there is nothing to his words. […]
41. […] Rendered orally, has undergone review and is enduring law.
Finding Common Ground: The Metz Beit Din and the French Judicial System
Jay Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts

Pinkas Metz Beit Din, Vol. 1, pt. 2, 16a. Record Group 128, Box 2, YIVO Archives

par bénéfice d'inventaire 1

1 et voici que nous disons à lire: aussi le titulaire de cet inventaire, 

2 toutes les dispositions que nous avons faites, 

3 et qu'elles soient inférieures. 

4 en même temps que nous avons faites. 

5 en même temps que nous avons faites. 

6 en même temps que nous avons faites. 

7 et que nous avons faites. 

8 en même temps que nous avons faites. 

9 en même temps que nous avons faites. 

10 en même temps que nous avons faites. 

11 en même temps que nous avons faites. 

12 en même temps que nous avons faites.

1 ו’לעשת נלՒו’ר שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ل שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל שדעי’ל ش}
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inventaire: 5
compromis: 6
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אם realmente. מתנות למקבלי הדברים אתן יותן אזי ל"הנ

32. טעב שجماعة הה"ג מתה והי בוד אחד מתים מהם. חתמוהו שלא יורשים חלק מתן כלום להם אין ל"הנ יבורר לא
שבועה לשבע שמחויב ד"ב מאתנו יציא ל"הנ נטע' כ

33. בחירה' ביו הישינה כ"בבה שחרית תפילת אחר שעה חצי ק"אה בפתיחת חמורה
השייך דבר שום ידוב שאין היתר הוראת שום
' שיהי מה' יהי דבר שום או י"בעפ אוכתב י"עפ לה обязан היה מה הן ל"הנ להעזבון
במתנה י"עפ לו נתנה והיא ל"הנ מעזבון ידו תחת הוא

34. הארטיקל לה נתן הוא比亚ושר הוא בפנקסו שהחוב ויכלול הדין י"עפ שקונה גמורה
כלולי גם. כלום עליו קיבל ושלא בפנקסו שמוזכר

35. במועב מקבלaven של שבע נבטונן והוצאו כל תשלום אחר ל"הנ נטע' כ
אינוואנטר י"עפ שיבורר המטלטלים כל גם. ל"וכנ ל"הנ

36. בתוך ל"הנ האשה מינתה בשעת עומדים דירישים עדים שני י"עפ או נאטריע של
ל"הנ נטע' כ יקח' המטלטלי אותן המובחר חדרה

37.isodes אם的确. מתנות מקבלי לשאר מוקדם ט"וא וזהב מכסף חוץ ל"הנ שטר חוב עבור
שטר מכח אחת פרוטה' לגבו יכול אינו יבורר

40. והמהות ההבטחה שלของเขา אלפים ליורו מ"גنت הנ"ל איצא
 Johannesburg נגר פ"שמ" אליה הנ"ל לא

41. מינתה הנ' של"א הנ"ל ישבה שובותهةheits שלדברי כלーム. בצע"י הדָּנגברת

41. קולמוס וייך קיימים.
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Medicine as a Cultural Connection Between Jews and Christians in Early Modern Italy
Andrew Berns, UCLA

Abstract

This presentation explores cultural connections between Jews and Christians in sixteenth-century Italy through the lens of medicine. I present and analyze two texts. The first (from 1587) is a letter from Girolamo Mercuriale, a Catholic, to Moses Alatino, a Jew. The second (from 1592) is an excerpt from a consilium sent by the Jewish physician David de' Pomi to Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino.

Introduction

The two texts presented below contain evidence of Jewish-Christian interaction in sixteenth-century Italy. The first is a medical consultation written by the Catholic physician Girolamo Mercuriale to the Jewish physician Moses Alatino regarding a young woman suffering from an assortment of gynecological and urinary ailments. Mercuriale’s letter is a response to a query, unfortunately lost, from Alatino. Girolamo Mercuriale (1530-1606) was a distinguished doctor and prolific writer. His first Book of Medical Responses and Consultations, from which this text is taken, was published in Venice in 1587; one other volume followed in 1598, and two others in 1604. Mercuriale’s reputation rests not only on his medical monographs but also on his antiquarian works. Perhaps his best-known book is De arte gymnastica libri sex [Six Books on the Gymnastic Art] (Venice 1579), an exploration of physical activity in the ancient world. Moses Alatino was Mercuriale’s exact contemporary: he died in 1605. In addition to practicing medicine, Alatino achieved renown as a translator of classical Greek scientific texts into Latin, often executed via Hebrew manuscripts from the Middle Ages. The second text presented here is an excerpt from a medical prescription that the Jewish physician David de’ Pomi wrote to Francesco Maria II, the Este Duke. It belongs to the regimen
vitae genre of medical advice literature, which originates in the Hippocratic Corpus. De’ Pomi’s work was one of several addressed to Francesco Maria, and was included with the others in a bound manuscript preserved in the Vatican Library. David de’ Pomi (1525-93) was born in Spoleto, educated at Perugia, and spent most of his professional life in Venice. None of his strictly medical writings has survived, but we do have several apologetic, historical, and exegetical works, some of which remain in manuscript. De’ Pomi is best known for his tri-lingual 1587 dictionary Tsemah David, which explains thousands of Hebrew and Aramaic terms in Hebrew, Latin and Italian. It elaborates upon several medieval lexicographical works, and features a variety of colorful essays on antiquarian and historical topics.

The medical profession constituted one of the only professional and cultural spheres in early modern Europe that encouraged fruitful relationships between Jews and Christians. Italy was very important in this regard. From the sixteenth century on, Jews matriculated at, and took degrees from Italian universities. We have hard evidence that, while there, they attended class with and disputed among their Christian fellow students. Data are lacking, but circumstantial evidence suggests that they also socialized more informally. A number of Jewish and Christian physicians conducted correspondence throughout their careers, and those epistolary relationships may have commenced at university. Medical letters were an important genre of epistolary literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. As Ian Maclean has pointed out, they sold well. And as Nancy Siraisi has shown, one feature of medical letters was they were often exchanged between members of different religious confessions. There is evidence in Mercuriale’s correspondence that he wrote to, and received letters from, Jews. There is at least one other letter to Alatino, and Mercuriale also wrote to the Jewish physician Abraham Portaleone of Mantua, whom he addressed as his “faithful friend.” Furthermore, Portaleone, who is best known as the author of an encyclopedia of biblical antiquities, Shilte HaGibborim, also wrote medical letters in Latin and Italian, which remain in manuscript. Those letters consist of correspondence with over forty gentile physicians, besides several Jewish ones. Among Portaleone’s correspondents was Girolamo Mercuriale.

One conspicuous feature of both of the texts I present below is the absence of any discussion of religion, faith, Scripture, or cultural differences between Jews and Christians. I submit that de’ Pomi, Mercuriale and Alatino shared a common culture: that of learned medicine. They were adherents of different faiths, but one would not know that from perusing their medical writings. Those writings discuss medical and scientific topics
exclusively. Neither of the sources I have translated contains any content that sheds direct light on cross-cultural interactions *per se*; rather, they present evidence of interaction between members of different religions but the same culture. The content of these letters is, in turns, routinely formal and rigorously technical. With regard to the former, Mercuriale’s salutation to Alatino is worthy of note: “It remains to say that you love me, and you should know that I hold your learning, as well as your skill in practicing medicine, in high regard.” Even if the love Mercuriale professed for Alatino was formalized rather than emotional it is still worthy of discussion and consideration. I also wish to underscore David de’ Pomi’s subsequent posturing before Duke Francesco Maria, whom he calls “the very wisest and most learned of all princes,” and to whom he professess himself “your humble servant.” We might consider whether de’ Pomi’s sycophantic stance was typical of writings sent to princes and kings, and or whether his status as a Jew colored his self-presentation. Finally, it remains to ponder how specifically early modern, and how Italian, this set of interactions was. The political, social, institutional, literary and scientific contexts are those of sixteenth-century Italy. So far as we know, the sorts of interactions that these Jewish and Christian physicians enjoyed did not occur in other contexts. In German-speaking Europe Jewish-Christian relations in medical circles were nearly unheard of; in the Ottoman Empire they were quite rare; and in Eastern Europe in this period we have no evidence of Jewish and Christian physicians conducting correspondence. The opportunity to attend university with Christians, to enter into a professional career with clear social advantages, to enjoy membership in organizations such as Colleges of Physicians, and to practice their craft upon, and alongside Christians were all advantages unique to the Jews of early modern Italy.

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Girolamo Mercuriale to Moses Alatino.  
From: *Hieronymi Mercurialis Forolivensis Respensorum, et Consultationum Medicinalium Tomus Primus* (Venice, 1587), fol. 43-44.

On a Uterine Tumor, Painful Urination, and Constipation, for a noble young Jewess, [sent] to the Jewish Physician Moses Alatino.  Consultation #16

Although I have thus far given no response to your letter, in which you elegantly and fully discussed the health challenges of a most distinguished woman, the delayed return of it [my responsum] came about chiefly because I was thinking that you wished for nothing other than my diligence in responding to your consilium, and I believed I might satisfy your desires if these obligations were discharged either by the cure itself, or by my response.  Regarding what is to be done about this matter— expressed by this woman and her own husband— what the situation is and what course of action the affected parties will request, you may easily guess my judgment.  It is only relevant for me to add, in my view, that these troubles were not caused by a visit to the baths.  It is not possible for me to say anything else about her condition other than what was related by her husband.  But I might just briefly venture the following opinion:  The uterus is affected by some tumor on the extreme left side, and when I first examined that place, I was indeed suspicious.  Both those things that happened to her previously, and the notable diminution of her menses, greatly augmented that suspicion.  And yet I doubt either that the prolapse of the uterus to the inferior parts is brought about on account of this one condition [diminution of the menses] or on account of an enlarged mola of the uterus so that the intestines compressed to the posterior part admit feces with difficulty.  It may be the case that from the inner parts the mouth of the bladder will become compressed so that the urine (which, I have noticed, happens very often in cases like these) may be perceived as much more painful upon discharge.  The following things occur to almost everyone: wakefulness, annoyance,
and perpetual discomfort. On account of these things the aggravated internal organs do not adequately supply nourishment to the whole body. It is no wonder, then, that more and more every day the patient is exhausted by the loss of nourishment. And so there is no one who would not deem it necessary for a most capable doctor to direct ceaseless study to this case, whence other serious defects are seen to arise, certainly to the uterus itself, by unnatural conditions that are to be addressed.

Apropos of this it is extremely difficult to judge if those things written most copiously by Hippocrates on diseases in the first book of his *On Women’s Sicknesses* are correct. However, you should not desert her [the patient], or give up hope, but rather adhere to assiduous prescription for her and a suitable regimen of life—no great protection in this summer heat! If there is pain and swelling in that place it may please [the patient] to assiduously apply [to her] an emollient ointment. At the same time you may make use, though only at intervals, of a maturative made from pigeon’s broth with a proper measure of smilax, wormwood, mint, endive, and borage flower. After the heat of summer has passed away, and a proper purgation of the whole body has been performed, I would recommend for that reason that carefully prepared iron with a mixture of uterine powders be administered to her, which will be more pleasantly and easily endured by her. In this manner the remedy will expel the internal hardness, and I do not doubt that you have often experimented with this, and had great success with it. After this [remedy] she should drink every month [with her menstrual cycle] two drachmas of old Theriac, and it is to be hoped that this will work. Since you write nothing about cautery (and nor would any woman propose it), I fear none was done, and therefore if in order to press the [blood] flow of the whole body towards the uterus two cauteries will be performed on the arms, I do not doubt that these things will be useful. And these are the matters most relevant to the case at hand which I thought worthy of writing to you. It remains to say that you love me,1 and you should know that I hold your learning, as well as your skill in practicing medicine, in high regard.

Be well. [Written] from Padua.

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1 Cf Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, 274, tu fac quod facis, ut me ames teque amari a me scias: "It is for you to see to it, and you do, that you love me, and are assured that I love you."
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Medicine as a Cultural Connection Between Jews and Christians in Early Modern Italy
Andrew Berns, UCLA

Girolamo Mercuriale to Moses Alatino.
From: Hieronymi Mercurialis Foroliviensis Responsorum, et Consultationum Medicinalium Tomus Primus (Venice, 1587), fol. 43-44.

De Uteri tumore, urinae acrimonia, aluique suppressione, pro Nobili iuvene Hebraea, ad Moysem Alatino Medicum Hebraeum. Consultatio XVI [On a Uterine Tumor, Painful Urination, and Constipation, for a noble young Jewess, [sent] to the Jewish Physician Moses Alatino]

Quod litteris tuis, in quibus de honestissimae foeminae adversa valetudine, eleganter, & copiosè disputas, hactenus respo[n]sum nullu[m] dederim, redditus ipsius isthuc dilatus, hucusque in primis effecit; Putabam enim cum nihil aliud, quam diligentiam in expediendis consilijs vestris meam requireres, sat fore si his absolutis, aut re ipsa, aut sermone meo desiderijs vestris satisfacerem, & quod ad ipsum opus ex ore mulieris atque ipsius coniugis, quae acta sint, quae ipse iudicaverim, quid occasio, & patientis natura postulaverint, facilè intelliges: Ita ut ad me solummodo pertineat illud addere, mihi ipsam post thermarum usum videre non contigisse, ac propterea quidquam aliud de ipsius statu me dicere non posse, quam quod ab ipsius coniuge relatum, atque etiam breviter, audiuvi: Uterum namque illius in extima sinistri lateris parte tumore aliquo affectum esse, cum primum locum contractavī, valdè sum suspicatus; Quam suspicione maxime etiam augent, tum quae sibi ante evenerunt, tum mensium illa insignis imminutio, nec non uteri ad inferiora prolapsus, ob quem unum affectum, nec non ob auctam uteri molem, dubito fieri, ut à parte posteriore compressa intestina difficulter faeces admittant; Ab interiore vero os vessicae angustius redditu[m] in causa sit, ut urina (quod plerumque fieri in his casibus animadverteri) inter exoeundum multo acrior perceptiatur. Quasi verò ab omnibus his deinceps, & vigiliae, & molestiae, & inquietudines perpetuae oria[n]tur, ob quas violata viscera, cum alimentum toti corpori idoneum non suppedite[n]tur, mirum minimè est, si illud debito nutrimento privatum, in dies magis consumitur. Quapropter nemo est, qui non videat oportere Medicu[m] eo potissimu[m]
studia cuncta dirigere, unde caetera vitia potissimum oriri videntur, nempe
ad uterum ipsum, ab affectibus praeternaturalibus vindicandum,

Quod tamen consequi perarduum iudicandum est, si quae ab Hippocrate his
de affectibus copiosè scripta sunt in Primo de morbis mulieb. Libro, vera
sunt. Attamen minimè eam deferere, ac penitus spem abijcere debitis, sed
praescripta ipsi assidua, & accommodata vivendi ratione sub hisce aestibus
nullum generosum praesidium adhibere, praeterquam si loco illi dolenti, &
tumenvi ceratum aliquod emollitorium assiduò applicare libeat, simulque
ius aliquod domestici Columbi cum modico Chyne, artemisiae, menthae,
cichorei, borraginis, saltem per intervalla praebere. Postquam autem calore
perfuncta erit aestas, facta iterum accommodata totius corporis purgatione,
chalybem diligenter praeparatum, necnon uterinis aliquibus pulveribus
commixtum, ea ratione sibi exhibendum laudarem, quae ab ipsa iucundius &
facilius sustineri poterit. Huiusmodi enim remedium ad expugnandas
durities quaslibet internas, magnam vim possidere te quoque saepius
expertum esse non dubito. Post quem usum si deinceps singulo mense bis
Theriaca veteris drachmam devorabit, collaturam esse sperandum est. De
cauterij cum nil nihil scribas, neque etiam mulier quidquam retulerit, nulla esse
facta vereor, & idcirco si ad comprimendum totius corporis ad uterum
confluxum, duo in brachijs excitarentur, utilia fore non dubitarem. Et haec
sunt, quae in proposito casu ad te scribenda putavi. Reliquum est, ut me
ames, ac tuam doctrinam, & in medendo peritiam à me plurimum aestimari
Medicine as a Cultural Connection Between Jews and Christians in Early Modern Italy
Andrew Berns, UCLA

David de’ Pomi to Francesco Maria II, Duke of Urbino

David de’ Pomi to Francesco Maria II, Duke of Urbino
(Included in) Physicians' Consilia regarding the Illness of Francesco Maria II, Duke of Urbino

Although I have judged you, most serene Duke, to be the very wisest and most learned of all princes, and have perceived you to be very skilled in all of philosophy and the mathematical disciplines, it is nevertheless very easy to err in one’s own regimen of health, and I have thought it a good idea, and one without any risk of being inappropriate, to prescribe to you, in brief, my ideas regarding how best to care for your health. Not that I think that very few doctors more learned that I am are to be found in your city; on the contrary, they are much more learned than I. I have decided to write this consilium, however unpolished it may be, since I am your most faithful servant, not doubting that you will receive it with a cheerful spirit, since in your beneficence you are accustomed to receive other gifts, however small. And since the [true] method of healing consists in knowledge of those things that exist in accordance with, and in contradiction to nature, the ultimate worth of this work is [your] peace of mind.

. . . It is customary for us to say a few words about these things [sleep and wakefulness]. We shall therefore say that the best sleep is nocturnal sleep, since the night, by means of natural humidity and quiet, leads the soul to sleep. A pure mixture is initiated, and after nocturnal sleep we are led to expel many parts of [our] excrement.
... These bits of advice, which I have written in haste, and without books to consult, will suffice for your course of treatment. [May this treatment] bring me the esteem of the wise and famous physicians who assist your grace.

To Your serene [grace]

[Your] most humble servant,

David de Pomis
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Medicine as a Cultural Connection Between Jews and Christians in Early Modern Italy
Andrew Berns, UCLA

David de’ Pomi to Francesco Maria II, Duke of Urbino
From: Medicorum consilia in infirmitate francisci mariae II urbini ducis, an. 1592.
[Physicians' Consilia regarding the Illness of Francesco Maria II, Duke of Urbino]
Vatican, cor. Urb. 1468, 119r-134r.

Serenis[im]o Urbini Duc[esc]o M.[aria]

Tametsi ser.[enissime] Dux, te omnium principum quos buccusque novi, sapientissimu[m], atque literatissimum iudicaverim, et multum omnis pilosphiae [sic: philosophiae] Disciplinarumque Mathematicarum peritia excellere perceperim; cum tum in propriis corporis regimine quisque aberrare perfacile valeat, haud rationi absonum aliqua prosere tuae valetudine tuenda ante meum discessum breviter perscribere putavi: non, quod me longe Doctiores Medici hac in tua civitate (119r-119v) minime reperiantur existimem; sed, ut meam qu[a] sere tuam fidelissimam servitutem, hoc sibi consilium etsi admodum rude, instituere decrevi: non dubitans, quin illud eo hylari sis animo excepturus, quo pro benignitate tua, caetera munera quantumcumque parva, suspicere soles. Et quoniam medendi methodus in illis cognoscendis consistit, quae secundum, et quae praeter naturam existunt, opere precium est, serenita[s].

. . . Fas est ut de iis [somnus et vigilia] etiam sermonem faciamus. Dicimus igitur, quod optimus somnus est nocturnus; quoniam nox naturali humiditate, silentioaque, animum in somnu[m] deducens, absolutam molitus concoctionem, item post somnum nocturnum (130r-130v) plurima parte ad excretionem excrementorum instigamur.

Infimus ser.[yu]s
David de Pomis
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


A Jewish-Christian Commentary on Luke
Yaacov Deutsch, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, David Yellin College

Introduction

In 1735, Immanuel Frommann, a converted Jew who was working at the Institutum Judaicum in Halle translated the book of Luke and wrote a commentary on the text. This text is probably the first printed Hebrew commentary on the New Testament. In his commentary, Frommann uses a wide range of Hebrew sources. He quotes regularly from the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud, biblical commentaries, midrashim, legal treatises, philosophical texts and historical works. He also makes use of mystical and kabbalistic works. The commentary has several layers of interpretation: relatively short lexical or grammatical explanations of words or phrases; literary explanations of the text that are meant to make it more comprehensive to the readers; as well as “Christological interpretations”.

This text is unique because it was written in Hebrew thus mainly for a Jewish (male) audience and not in Latin or vernacular languages as was the case in earlier compositions that made use of Jewish texts like Johannes Lightfoot, Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae or to Surenhusius Sefer ha-Mashveh. In many ways, Frommann’s commentary is better described as a Jewish-Christian or perhaps a Christian-Jewish text. Instead of a total rejection of Jewish learning and writing, Frommann’s heavy use of the Jewish tradition in a Christian context is an attempt to reconnect Christianity and Judaism.
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EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


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Yaacov Deutsch, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, David Yellin College


A Gospel according to Luke the Evangelist that is taken from books known as the New Testament, copied from the Greek, to the holy tongue, and explained with a commentary, Part I, in the year 495 (1735)

1. Since many have taken to their hearts to set down an orderly account of the events which have been validated to us 2. Just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word of God.¹:

1. Since - It was already explained in the introduction to this book why the books that tell about the birth of Jesus, the miracles he performed before all the people and his resurrection are called the good gospel and why the people who wrote them are called evangelists. And there you will also see that each and every book was written by the person to whom it is attributed although he did not disclose his name. And the intention of the narrator who tells us these things in the first four verses in this book, which are like an introduction to his book, is to announce the reason for writing this book. And Since many have taken to their hearts to set down an orderly account of the events etc. until they were servants of the word of God - Namely they want to write everything according to its order, but because this did not (always) succeed and they wrote succinctly and sometimes omitted one or two stories, and the readers of these books could not understand the connection between all the stories and the right order in which they took place. Therefore "I too decided" (lit. it seemed good to me)" etc. And he did not intend to invalidate what had been said before by earlier evangelists, to the contrary, for he includes himself among them when he writes: I too decided" etc. And he only came to augment their words by learning and
studying everything thoroughly from its origin, as it will be explained in the following verses, that this author wrote about many things that the former evangelists omitted, like the birth of John and similar things like that. **Many:** Besides Mathew and Marcus who are called evangelists and lived before Luke and wrote their books. And in that time there were important people who fully heartedly believed in Jesus took upon themselves to write some events that they saw and heard. And because they were not necessary or useful, they were not counted among the books that are called in the New Testament Holy Writings, rather they were concealed. As the men of the Great Assembly (Anshey Kneset ha-Gdola) did to the books: Baruch, Tobias and Judith and to many others. And although some of these concealed books do not exist today it is impossible to argue from this that there was no divine providence over the New Testament books and this is proven from the 'Book of God’s Wars' mentioned in Numbers 21,14; the 'Book of the Righteous', Joshua 10,13 and many other books as it is mentioned in the introduction. **Have taken to their hearts:** like "And all this I have taken to my heart" (Ecc 9:1). **To set down:** this is taken from the Talmud as we learned in the fourth chapter of tractate Brakhot, page 28b: **Simeon ha-Pakuli arranged the eighteen benedictions in order in Yavneh:** he means to set down everything in its place. **those things which have been validated to us:** in that time, all the things that he told were true and accurate, and no one doubted them, because there was a tradition about them from man to man as he explains.

2. **Who from the beginning were eyewitnesses:** this relates to the previous verse because it gives a reason why the truth of these things were proven to us because they were given to us from those people who saw everything with their own eyes and they are Jesus’s disciples and his apostles whom he chose to be witnesses to all his sayings, signs and miracles as it written in this book, chapter 24:48: and they always stood with him when he was tested. And these deeds were inscribed in the hearts of those who heard and saw them to such a degree that they were willing to risk their lives as we will interpret with God’s help. **And servants:** a designation for disciples because they are used to serve and to assist their master like: the servant of Moses, [one] of his young men (Numbers 11,28); And young Samuel was in the service (1 Samuel 3,1); and as it is written: who poured water on the hands of Elijah (2 Kings 3,11). And from this they learned in the Talmud that **the service of the Torah scholars is greater than the study thereof.** Word of God: according to the (Aramaic) translation the saying of God: And I have already explained the
issue of this phrase in the introduction and commented on the intentions of
the translator when he translated the noun Hashem or the term God (Elohim)
or "according to Hashem" (pi hashem) etc. as the saying (or word) of God,
because he always means that the Ancient Wisdom which flows from the
Highest Crown which is the Crown of Creation, the Splendor of the
Unity equaling the Highest Crown or the Infinite in every aspect,
according to the Kabbalah as it appears in the second path of Sefer Yetzirah.

1 I have followed the New revised Standard Version translation of the New Testament,
amending it when it was necessary to explain the words Frommann used.
2 BT, Brakhot 7b.
A Jewish-Christian Commentary on Luke
Yaacov Deutsch, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, David Yellin College


A cheri אריה בנים נגנו שלכם לספר המidious אשר יקחון높 זה וכותב: 2 כארש מסדר
לוף Ashton רוב הכלי זכריכים מרואית המשרה דב' חוי

1. After that many had put their trust in the tidings of those things which were written, and the things which were written were confirmed among them by those who lived after them.

2. When they had seen the Lord Jesus, who was seen by them in the beginning, and had spoken of the things which had been written among them.

In the beginning, in the days of the disciples, the things which were written were confirmed among them by those who lived after them.

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The things which were written were confirmed among them by those who lived after them.
בהקדמה כנזכר אחרים נתנו אל לבם: ב"ע ח"כ דף דברכות רביעי בפרק ששנינו כמו שמעון הפקולי הסדיר י"ח ברכות על הסדר ביבנה: מקומו על ודבר דבר כל לשום ל"ר אשר נכונה לנו אמתם: השהיא בעת היו ונכון אמת שפרש כי איש מפי שאי בידם מסירה היה כי אדם בהם ספק ולא ספר אשר הדברים כל והולך שארו כל בעיניהם בעיניהם הכל ראו אשר האלה מהאנשים לנו שנמסרו מפני לנו נכונה האלה סימן הזה בספר' שנא כמו ומופתיו אותיו דבריו כל עדיו להיות בם בחר אשר ושלוחיו ישוע לבו על חקוקים אלה הדברים היו כך וכל בנסיוניו תמיד אתו עמדו גם והמה: ח"מ פסוק ד"כ ה"בע שנפרש כמו זאת על בכפם נפשם את ששמו עד, אותם הרואים ומשרתי, כינוי: ח"כ' פ א"י במדבר( מבחריו משה występ כים את ולשמש לשרת דרכם כי, לתלמידים ממלכים( אליהו ידי על מים יצק אשר שאמר וכמו'): א פסוק' ג' א שמואל( występ שמואל והנער ההנה: ומשהו) א"י פסוק' ג' ב דרשו בגמרא שגדול שימוש תלמידי חכמים יותר מימודן: דבר ה' ושם, הזה הלשון מענין בההקדמה כבר והארכתי': דה מימרא תרגום לשון דרך על: וגו' ה פי או אלהים התואר שם או' ה העצם שם בתרגמו המתרגם כוונת על העיריך במימרא דה', דעתו לעולם כי על החכמה הקדושה הנאצלת מכתר עליון והוא כתר הבריאה והוזר האחדות השוה לכתר עליון או לאין סוף בכל מיני מעלה יצירה הספר הקבלה כבש: ב נתיב
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


A Jewish Merchant Family and a Moroccan Ruler
Daniel J. Schroeter, University of Minnesota

Introduction

These three documents are from the Lévy-Corcos archives, a private collection of family documents in Paris, which I photographed in 1985. A few comments on what Jewish family archives reveal about Muslim-Jewish relations in Morocco: It was not uncommon for elite Jewish families to pass down from generation to generation various kinds of Muslim and Jewish legal documents, including Arabic decrees of rulers (dahirs) and letters from Muslim governmental officials. Such documents were kept as records of property, debts, or special privileges. Significantly, literate Jews did not read or write in the Arabic script, and thus could not read the documents in their possession. None of these three letters are addressed personally to the individual Jews in question, though they are intended as commands to be followed by both the Jews and Muslim officials. The first document is a letter sent from Sultan Sulayman’s brother to his son, ‘Abd al-Malik (the latter was governor of Agadir), pertaining to the Jewish merchant, Meir Macnin. The description in Judeo Arabic erroneously states that the document was from the sultan. Why, then, was the document in possession of descendants of the family? One can assume that it was customary (or required) for government officials to give such documents to the individuals concerned for safekeeping. The other two documents are royal decrees that would have been sent to the governing officials in the port of Essaouira (Mogador), one pertaining to Shlomo Macnin (the brother of Meir), and the second to the “children of Ibn Macnin.” Likewise, it must have been expected that once communicated to the governing authorities, the Macnins would keep these documents in their possession.

From the 1780s to the 1820s, Meir Macnin and his brother Shlomo were at the center of Morocco’s very modest trade with Europe, as merchants and diplomatic agents of several sultans of the Moroccan ‘Alawid dynasty (the rulers were sharifs, meaning that they claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad). They were crucial in the development of what became Morocco’s principal seaport, Essaouira (Mogador), in the latter half
of the 18th century. With the growth of Essaouira, Agadir was closed to foreign trade. There was a short-lived attempt by the new sultan, Sulayman (1792-1822) to revive foreign commerce in Agadir (see doc. 1), amid a dynastic struggle that divided Morocco. From 1797-1798, Sulayman managed to gain control and recognition of his rule, and again he closed Agadir to foreign commerce, dismissing his nephew, ‘Abd al-Malik, who was acting independent of central authority. Henceforth, Moroccan foreign trade was (again) concentrated in Essaouira, royal port of the southern capital of Marrakesh, and conducted by a small group of royal merchants, almost entirely Jewish.

These documents raise a number of questions about Muslim-Jewish relations in Morocco and, more generally, the Islamic world in pre-modern times. While the letters pertain to the relationship of elite individuals (court Jews may not be the best concept here), they reflect the larger tensions embedded in the concept of *dhimmi*, which is both a contract between the individual Jew (in the Maghrib there were no *dhimmi* Christians), and the Muslim ruler, and between Jews as a collectivity and the Muslim community writ large. The patrimonial relationship between ruler and ruled revealed in these letters might in one context have little to do with religious difference, but in another context be shaped by the differences between Muslim and Jews as separate religious communities. These documents show commonalities between Muslims and Jews as well as the recognition of cultural and linguistic boundaries. They also reveal the interdependency of Muslims and Jews, and how each participant understood the benefits and liabilities of that relationship.

Finally, I would like to discuss the implication of these texts to the period, and their relevance to questions of periodization. In a study of similar types of documents for the 19th century, Michel Abitbol, sees in these royal merchants (using the neologism, *tujjar al-sultan*) a significant departure from the past, one in which their activities are no longer represented as individuals, but rather, as a social class belonging to members of different religious communities. In my critique of how much these texts reflect changes in the “modern” period, I would like to question the relevancy of the mainly European construct “early-modern” in relationship to Jewish history for at least parts of the Mediterranean basin.
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Professor Khalid Ben Shrir of the Université Hassan II (Morocco) generously helped in deciphering and translating these documents.

A letter from Mawlay ‘Abd al-Salam to Mawlay ‘Abd al-Malik

Praise God the One. God bless our Lord Muhammad and his family.

Our blessed son ‘Abd al-Malik, may God guide you to the right way; peace be upon you, and mercy and blessings of God be upon the welfare of our sovereign [the sultan] and brother, made victorious by God, may God strengthen his power. As follows: When the dhimmi in our sharifian [royal] service, Meir b. Macnin, will reach you, we order you to provide him with a house that he can live in and fill with commerce because he [Meir b. Macnin] wishes to conduct commerce in Agadir as an agent of the merchant Zuzaf [Joseph], his associate. Take care of him and make it a point that he be given favor and privileges over the other Jews there since he is our dhimmi and our chattel. You will carry out this order. May God guide you to the right way and be pleased with you. Peace. 13 Rabi‘a II, 1209 [=7 January 1794].

Seal: ‘Abd al-Salam b. Muhammad…God…God with His grace.
[Judeo-Arabic description]: letter of Sulayman, [when] the merchant Meir b. Macnin went to Agadir in 1209.

Dahir of Mawlay Sulayman

[Seal of Sultan Sulayman]: Sulayman b. Muhammad, may God forgive him with His grace.

Praise God the One. We authorized the dhimmi Shlomo ibn Macnin to open the mill that was owned by al-Tahir b. Sulayman; he [Shlomo] purchased it from the man who was designated by us [the sultan] to sell or to liquidate his [al-Tahar b. Sulayman’s] properties that are in the new mellah of the port of
Essaouira (God protect it); and to gain as profit from the various assets: from rent, etc. From this time on, no one should prevent him [Shlomo Macnin] from exercising the right to dispose of these assets whenever that may be. Because he purchased it from his personal money, whoever from our governing authorities is in charge should strictly implement this order without any alteration to it. Our full sharifian order was authenticated and must be executed. At the end of Jumada I in year 1224 [=14 July 1809]

**Dahir of Mawlay Sulayman**

In the name of God, Everything is realized by what God wills. I cannot achieve success [in doing good] but in God.

[Seal of Sultan Sulayman. In middle of star]: Sulayman b. Muhammad b. ʿAbdallah, may God forgive him and guide him; [inside corners of star]: Muhammad, Abu Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthman, ʿAli; [outside star]: I cannot achieve success [in doing good] but in God, in Him I trust and to whom I turn.

We order our servants, the merchants, the children of Ibn Macnin in the port of Essaouira (may God protect it), to take care of the bearer [of this order], the rabbi Rafael, and to undertake [helping] him in different ways, such as advancing to him money [with the view of sharing profits with him*], and to be charitable with him, so that he can recover from his financial crisis, God willing. Thus, our sharifian command was issued, on the first of the sacred month of Muharram, the first of the year 1231 [3 December 1815].

*The term, *qirāḍ.*
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Daniel J. Schroeter, University of Minnesota

A letter from Mawlay ‘Abd al-Salam to Mawlay ‘Abd al-Malik

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وءاله
ولدنا الأرضى مولاي عبد المالك اصلحك الله، وسلام عليك
ورحمة الله وبركاته عن خير مولانا واحيان المنصور بإعلا
الله امره، وبعد فحيث يرد عليك ذمي خدمتنا الشريفة مير
بن مقتين نامرك ينتقد له داره ينزل بها ويعمرها بالتجارة.
لاته اراد التجارة باجديرنائيا عن الناجر زعاف صاحبه.
وتهلا فيه واستوصي به خيرا وميزه عن تجار اليهود هناك.
لاته ذمننا ومتاعنا فعلى هذا يكون عملك والله يصلاح,
ويرضى عنك. والسلام في 13 من ربيع الثاني عام 1209.

seal [whole text unclear]:

عبد السلام بن محمد...الله بمنه
بما ولدلاهما باسم مسيا تامر ميزي و مكنين لأمادري
تاروک 1209
Dahir of Mawlay Sulayman

Suleiman bin Muhammad al-Gharallah, he in his name:

الحمد لله وحده

أذنا للذمي شلوم ابن مقنين أن يفتح الطاحونة التي كانت في ملك الطاهر بن سليمان وإشترها ممن اسندنا له أمر ببيع إصلاح الكاينة بملاح تغر السويرة صانها الله الجديد ينفع بانواع الانتفاعات من كراء وغيره وحينئذ فلا يمنعه أحد من التصرف فيها، كان من كان، حيث اشترها من ماله الخاص به، فمن وقف عليه من ولاة أعمالنا، يعمل بمقتضاذه، ولا يحيد عنه أذنا تاماً به صدر الأمر الشريف، وهو ثابت الاميرنا فذحكم. في متم جمادي الأول عام 1224
Dahir of Mawlay Sulayman

بسم الله ما شاء الله كان، وما توفيقي إلا بالله

seal:

سليمان ابن محمد بن عبد الله، غفر الله له وتولاه
محمد، أبو بكر، عمر، عثمان، علي
وما توفيقني إلا بالله، عليه توكلت وأليه انيب

نامر خدامنا التجار أولاد بن مقنين بثغر الصويرة حرسه
الله، ان يستوصوا خيراً بحامله الحزان رفاي ويتخلوا فيه
ويعاملوه بقراض وبشبهه ويبروا به كي ينجبركسره إن شاء
الله تعالى. وبه صدر امرنا الشريف في فاتح محرم الحرام
فاتح عام 1231

S. M. Moulay Sliman

انnee 1231
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Jailhouse Encounter: A Sixteenth-Century Jewish-Christian Tale and Its Historiographical Ramifications
Daniel Jütte, Society of Fellows, Harvard University

Introduction

Below are two excerpts from the little known early seventeenth-century German memoirs of the non-Jewish Swabian merchant Hans Ulrich Krafft (1550–1621). Krafft was born into one of the most respected families in the city of Ulm, in southern Germany. In the 1570s, he served as a factor for the Augsburg-based Manlich trade company in the Levant. In the summer of 1574, however, the Manlich Trade Company went bankrupt, and Krafft, who did not have the means to pay off the debts he had guaranteed on behalf of his employers, was arrested and imprisoned in Tripoli (now in Lebanon). This dismal situation was to last for three years, and Krafft faced moments of real crisis. For example, he was kept for forty days in a cell without a ray of sunlight, and the hygienic situation in the tiny cells was abominable.

I would like to present two excerpts from Krafft’s nearly 500-page long memoirs. The first excerpt describes an episode from his imprisonment when he was visited by a German Jew named Mayer Winterbach, who came from the same region of Swabia. Despite Krafft’s initial reluctance, the two men eventually formed a friendship. More than a decade after Krafft’s release, they met again in Germany and continued their amicable relationship (excerpt 2). Krafft’s detailed and personal account provides us with insight into the nature of this uncommon, or perhaps not so uncommon, cross-cultural connection. In my presentation, I hope to raise the question of how to classify Christian-Jewish encounters like the one between Hans Ulrich Krafft and Mayer Winterberg.

On the Translation and the Edition(s) of the Source

There is no extant translation of Krafft’s memoirs in any language other than modern German, which is unfortunate since the original text is fairly challenging, even to native speakers of modern German. Krafft was not a
man of letters and he clearly did not set out to write high literature, but it is clear that he used detailed notes and records from the past when he started putting quill to paper. Written mostly around 1615—about five years before his death—Krafft’s memoirs were primarily written for his three sons. In fact, the autograph manuscript was published only in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the absence of an original title, the editor Konrad Dietrich Haßler decided to publish the memoirs under the title Reisen und Gefangenschaft Hans Ulrich Kraffts (The Travels and Captivity of Hans Ulrich Krafft). This was a fitting title, for the account mainly deals with events in Krafft’s life between the ages of twelve and thirty-seven. It gives us little information about his childhood or his life after his marriage in 1587. What we know about these parts of his life must be drawn for other sources.

My excerpts from Krafft’s memoirs are taken from Haßler’s edition (all translations into English are mine).

1 The autograph manuscript is preserved today in the Stadtarchiv Ulm, Bestand H (Handschriften/Nachlässe: Krafft, Hans Ulrich). On extant editions, see below n. 4. I will offer a more detailed treatment of this source and of the excerpts in question in an article that is currently under review.


3 To the best of my knowledge, the only historical study that is aware of the riches in Krafft’s memoirs as a source of cultural history (although it uses it only marginally) is Axel Gotthard, In der Ferne: Die Wahrnehmung des Raums in der Vormoderne (Frankfurt: Campus, 2007), esp. p. 66. In contrast, see Piirainen’s linguistic study of early modern German, based on a computerized analysis of Krafft’s vocabulary: Ilpo Tapani Piirainen, Graphematische Untersuchungen zum Frühneohochdeutschen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968). For Piirainen, Krafft’s book serves only as a random sample from the vast pool of available early modern texts. He is entirely indifferent to its historical content and context. While I cannot judge the value of Piirainen’s linguistic analysis and conclusions, I find his classification of the text as an “uninteresting travelogue” (p. 3) inappropriate and rather condescending.

4 Reisen und Gefangenschaft Hans Ulrich Kraffts, ed. Konrad Dietrich Haßler (Stuttgart: Litterarischer [sic!] Verein, 1861). One year after the Haßler edition, a more accessible but slightly rearranged translation into modern German was published under the title Ein deutscher Kaufmann des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts: Hans Ulrich Krafft’s Denkwürdigkeiten, ed. and trans. Adolf Cohn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht,

A valuable compilation of available biographical information on Krafft can also be found in the relevant entry in an online databank of German ego-documents (*Selbstzeugnisse im deutschsprachigen Raum*), maintained by the Free University of Berlin: http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/jancke-quellenkunde/verzeichnis/k/hu_krafft/index.html (accessed October 1, 2011). There is also an entry on Krafft in Ralf C. Müller’s prosopographical encyclopedia of early modern German travelers to the Levant: Ralf C. Müller, *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396-1611): Berichterstatter aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, außer burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania* (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2006), 5:41–70.
Excerpt 1 [pp. 189–191]

[p. 189] At the time of the feast of Saint George¹ in the year 1575, a German came to see me in the municipal jail. He greeted me in German, expressing how surprised he was to find a fellow German in this place and, more specifically, in jail. He asked me to receive him benevolently, for he had come to me out of wonderment. He soon noticed that I am a Swabian and thereupon remarked that we were fellow countrymen [Landtsleüth]. When he found out that I am from Ulm he promptly said: “I come from a nearby place that is under the rule of the Vöhle lords of Neuburg near Düsssen [Dießen]².” We were both surprised that out of all places, we had happened to meet here [in the prison of Tripoli]. But when he said that he was a Jew, I became sad. He rushed to console me. He said that he could understand that I might be afraid of him given the fact that I had been kept in prison partly at the instigation of several Jews. He could see the point. In fact, he had come to see me because my adversaries had urged to him to do so, for they were eager to find out more about me and my family. However, invoking God and all that he owes to Him, he herewith solemnly swore that he would not be involved in any schemes against me. Nor would he speak or act against me. For he and many other German Jews disliked the haughty local [Oriental] Jews even more than we Christians did. [p. 190] He told me that was bound to deliver a message to Safed, but that he did not plan to spend much time there. In fact, he was intent on returning to Germany soon afterwards. If he—as a loyal fellow countryman—could do anything detrimental to them [my Oriental-Jewish creditors], I should let him know and trust him like a
brother. As I recapitulated his offer to him, he affirmed it even more emphatically than before. Thus we reached an accord. Despite the fact that he had known my father in Ulm well (in fact, he told me that they had done business before my father became city mayor) he would declare [in the presence of my creditors] that I indeed originated from Ulm, but that he had never heard of my family. Furthermore, he would state that I was unlikely to be the son of respected people.

He indeed kept this promise. And as Safed is only two day’s journey from Tripoli, he came to visit me again after eight days. He told me marvelous tales about the nearly infinite number of Jews he had seen in the synagogues of Safed. They were of different nations, such as German, Italian, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Polish, and some of them spoke Turkish, Arabic, and Greek—something that went beyond what he had ever imagined. In the remaining eight days of his stay in Tripoli, he often came to see me, and he complained a great deal about the haughtiness of the Oriental Jews. For instance, [he told me how] he had two shirts and several handkerchiefs laundered, which cost him four medin\(^3\) (in Germany he would pay less than [the equivalent of] one medin). [He went on to report that] soon afterwards a Jew came in who used vile language and accused him of paying his wife with four counterfeit medin. Handing back the money, he [the upset Jew] asked whether he [the German Jew] had come to this country in order to cheat its people. The German Jew (by the name of Mayer Winterbach) offered to take the issue to the head of the Jewish community. Thus they both appeared in court: The judge asked the Oriental Jew to present the counterfeit money, and the Oriental Jew complied. The judge then declared that the four medin were indeed false. The German [Jew], in contrast, declared that he had paid with good coins and not with these four false ones. The Oriental Jew was confronted with this statement and was asked whether he would swear under oath to his own version, to which he soon agreed. However, lest the Oriental Jew commit perjury over such a small amount of money (roughly three batzen\(^4\)), the German Jew took the counterfeit money and cut it into pieces under the eye of the judge. He then paid the fraudulent Jew the same amount in good coins.

[p. 191] I teased Winterbach with this story and recommened that he better return home soon, for he was too naive for this country. [...] Winterbach [...] remarked that while he had traveled thousands of miles in his life (and he later told me in detail about his many journeys), he had never before been cheated in such a devious way. In fact, he admitted, the old saying was still true: “The closer to Safed, the worse the Jews; the closer to Rome, the worse the Christians.”\(^5\) When Winterbach left for Germany on a
Venetian ship on 10 May 1575, I gave him a letters to my dear father and to my friends along with other things to be delivered to Ulm. After the delivery of these items and the thorough report he gave about my state, he received fair reward [in Ulm].

Excerpt 2 [pp. 416–417 (last chapter of the memoirs)]

[p. 416] My readers should know: Now that I, the undersigned, have truthfully and with God’s help described everything that occurred to me during my younger days from the age of 12 to the age of 37—when I was bachelor both in foreign lands and at home—I shall leave it at that. [p. 417] However, regarding the period after my marriage, there is one thing that I cannot omit from my present account. The German Jew by the name of Mayer Winterbach of Neuburg [...], who visited me during my imprisonment in Tripoli in Syria in 1575, had tried ever since to find out what had happened to me. He indeed managed to learn that I had eventually returned to my fatherland, and that the city of Ulm had appointed me a bailiff in Geislingen. In August 1590, he all of a sudden came to see me in Geislingen. I did not immediately recognize him, for fifteen years had passed and I did not believe that he would ever come to see me again. He asked me whether I no longer remembered him. While I did not recognize him by his greyish beard, I soon enough did so by his manner of speaking. He brought me as a present a beautiful big nautilus, as well as a beautiful, black-brownish hollow nutmeg (which I later on made part of a beautiful drinking cup in the form of a turtle, which I commissioned). He stayed for two days at my home, and the good-hearted reader can imagine how much more cheerful and merry our conversations were compared to the ones that we had fifteen years earlier and hundreds of miles away from home. I treated him with great gratitude.

While making a side trip during one of his journeys, he came to see me again three years later, in May of 1593. During that visit he told me about the long journey to Italy and Portugal from which he had returned in the meantime. At that time he was intent on settling in Prussia because he had married off one of his daughters there. He was also already quite old at that time, and because he has not visited me ever since, I suspect that his life had been put into God’s hands. Despite the fact that he was a Jew, I do not know of a Christian who traveled more than he did.

1 April 23.
2 Reference here is to the Vöhlin family, an affluent local dynasty that was primarily based in the town of Neuburg an der Kammel.

3 Muayyadi (an Ottoman coin)

4 A widespread coin in Germanic lands.

5 This is the Jew’s extension of a popular medieval and early modern saying, occasionally also quoted by Luther in his assaults on Papal power. The traditional version is: “The closer to Rome, the worse the Christians.” Cf. *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi*, 9:56, 356–357.
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Daniel Jütte, Society of Fellows, Harvard University

Reisen und Gefangenschaft Hans Ulrich Kraffts

Litterarischer [sic] Verein, Stuttgart, Germany 1861, pp. 189-191, 416-417

Excerpt 1

[p. 189] Vmb Georgj Ao 1575 kompt ein Teuscher Zu mir Ins gefencknus der Statt, grieß mich Auff Teusch, mitt verwunderung, daß er einen Teuschen In diser Landts Artt, sunderlichen In verhafftung finden soll, bitt, Ich sols Ime Zu gutt haltten, das wunder habe Ine Zu mir triben. Der Mörcktt auch bald, daß Ich ein schwab werd sein, mit vermelden, er halte darfür, wir seyen Landtsleüth. Da er mörckt, Ich were von Ulm, sagt er strackhs darauff: Ich bin nitt weytt darvon, vnder den freyherrn Vöhle Zuo Newburg bey Düsse. Darlber verwunderten wir vns Noch mer, daß wir vnuerhofft alda sollen Zusamen khomen. In dem Als er sich Erklert, er wer ein Jud, ward Ich darlber trawrig; der sprichtt mir bald wider trostlich Zuo, Er Mörcke wol, weil Ich Zum tail auch etttlicher Juden gefangner sey, so thüe Ich mich ab Ime Enttsötzen; es seye nit on, eben meine widersäscher haben Ine darumber Zu mir Zu gehn genöthiget, Zu erkhhundigen, wer Ich vnd was mein vnd der Meinigen thun vnd lassen sei; Er wölle mir Aber hiemitt angeloben, An eines Aidts statt, so hoch er vor Gott schuldig, daß er Im geringsten nichts wider mich wöll practicieren, Röden noch fürnemen, dan er vnd vil Ander Teusche Juden seyen den hochtrapendten hielendischen Juden mer feindt dan wir Cristen. Er habe [p. 190] was Zu Safföt, das Ist Faphet, AußZurichtten, wolle sich nit lang saumen Zuuerrichtten vnd bald wider Ins Teuschland machen; derowegen, kinde er mir Als ein Trewer Landtsman wider sy was gutt Außrichtten, soll Ichs Ime Als meinem leiblichen bruder vertrawen. Da Ich Ine seines anerbiyttens Noch einmal erInnertt, betheurt er mirs höher Als Zuuor. Hierauff wurden wir mit einAnder Dacordo, vnangesehen daß Ime mein herr Vatter Zu Vlm wol bekandt vnd, wie ermeldt, vor der Zeit Im Burgermeister Ambtt vor Ime Zuschafften gehapt, so soll er AnZaigen, Ich sey wol von Vlm, Aber Ime seye meins geschlechtts Niemandt bekandt, er haltt auch nitt darfür, daß Ich Ansehenlicher Leith kind sey, wolches er Trewlich gehalthten. Vnd weil ermeltt Saffet nit Zwo tag rayß von Trippolj ligt, Ist er in Achttt tagen wider Zu mir khomen vnd mir wunder gesagt, wie es ein vnZahlbar Juden alda vff der Schul hab, von Mancherlay Nattion, Als Teusch, welsch,
französisch, Portugaleser, Spanier, Polaccen, von Türkischer, Arabischer und kriechischer sprach, daß er sein lebtag nitt geglaubt. In den Achtt tagen, so er hernach Noch zu Trippolj mußt bleiben, Ist er offt Zu mir Auß vnd Eingangen, da hatt er mir vil von disen Orientischen Juden hochmutt geklapt, vnder Andern, man hab Ime Zway hemendter sampt ettlich schnuptriechlin geseubertt, daunon hab er miessn vier Medin geben, er hette nit ein Im teuschland darfür derfen Zallen. Bald khom ein Jud, Red Ine trutzig An, er habe seinem weib vier falsche Medin geben, ob er darumb Ins Land sey khomen, dj leuth Zubetriegen, vnd gibts im gleich wider. Er der Teusche Jud, mit Namen Mayer winterbach, erbeutt sich mit Ime für der Juden Obersten Zugehen; sy bede khomen für: der sprichtt, der Land Jud soll Ime dj falsche Mintz geben, der thutts hernach dem Judexs Zustöllen; der Richtter sprichtt, die vier medin seyen Falsch; der teusch sagt, er habe sein göggentayl gutte vnd nitt disse 4 falsche Medin geben; darIber wirdt der Land Jud befragt, ob ers mit dem Aid wölle bestettigen, wölches er bald Zu thun sich anerbotten. Ehe Aber der Teusche Jud den Andern einem falschen Ayd vmb ein so geringes geltt, souil Als 3 batzen, hatt wöllen thun lassen, thutt er das falsch geltt vor dem Richtter Zerschneiden vnd dem falschen Juden ander [p. 191] gutt geltt wider darfür geben. DarIber Ich Ine winterbach wol gefexsiert vnd gesagt, er solle nürd wider haim Raysen, er seye Zu Ainfältig In disse Land [...] DarIber sagtt er winterbach [...] er seye sein tag (wie er mir dan hatt erZöltt, wohin er aller göggen Auff vnd Nidergang gerayßt) vil taussennt meyl gewandert, er seye Niemals also lustig betrogen worden, mit fernerm vermelden, das Altte sprichwortt seye noch war: Ie Nehner gehn Saffet, Ie Erger Jud; Ie Neher gehn Rohm, Ie Erger Crist. Als er winterbach hernach den 10 Mayo Ao 1575 vf einem venedischen schüff wider Ins Teuschland vrrayßt, hab Ich Ime schreyben An meinen L. Vatter vnd befreinten vnd Andre Sachen, In Vlm Zu Iberliuern, mitgeben, Ist Ime Auch vf fleyssige IberAnttworttung vnd gründtliches berichtts, wie es mit mir beschaffen, ein gutt Drinckgeltt verehrtt worden.

Excerpt 2

[p. 416] Zu wissen: Dieweil ich vnderschribner nunmer Gott lob Alles wahrhaftig beschriben, was mir In meiner Jugendtt vom 12 bis vff das 37 Jar Lödigs standts In der frembde, Zum tayl Anhaimisch, begöggnett vnd widerfaren, will [p. 417] Ichs darbey beruhen vnd bleiben lassen. Allein kan Ich eins In meinem Ehstand Zu melden nitt vmbgehen. Nach dem der Teusche Jud, Namens Mayer Winterbach von Newburg [...] , wölcher mich In Ao. 1575 vnuersehens zu Trippolj in Siria In meiner gefengnus hatt haimgesucht, vnd er mich seyder hero hatt Aus kundttscraft, wie daß Ich wider In mein Vatterland Ankhomen vnd Vlmischer pfleger Zu Geußlingen worden sey; Als hatt er mich Im August Ao 1590 Zu Geußlingen Auch vnuersehens Nach meiner Erlödigung wider haimgesucht, wolchen Ich In 15 Jarn nitt gleich erkanntt, weil Ich vermaint, er werde dj tag seins Lebens nitt mer Zu mir khomen. Indem aber er
mich fragt, ob Ich Ine nitt mer kenne, hab Ich Ine bölder An seiner Röd Als
grawlechtten bartt erkanntt. Der brachtte mir Auch Zum gruß ein schönen
grossen Mörschneckhen sampt einer schönnen schwartz Braunen holen
Muscatnuß schalen, daraß Ich mir ein schönes drinekh geschirr In form einer
Schülttkrotten hab machen lassen. Was es für ein fröliches lustiges gesprech
göggen dem vor 15 Jarn Iber Vil hundert meil Zwischen vns beeden In Zwayen
tagen, so er bey mir gewesen, hatt Abgeben, kan der gutthertige Leser selbst
ernessen, hab Ine hernach von mir danckbarlichen Also abgeförrtiget, daß er
Iber drey Jar, Ao 1593 Im Mayo mich am fürIber Raysen hatt widerumben
haimgesucht, mit erZöllung, wie er Zwischen der Zeitt wider ein Weytte Rayß
In Ittalia vnd portugal volbracht, In Willens, sich In preyssen Zu begeben, alda
er ein Tochtter hab verheurath, vnd weil er Zimlich bedagtt gewesen, auch
seyder nitt Zu mir khome, haltt Ich Ine für Gott beuohlen. Ob er wol ein Jud
ward, so glaub Ich nit, daß ein Crist weytter Als er gerayßt sey.
“The Early Modern Inn as a Space for Religious and Cultural Exchange”
Magda Teter, Wesleyan University

Introduction

While it is relatively easy to map out mutual cultural influences between Jews and non-Jews, it is much more difficult to map out the mechanisms of this cultural exchange. Such instances of cultural exchange may have happened indirectly, for example, through books, as Joanna Weinberg termed it, through “virtual contact”; or, directly, through “real” human interaction. The texts presented here deal with the latter. One set of texts is a selection of several seventeenth-century takkanot, rulings, by the Council of Four Lands, the supra-communal organization responsible primarily for collection of taxes levied by the Polish state but also engaging in administration of affairs within Jewish communities. The second text comes from Polish court records and shows a criminal trial of a Jewish tavern keeper, Szmul Dubiński, accused of blasphemy in Rzeszow in 1726.

Public spaces where Jews and non-Jews met seem to offer fertile grounds for exploration of direct encounters. While some public spaces, such as a market place where encounters were short and focused on the exchange of goods, may have been more prone to a shallow interaction, taverns and inns allowed for closer and longer contact. It is these closer encounters that provoked such anxiety among both Jewish and Christian religious authorities who repeatedly warned against Jewish-Christian socializing.

In the early modern period, inns and taverns became the most prominent social centers across Europe, and there are many studies that address a wide range of topics. In this workshop, in 2005, Stefanie Siegmund led a discussion on taverns and public drinking in Florence. In Poland, to add further complexity, taverns were often run by Jews, by the second half of the eighteenth century the majority of them, out of their own
homes. This fact violated a number of halakhic rules, as well as Christian secular and ecclesiastical laws.

The 1726 trial of Szmul Dubiński illustrates not only the reasons behind some anxieties religious leaders expressed but also give a vivid picture of the type of exchanges that often must have taken place, and the context. Szmul’s case is clearly rather extreme, especially in underscoring the dangers of Jewish-Christian interactions, the majority of such interactions did not result in prosecution. The text also highlights intimacy and comfort of the relationship between Szmul and his customers. The text raises questions of cultural integration, language, mutual knowledge, and awareness of difference and boundaries between Jews and Christians.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


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Magda Teter, Wesleyan University


September 24, 1726

Court inquest regarding blasphemy brought by the instigator on behalf of the residents [ex civibus] of Rozwadów against the now incarcerated Szymul Dubiński, a citizen of Rozwadów, thus:

First witness, honestus Franciscus Kowalski, sworn town councilman of Rozwadów, having taken an oath, related: I came to the house of the infidel Jew, Szymul Dubiński, resident of our [town], with Jakub Lisowski on the Feast of the Visitation of the Most Holy Virgin [July 2, 1726] in the afternoon at around two or three o’clock. We asked to be given a galon of beer. The said Szymul, having come over to us, embarked upon a discussion with us about elections for municipal offices. When we began the discussion, who should be elected to what office, Szymul began to scoff, saying: ‘Who do you have here who would be appropriate for a mayor? One is a brawler, another a young lad, another an idiot, and yet another should first organize a christening!’ And mockingly he said more, but I responded to his words: ‘But they don’t mind in other towns; in Sandomierz, even though it is a royal city [miasto grodowe], Nowiński, a neophyte, is the chief magistrate.’ And Szymul responded: ‘It is true that he is the chief magistrate, but he blew several hundred zlotys on it. He stopped here when traveling, and told me ‘I am looking for my stepson, who disappeared, and priests incite me to accuse Jews, that they caught him and murdered him.’ And I told him that it is a lie, since it is improper here for our clergy to instigate [action] even regarding clear-cut matters, let alone to incite about things which they they not witnessed. And Szymul responded that in one town there was a woman, whose child had died, and cursing [he said that the body] was dropped near the Jewish area, and Jews were attacked and murdered on account of this child. And I responded that this was not true, it
was a lie. Szmul again said, ‘It is you, Poles, who spread tales that we need your blood, with which we wash ourselves.’ And I said, ‘I cannot say anything about it, because I have not heard it, but it is Jews who are cunning, when they do something bad, they deny it.’

And so these squabbles led to the point that Szmul began to discuss faith, and he came out with these words, ‘Our God is older than your Catholic one.’ And he asked me: ‘Which God do you believe in?’ And I answered him that I believed in the one who let himself be crucified for us. Szmul then pointed through the window frame toward the sculpture, with a cupola and a clay crucifix made by a potter, saying: ‘So you believe in this God, which Skrzypek [the potter] made out of clay and put there?’ And I said to him, that indeed in this [God] because it was an image of his divine suffering on earth, but God Himself was in heaven. And Szmul responded: ‘For what did he let himself be crucified, if he is so powerful, and why does your God fall over?’ And I responded: ‘Szmul, don’t debate like this, God is God, and although wood falls over when it rots, don’t debate like this. He let himself be crucified because he is merciful, he suffered so that he could redeem us.’ And I said, ‘Szmul, don’t debate such things with someone smarter [than I], so you don’t fall into some trap, for I am a simple man.’

But Lisowski, who was with me, wanted to punch him with his fist when he heard this blasphemy, but I did not let him, so that he would not provoke a fight, and said: ‘Let him go, for he barks at Lord God like a dog.’ Jakub Lisowski and Matyjasz Trafidlo, witnessed the blasphemy, and Grzegorz Jasiński, the miller, but he was sitting far away, so I don’t know if he paid attention or not, and I don’t remember if he was present for the whole time, or if he left. But Moskal and the organ player arrived afterwards.

And thus he testified having first taken an oath: I, Franciszek Kowalski, swear to Almighty Lord God, one in Holy Trinity, that what I testified and testify against the infidel Szmul Dubiński, resident [obywatel] of our town, is not out of envy or hate; nor have I been persuaded or bribed by anyone [to do so], but without adding or subtracting anything, I testified only the truth about how Szmul blasphemed against Lord God and divine honor, and I did not hide anything. So help me God and the innocent suffering of Lord Christ.

The second witness, honestus Jacob Lisowski, having taken an oath, related and concurred with the prior [witness] in everything except, ‘I did not hear [the discussion about] which God is older, which took place in the mid-evening of the Assumption of the Most Holy Virgin, because during this debate I stepped outside twice’; and he added, ‘I wanted to hit him but
I was afraid that I would be condemned [reprimanded?] by the lord of the manor.’’

The third witness, honestus Mathias Trafidło, a resident [incola] of Rozwadów, having first taken an oath, related, ‘’On a feast day, I don’t remember which one, perhaps on the feast of the Most Holy Virgin [Najświętszej Panny Jagodnej] mid-evening I came over to the window in the hall, and Kowalski called me and offered me a drink, so I joined them, but I was not present during their whole discussion, I only heard Szmul Dubiński, who was very drunk, say these words: ‘Why does your God fall over, if he is so powerful?’ But I don’t remember what Kowalski answered. And Szmul then said to Kowalski, ‘Which God do you believe in, this, made of clay, which Skrzypek put up?’” And Kowalski said, ‘This, because it is the image of God.’ And Szmul beat his chest, but I don’t know if seriously or as a joke. They then started quarrelling about Gods, but I did not pay attention, and Szmul said, ‘Let’s agree that both Gods are good, this one is good and that one is good.’ After they offered me the drink, I left. I did not see if Moskal and the miller were there or not. And so he testified, and he confirmed his testimony with a personal oath.

And witnesses introduced by the accused infidel Szmul Dubiński, a resident of Rozwadów, thus:

First laboriosus Gregorius Jasiński, a miller from the village of Horzewice, having taken an oath, related, ‘’On the feast of the Most Holy Virgin, I came over to Szmul Dubiński’s while it was still before noon, Kowalski had not yet come to Szmul’s; after Kowalski came, I heard that they were talking with Szmul about the Lord God, but I did not pay attention, and I don’t know anything and I did not hear much because I was sitting at the other end of the table, but Szmul was inebriated; Moskal was not present during this discussion, when they were chattering on, because he came later with his wife.

Second laboriosus Valentinus Moskal, a magistrate of the village of Pilchów, having first taken an oath, related, ‘’On the feast of the Most Holy Virgin, mid-evening after vespers, I came to Szmul Dubiński’s, and found there Kowalski, sitting alone. I did not hear any discussion about Lord God, or faith; it must have happened before I came, because I came when the organist brought fresh bread that Jews baked on the holiday, which led to a spat between Kowalski and Szmul that it was not appropriate to bake bread on a holy day, ‘Our holidays you break but you observe your own Sabbath.’
I don’t know anything else and I did not hear anything, I support it with my conscience,¹ and so he testified.

Third, honestus Martinus Prędkiewicz, an organist of the church in Charzewice, having taken an oath, related: ‘‘I don’t know anything, because I came late, I only heard from Lisowski, when I arrived at Szmul Dubiński’s after sunset, but when it was still light, on the feast of the Most Holy Virgin; he told me that Szmul said to Kowalski ‘You believe in this God that Skrzypek made of clay,’ and so he testified.

¹ Jakom na to sumieniem poprawil.
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Magda Teter, Wesleyan University


Rzeszów, September 24, 1726

Inkwizycje de blasphemia iudicialiter ex civibus Rozvadoviensibus przeciwko Szmulowi Dubińskiemu obywateli rozwadowskiemu, teraźniejszym inkarceratowi ad instantiam instigatoris wyprowadzone et quidem:

Primus testis honestus Franciscus Kowalski scabinus iuratus Rozvadoviensis praevio iuramento corporali haec formalia recognovit, iż przyszedłem ja z Jakubem Lisowskim w dom niewiernego Szmula Dubińskiego obywatela naszego w dzień Najświętszej Panny Nawiedzenia po południu około drugiej albo trzeciej godziny, kazaliśmy sobie dać garniec piwa. Tęże Szmul, przyszedłszy do nas, wdał się z nami w dyskurs około urzędów miejskich obierania.

Tam gdyśmy zaczęli dyskurs, kogo na jaki urząd ma obrać, począł Szmul naśmiewać się mówiąc: “Kogoż tu macie podobnego burmistrzostwa, kiedy ten warchał, ten młodzi, ten dureń, ten niech pierwnej krzyczy sprawi” i więcej prawił przedrzwiającym, a ja mu na te słowa odpowiedział: “Czemu to w inszych miastach nie uważają, a to w Sandomierzu, choć to grodowe miasto, a Nowiński przekrzta jest wójtem.” A Szmul odpowiedział: “Prawda, że jest wójtem, ale kilkaset złotych na to stracił i był tu u mnie, popasał jadąc, i powiadał mi, że teraz jadę pasierba szukać, co mi zginęło, i księga mnie podmawiają, żebym na Żydów instygował, że mi go Żydzi złapali i zamordowali.” Ja mu odpowiedział, iż to fałsz, bo u nas duchowieństwu nie godzi się instygować i na oczywiste rzeczy, a nie tylko na takie rzeczy mieliby podmawiać, czego nie widzą. Szmul odpowiedział, że w jednym mieście trafiało się jedna białogłowa, której dziecię umarło, pokławszy, że podrzucono je pod Żydów, i mordowano Żydów o to dziecię przez napaść.
Jam odpowiedział, że to nieprawda, ale fałsz. Szmul znowu mówił, że to wasi Polacy powiadają, że my waszej krwi potrzebujemy, którą się obmywamy. Ja mu powiedziałem: “O to mówić nie mogę, bom tego nie doświadczył, ale to są Żydzi francja, choć źle zrobią, to się zapierają.”

Z tych sprzeczek przyszło do tego, że Szmul zaczął dyskurs o wierze i wypadł z temi słowy, że starszy nasz Bóg niżeli wasz katolicki. Szmul rzekł do mnie: “To ty Boga wierzysz, który dał się za nas ukrzyżować, i ja mu odpowiedziałem: “O to mówić nie mogę, bom tego nie doświadczyl, ale to są Żydzi francja, choć źle zrobią, to się zapierają.”

Lisowski zaś, który ze mną był, słysząc to bluźnierstwo chciał go pięścią uderzyć, a ja nie dopuszczał, żeby tumult nie zrobił, mówiąc mu: “Daj mu pokój, wszak pies na Boga szczeka.” Przy tym bluźnierstwie był Jakub Lisowski i Matyjasz Trafidło, i Grzegorz Jasiński młynarz, ale z daleka siedział, nie wiem, czyli to uważał albo nie, i tego nie pamiętam, czyli był przez cały czas, czyli też wyszedł kędy. Moskal zaś i organista przyśli po wszystkim.

Et tantum deposuit praestito corporali iuramento in hac rotham: Ja, Franciszek Kowalski, przysięgam Panu Bogu wszechmogącemu, w Trójcy Św. Jedynemu, iż cokolwiek przeciwko niewiernemu Szmulowi Dubińskiemu obywatełowi naszemu zeznałem i zeznaję nie z żadnej zawziętości ani nienawiści, ani tu od nikogo nie jestem namówiony albo przekupiony, ale nic nie przydając ani ujmując, tylko tak, jak mówił Szmul przeciwko Panu Bogu i honorowi boskiemu bluźnił, samą prawdę zeznałem i nic nie zataiłem. Tak mi Panie Boże dopomóż i黑夜Chrystusa Pana niewinna.

Secundus testis honestus Jacobus Lisowski praevio iuramento corporali haec formalia recognovit et concordat cum priori in omnibus excepto nie
słyszałem, bom wychodził przez ten dyskurs dwa razy na dwór, że który Bóg starszy, co się stało po dopółwieczora w dzień Najświętszej Panny Nawiedzenia et hoc addit, iż myślałem go uderzyć, alem się obawiał, żebym jakiej ode dworu nagany nie miał.


Ex parte infidelis Szmul Dubiński incolae Rozvadoviensis inculpati testes inducti, et quidem:

Primus laboriosus Gregorius Jasiński molitor de villa Horzewice haec formalia praevio iuramento recognovit, iż w dzień Najświętszy Panny Jagodnej przyszedłem do Szmula Dubińskiego jeszcze przed południem i Kowalski jeszcze był nie przyszedł do Szmula, przyszedłszy Kowalski, słyszałem, że ze Szmulem gadali o Panu Bogu, ale nie uważałem tego, i więcej nic nie wiem i nie słyszałem siedzący na drugim końcu stoła, ale Szmul był podpity, Moskal przy tym dyskursie nie był, kiedy oni gadali, ale potym przyszedł z swoją żoną.

Secundus laboriosus Valentius Moskal advocatus de villa Pilchów haec formalia praevio ut supra iuramento recognovit, iż w dzień Najświętszej Panny Jagodnej w półdzień po nieszporze przyszedłem do Szmula Dubińskiego, zastałem tam Kowalskiego siedzącego samego. Nie słyszałem żadnego dyskursu o Panu Bogu, ani o wierze, chyba by tam przed tym, niżelim przyszedł, bom natenczas przyszedł, kiedy organista chleb przyniósł
świeży, który Żydzi we święto piekli, o który się Kowalski ze Szmulem przegadywali, że się we święto piec chleba nie godzi, nasze święta łomiecie, a swój sabas obserwujecie. Więcej nie wiem i nie słyszałem, jakom na to sumieniem poprawił et tantum deposuit.

Tertius honestus Martinus Prętkiewicz ecclesiae Charzeviensis organarius praeviso iuramento haec formalia recognovit: nie wiem nic, bom nierychło przyszedł, tylko słyszałem od Lisowskiego, jakom przyszedł do Szmula Dubińskiego w dzień Najświętszej Panny Nawiedzenia po zachodzie słońca, jeszcze widno było, który mi czynił relacją, że Szmul mówił do Kowalskiego, iż w tego Boga wierzycie, co go Skrzypek z gliny postawił, et tantum deposuit.
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Pinkas Va`ad Arba Aratsot [Minute Book of the Council of Four Lands]

Year (5)367 – 1607

No. 48. No one shall make it his custom to be in the taverns of the gentiles and anyone who goes there to drink is considered to be worthless and irresponsible and may not be called rav and haver, nor may he hold any office in the kahal.

No. 52. Regarding holders of arenda who live in villages, where sometimes the man travels to another village and [the wife] remains alone among the gentiles, who then come to drink and get drunk in their houses, the heads of the lands agreed that one may not hold arenda unless there are two [Jewish] householders living there together with their wives.

Pinkas medinat lita [Minute Book of Lithuania]

Year (5)388 – 1628

No. 134. No man calling himself self-respected Jew shall make it his custom to drink in the houses of the gentiles by in any circumstances under the punishment of a fine and a threat that his shame will be announced publicly.
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פנקס והעד אריגות

שנת שנה"ח

מלכ. שומ אמה לא יถอน עצמו בכר מושאם השל גוים והקורב עצמו לשאתו osób הללו בכריך

והפחותין לא יקורו בכר והרב של זה לא ישם על פנים בקהל.

נב. נג ממהויק האורדרנו"א שרירים בכפרים בדורתו. אעפואים האושרג ילגפו אחריה נשרף

ולבדה בים המים, גוים הגוים שוחים עםם בכם ילקצו, ולך הסכימו ראשים המגורים שלא萩יקו

האורדרנו"א כי אם שיני בצל עם יאנא שידורו של זה.


פנקס מודיע לילך

שנת שנה"ח

קולב. שומ נושא בר ישראל או יbrowse עצמו לשאתו הבכר גוים בכרום אם ותנשף קרן והدعو ברך

כרז ולגלות קולות ברבים.
Introduction

The Early Modern Period, an era of “confessionalization,” provides numerous examples of individuals of immediate, distant, feigned, or merely imputed Jewish origin whose religious and social allegiances shifted radically. The phenomenon of Iberian New Christians or conversos comes to mind. Early modern Jews who became Christians but who, unlike conversos, possessed no personal and familial background in Christianity constitute an allied field of research (See examples in the Bibliography, below). Scholarly assessments of the ways in which these Jewish non-conversos learned and influenced their adopted Christian culture(s) often concentrate on intellectual production. The focus is not surprising, as the converts under discussion were usually educated individuals to whom Christian patrons often assigned prominent roles as anti-Jewish polemicists and missionaries. By contrast to the apologetic works and other religious writings of and about such converts, the texts presented here offer glimpses of the experience of uneducated, relatively inarticulate people of very modest material means who found themselves at a crossroads between Jewish (or Jewish-identified) and Hispano-Catholic identities, and whose formal cultural realignment caused no historical ripple.

The folios selected for this workshop comprise large excerpts of two inquisitorial cases dating from the early 1790s. Both dossiers are relatively brief and fragmentary. I offer them together in order to provide more analytical possibilities than each of the documents would offer by itself.

In each of the cases, a lone deponent appeared "spontaneously" before the Toledo Tribunal of the Spanish Holy Office to express a desire to renounce Judaism, undergo baptism, and be received into “the bosom” of the Roman Catholic Church. Each of the two declarants—a petty merchant and widow from Hesse-Cassel, and a carpenter from Mantua—dimly related or merely hinted of various informal social interactions. May we approach the latter as informal processes and avenues of Jewish and, to a greater extent,
Hispano-Catholic acculturation? If so, the kind of acculturation that these deponents conveyed is largely quotidian, and we must often read between the lines to hypothesize it. By the same token, the cultural learning that the informants described was largely devoid of textual mediation, introspection, and intellectual sophistication.

As records of judicial interrogations the selected dossiers primarily reveal a clash between these ordinary and rather vague (or vaguely-rendered) instances of acculturation on one hand, and, on the other hand, normative institutional concepts of true and false religious paths, true and false religious and ethnic identities, and pure and impure human motivations. We discover, then, far less about interactive learning and mutual formation across openly practiced, autonomous cultures, than about the heavily-biased ethnographic curiosity and the religious and political imperatives of Hispano-Catholic functionaries. At most, the selected texts shed a flickering light on the social transformation of Jewish-identified individuals within the framework of a stark imbalance of power between themselves and a religious institution that possessed the cultural capital to investigate and (re-)define them as “Jews,” and then convert them into “Catholics.” Given this imbalance, and the opacity of the declarants’ words, the documents may ultimately help us to understand how certain cultural obstacles characteristic to the early modern centuries conditioned—or precluded—Jewish-Christian exchange across a barbed ethno-religious, political, and socio-economic divide. My oral presentation of the dossiers may well focus on distortion, dissimulation, domination and conformity as over-determined outcomes of this highly conditioned phenomenon of mis- or non-communication.

A final note on the selected sources: Though the dates of both texts may be late for an early modern workshop, a review of the documents makes it reasonably clear that no matter what sea-changes were occurring beyond Spain in the 1790s, the dossiers were products of the traditional religious outlook of a medieval institution—an institution still engaged in a broader competition for souls that the Catholic and Protestant churches had been waging since the sixteenth century.

**Bibliography**


EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792
David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición de Toledo, legajo 159, expediente 11 (1790-1791): Carlota Liot.

[Cover, front matter]

Toledo (Inquisition of)
Judaizers
Liot (Carlota)
Of Hebrew Nation, and resident of the village of Consuegra
Her spontaneous testimony and abjuration
1790-1791
Dossier 159, n. 11

[Fol. 6r] Hearing on October 7, 1790
No results issue from the registry of this Holy Office against the woman named Carlota, native of Hesse-Cassel in Germany, of medium height, round face, sort of swollen cheeks, black eyes, brown hair, eyebrows with little hair, Roman nose, 29 years of age more or less, who spontaneously appeared to disclose her Hebraism, requesting entry to the bosom of Our Holy Mother, [the] Church, by receiving the Holy Baptism, according to Your Lordship’s notice of September 23, to which we respond gladly, and will so execute it to whatever extent will please you.

[Inquisition of Murcia, October 2, 1790] Atty. Pedro del Moral [?]
Dr. Don Ramon de Albornos

Holy Office of the Inquisition of Toledo

[Fol. 16r] Don Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo, Licenciado [= university graduate], [and]
titled Senior Apostolic Familiar of this village, with the necessary submission to your Most Illustrious [sic.] acknowledges that on this day, and via Licenciado and Friar, Don Silvestre Diaz Huerta of the [illegible] of St. John, Priest and Prior of Santa Maria la Mayor, in said village [of Consuegra], a woman has presented herself to this informant, who says that she is of Judaic nation, that she is called Carlota, and that she is daughter of Leon, native of Hesse-Cassel, dominion of the Emperor; that she left her place of origin at the age of thirteen, and today is of the age of twenty-nine. She declares voluntarily (among other things) that in the city of Málaga she has resided for six years, and that in that city she knows many of her nation who are hidden; but that she desires [to receive] the Holy Baptism, and convert to our Holy Catholic Faith, of which intention she has implored (tearfully and with repeated invocations of Mary Most Holy) said parish priest, who, in accord with this informant has offered her the customary sustenance and protection until Your Most Illustrious, informed by this missive, orders what he deems just and advisable.

Consuegra, today, April 24 of 1790
Don Fernando Diaz de Linarez y Toledo

[Fol. 18r] In the village of Consuegra on the sixteenth of the month of May of this present year of one thousand, seven hundred and ninety, the Licenciado, Friar Don Silvestre Diaz Huerta Rojas of the Order [?] of St. John, Priest and Prior of the Parish of Santa Maria la Mayor of said village, has delivered the preceding dispatch….

On said day at ten in the morning by virtue of the preceding act there appeared before the said Mr. Commissioner and me, the notary, the mentioned Carlota, under legal oath, which she took upon God and a sign of the Cross, not to reveal whatever occurred and she said in the deposition
[Fol. 18v] and [to tell] the whole truth under that oath, which obliges fulfillment and observance, as was explained to her. And by virtue of this the [narrative] representation that I, the notary, made to the Holy Office, dated the twenty-fourth of April, was given to her, and I read it to her *verbo ad verbum* and in its entirety. About it she said that it was the same that she [had] expressed on the cited day to the Commissioner and before me, the notary, [and that] she ratified it in case it was necessary; and thereafter the following questionnaire was posed to her------

Asked what she calls herself, where she was born, her age, civil status, and occupation, who her parents were or are, and where they reside or died, and what religion they professed, she responds:

That she calls herself Carlota; that she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, city of the Emperor of Germany; that she is twenty-nine years of age, more or less; that she has been a merchant, and today [is] a poor *hostiatin* [Lat. *Hostiatim*, ~victim?], because she has been robbed, and at present in a widow’s state, because of her man, who was of Judaic nation, having died in the city of Málaga, and been buried in the Holy Field of the Hospital del Rey of said city; that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia, both natives and citizens of the previously noted city of Hesse-Cassel, and that she does not know if they are alive or dead; but she knows and makes known that they were of Judaic nation.

  Asked if she is Christian, baptized---
She responds that she is not--------
  Asked in what religion she was reared and what

[Fol. 19r] she has believed and followed since she had use of reason, and if the religion in which she has been reared is the same one that her parents followed and professed, and if in that country [that faith] is taught, or if she follows the same or different ones, and [if so] which ones—she responds:
That the religion in which she was reared is Judaic, and awaited the Messiah; and they worship a golden image, like a calf; keep the Sabbath day as a holiday, fasting on said day from ten at night on Friday, its eve, until sunrise; observing [its] solemnity with such rigor that they did not move a [single] utensil:

She was reared in this religion, the same one that her parents followed, which is tolerated in that country, where in the same way there are Lutherans, Calvinists, and Christians, all of them tolerated, and [enjoying the] free exercise [of their faiths]—

Asked if the observes it. She is asked what she holds and believes at present, and what religion is the one she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death.

She responds: that at present she holds and believes the articles of Our Holy Catholic Faith, which were made known to her by the Commissioner and in front of me, the notary, to whom she responded; and that the religion that she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death is the Catholic religion; and she yearns for the same with intense and powerful desires to be baptized=

Asked again how it is that she has notice of the articles of our Holy Catholic Faith, and who

[Fol. 19v] has taught it to her, she said that because she found herself with a store [~commercial stall] in the city of Málaga she went out every week to sell in Vélez-Málaga; and in its suburbs lived a Christian countrywoman of hers, called Christina, who knew the aforementioned parents of the deponent, which is why, in her German tongue, she taught her the Christian doctrine; and although said Christina knew that the parents of the deponent were Jews, she was under the impression that she [the deponent] was a Christian; and because of her stay in Spain, she has learned some mysteries and prayers, such as the Credo, the Sacraments, the five Commandments of our Mother, the Church, the mystery of the Most Holy
Trinity, how God is a remunerator [?], and the
rest, in the native language [of Spain]:------------------
In the fifth [question] she was asked what cause, motive,
or reason she has had and has for separating herself
from the Judaic sect, and wishing to follow and profess
the Holy Catholic Faith of Our Mother the Roman
Church. She responds:
   That being certain that if she dies a Jew
it condemns her, and if she dies a Catholic she hopes to be saved
and go to glory ==
   To the sixth [question] she referred to the fourth, given what is
understood by it, and to the third==
   To the seventh: She was asked if she knows if there are some
persons of her sect who are residing in
Spain, hidden, and are not from those realms and
nations to whom it is permitted, for reasons of

[Fol. 20r] commerce, and with some conditions,
to reside in Spain; or if she knows if some, or
any one of these who are allowed [to reside] in
these realms, has/have violated the pacts and conditions by
which his/their residence is permitted, and caused through
his/their words, or deeds, some scandal among the loyal
Roman Catholics; she responds:

That she knew up to six people of the same sect,
hidden, who employed her in the trade
in silk stockings, kerchiefs, and other types of merchandise,
who accompanied each other and sold in Cádiz, Puerto de
La María, and other towns; but that they did not have a house
of residence in said city, where they lodged in the
inn nearest to the Puerta
de la Mar, but she does not remember
their names either collectively or in particular,
and I only know [sic.] the [physical] traits of one of them, who was
about two Ys[?] and two fingers tall, rather portly, with a
scar on his face, as from a knifing, but that she does not
recall in which of his cheeks [the scar] is found,
and who may be, or looks like he is about thirty
to thirty-five tears of age, and that without a doubt the reason
that she does not remember the names is that they disclosed
little about themselves to each other, addressing one another
with brotherly expressions. This is as much as she knows, as she must
declare in this spontaneous declaration,
under the oath that she has made.

[Fol. 20v] And all of it is the truth, which is ratified and affirmed if
necessary.
She did not sign her declaration because she said she did not know
how to do it. The Commissioner did it, to which I was a witness.

[Signatures: Silvestre Díaz Huerta y Rojas and Fernando Díaz de Linares y
Toledo]

[Fol. 24v] In the village of Consuegra, on the tenth day
of the month of June of the present year of
one thousand, seven-hundred and ninety, Mr. Commissioner,
Licenciado and Friar Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta
delivered to me the preceding dispatch, which
he said he had just received by ordinary mail and in his correspondence.
Having accepted it, he made before me a formal oath
of Non Rebelando in Todo Pectore, with his hand placed
over the cross upon his habit, and immediately ordered Carlota
summoned…. It occurred before me.

[Signatures]

In the said village, day, month and year by virtue of the foregoing the
aforementioned Carlota was summoned, from whom said
Commissioner took a formal oath of fidelity
by God our Lord and by
making a sign of the cross, to tell
the truth in what she has been asked, and
not to reveal as much, or even part of what
the gentleman of the dispatch [sic.]. [She declared]
that the one she had as a husband was known in his country by the

[Fol. 25r] name of “Leon” and in Spain by that
of “Antonio,” [and] that she does not know the day Antonio died
and was buried, because the declarant
had left the city of Málaga, in order to sell all the kinds
of her [his?] merchandise in the cities of Seville,
Cordova, Ecija, and other towns, where she stayed [?]
for nine months; and upon her return to the city [?] of
Málaga she was notified that he had died,
being told that he had died about eight months earlier,
and according to her calculation, the death had
occurred there about twenty-six months ago, more or less;
that he did not have a fixed home as his domicile
in said city, as they lived in the
streets where the fairs that are frequent in that city
were celebrated; such that when the
[fairs] were [held] in the Calle de la Victoria, they
picked themselves up [or: took shelter] and stayed by night
in the house that a widow named Catalina has as her store,
but that she does not recall her traits other than that
she had her stalls and a large portal; and that for the lodging
they paid five reales each night, and that when the fair took place
in the street that they call “Of The Merchants” they spent
the night at the Puerta de la Mar in
a house that was a tavern, [and the woman
who hosted them] was called María, a widow,
to whom they paid four reales daily, but that
the house of the aforementioned María was leased,

[Fol. 25v] and the declarant is not aware
of the property’s owner=and that when she went out
to sell at the time she has already indicated,
Antonio was left in broken health
in the Calle de la Victoria. She did not have any dealings
or communication with people besides with the two cited
—the hostesses Catalina or María—that was not through her sales,
since after the fairs they [=the declarant and her husband] went out
to the towns of the county to sell without having a
fixed domicile in any of them===and that she
only stayed in the mentioned city of Málaga for
three years at the time of the fairs. Though
she left her country eighteen years ago, more or less,
six [of those] years she has been in Portugal, three in France, and the rest in
Spain. She spent thee of these [latter] years as she has declared, and the six remaining [years] she was in Zaragoza, Pamplona, Valencia, and other cities, as well as in Barcelona, where a student for the price of half of a Piece of Eight prepared a certificate of marriage for her and Antonio. When she became acquainted with and dealt with her countrywoman, Christina, in Vélez-Málaga, she was the widow of an invalid whose name she does not know, and lived in a leased house located in the suburbs and that she does not know the name of the street. Christina lived from the work of her hands, threading and making buttons. Regarding [Fol 26r] her house she cannot provide more details than that it stands apart, but that there are many other little houses similar to it because they stand alone. As for Cristina’s personal traits, she can only say that she was a very old woman, of medium stature, with entirely white hair, and that she does not remember any more traits. And having had each and every one of the details contained in the dispatch reviewed for her, and to convey that she made her deposition with the greatest clarity and specificity, she said and repeated that she could not describe, neither explain, more than what she has declared under the oath that she has made, which she has ratified and affirmed. She did not sign because she did not know how to do so. Mr. Commissioner did, and I, the notary, did it, who was present for everything.

[Signatures: Díaz Huerta Y Rojas and Díaz Linares de Toledo]

[Fol. 27r] Presented in Toledo
June 25 of 1790

Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in the file that has been compiled in the case of the woman
called Carlota who wishes to abjure the errors of the Judaic sect and be admitted to the bosom of our Roman Catholic, Apostolic faith, says: He has seen the new declaration that this spontaneous woman has made; and confronted with the earlier one that she proffered on May 16, he finds some contradictions and other inversimilitudes. So that he may find out what this woman affirms, and so as not to fall for some fraud that she may be trying to perpetrate, it seems to him advisable that the same Commissioner and Notary of Consuegra take from her another statement, by formally interrogating her regarding the following questions: 
1\textsuperscript{st}. As she says, she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, a city of the Holy [Roman] Emperor, when it is in fact a private domain of Germany. Let her state the towns that are near her city of origin.
2\textsuperscript{nd}. How can she say that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia and that they were Jews, when these names are of the Law of Grace, and her

[Fol. 27v] parents had full civil and moral liberty in their country and could use proper names of the Law of Moses?

3\textsuperscript{rd}. How can she say in her first statement that she resided in the city of Málaga for six years when afterward she speaks of a mere three years? And that she had a store there, yet later says that she only sold in the fairs by day, and by night she lodged in the Calle de la Victoria, and in a tavern next to the Puerta del Mar in the homes of Catalina and María, including neither their family names, nor their physical traits? It is strange that she should not state or remember her [social] ties, or relatives they may have, so that their [her?] identity and existence may be known.

4\textsuperscript{th}. That she declare the time of the year that she has
seen the fair held at the Calle de los Mercaderes of that city, or that she say what she believes to be the [proper] name of that street; because if she thinks it is the new street that is in front of the Puerta del Mar, it is our understanding that no fair is held there during any part of the year.

5th. That she state if she has been registered in any parish church, or listed as a citizen by the authorities, and if so, where, and in what year; or if she has heard mass, and received the Sacraments of Penitence and Comunion, believing in them internally, or not.

6th. Let her state in what merchandise she trafficked, and if she bought it in order to resell it

[Fol. 28r] in kind [?] or on credit, especially during the nine months that she was in various places without her man; and that she name the subjects with whom she dealt for that purpose, and their addresses, those whom she has known and have known her from the various fairs and townspeople of Andalucía that she has mentioned. It is not verisimilar that she has walked alone, without letting herself be known as to her homeland and religion among the various travelers and walkers of her class, whom she must perforce have had to join along roads and at inns.

7th and final: That said Commissioner pose whatever questions he finds advisable so that he can obtain better knowledge of whether she is indeed a Jew and truly wishes to be a Catholic, and so that persons of our Holy Religion be found who have known her, and can inform [us] as to the conduct, opinions, and religion that this woman has held.

[Signature, June 23, 1790]

[Fol. 30v, starting in line 27]
[Marginal note:] Inspection and declaration
In the village of consuegra, on said, month, and year [Aug. 2, 1790], as a consequence of the [illegible]

[Fol. 31r] earlier notifications the aforementioned Carlota was summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary, and he received from her an Oath of fidelity by God Our Lord, and with the sign of the cross, to tell the truth of whatever she knows and may be asked. Having done so in accordance with the dispatch and commission, she responds to the first question: That it is true that Hesse-Cassel is the city of a Duke, but that he is subject to the Emperor of Germany, and that that is why she said that the city was the Emperor’s, and that although she knows and acknowledges that there are many towns in its immediate surroundings, she does not know the names of any of them.

To the second question she said that although they have full liberty for the use [sic.] of their sect, they are accustomed in their [undeciphered word: advetuo? Advitico?] to assuming names of the Law of Grace, except the names Manuel, María, and Juan, and for that reason her parents were known by the names of Leon and Cecilia----------------

Asked about her husband [?], she says that by her six-year term of residence in the city of Málaga, which she mentioned in her first deposition, she means that she participated in the fairs held in that city; and the three [following years], which she mentioned in her second deposition refer, and she understands them to be, those in which he who is named was sick for three years until he died without [?]

[Fol. 31v] the holy baptism; this is what she responded. Her declaration was read to her, and she said she had nothing to add to it. She ratified it. She did not sign because she did not know how to do so. His Mercy did it, as did I, the notary.
[Signatures]

[Fol. 35r] Most Illustrious Sir,

Sir of mine and of all my veneration: With the greatest care I have completed the task with which Your Illustrious Lordship […..] has charged me by the preceding commission, and I have not been able to locate any of the information that are [sic.] indicated in it. In the Calle de la Victoria I have not found more that one widow named Catalina, and she assures me that neither in the time of the fair nor in the off-season has she ever hosted in her home or portal any person besides a woman, a Garbanzo seller [?], who was her acquaintance and a citizen of this city [who lives in] the Calle de la Trinidad. Believing there to be some mistake in the testimony regarding a fair in the “Calle de los Mercaderes,” by which [the deponent] intended to say, or should have said, “in the Calle del Carmen,” I have looked in the Puerta del Mar for the tavern-house in which there lived a widowed woman named María, though there are many taverns and store-houses. I have found no reason to corroborate such a [undeciphered word], neither present nor past. In the Hospital del Rey one cannot know when Antonio died, because [the deponent] does not indicate his surname. For that reason I return the commission so that if possible it will be returned with some clearer details that may be of guidance in order to investigate what Your Illustrious Lordship wishes to know, as with such vague information

[Fol. 35v]
I have not been able to advance anything.

[Valediction and signature of Joseph Fernandez Maqueda]

[Fol. 36r] Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in [light of] the procedures undertaken in the case of the woman called Carlota, who is in the village of Consuegra
Requesting that she be admitted to the bosom of Our Holy Mother, the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church via Holy Baptism and prior abjuration of the Hebrew sect into which se says she was born and has professed, affirms: That the review of records made in this and the other tribunals of the realm have not resulted in anything against this request. Yet, since the procedures that have been undertaken in the city of Málaga through the Holy Office of Granada have not resulted in anything that would corroborate the presence that the spontaneous declarant alleges at the fairs and houses of said city, her declarations still obscure the information that would be necessary to know whether she has been and is in reality a Jew, and that she sincerely wishes to abjure that reprobate sect and receive the Holy Baptism. The fact that this woman of vague quality, and does not cite a single person who can answer as to her civil status

[Fol. 36v] or moral character, and what is more, not even to her physical existence after so many years of traveling through so many towns and provinces of the realm, is a circumstance that recommends her very little with respect to the credibility of her statements, and in certain terms it seems appropriate to the Prosecutor that for now a commission be given to the Priest and Prior of Consuegra, Silvestre Díaz Huerta, that [along with] the Familiar, Senior Bailiff Don Fernando Díaz de Linares, in association with the four most authorized and literate secular or regular priests of the village of Consuegra, examine the spontaneous declarant anew, asking her all the questions they deem appropriate, to ascertain whether in reality she has not received the Holy Baptism and has been of the Hebrew sect, and if her conversion is sincere, and she has been instructed in our holy Catholic dogmas and seems to them would persevere in Our Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, and that they inform [us] of the results by means of a report of said Priest and Prior and four Priests,
and that it be transmitted to the Prosecutor to say
whatever may be necessary. Secret [order] of the Inquisition of Toledo,
November 13 of 1790.

[Fol 38v] In the village of Consuegra, twenty-eight days
of said month [of November] and year [1790], by virtue of
the judicial instructions the Presbyters and Carlota, who are cited in them,
were summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary.
Each and every one interrogated and reinterrogated
Carlota with questions that were deemed advisable, according
to the [undeciphered word], her Oath of Fidelity
having previously been taken. Each and every one of them found,
and are of the common opinion that her desire
to receive the Holy Baptism is true; so too that she has not received it to this
day; yet,
as to her knowledge of the Catholic doctrine, she is found to be very
immature; thus,
in case the Tribunal deems it advisable to expedite its order to any of the
Parish Priests of the village of Madridejos, where her [present]
domicile is located, if it should be
necessary to examine her well in the Holy Doctrine.
In this regard, when prompted, she has offered to
remain there so that the Holy Sacrament is administered to her.
As to this they are in common accord and can and are obliged to inform
the Holy Tribunal. And in acknowledgment they signed
along with His Mercy, said Judge, which I faithfully verify.

[Signatures: Licenciado Don Sivestre Díaz Huerta y Roxas (Judge)
Don Antonio Jesus Díaz Gallego
Dn Elías Gabriel Aguilar Albarez
Francisco García de Juan Pérez
Joachin de Cassas y Vida
Don Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo (Notary)]
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792
David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición de Toledo, legajo 159, expediente 11 (1790-1791): Carlota Liot.

[Cover, front matter]

Toledo (Inquisition of)
Judaizers
Liot (Carlota)
Of Hebrew Nation, and resident of the village of Consuegra
Her spontaneous testimony and abjuration
1790-1791
Dossier 159, n. 11

[Fol. 6r] Hearing on October 7, 1790
No results issue from the registry of this Holy Office against the woman named Carlota, native of Hesse-Cassel in Germany, of medium height, round face, sort of swollen cheeks, black eyes, brown hair, eyebrows with little hair, Roman nose, 29 years of age more or less, who spontaneously appeared to disclose her Hebraism, requesting entry to the bosom of Our Holy Mother, [the] Church, by receiving the Holy Baptism, according to Your Lordship’s notice of September 23, to which we respond gladly, and will so execute it to whatever extent will please you.

[Inquisition of Murcia, October 2, 1790] Atty. Pedro del Moral [?]
Dr. Don Ramon de Albornos

Holy Office of the Inquisition of Toledo

[Fol. 16r] Don Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo, Licenciado [= university graduate], [and]
titled Senior Apostolic Familiar of this village, with the necessary submission to your Most Illustrious [sic.] acknowledges that on this day, and via Licenciado and Friar, Don Silvestre Diaz Huerta of the [illegible] of St. John, Priest and Prior of Santa Maria la Mayor, in said village [of Consuegra], a woman has presented herself to this informant, who says that she is of Judaic nation, that she is called Carlota, and that she is daughter of Leon, native of Hesse-Cassel, dominion of the Emperor; that she left her place of origin at the age of thirteen, and today is of the age of of twenty-nine. She declares voluntarily (among other things) that in the city of Málaga she has resided for six years, and that in that city she knows many of her nation who are hidden; but that she desires [to receive] the Holy Baptism, and convert to our Holy Catholic Faith, of which intention she has implored (tearfully and with repeated invocations of Mary Most Holy) said parish priest, who, in accord with this informant has offered her the customary sustenance and protection until Your Most Illustrious, informed by this missive, orders what he deems just and advisable.

Consuegra, today, April 24 of 1790
Don Fernando Diaz de Linarez y Toledo

[Fol. 18r] In the village of Consuegra on the sixteenth of the month of May of this present year of one thousand, seven hundred and ninety, the Licenciado, Friar Don Silvestre Diaz Huerta Rojas of the Order [?] of St. John, Priest and Prior of the Parish of Santa Maria la Mayor of said village, has delivered the preceding dispatch....

On said day at ten in the morning by virtue of the preceding act there appeared before the said Mr. Commissioner and me, the notary, the mentioned Carlota, under legal oath, which she took upon God and a sign of the Cross, not to reveal whatever occurred and she said in the deposition
[Fol. 18v] and [to tell] the whole truth under that oath, which obliges fulfillment and observance, as was explained to her. And by virtue of this the [narrative] representation that I, the notary, made to the Holy Office, dated the twenty-fourth of April, was given to her, and I read it to her verbo ad verbum and in its entirety. About it she said that it was the same that she [had] expressed on the cited day to the Commissioner and before me, the notary, [and that] she ratified it in case it was necessary; and thereafter the following questionnaire was posed to her------

Asked what she calls herself, where she was born, her age, civil status, and occupation, who her parents were or are, and where they reside or died, and what religion they professed, she responds:
That she calls herself Carlota; that she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, city of the Emperor of Germany; that she is twenty-nine years of age, more or less; that she has been a merchant, and today [is] a poor hostiatin [Lat. Hostiatim, ~victim?], because she has been robbed, and at present in a widow’s state, because of her man, who was of judaic nation, having died in the city of Málaga, and been buried in the Holy Field of the Hospital del Rey of said city; that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia, both natives and citizens of the previously noted city of Hesse-Cassel, and that she does not know if they are alive or dead; but she knows and makes known that they were of Judaic nation.

  Asked if she is Christian, baptized---
She responds that she is not--------
  Asked in what religion she was reared and what

[Fol. 19r] she has believed and followed since she had use of reason, and if the religion in which she has been reared is the same one that her parents followed and professed, and if in that country [that faith] is taught, or if she follows the same or different ones, and [if so] which ones—she responds:
That the religion in which she was reared is Judaic, and awaited the Messiah; and they worship a golden image, like a calf; keep the Sabbath day as a holiday, fasting on said day from ten at night on Friday, its eve, until sunrise; observing [its] solemnity with such rigor that they did not move a [single] utensil:

She was reared in this religion, the same one that her parents followed, which is tolerated in that country, where in the same way there are Lutherans, Calvinists, and Christians, all of them tolerated, and [enjoying the] free exercise [of their faiths]---

As asked if the observes it. She is asked what she holds and believes at present, and what religion is the one she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death.

She responds: that at present she holds and believes the articles of Our Holy Catholic Faith, which were made known to her by the Commissioner and in front of me, the notary, to whom she responded; and that the religion that she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death is the Catholic religion; and she yearns for the same with intense and powerful desires to be baptized=====

As asked again how it is that she has notice of the articles of our Holy Catholic Faith, and who

[Fol. 19v] has taught it to her, she said that because she found herself with a store [~commercial stall] in the city of Málaga she went out every week to sell in Vélez-Málaga; and in its suburbs lived a Christian countrywoman of hers, called Christina, who knew the aforementioned parents of the deponent, which is why, in her German tongue, she taught her the Christian doctrine; and although said Christina knew that the parents of the deponent were Jews, she was under the impression that she [the deponent] was a Christian; and because of her stay in Spain, she has learned some mysteries and prayers, such as the Credo, the Sacraments, the five Commandments of our Mother, the Church, the mystery of the Most Holy
Trinity, how God is a remunerator [?], and the 
rest, in the native language [of Spain]:-----------------
In the fifth [question] she was asked what cause, motive, 
or reason she has had and has for separating herself 
from the Judaic sect, and wishing to follow and profess 
the Holy Catholic Faith of Our Mother the Roman 
Church. She responds:

That being certain that if she dies a Jew
it condemns her, and if she dies a Catholic she hopes to be saved
and go to glory ==

To the sixth [question] she referred to the fourth, given what is
understood by it, and to the third==

To the seventh: She was asked if she knows if there are some
persons of her sect who are residing in
Spain, hidden, and are not from those realms and
nations to whom it is permitted, for reasons of

[Fol. 20r] commerce, and with some conditions,
to reside in Spain; or if she knows if some, or
any one of these who are allowed [to reside] in
these realms, has/have violated the pacts and conditions by
which his/their residence is permitted, and caused through
his/their words, or deeds, some scandal among the loyal
Roman Catholics; she responds:

That she knew up to six people of the same sect,
hidden, who employed her in the trade
in silk stockings, kerchiefs, and other types of merchandise,
who accompanied each other and sold in Cádiz, Puerto de
La María, and other towns; but that they did not have a house
of residence in said city, where they lodged in the
inn nearest to the Puerta
de la Mar, but she does not remember
their names either collectively or in particular,
and I only know [sic.] the [physical] traits of one of them, who was
about two Ys[?] and two fingers tall, rather portly, with a
scar on his face, as from a knifing, but that she does not
recall in which of his cheeks [the scar] is found,
and who may be, or looks like he is about thirty
to thirty-five tears of age, and that without a doubt the reason
that she does not remember the names is that they disclosed little about themselves to each other, addressing one another with brotherly expressions. This is as much as she knows, as she must declare in this spontaneous declaration, under the oath that she has made.

[Fol. 20v] And all of it is the truth, which is ratified and affirmed if necessary. She did not sign her declaration because she said she did not know how to do it. The Commissioner did it, to which I was a witness.

[Signatures: Silvestre Díaz Huerta y Rojas and Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo]

[Fol. 24v] In the village of Consuegra, on the tenth day of the month of June of the present year of one thousand, seven-hundred and ninety, Mr. Commissioner, Licenciado and Friar Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta delivered to me the preceding dispatch, which he said he had just received by ordinary mail and in his correspondence. Having accepted it, he made before me a formal oath of Non Rebelando in Todo Pectore, with his hand placed over the cross upon his habit, and immediately ordered Carlota summoned…. It occurred before me.

[Signatures]

In the said village, day, month and year by virtue of the foregoing the aforementioned Carlota was summoned, from whom said Commissioner took a formal oath of fidelity by God our Lord and by making a sign of the cross, to tell the truth in what she has been asked, and not to reveal as much, or even part of what the gentleman of the dispatch [sic.]. [She declared] that the one she had as a husband was known in his country by the

[Fol. 25r] name of “Leon” and in Spain by that of “Antonio,” [and] that she does not know the day Antonio died
and was buried, because the declarant
had left the city of Málaga, in order to sell all the kinds
of her [his?] merchandise in the cities of Seville,
Cordova, Ecija, and other towns, where she stayed [?]
for nine months; and upon her return to the city [?] of
Málaga she was notified that he had died,
being told that he had died about eight months earlier,
and according to her calculation, the death had
occurred there about twenty-six months ago, more or less;
that he did not have a fixed home as his domicile
in said city, as they lived in the
streets where the fairs that are frequent in that city
were celebrated; such that when the
[fairs] were [held] in the Calle de la Victoria, they
picked themselves up [or: took shelter] and stayed by night
in the house that a widow named Catalina has as her store,
but that she does not recall her traits other than that
she had her stalls and a large portal; and that for the lodging
they paid five reales each night, and that when the fair took place
in the street that they call “Of The Merchants” they spent
the night at the Puerta de la Mar in
a house that was a tavern, [and the woman
who hosted them] was called Maríá, a widow,
to whom they paid four reales daily, but that
the house of the aforementioned Maríá was leased,

[Fol. 25v] and the delcarant is not aware
of the property’s owner—and that when she went out
to sell at the time she has already indicated,
Antonio was left in broken health
in the Calle de la Victoria. She did not have any dealings
or communication with people besides with the two cited
—the hostesses Catalina or María—that was not through her sales,
since after the fairs they [=the declarant and her husband] went out
to the towns of the county to sell without having a
fixed domicile in any of them==and that she
only stayed in the mentioned city of Málaga for
three years at the time of the fairs. Though
she left her country eighteen years ago, more or less,
six [of those] years she has been in Portugal, three in France, and the rest in
Spain. She spent thee of these [latter] years as she has declared, and the six remaining [years] she was in Zaragoza, Pamplona, Valencia, and other cities, as well as in Barcelona, where a student for the price of half of a Piece of Eight prepared a certificate of marriage for her and Antonio. When she became acquainted with and dealt with her countrywoman, Christina, in Vélez-Málaga, she was the widow of an invalid whose name she does not know, and lived in a leased house located in the suburbs and that she does not know the name of the street. Christina lived from the work of her hands, threading and making buttons. Regarding

[Fol 26r] her house she cannot provide more details than that it stands apart, but that there are many other little houses similar to it because they stand alone. As for Cristina’s personal traits, she can only say that she was a very old woman, of medium stature, with entirely white hair, and that she does not remember any more traits. And having had each and every one of the details contained in the dispatch reviewed for her, and to convey that she made her deposition with the greatest clarity and specificity, she said and repeated that she could not describe, neither explain, more than what she has declared under the oath that she has made, which she has ratified and affirmed. She did not sign because she did not know how to do so. Mr. Commissioner did, and I, the notary, did it, who was present for everything.

[Signatures: Díaz Huerta Y Rojas and Díaz Linares de Toledo]

[Fol. 27r] Presented in Toledo
June 25 of 1790

Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in the file that has been compiled in the case of the woman
called Carlota who wishes to abjure the errors of the Judaic sect and be admitted to the bosom of our Roman Catholic, Apostolic faith, says: He has seen the new declaration that this spontaneous woman has made; and confronted with the earlier one that she proffered on May 16, he finds some contradictions and other inversimilitudes. So that he may find out what this woman affirms, and so as not to fall for some fraud that she may be trying to perpetrate, it seems to him advisable that the same Commissioner and Notary of Consuegra take from her another statement, by formally interrogating her regarding the following questions:

1\textsuperscript{st}. As she says, she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, a city of the Holy [Roman] Emperor, when it is in fact a private domain of Germany. Let her state the towns that are near her city of origin.

2\textsuperscript{nd}. How can she say that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia and that they were Jews, when these names are of the Law of Grace, and her

[Fol. 27v] parents had full civil and moral liberty in their country and could use proper names of the Law of Moses?

3\textsuperscript{rd}. How can she say in her first statement that she resided in the city of Málaga for six years when afterward she speaks of a mere three years? And that she had a store there, yet later says that she only sold in the fairs by day, and by night she lodged in the Calle de la Victoria, and in a tavern next to the Puerta del Mar in the homes of Catalina and María, including neither their family names, nor their physical traits? It is strange that she should not state or remember her [social] ties, or relatives they may have, so that their [her?] identity and existence may be known.

4\textsuperscript{th}. That she declare the time of the year that she has
seen the fair held at the Calle de los Mercaderes of that city, or that she say what she believes to be the [proper] name of that street; because if she thinks it is the new street that is in front of the Puerta del Mar, it is our understanding that no fair is held there during any part of the year.

5th. That she state if she has been registered in any parish church, or listed as a citizen by the authorities, and if so, where, and in what year; or if she has heard mass, and received the Sacraments of Penitence and Comunion, believing in them internally, or not.

6th. Let her state in what merchandise she trafficked, and if she bought it in order to resell it

[Fol. 28r] in kind [?] or on credit, especially during the nine months that she was in various places without her man; and that she name the subjects with whom she dealt for that purpose, and their addresses, those whom she has known and have known her from the various fairs and townspeople of Andalucía that she has mentioned. It is not verisimilar that she has walked alone, without letting herself be known as to her homeland and religion among the various travelers and walkers of her class, whom she must perforce have had to join along roads and at inns.

7th and final: That said Commissioner pose whatever questions he finds advisable so that he can obtain better knowledge of whether she is indeed a Jew and truly wishes to be a Catholic, and so that persons of our Holy Religion be found who have known her, and can inform [us] as to the conduct, opinions, and religion that this woman has held.

[Signature, June 23, 1790]

[Fol. 30v, starting in line 27]
[Marginal note:] Inspection and declaration
In the village of consuegra, on said, month, and year [Aug. 2, 1790], as a consequence of the [illegible]

[Fol. 31r] earlier notifications the aforementioned Carlota was summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary, and he received from her an Oath of fidelity by God Our Lord, and with the sign of the cross, to tell the truth of whatever she knows and may be asked. Having done so in accordance with the dispatch and commission, she responds to the first question: That it is true that Hesse-Cassel is the city of a Duke, but that he is subject to the Emperor of Germany, and that that is why she said that the city was the Emperor’s, and that although she knows and acknowledges that there are many towns in its immediate surroundings, she does not know the names of any of them.

To the second question she said that although they have full liberty for the use [sic.] of their sect, they are accustomed in their [undeciphered word: advetuo? Advitico?] to assuming names of the Law of Grace, except the names Manuel, María, and Juan, and for that reason her parents were known by the names of Leon and Cecilia----------------

Asked about her husband [?], she says that by her six-year term of residence in the city of Málaga, which she mentioned in her first deposition, she means that she participated in the fairs held in that city; and the three [following years], which she mentioned in her second deposition refer, and she understands them to be, those in which he who is named was sick for three years until he died without [?]

[Fol. 31v] the holy baptism; this is what she responded. Her declaration was read to her, and she said she had nothing to add to it. She ratified it. She did not sign because she did not know how to do so. His Mercy did it, as did I, the notary.
[Signatures]

[Fol. 35r] Most Illustrious Sir,

Sir of mine and of all my veneration: With the greatest care I have completed the task with which Your Illustrious Lordship [……] has charged me by the preceding commission, and I have not been able to locate any of the information that are [sic.] indicated in it. In the Calle de la Victoria I have not found more that one widow named Catalina, and she assures me that neither in the time of the fair nor in the off-season has she ever hosted in her home or portal any person besides a woman, a Garbanzo seller [?], who was her acquaintance and a citizen of this city [who lives in] the Calle de la Trinidad. Believing there to be some mistake in the testimony regarding a fair in the “Calle de los Mercaderes,” by which [the deponent] intended to say, or should have said, “in the Calle del Carmen,” I have looked in the Puerta del Mar for the tavern-house in which there lived a widowed woman named María, though there are many taverns and store-houses. I have found no reason to corroborate such a [undeciphered word], neither present nor past. In the Hospital del Rey one cannot know when Antonio died, because [the deponent] does not indicate his surname. For that reason I return the commission so that if possible it will be returned with some clearer details that may be of guidance in order to investigate what Your Illustrious Lordship wishes to know, as with such vague information

[Fol. 35v] I have not been able to advance anything.

[Valediction and signature of Joseph Fernandez Maqueda]

[Fol. 36r] Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in [light of] the procedures undertaken in the case of the woman called Carlota, who is in the village of Consuegra
Requesting that she be admitted to the bosom
of Our Holy Mother, the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church via Holy
Baptism
and prior abjuration of the Hebrew sect into which se says she was born and
has professed, affirms:
That the review of records made in this and the other trubunals of the realm
have not resulted in anything against this request. Yet, since the procedures
that have been undertaken in the city of Málaga through
the Holy Office of Granada have not resulted in anything that
would corroborate the presence that the spontaneous
declarant alleges at the fairs and houses of said city,
her declarations still obscure the information that would
be necessary to know whether
she has been and is in reality a Jew, and that she sincerely
wishes to abjure that reprobate sect and receive the Holy Baptism. The fact
that
this woman of vague quality, and does not cite a single
person who can answer as to her civil status

[Fol. 36v] or moral character, and what is more, not even
to her physical existence after so many
years of traveling through so many towns
and provinces of the realm, is a
circumstance that recommends her very little
with respect to the credibility of her statements, and
in certain terms it seems appropriate to the Prosecutor
that for now a commission be given to the Priest and Prior of
Consuegra, Silvestre Díaz Huerta, that [along with] the Familiar, Senior
Bailiff Don Fernando Díaz de Linares, in association with the four
most authorized and literate secular or regular priests of the village of
Consuegra, examine the spontaneous declarant anew,
asking her all the questions they
deem appropriate, to ascertain whether in reality
she has not received the Holy Baptism and has
been of the Hebrew sect, and if her conversion is
sincere, and she has been instructed in our
holy Catholic dogmas and seems to them would persevere
in Our Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman religion,
and that they inform [us] of the results by means of a
report of said Priest and Prior and four Priests,
and that it be transmitted to the Prosecutor to say whatever may be necessary. Secret [order] of the Inquisition of Toledo, November 13 of 1790.

[Fol 38v] In the village of Consuegra, twenty-eight days of said month [of November] and year [1790], by virtue of the judicial instructions the Presbyters and Carlota, who are cited in them, were summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary. Each and every one interrogated and reinterrogated Carlota with questions that were deemed advisable, according to the [undeciphered word], her Oath of Fidelity having previously been taken. Each and every one of them found, and are of the common opinion that her desire to receive the Holy Baptism is true; so too that she has not received it to this day; yet, as to her knowledge of the Catholic doctrine, she is found to be very immature; thus, in case the Tribunal deems it advisable to expedite its order to any of the Parish Priests of the village of Madridejos, where her [present] domicile is located, if it should be necessary to examine her well in the Holy Doctrine. In this regard, when prompted, she has offered to remain there so that the Holy Sacrament is administered to her. As to this they are in common accord and can and are obliged to inform the Holy Tribunal. And in acknowledgment they signed along with His Mercy, said Judge, which I faithfully verify.

[Signatures: Licenciado Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta y Roxas (Judge)
Don Antonio Jesus Díaz Gallego
Dn Elías Gabriel Aguilar Albarex
Francisco García de Juan Pérez
Joachin de Cassas y Vida
Don Fernando Diaz de Linares y Toledo (Notary)]
Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792

David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición de Toledo, legajo 159, expediente 11 (1790-1791): Carlota Liot.

[Fol. 6R]
A\(^d\)a en 7 de Oct\(^r\)e de 1790
Nada resulta en los Rexistros de este S. Oficio, contra la mugger, llamada Carlota, natural de Hesse-Cassel en Alemania, de mediana estatura, cara redonda, carrillos como hinchados, ojos pardos, niñas negras, pelo castaño, Zejas con poco pelo, nariz Roma, de 29 a\(^s\) de edad poco mas o menos, espontaneada en ese tribunal de Hebraismo, solicitando entrar en el gremio de N.S. M. Yglesia, reciviendo el S. Baptismo; conforme al aviso de V.S. de 23 de Sepbre, á que contestamos gustosos, y lo haremos igualmente á quanto sea de su agrado.

N.S. gûe á U.S. & Ynqq\(^n\) de Murcia 2 de octubre de 1790.

L\(^d\)a Pedro del Moral [?]
D.\(^r\) D.\(^n\) Ramon de Albornos
S.\(^t\)o oficio de Ynqq.\(^o\)n de Toledo

[Fol. 16r]
Dn Fernández de Linares y Toledo Itro familiar Apos.° mo'r a título de esta Villa, con la devida sumision a V Yma hace presente que, en este día y por L do Frey Dn Silvestre Diaz Huerta del au[illegible] de S° Ju. Cura Prior de S° Maria la Ma'r a dha Villa se ha presentado a el que espone una muger que dize ser de nacion Judaica llamarse Carlota y ser hija de Leon, natural de escasel Dominio de el Emperador; que salio de dha su Naturaleza de edad de treze a° y oy tiene la de veintinueve: declara voluntariamente (entre otras cosas) que en la ciudad de Malaga ha residido seis a° y que en dha cuidad conoz a muchos de su nacion ocultos: pero que ella desea el S° Baptismo, y convertirse a nt° Santa Fe Catholica sobre cuia pretension ha importunado (con lagrimas y repetidas in vocaciones de Maria Santisima) a dho Paro co; quien con acuerdo de el q° espone la ha ofrecido el cotidiano sustento y proteccion asta q° V. Yma informado p° esta ordene lo que estime justo y conveniente.

Consuegra oy Abril 24 de 1790
[Signature: Don Fernando Diaz de Linares y Toledo]

[Fol. 18R]
En la villa de consuegra a diez y seis días de el mes de Maio de este presente ano de mil setezientos y noventa, el L do frey Dn Silvestre Diaz Huerta Rojas del au° de S° Ju° y cura Prior de la Parochia de S° Maria la mayor de dha villa me entrego el preze despacho…. 

En dho día y alas diez de la mañana en virtud de el auto prezedente comparezio [?] ante El dho S° comizionado y de mi el notario la espresada Carlota en forma de D°ro; que hizo
Pº dios N.S. y una señal de cruz de no re
belar quanto ocurriere y dijere en la deposicioⁿ

[Fol 18v]
y todo [sic] la verdad bajo cual aviendo se espli
cado a quanto obliga su cumplimiento, y obser
vancia; y en la virtud se le hizo presente la
representacion que Yo el notario hize a el S.
Tribunal con fecha veintiquatro de Abril
la que le lei de Vervo ad Verbun y enterda
da de toda ella dijo ser lo mismo q en el Zita
do dia espreso a el Sºor comisionado y ante mi
el notario la que ratificava en caso nezesario
rio; y a la seguida se le hizo el Ynterogatorio
siguiente----

Preg.ta Como se llama, de donde es Natural que
edad estado ofizio tiene quien es, o fueron
sus Padres y donde residen o murieron, y q
religion profesaron, a que responde-----
que se llama Carlota que es natural de
Ese casel Ciudad del Enperador de Alemania,
de edad de Veintinueve años, poco mas o
menos, que ha sido comerzianta, y oi en el dia
Pobre hostiatin [?], por averla robado, q.º esta en la
actualidad, como en estado de viuda, por ha
versele muerto el hombre que era de nazion
judaica en la Ziudad de Malaga el que
esta enterado en el canpo S.º del hospital de
el Rey de dha ciudad que sus Padres se llamaron Leon y Zezilia, naturales y Vezinos
de la espresada ciudad de Esecasel que Ygno
ra si viven, o han muerto; pero save y le con
sta que fueron de nazion Judaica; y responde
Preguntada si es Christiana, Baptizada----
Responde que no-------------
Preguntada en que Religion se crio y que

[Fol. 19r]
Es lo que ha creido y seguido desde que
tubo uso de razón, y si la religión en que ha sido criada es la misma que seguían y profesaba sus padres, y si en aquel país se enseña o sigue la misma o diferentes y cuales; responde=

Que la Religion en que se crio es Judai
caca, y que esperava el Mesias; y adoravan
una imagen dorada como de Bezero, guardan
do el día Sabado por de fiesta, aiunando dho
día desde las diez de la noche de el viernes su
vispera asta puesta del sol y oservando [?] la solem
nidad contanto rigor que ni mobian un trasto [?];
en cuia religion fue criada y la misma que
seguian y profesavan sus padres, la que esta
va tolerada en aquel Pais, donde Ygualmen
te ay Luteranos Calvinistas y Christianos
y todos tolerados, y con libre exercizio---
Preg.ª si la guarda. se le preg.ª que es lo que a el
presente tiene y cre, y que religion es la que
quiere seguir y profesar en vida y muerte

Responde: que tiene y cre a el presente los
articulos de nuestra Sª Fe Catholica, que le fue
ron hechos presentes pº el Sº Comisionado, y por ante
mi el Notario a que contesto; y que la religion qº
quiere seguir y profesar en vida y muerte es la
religion catholica; y por lo mismo desea con vivos
y eficazes deseos ser bautizada====

Repreguntada: que como tiene notizia de
los articulos de nuestra Sª Fe Catholica, y quien

[Fol. 19v]
Se la ha enseñado; dijo que con motivo de ha-
llarse con tienda en la ciudad de Malaga salia
todas las semanas a vender a Velez Malaga
y en sus Arabales vivia una Paisana suia Chris
tiana llamada Cristina que conozia a los refe-
ridos Padres de la deponente con cuio motivo en
su lengua Alemana le enesno la Doctrina Chris
tiana y aunque dha Christina savia que los pa
dres de la deponente eran Judios tenia entendi
do que esta era Christiana; y con el motivo
de su estada en España en Castellano ha apren
dido algunos misterios y oraciones como el credo
sacramentos los cinco mandamientos de nuestra
Madre la Yglesia, el misterio de la Santisima
Trinidad, como es dios Remunedaror [sic] y los de-
Mas en la lengua nativa:-------------

5 Preg:ta A la quinta fue preguntada que causa, motivo
o razon ha tenido y tiene para apartarse de
la secta Judaica, y querer seguir y Profesar La
Santa Fe Catolica de nuestra Madre La Yglesia
Romana, responde=
Que por tener por Zierto, que si muere Judia
Le condena, y si falleza Catolica espera salvarse
y irse a la gloria ==

6 preg:ta A la sesta se remitio a la quarta: por lo que se con-
prende, y a la terzera==

7 preg:ta A la septima: fue preguntada si save ay al
gunas Personas residentes en España de su sec-
ta, ocultos, no siendo de aquellos reinos y na
ziones a quienes esta permitido p.or causa de

[Fol. 20r]
el comercio y con ciertas condiciones el
residir en España; o si save que algunos, o
alguno de estos que estan permitidos en
estos reynos, havia faltado a los pactos y con-
diciones con que se les permite su residen-
zia y causado con los dichos, o hecho al-
gun escandalo a los fieles Chatolicos Roma
nos, Responde:====

Que conzio asta seis personas de la misma secta
ocultos que le enpleaban en el comercio de me-
dias de seda, Panuelos, y otros jeneros que se acon
panavan y vendian como en Cadis puerto de la
Maria, y otros Pueblos; pero que no tenian casa
de resenzia en dha Ziudad en la que le ospe
davan en el meson mas cercano a la puerta
de la mar, pero que no se acuerda de los
nombre de ellos en comun ni en particular,
y se solo que las señas del uno, es como de dos Y. y
y uno o dos dedos de altura, bastante grueso, con una
zicatriz en la cara como de cuchillada, que no
tiene presente en qual de las carillos es, y que ten
dra, o representa como de treinta a treinta y
cinco años de edad, y que sin duda la causa
de no acordarse e los nombres, es por que viaban [?]entre si poco de ellos, entendiendose con espresio-
nes de ermanos: que es quanto save, pues le debe
declarar en esta que ha ejecutado espontanea
mente, y bajo de el juramento q. e lleva hecho-

[Fol. 20v]
Y todo la verdad en el que en caso necesario
Se ratifica y afirma no firme esta su decla-
Racion por decir no saver. Hizolo el señor comis
Ionado a que presente fui

[Signatures: Silvestre Diaz Huerta y Rojas, Dn. Fern.do Diaz de Linares y
Toledo]

[Fol. 24v]
En la Vª de Consuegra diez dias de
el mes de Junio de este presente año de
mil setecientos y noventa, el S.or Comisio
nado L. do Frey D, on Silvestre Dias Huerta
me entrego el prezedente despacho q. e
dijo acavava de Rezivir p.or el coreo or
dinario y en su corespondencia havien
dole azeptado hizo ante mi el juramen
to en forma la de Pectore puesta la ma
no sobre la cruz de su avito de non
rebelando y a la seguida mando con-
parezer a Carlota…. Paso ante mi

[signatures]
En la dha Villa dia mes y año a virtud
a el anterior proveido [?] compareció la
espresada Carlota de quien dho señor Co-
misionado le rezevio juramento de fidelidad
en forma de dro. que hizo por Dios nuestro Se-
ñor y una senal de cruz de dezir la
verdad en lo que tiene preguntada como
de no rebelar quarto, ni parte de lo que
el senor de el despacho dijo; que el que
tubo p. or marido era entendido en su país con el

[Fol. 25r]
Nombre de Leon y en España con el de An-
tonio= que no save el día en que murio, y fue
enterado el referido Antonio por Motivo de ha
ver salido de la ciudad de Malaga donde p. or[?] que el dho a vender la declarante los generos
de su comerzio a las Ziuadas de Sevilla Cordo-
va, ezija y otros pueblos en los que gasto [?] nue-
ve meses , y a el regreso a la lita a de Ma-
laga tubo la notizia de que avia fallezido
diziendola q. e avria como unos ocho meses q. e
murio, y segun la quenta, halla ocurio dho fallecim. lo como unos veintiseis meses poco mas o
menos= que no tenia casa segura p. a su domicili-
llo en dha ciudad, pues avitavan en las
calles donde zelebravan las ferias que son fre-
quentes en dha ciudad; de modo que quan
do eran en la calle de la Victoria se Reco-
jian de noche en la casa q tenia p. or tiend a
una viuda que se llamava Catalina, pero q. e
la que no conserva mas señas que el tener sus
puestos y portal grandes y que por el menzio
nado hospedaje pagavan cada noche cin
coro rs y que quando la feria era en la –
calle q. e nonbran de los mercaderes vizavan
de noche junto a la puerta de la mar en
una casa que era taverna y se llamava
Maria de estado viuda la que los hospedava
Y a quien agavan quatro R. s diarios, pero q. e
Su casa la tenia en arendamiento la zitada

[Fol. 25v—Not foliated]
Maria ignorando la declarante de quien fuese su [?] propiedad= y que quando salio a vender por el tiempo que deja declarado que el repetido Antonio quedo con quebranta de salud en la espresada casa de la calle de la Victoria que no tubo trato ni comunnicazion que no fuese transcurso [?] en sus ventas, con otras personas, que las dos zitadas—huespedas, Chatalina u Maria a [?] causa de que pasados las ferias salian a vender por los pueblos de la comarca sin tener domizilio fijo en alguno== y que a la zitada zuidad de Malaga solo acudio pᵌ tres años en tiempo de ferias, pues aunque hazes dies y ocho años , poco mas o menos, que salio de su Pais seis años ha estado en Portugal, tres en Francia, y los demas en España que los tres gasto [?] como deja declarado y en los seis restantes estubo en Zaragoza Panplona, Valencia y otras zitudes como tambien en Barcelona donde un estudian te pᵌ el precio de medio doblon de a ocho las hizo a la declarante y Zitado Antonio la carta de casamiento==que quando conozio y trato en Veles Malaga a la paisana la Christina era viuda de un invalido cuio nombre Ygnora que vivia en casa de arendamiento situada en los arabales y que no save el nombre de la calle=que dha Christina vivia de el travajo de sus manos hilando y haciendo votones=que de

[Fol. 26r]
su casa no puede dar mas señas que el hallarse sola pero que ay otras muchas casillas semejantes pᵌ lo solas = y en quanto a las señas Personales de dhas Cristina solo puede de
zir que era mujer mui anziana de mediana estatura con todo el cavello blanco y que no tiene presentes otras mas señas== y aviendo reconvenido sobre todos y cada uno de los particulars contenidos en el despacho, para qe con la maior claridad, y espezificzcion hazia su deposizion, dijo y repitio que no podia espo- ner, ni esplicar mas que lo que deja decla- rado vajo de el juramento, que deja hecho en que e ratifco y afirmo no firma p. no saver, lo hizo el S. or Comisionado y Yo el notario que a todo fui presente.

[Signatures: Liz.do Dn Silvestre Diaz Huerta, etc.]

[27r]
Present. da en Toledo
y Junio 25 de 1790

M.I.S.

El Inq or fiscal de este S. lo Oficio en el expediente Que se ha formado a instancia de la muger Nombrada Carlota que solicita abjurar los Errores de la secta Judaica y ser admitida al gremio de nuestra Religion Catholica Apos tolica Romana, dice: Ha visto la nueva declaracion que en diez del corr. te ha echo dha espontanea, y confrontada con la an- terior q. e otorgo en 16 de mayo halla algu- nas contradicciones y otras especies inve risimiles, y con el fin de q. e le venga en co- nocimiento de lo q. e afirma esta muger, y que no se incida en algun embuste que intente practicar es de parecerle le reciba otra declaracion p. ante el mis- mo comisionado y Notr. de [?] consuegra, in terrogandola en forma sobre las preguntas siguientes

1ª Como dice es Nat. de Hese Casel, Cuidad del
S. to [?] Emperador, quando es soberania particular de Alemania. Que exprese los Pueblos que hay inmediatos al de su naturaleza.

2.ᵃ Como dice que los padres se nombraban Leon y Cecilia y q.ᵉ eran Judíos, cuando estos nombres son de la ley de gracia, y sus

[Fol. 27v]
padres tenían plena libertad civil y moral en su país y podían usar de los nombres propios de la ley de Moises.

3.ᵃ Como dice en su primera declaración que residió en la ciudad de Malaga seis años si desp.⁵ dice que solos tres, y que tenía en dha ciudad tienda, y desp.⁵ dice que solo vendía en las ferias de día, y de noche se reco-gía en la calle de la Victoria, y en una ta-berna junto a la puerta del Mar en las casas de Cathalina y Maria sin los apellidos, ni señas personales es extraño no espere ni se acuerde de las conexiones, o Parientes que tengan p.ᵃ q.ᵉ le venga en conociom to de la identidad o existencia.

4.ᵃ Que declare el tiempo anual en q.ᵉ ha visto ce-lebrarse feria en al calle de los mercaderes de aquella ciudad, o diga la C.ᵉ que entien-da ser esta, porq.ᵉ si entiende ser la C.ᵉ nueva que esta en frente de la Puerta del Mar, en esta se tiene entendido q.ᵉ no hay feria en todo el año.

5.ᵃ Que exprese si en alguna ciudad o pueblo de España ha sido enpadronada en alguna Iglesia Parroq.₁, o alistada como Vecina p.¹ la Justicia, y donde sea, y en qual año; o si ha ohido misa, y recibido los sacra-mentos de la Penitencia y comunión cre-yendolos interiorm._te o no.
6.ª. Expresará las mercancías en q.ª tenía su tráfico, y si las compraba, p.ª revenderlas, al

[Fol. 28r]
contrasté [?], o al fiado especialm.ª en los nueve meses que anduvo p.ªr varias partes sin su hombre, y diga los sugetos y sus domicilios con qn.ªs trato con este motivo, los que haya tratado y la conozcan con el de andar a las varias ferias y poblaciones de Andalucía que declara, que no es verísimil caminarse sola, y dejase de darse a conocer en q.ª a su Patria y aun su Religión con los varios viajantes o andantes de su clase con q.ªs es forsoso se haya juntado en caminos, o en posadas.

7.ª y final. Que el dho comisionado le haga las demas preguntas oportunas para que se venga en mayor conocimiento de que en verdad es Judia, y desea de veras ser Catholica y q.ª se le hallen personas de nuestra S.ª Religión q. la hayan conocido, y puedan informar de la conducta, opinión, y Religion que haya crehido esta Muger.

[signature; Jun. 23, 1790]

[Fol. 30v, starting in line 27]
[Marginal note:] Inspección Y declaración
En la villa de Consuegra dicho dia mes y año [2ª of August 1790] a consequenzia de el [illegible]

[Fol. 31r]
notificazion anteriores Conpareció en su merzed y de mi el notario la susadha Carlota de quien recivio juramento de fidelidad pº dios N.S. y una Señal de cruz de dezir la verdad en lo que su-
piere y fue preguntada y siendolo p.º
el despacho, comision a la primera
pregunta Responde= que es Ziento que
Esecasel es Ziudad de un Duque pero q.º
este esta sujeto a el enperador de Ale
mania, y que por esta razon dijo ser
de el enperador dha Ziudad y que aun
que save y le consta ay muchos pueblos
inmediatos no save el nombre de algu-
no de ellos

A la Segdn. Preg.ºa dijo que aunque tienen
plena libertad para el uso de su secta
acostunbran a su [undeciphered word] tomar los non
bres de la ley de grazia eszeptuando los
nombres de Manuel, Maria y Juan y
pº. lo dho a sus padres los entendian con-
los nombres de Leon y Cezilia----------------

Preguntada por su Zenor [sic.] dize que la Residen-
zia de los seis años en la ziudad de Malas
ga que dijo en su primera declaracion se
entiende aver acudido seis años a las fe-
rias de dha Ziudad y los tres que dize en
su segunda declaracion es y la entiende
haver estado el que llama su nombre tres
años enfermo en ella asta que murio sin

[Fol. 31v]
el Sagrado Bautismo; esto respondio=
Leiosele su declaracion y dijo no tenia
que adicionar cosa alguna. Ratificose
en ella, no la firma por no saber, lo
hizo su merzed y Yo el notario

[Signatures]

[Fol. 35r]
Yllmo. Señor
Mui s’or mi y de toda mi veneracion: con el mayor cuidado le he hecho diligencia qe V.S.Y. se sirve encargar p’ la comision antecedente y no he podido dar con ninguna de las citas q’ en ella se expresan; en la calle de la victoria no he hallado mas q’ una viuda llamada Cathalina, y esta asegura q’ nunca recogio en tienpo de feria, ni fuera de el en su casa, o portal persona alguna mas q’ una Garvansera conocida suia y vecina de esta Ciu.d en la Calle de la Trinidad; creyendo quivocacion en la expresion de la feria en la cale de mercaderes p’ decir, o dever decir en la calle del Carmen, he buscado en la Puerta del mar la casa taberna, q’ la vivia una muger llamada Maria, viuda, y aunq’ en aq.1 sitio hai varias Tabernas y Bodegas ni en el dia, ni de algunos anos a esta parte me danrason de la tal escanias. [?] En el Hospital R.1 no se puede saber q. do murio el Antonio p’ no descreve qual era su apellido. Por lo q’ devuelvo la comision, p’ q’ si pudiese ser venga con algunas circunstancias mas claras que puedan servir de govierno, p’ averiguar lo q’ V.S.Y. desea saber, pues con unas noticias tan vagas

[Fol. 35v]
nada he podido adelantar.

Nro. G’gue aV.S.Y.[illegible]Ma
Laga 30 de oct. re de 1790.

Yllm. o S.’or
B. L. P. de V.S.Y. su mas
Rend. do Subdito y Capp.

Joseph Fernandez
Maqueda

[Fol. 36r]
M.I.S.

El inq. or Fiscal de este S10. Oficio en las dilig. s practicadas a instancia de la Muger que se nom-
bra Carlota, y q.ª se hally en la villa de consuegra solicitando se le admita al Gremio de N.S.M. la Ygl.ª C.A. R. mediante el Stº Bautismo, y prebia abjurcion de la secta Hebre a en que dice ha nacido la ha profesado, dice: que la recorreccion de de registros echa en este y en los demas tribunales del reyno no ha resultado cosa alguna contra esta preten-cion; y como por las diligencias que se han practicado en la ciudad de Malaga median-te el Sº Oficio de Granada tampoco haya resultado comprobada la existencia que Dha espontanea declara haber echo en las ferias y casas de dha Ciudad, quedan en la misma anterior obscuridad de sus declara-ciones los conocimientos que convendrian tenerse, a saber es que en realidad esta espon-tanea ha sido y es Judia, y que since-ramente desea abjurar esta reproba secta y recibir el S.º Bautismo. La calidad de ser esta Muger baga, y no citar una sola Persona que conteste en su estado civil

[Fol. 36v]

o concepto moral y lo que es mas, ni aun en su existencia fisica despues de tantos anos que ha discurrido por tantos Pue-blos y Provincias del Reyno, son circunstancias que la recomiendan mui poco p.ª q.ª sea crehida en sus declaraciones y en ciertos terminos parece al fiscal por aho- ra que se de comision al Cura Prior de dho Consuegra […] Silvestre Diaz Huerta pºer que ante el Familiar Alg. Maior Dª Fern.do Diaz de Linares y asociado de quatro sa-cerdotes seculares o Regulares los mas autho-rizados y literatos de dha villa de Consuegra examinen de nuevo a dha espontanea haciendole todas las preguntas que les parezcan oportunas p.ª apurar si en reali
dan no ha recibido el S\textsuperscript{to} Bautismo y ha
sido de secta Hebreu y si su conversion es
sincera, y se halla instruida en nuestros
s\textsuperscript{tos} dogmas Catholicos, y les parece perseve-
rara en ntra S.\textsuperscript{ta} Religion Catholica A R.\textsuperscript{na}
y que informen las resultas con el dicta
ten de dhos Cura Prior y quatro sacerdotes,
y venido q. sea se pase al Fiscal p.\textsuperscript{a} decir
lo q. haya lugar. Secreto de Ynq.\textsuperscript{n} de Toledo
Nov.\textsuperscript{e} 13 de 1790

[Fol. 38v]
En la villa de Consuegra Veinitiocho días
de dho mes [noviembre] y año [1790], a virtud de la prezedente
diligencia comparecieron ante su merced y de mi
el notario, los presviteors y Carlota contenidos
en ella; y aviendo sele por todos y cada uno he-
cho las preguntas y repreguntas que se tubieron
por convenientes, a la predha Carlota, confor-
me a lo m[---]cedo prezedido el juramento de
fidelidad que se [--]e tomo, hallaron todos y
cada uno ver a comun parezer zieto el
deseo que tiene de rezivir el Santo Baptismo
y no haverle recivido asta de presente; pero
que en quanto a la Ynstruczion de la doc-
trina Christiana se halla mui tierna, por lo
que si el tribunal estimase por convenien
te expedir su orden, a qualquiera de los Paro
chos de la Villa de Madredejos donde tiene
su domizilio y en este acto preg.\textsuperscript{da} ha ofrezido
permanecer en el para q\textsuperscript{e} se le administre el
S.\textsuperscript{to} Sacramento de el Baptismo, tienen por de ne
zesidad q.\textsuperscript{e} antes de administrarsele se le ecxa
mine bien en la Santa Doctrina; que es quan-
to de comun acuerdo pueden y deven informar
a el S.\textsuperscript{to} tribunal y p.\textsuperscript{a} que conste lo firmaron con
su merced dho señor Juez de que doy fe

[Signatures:
Lic.do D.n Sivestre Diaz Huerta y Roxas
Dn Antonio Jesus Diaz Gallego
Dn Elias Gabriel Aguilar Albarez
Fran.co Garcia de Juan [Ivan?] Perez
Joachin de Cassas y Vida
D.n Fern.do Diaz de Linares y Toledo
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources


Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792
David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisicion de Toledo, legajo 137, expediente 15 (1791-1792): Salomon Bergom (a.k.a. Carlos Bergamo). The text below preserves the lineation of the original

[Cover, front matter]
Toledo (Inquisition of)
Bergom (Salomon)
Later Carlos Bergamo, native of Mantua, Carpenter
Resident of Toledo

Spontaneous Delation
1792-1793

Dossier 137, n.15

[Fol.13r] Presented at the Inquisition of Toledo
December 11 of 1792

Salomon Bergom is my first name and now I call myself Carlos Bergamo, at your service [?]: He declares that, being since birth [of], and reared in the Law of the Old Testament, and that for some years has had the true desire to embrace the law of Jesus Christ, But experienced for months [?] some doubts which prevented me from following it. And now he has them convinced [sic.] he begs of you in surrender that you be so kind as to give an order of summons so that I am baptized [?] and received [?]
in the bosom of the Holy Church,  
a grace which he hopes to receive from  
Your Lordship’s mercy  
Toledo, 1792, 9th of December  
At your service [?]

Salamon Bergom  
Native of Mantua  
In Italy

[Fol. 15r] Presented on December 19, 1792

At the Holy Office of the Inquisition of the city of  
Toledo, eighteen days of the month of December  
of one thousand seven hundred and ninety two,  
During the morning hearing of the Inquisitor, Licenciado  
Don Francisco Xavier Ersua (who attends alone), the  
gatekeeper of the Chamber and dais [?] of the Holy Office  
entered and made it known that in the superintendence of the  
Tribunal there was a man who was asking for  
a hearing; and the latter having been ordered inside,  
the Inquisitor received his formal oath  
to tell the truth as to everything  
he knew, may be asked about, and  
may be discussed with him.

  Asked what he calls himself, of what place he is  
a native, what his age and occupation are, who  
his parents are or were, and where  
they reside or died, and what religion they  
professed,

  He said: That he calls himself Salomon

[Fol. 15v] Bergom, a native of the city of Mantua in  
Lombardy of Italy; forty-five years of age more or less;  
a carpenter and maker of pumps by trade; that his father  
was called Abraham Bergom, and his mother Nicol  
—he does not know her last name; that they resided  
in the city of Mantua; that he has heard that his father  
has died; he does not know about his mother;  
and that he thinks they professed the Mosaic religion,
in which they reared him until the age of
nine years, at which he fled from his home
in the company of a Genevan Knight called Don Pedro
—he does not know his last name—
with whom he proceeded to Vienna and other parts of this [sic.]
Empire, and he was in his company for a span of
five years, from where he proceeded to Milan, where
he was about three or four years
learning a trade; from there to Rome,
where he was for three years, more or less;
from Rome he proceeded to Florentin de Campaña [Saint-Florentin,
Champagne?]
in which city he was for about two years.
From Florentin, he returned to Milan, where
He stayed about a year and one half; from Milan
he proceeded to Turin, where he remained
about a year and one half; from Turin he returned to

[Fol. 16r] Vienna, and was there one year; from Vienna he proceeded
to Parma, where he remained about a year and a half;
from Parma he came to Marseille
in France, and from Marseille he proceeded to Languedoc,
first the city and second the
seaport, also in France, in whose towns
he was for about a year and a half; that from
Languedoc he came to the Court of Madrid, where [sic.]
and Royal places of La Granja and the
Escorial, [where he was] about four years; that from
the Court he proceeded to the Realm
of Galicia, where he was about ten
years in the cities of Santiago,
Coruña and Lugo; that afterward he went to the Realm
of Portugal, where he spent about a year
in the cities of Oporto and Lisboa; that
from there he returned to Madrid, where he was
for about four years, and he came to this city
of Toledo the Day of Santiago the Elder
of the present year.

    Asked if he is a baptized Christian, who
baptized him, where, with what substance [?]
and how, if godparents attended, 
and who they were, and if the manner used

[Fol. 16v] in his baptism by the Minister is the same 
in which baptism is customarily performed in that country. 
He said that he is not a baptized Christian 
because his parents reared him, as he has 
said, in the Law of Moses, in which he has 
remained until now. 
Asked what he has believed in the 
religion he has followed; and whether in the country in which 
he was reared the same is taught and followed, 
or different ones, and which ones. 
He said: That he believed in the Ten Commandments 
as is taught in the Law of Moses, which is the one he had 
followed and held until the present day. 
And that in that country the Christian religion is followed, 
Except in the neighborhood of Elpuet [?] in 
the above-cited city of Mantua, in which 
that of Moses is followed, and they are circumcized according 
to it, as the declarant is as well. 
Asked (since he has declared that he has been 
reared, and until now has followed the law of 
Moses) to state which is the one he wishes to 
follow henceforth, and in which he wishes to live 
and die. 
He said: That he wishes to embrace, follow, 
and die in the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion 
Asked what cause or

[Fol. 17r] motive he has and has had for wishing to separate 
himself from the law of Moses and its errors, which 
he has held and followed until now, and for wishing to follow 
and profess the Holy Catholic Faith of Our Holy 
Mother, the Roman Church. 
He said: That the motive he has had is 
that having heard in some conversations 
of learned men that although Jesus Christ 
could redeem the entire world 
with a single drop of blood, He wished, because of His infinite kindness
to suffer many travails in His life, 
passion and death for all humankind, 
in order to provide the greater example and benefit to all of it; 
and because he has considered many times that the 
religion of Moses is abhorred everywhere; 
and that for those reasons he has believed what 
the Catholic religion teaches, which is that God 
made himself a man in the most pure entrails of 
Mary Most Holy, was born and suffered 
death and passion in order to redeem humankind, which 
He was able to do owing to his omnipotence; and that 
therefore he wishes to detest, and he detests, 
the error of the Jews, who do not even [illeg.] 
the true Messiah to have come, who 
is Jesus Christ, true God and man.

[Fol. 17v] And that he detests any of [illegible] errors of said 
sect, as a consequence of Jews’ not believing that the true 
Messiah has come to redeem humankind.

  Asked if at some time he followed and 
professed our Holy Roman Catholic Faith and religion, and 
later apostatized from it, [and if so] 
what reason he had for apostatizing, and how 
long he held said errors, and if at any 
time he has been instructed in our Holy 
Catholic Faith and Roman religion by any 
person, and who was it who explained and 
taught the misteries and other articles of our 
holy faith.

  He said: That at no time has he followed, 
neither professed our Holy Roman Catholic Faith; 
and that therefore he has not apostatized from it, 
and his entire life he has held and followed the 
Law of the Jews; and that he has not been 
instructed by any person in particular in 
Our Holy Faith and Catholic religion, and that 
only a few private conversations, 
and sermons he has heard have given him 
some light and instruction for knowing
[Fol. 18r] the truth of Our Holy Roman Catholic Faith and the falsity of that of the Jews; and that in order to avoid making it known that he professed the law of the Jews, he has endeavored to hide his profession of it, especially at the time of the fulfillment of Easter [or: the fulfillment of holidays], during which he bought a certificate of fulfillment, or changed his residence and parish.

Asked if he knows some persons resident in Spain who know and profess the said errors, or similar ones, contrary to our Catholic Faith, who are not of the Realms and nations to which it is permitted, for reasons of commerce, and with certain commissions, to reside in Spain; or if he knows that some, or some of those who are permitted in these realms have not kept the agreements and conditions under which their residence is permitted, and caused with their words or deeds some scandal to the loyal Roman Catholics.

He said: that he does not know that any person who resides in these Spanish realms follows or professes the law of the Jews and its errors, neither other [errors] similar to them and

[Fol. 18v] opposed to our Holy Faith and that neither does he have any information that they have quarreled [?] and scandalized loyal Roman Catholics with their words and deeds.

Asked what cause he has for saying and asserting that he has been circumcised and not baptized.

He said: that since he was born to Hebrew parents in whose company he lived until the age of nine years, and they do not baptize themselves, neither do they baptize their children, hence he can assure that he is not baptized, and because after coming out [from under] the authority of his parents he has not had himself baptized either; and to confirm this he says that he has heard his parents say many times that he was
circumcised only. And having had this declaration read to him, which he has made in the presence of said Holy Inquisitor,
    he said: that it was well written according to what he had declared; and that he must only add that since he had come to Spain and resided in the Court of Madrid he worked there with Don Joseph Lopez, ebony-carpenter [or: fine wood carpenter] of the King Our Lord, who lives in the Calle del Horno de la Mata; and that in the ten years that

[Fol. 19r] he resided in Galicia, as he has said, he worked for most of that time on account [= as a freelancer, journeyman] and that he does not remember the people on whose account he worked for a brief time; and that since he came to this city he has worked in the houses of Bernardo Alvarez, who lives in the Plazuela de la Ropería Vieja, and in that of Yetro Cat, a Frenchman by nation, who lives in the Calle de la Obra Prima. Both [men] are ebony-carpenters and carpenters; and that that is the truth, under the oath he has taken, and which he affirms and ratifies. And he signed it in his hand, which I, the Inquisitorial [?] secretary certify.

[Signatures]
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Abbrázare la lei de Gesu Cristo
Pero che mese traversava unas
Dudias che me impidia a la esegue
E Aora che las tiene convencido
Supp. Rendidamente, US: che se
Dine a dar—ordine conparente
Perche mese Batica e Ricicur
Innel gremio della Santa Eglésia
Gracia che spera di Ricivir de la
Pieta de US
Toledo 1792 a 9.10—ebre
ApD us

Salamon Bergom
natural de mantuua
in italia

[Fol. 15r]
Present. da en 19 de dic. re de 1792 + Por present. da y pone
Con sus antec. al s. Fisc. 1

En el s. Oficio de la Ynq. de la Ciu. de Toledo diez y ocho días del mes de Diciembre de mil setecientos noventa y dos, estando en su auda de la mañana el S. Fr. Ynquisidor Lic. D. Fran. co Xavier Ersua (q. asiste solo) entro el portero de camara y estraos [?] de dho S. Ofic. e hizo presente q. en la Porteria de tribun. había un hombre q. pedía Audiencia; y haviendo sido mandado entrar dho. señor Ynq. le recivo Juramento en forma de decir verdad en todo lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado, y con el se tratare

Preguntado como se llama, de donde es natural, que edad y oficio tiene, quienes son sus padres o quienes fueron, y donde residen, o murieron, y que Religion pro-
Dixo: Que se llama Salomon Ber-

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Bergom, nat. de la ciudad de Mantua en la Lombardía de Italia de cuarenta y cinco años de edad poco más o menos, oficio carpintero hacer bombas; que su Padre se llamó Abraam Bergom; y su Madre Nicol ignora su apellido, que residieron en la dicha ciudad de Mantua, que el dicho Padre ha oído decir ha muerto, su madre lo ignora: Y que le parece profesaron la religión Mosayca, en la que le criaron hasta la edad de nueve años en la que se huyó de su casa en la compañía de un caballero Ginebrigino llamado D. Pedro ignora su Apellido, con quien pasó a Viena y otras partes de este Imperio, y estuvo en su compañía espacio de cinco años desde donde pasó a Milán en donde estuvo tres o cuatro años aprendiendo oficio, de allí a Roma en donde estuvo tres años poco más o menos, desde Roma pasó a Florentín de campaña, en cuya ciudad estuvo como unos dos años. desde Florentín bolrió a Milán en donde estuvo como año y medio, de Milán paso a Turín en donde permaneció como año y medio, de Turín bolrió a

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Biena y estuvo un año; desde Biena pasó a Parma donde permaneció como año y medio; desde Parma bino a Marsella en Francia, y de Marsella pasó a Languedoc; el primero Ciu. y segundo Puerto de Mar tanb. en Francia en cuyos Pueblos estuvo como año y medio; que de Languedoc bino a la Corte de Madrid, en donde y sitios R. de la Granja, y Es-
corial estuvo como quatro años; que de dha corte y sitios, paso al R.\no de Galicia en donde estuvo como unos diez años en las ciudades de Santiago, Coruña y Lugo; que despues paso al R.\no de Portugal en donde paso como un año en las ciudades de Oporto, y Lisboa, q\e de aqui bolbio a Madrid e donde estuvo como quatro años, y bino a esta ciudad de Toledo el dia Santiago el Mayor de este presente año.

Preg.\do si es christiano bautizado, q.\n Le bautizo, en q\es lugar, con q.\e Materia, Y en q\e forma; si asistieron Padrinos, Y q.\nes fueron; y si la forma de q.\e en su

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bautismo usó el Ministro es la misma con q.\e a costumbran Bautizar en aq.\l pais.

Dixo que no es Chrsitiano bautizado porq.\e sus padres le criaron como lleba dicho en la ley de Moyses en la q.\l se ha man tenido hasta de presente.

Preg.\do que es loq.\e ha creido en la Relig.\n q.\e ha seguido; y si en aquel Pais enq\e se crio se enseña o sigue la misma, o diferente y quales.

Dixo: Que creyo los diez Mandamientos como se enseña en la de Moyses q.\e es la q.\e via seguido y tenido hasta de presente; Yq.\e en aquel pais se sigue la Religion Christiana excepto en el barrio de Elpuet [?] en la sobredhia ciu.\d de Mantua, q\e se sigue la de Moses q\e es la q\e ha seguido y tenido hasta de presente; y q.\e en aquel Pais se sigue la Religion Christiana, excepto en el Barrio de Elpuet [?] en la sobredhia ciu.\d de Mantua, q\e se sigue la de Moyses, y se circuncidan segun ella como lo esta tamb.\n el declarante.
Preg. do (que supuesto lleba dho q. e ha sido Criado, y hasta de presente ha seguido la ley De Moyses) exprese qual es la q. e quiere seguir en lo subsesivo y en la q. e quiere vivir Y morir.
Dixo: Que quiere abrazar, seguir, y morir en la Religion catholica, Apostolica Romana

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Motibo tiene y ha tenido p. a querer apartarse de la Ley de Moyses y sus herrores q. e hasta aqui ha tenido y seguido, y querer seguir y profesar la S. Ia Fe catholica de Nra. S. Ia Madre la Yglesia Romana.
Dixo: que el motibo q. e ha tenido es Porq. e haviendo oído en algunas conversaciones de hombres instruidos q. e aunq. e Jusuchristo pudo con una sola gota de sangre redimir a todo el Mundo, quiso p r su ynfinita bondad padecer muchos trabajos en su vida, pasion y muerte p. a todo el genero humano p a el mayor exemplo y probecho de todo el, y porq ha considerado barias beces, q. e en Religion de Moyses esta aborrecida en todas partes, Y q. e con estas razonas ha creido lo q. e enseña la Religion Catholica q. e es q. e Dios se hizo hombre en las purissimas entrañas de Maria Santissima, nacio y padecio muerte y Pasion p r redimir al genero humano; lo q. e pudo hacer e hizo p. r su omnipotencia; y q. e asi quiere detestar y detesta el herror de los Judios, q. e niep[illegible] ven venido el verdadero Mesias. q. e es Jesuchristo; Dios y hombre verdadero.

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Y q. e destesta qualquiera [illegible]os errores de dha Secta, como consiguiente al de no creer los Judios q. e haya venido el Mesias
verdadero a redimir el genero humano.

Preg. si en algun tiempo y qual siguió, y profeso Nra S.ta Fe y Religión Catholica Romana; y despues apostato de ella, que motibo tuvo p' apostatar; y qunto tiempo tuvo los dhos herrores; y si en algun tiempo ha sido instruido en nra S.ta fe Catholic y Religion Romana p' alguna persona, y quien fue el q' le explico y enseñó los Misterios, y articus de nra S.ta Fe.

Dixo: Que en ningun tiempo ha seguido, ni profesado nra S.ta Fe Catholic Romana; y q' tanto no ha apostatado de ella, y toda su vida ha tenido y seguido la Ley de los Judios: Y q' no ha sido instruido p' persona alguna particularmente en nra S.ta Fe y Religion Catholic, y q' solamente algunos conversaciones particulares, y sermones q' ha oido le han dado alguna luz e instrucc. on p' conocer

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la verdad de nra S.ta fe catholica Romana y la falsedad de la de los Judios; y q' no ser conocido de q' profesaba la dha ley de los Judios, ha procurado ocultar su profesion especialmente en el tiempo del cumplim. to Pasqual, en el q' o compraba la cedula de haver cumplido, o se mudaba de Posada, y Parroq.

Preg. si save q. algunas Personas residentes en España sepan, y profesen los dichos errores, u otros semejantes a ellos, y opuestos a nra. Fe Catholica, no siendo de aquellos Reynos, y Naciones, a quienes esta permitido p' causa del comercio, y con ciertas comisiones el residir en España; o si save q' algunos,
o algunos de estos q.e estan permitidos en
estos Reynos haya faltado a los pactos
y condiciones conq.e se les permite su resi-
dencia, y causado con sus dhos o hechos
algun escandalo a los fieles Catholi-
cos Romanos.

Dixo: que no save q.e alguna
persona resid.íe en estos Reynos de España
siga, ni profese la ley de los Judios y sus
errores, ni otros semejantes a ellos y opues-

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opuestos a nra S.ta Fe y q.e tampoco tiene
noticia de q.e hayan reñido y dado escanda
lo los fieles catholicos Romanos con sus
dichos y hechos.

Preg. do que motibo tiene p.a decir y ase-
Verar q.e ha sido circuncdado =, y no bauti-
Zado.

Dixo: que como nacio de padres He-
breos en cuya compañia vibio hasta la
edad de nuebe años, y estos no se bautizan
ni bautizan a sus hijos así puede ase-
gurar q.e no esta bautizado; y porq.e des-
pues q.e salio de la potestad de sus Padres
tampoco se ha bautizado; y en confir-
macion de lo referido dice q.e oyo decir
a sus padres varias veces q.e estaba cir-
cuncidado solam.íe Y haviendoosele leydo
esta su declaracion q.e tiene hecha en pre-
sencia del dho S.to Ynquisidor.

Dixo: q.e estaba bien escrito segun
El lo havia declarado ; y q.e solo tiene q. aña-
Dir q.e desde q.e bino a España y residio
En la Corte de Madrid travaxo en ella
con D.n Joseph Lopez evanista del Rey
nro. Señor, q.e vibe en la calle del Horno
de la Mata; y q.e en los diez años q.e

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residio en Galicia como lleba dicho lo mas del tiempo travaxo p.ª la cuenta, y q.ª no se acuerda de los sujetos p.ª cuya cuenta travaxo algun poco de tiempo; y q.ª desde q.ª vino a esta ciud.ª ha trabajado en las casas de Bern.ª Albarez, q.ª vibe a la Plazuela de la Roperia vieja; y en la de Yetro Cat de Nacion Frances, q.ª vibe en la calle de la obra prima, y ambos evanistas y Carpinteros; y que asi es la verdad bajo juram.ª q.ª tiene fho. En q.ª se afirma y ratifica, y lo firme de su puño de q.ª yo el yn[illegible]ito secretario certifico

[Signatures: Salamon Bergom
D.ª D.ª Mn.l de Quevedo (Guevara?) Bustam.ª]