The Jews in a Polish Private Town
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INTRODUCTION


2. In using the term magnate-aristocrats, I am trying, as the Yiddish expression has it, "to dance at two weddings." The imprecise but widespread use of the term magnate in Polish historiography has been criticized by Andrzej Kamiński, who suggests the term aristocrat is best used to denote the small, elite group of powerful families in Poland-Lithuania. See Kamiński, "Szlachta."


4. I prefer the term Council of the Lands, because the number of lands fluctuated so much, numbering three or four in the sixteenth century, and more than twenty in the eighteenth century. Halpern, Yehudim, p. 46.

5. For a survey of the historical literature, see Hundert and Bacon, Jews in Poland.


7. Eliyahu ben Yechezkel, She'elot u-teshuvot, "Even ha-ezer," qu. 4, p. 3b.


10. See Dinur, Be-mifneh ha-dorot, p. 108.


12. There were a few exceptions. See Bogucka and Samsonowicz, Dzieje, p. 395.


15. Arch. Sang.; Akty Sang.; ADO.

CHAPTER 1
NUMBERS

6. Arch. Sk., oddział 1, ms. 67, pp. 53v, 54v; Arch. Sang., 170, 344.
7. The initial legislation exempted Jews under eight years old, but subsequently, the formula was changed to exempt children under ten and the poor supported by charity. Volumina Legum, vol. 4, p. 400, vol. 5, p. 314.
9. The figure for Jews in Pińczów in 1676 was 429, more than twice as many as were listed for Opatów. Arch. Sk., Oddział 1, ms. 67, pp. 255v, 474v; Bib. Cz., 1099, p. 305. Why did the figures for Jews not fall off as sharply as those for Christians? The figures for the Sandomierz województwo as a whole show a diminution of about 46 percent in general but only a 21 percent loss for Jews. The diminution in the number of Jews in Opatów was 21.4 percent. Guldon, "Ludność," p. 23.
11. ADO, 1/14, 1/58, 1/66.
13. Neubauer. The author identified himself as a judge (dayyan) from Opatów and wrote, in his introduction, "ki nish'arti levadi mi-kol... ha-golim mi-mdinat Polin." The manuscript can be dated about 1700. Compare Sokolow, "Haqirot," p. 41. Also see Gierowski, "From Radoszkowice"; and New Cambridge Modern History, p. 698.
15. In the eight main streets of the town, the loss from 1618 was about one-third.
For the clerical district in 1618, fifty-two houses were listed. If the same pattern applied, therefore, there would have been about thirty-five houses in the clerical districts in the early eighteenth century.

16. The figures were computed as follows: for the Christians, $3.5 \times 190$, and for the Jews, $108 \times 1.8 \times 4.4$, or $187 \times 4.4$, plus 15 percent for underreporting. The Christian municipality complained in 1721 that there were often fifteen Jews in a house. Akty Sang., 163/4.


18. "Opisanie Osiadłości Żydów w mieście Opatowie." ADO, I/110. There was also a Hebrew tax roll (sekhum, or sympla) prepared in that year, listing 371 taxpayers and dated 1 Iyyar, 5515.

19. Mahler, Yidn, vol. 2, tables 43 and 66. This was an average of 3.25 families, or 14.3 people per house. A 1769 inventory showed 155 Jewish houses and 194 Christian houses in Pińczów. R. Guldon, Inventarz, p. 42.


21. ADO, I/114.

22. ADO, I/102.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Three people described as deceased on that list were active in 1764–65: Szaia Futernik, Jakob Kurnik, and Alexander Lubelski. ADO, I/88.

26. Both sources indicate that 359 Jewish "heads" lived in the villages surrounding Opatów.

27. ADO, I/91.


29. ADO, I/79; I/102. See chapter 8 for descriptions of the town owner’s attempts to expel the poor from the town.

30. ADO, I/102.

31. As follows: $485 + 20\% \times 4.4$.


33. Eliyahu ben Yehezqel, She’elot u-teshuvot, "Even ha-ezer," qu. 4, p. 3b.

34. Max Weinreich suggested that the Yiddish pronunciation of the name of the town, with the stress receding toward the beginning of the word, reflected older Polish patterns of pronunciation. Weinreich, History, pp. 570–71.

35. Eliyahu ben Yehezqel, She’elot -teshuvot, p. 3b.

36. Landau, She’elot, vol. 1, qu. 15, p. 5a.

37. The order demanding the collection of the capitation tax in 1766–67 directed that registers be prepared listing all householders but excluding teachers and the poor supported by charity: "nie wciągając pomiędzy nich bakałarzów y z jałmużny żyjących." Halpern, Pingas, no. 83, p. lxxxv.


41. ADO, I/69.
42. Kartoteka materiałów, s.v. "Opatów"—plebanin 17, chałupy bez ogrodów 5, razem 22; "Dziekańskie"—chałupy od gospodarzy 15, chałupy razem 8, razem 22; "Kantorskie" (młyn-1)—chałupy od gospodarzy 18, chałupy rzem. 7, razem 25.

43. It is reported that an Austrian list of the town's population indicates that 56 percent was Jewish. Kulczykowski and Frańcic, Kraków, p. 139.

44. A capitation tax list of 1791 lists 299 names. ADO, II/123.

45. ADO, II/102.

46. ADO, II/123.

47. ADO, II/71; Kartoteka materiałów, s.v. "Opactów."

48. ADO, II/123.


50. The number of entries for the most frequently listed towns is as follows: Lublin, 169; Kraków, 124; Opatów, 73; Pińczów, 70; Siemiatycze, 42; Koniecpol, 41; Przedbórz, 38; Wodzisław, 31; Szczecocin, 31; Lubartów, 30. Ibid. The prominence of Jews for Opatów in Warsaw was evident to contemporaries. See, for example, Eisenbach et al., Materialy, p. 51.

CHAPTER 2

THE TOWN AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

BEFORE 1700


2. Chlebowski et al., Słownik, p. 545; Kodeks, p. 1088. The same Leszko Czarny granted a privilege of location to Sandomierz in 1286. Buliński, Monografia, pp. 32–33.


4. Trawicka, Sejmik, p. 16.


6. Among the offices held by Szydlowiecki: kaszcelan sandomierski, 1509; podkanclerz koronny, 1511; kanclerz wielki koronny, 1515; wojewoda, starosta kراكowski, 1515; kasztelan krakowski, 1527. See Krzysztofowski, Kanclerz; Trojan, Dzieje, pp. 8, 17–18; Wiśniewski, Dekanat, p. 279.


8. See the relevant volumes of the Polski słownik biograficzny; Tarnawski, Działalności, pp. 34–35, 273. In Kiryk, Opatów, p. 25, there is some confusion about the sequence of owners. Zbiór dokumentów. For a transcription of the privilege, see appendix 1.

9. Władysław Dominik Ostrogski (died 1656); Aleksander Janusz Ostrogski (died 1682); Teofila Ludwika Ostrog ska (died 1709); Teofila’s first husband was Dymitr Jerzy Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1631–82), and her second husband was Józef Karol Lubomirski (died 1702). See Zbiór dokumentów; ADO, I/4, I/6, I/33, I/63.

10. Trojan, Dzieje, p. 6.

12. See Ben-Sasson, "Meqomah," pp. 14–16. To be sure, there were exceptions. See, for example, E. Horn, "Położenie," p. 17.


16. Zbiór dokumentów. Some years ago, I wrote that this privilege had been "lost during the Second World War." Hundert, "Jews in Polish Private Towns," p. xxv. Obviously, I was mistaken. The full text of the privilege is provided in appendix 1. For an extended discussion of general issues related to privileges given to individual communities, see Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges*, pp. 1–52.


19. Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges*, pp. 86, 132, 301, 321–29; these communities were Kowal, 1578; Sluck, 1601; Dobromil, 1612; and Swarzędz, 1621. For twelve further instances, see Hundert, "Role of the Jews," p. 251.


29. Ya'akov ben Eliaqim Heilpron was addressed in this way by Me'ir Lublin. See Lublin, *Se'elot*, qu. 15, p. 117.


31. Both terms were found frequently in other privileges. See Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges*, s.v. "sądy."

32. Compare the attempt by the kahal of Żółkiew in 1622 to gain jurisdiction over a case in which there was a Christian plaintiff. Buber, *Qirya nisgavah*, p. 82.


34. This central issue is taken up also by Rosman, in *Lords' Jews*. The decisions of the municipal courts also could be appealed to those of the town owner. Trojan, *Dzieje*, p. 25.


38. Hundert, "Role of the Jews"; p. 254, n 18, for a list.
39. As an example: in 1599, the Jews in Rzeszów were limited to seven houses. Błonski, Pięć wieków, pp. 97, 99; Przyboś, Akta radzieckie, p. xxxiv.
40. Pawiński, Polska, vol. 3, p. 204. See also the szos assessment for 1613, which had similar figures but which did not refer to Jews. ADO, I/71. For Opatów merchants in Gdańsk, see Kutrzeba and Duda, Regesta. pp. 39, 53, 61, 62, 80, 116, 122, 140, 152, 182, 220, 497, 590.
41. Wiśniewski, Dekanat, p. 307.
42. Fudalewski, Miasto Opatów, p. 15; ADO, I/14.
43. Fudalewski, Miasto Opatów, p. 22.
44. Trawicka, Sejmik, p. 17.
46. Arch. Pod.
47. ADO, I/71.
49. RCS, 112, p. 444.
50. RCS, 114, p. 823.
51. RCS, 112, p. 444.
54. Obuchowska-Pysiowa, Handel, table 16.
55. Of the twenty-five most active exporters of hides, fourteen were Jews, including eight from Sandomierz and one from Pińczów. Of the thirteen exporters of wax, twelve were Jews. Of the seventeen dealers in cloth, twelve were Jews. Ibid., pp. 84, 141. For further comments on these data and on the role of Jewish merchants in commerce in Gdańsk, see Hundert, "Kivunei," pp. 227–29.
56. Małecki, Związki, p. 53.
57. He imported mainly textiles and Spanish saffron. Arch. Sk., oddział 3, ms. 5, pp. 525, 526.
58. Luḥ shel shenat tav (5400).
59. RCS, 112, p. 444.
60. "Arendarzom naszym Oparowskim," ADO, I/63 (1617); "arendarzów opatowskich," ADO, I/71 (1615); "Żydom, arendarzom naszym opatowskim," Wiśniewski, Dekanat, p. 121 (1613). In 1620, Jojna Jachimowicz of Opaców held an arenda for several villages near Lublin. Horn, Żydzi, pp. 231–32.
62. ADO, I/6.
63. They signed, in Hebrew: "Yiḥaq b. m. h. r. r. Avraham and Mordekhai Barukhs mi-Lublin." ADO, I/63.
64. ADO, I/6, I/33; Wiśniewski, Dekanat, p. 121.
65. Bastrzykowski, Kolegiata, p. 88; Guldon and Krzystanek, "Instruktarz," p. 174. The "constitution" of 1595 of the Cracow kahal forbade Jews to enter the city of
Notes to Pages 25–28

Cracow on Sundays or on Christian holy days. Balaban, “Die Krakauer,” vol. 10, p. 325. In Rzeszów, in 1627, Jews were forbidden to open their shops on Christian holy days. Błoński, Pięć wieków, p. 99. On the other hand, in Dubno in 1699, Jews were permitted by the town owner to open their shops on Sundays and minor holidays. Regesty i nadpisi, vol. 2, p. 372. On the host desecration charge and subsequent riot in Sandomierz in 1639, see Guldon and Krzystanek, “Żydzi i Szkoci,” pp. 531–33.

66. There were trials of this sort in 1630 in Sandomierz and in Przemysł, in 1631 and 1635 in Cracow, in 1636 in Lublin and Uhnow, and in 1639 in Łęczycza. M. Horn, Żydzi, pp. 109, 162; Bernfeld, Sefer, pp. 19ff.; Balaban, Historja Żydow, vol. 1, pp. 180, 181; idem, Die Judenstadt, p. 34.

67. Radziwiłł, Pamiętnik, p. 236.


69. Ş. Horowitz, Le-toledot, pp. 31–32; Lublin, She’elot, qu. 15, p. 11.


71. Yosef ben Mordekhai, Sefer shë’erit yosef, qu. 60.

72. The question was whether a young man, captured by Muslims (Tatars?) after he visited a Muslim prostitute and threatened with execution or forced conversion, must be redeemed by the community and, if so, whether the amount paid may exceed the value of the young man’s worldly goods. Lublin, She’elot, qu. 15.

73. Halpern, Pinqas, no. 41, p. 15.


75. Ya’aqov Qopelman, Omeq balakha; Delakrut, Siddushe balakhot; Shapira, Bë’er.

76. Moshe ben Avraham, Solet neqiah; idem, Sefer mateh moshe (Cracow, 1599); idem, Ho’il moshe (Prague, 1612); idem, Hanbagat. See Ş. Horowitz, Le-toledot, pp. 32–33; Slonik, She’elot, qu. 46. Compare Shulman, Authority and Community; pp. 136, 217.

77. Ş. Horowitz, Le-toledot, p. 33; She’elot u-teshuvot ha-gê’onim, qu. 39.


80. Yehuda-Leib ben Moshe, Ziz ibadai; Mordekhai Merkél Mora de-kö; Heilperin, Ahavat šiyon; Gottleib, Ahavat ha-shem; Shulhan arukh; Ya’aqov ben Yišaḥaq, Petrush al ha-massorah (in the 2d ed., the approbation was dated, 1649); Tukhfirer, Nahlat šeyi. Compare Halpern, Pinqas.

81. Dembitzer, Kelilat yofi, pt. 2, 8v, 19v–20r.

82. See, in general, Polska w okresie; Czapliński, O Polsce: Smoleński, Przewrot.

83. See Kersten, Stefan Czarniecki; Wimmer, Wojsko.

84. Shatzky et al., Gezeres takhb; Halpern, Yehudim, pp. 212–76, and the sources cited there. See also Kowalska, Ukraina.

85. Halpern, Pinqas, no. 207, p. 78. Why were only “males from age eighteen and females from age fifteen” obliged to fast? See also Shmeruk, “Gezerot.”

86. Katz, “Bein tatnu.”

87. First published in Venice in the seventeenth century, the work was reprinted twice in Gurland, Le-qorot: vol. 5–6, pp. 9–16; vol. 7, pp. 17–28. The text is clearly corrupt, and when Bernfeld recopied it yet again in his Sefer ha-demâ’ot, pp. 141–57,
"he added further confusions and omissions." Halpern, *Yehudim*, p. 213, n8. It is ironic that, just before the Swedish invasion, a portion of the Jews' capitation tax, which was paid to various army units, was paid "na dragonia Stefana Czarnieckiego." Halpern, *Pingas*, no. 15, p. xii.


89. Is this also the explanation for the fact that Lewin's article, cited above, is the only general treatment of the subject in Jewish historiography? As Halpern remarked in 1952, research in Swedish military and other archives would probably add much to knowledge of the fate of the Jews in Poland during the potop. Halpern, *Yehudim*, p. 268, n7. Kersten, *Stefan Czarniecki*, did utilize Swedish materials, but he did not mention Jews.


92. Ibid., "którzy im we wszystkich okazjach do rabowania dworów i kościołów nie tylko pomocnikami ale i motorami byli," p. 87; see also ibid., p. 89. The notion that Jews were likely to be spies and in league with an enemy had a long pedigree in Europe by the seventeenth century. In Poland, the notion appeared during the century before the Swedish invasion and persisted afterward. See for example, Podgórski, *Pomniki*, p. 112 (1646); Grabowski, *Ojczyzne*, vol. 2, p. 247 (1673); Bib. Oss., ms. III/486, pp. 111–11v.


94. Kandel, "Rzeź Żydów." Halpern was undoubtedly correct in emending the date presented by Kandel, reading 5416 instead of 5415, that is, April 1656 instead of April 1655. *Yehudim*, p. 269.

95. Gurland, *Le-qorot*, vol. 7, p. 27. Bernfeld, for some reason, read this sentence, "And almost all were killed in their house of prayer." *Sefer*, p. 156. See also L. Lewin, "Die Judenverfolgungen," p. 93.


103. The sejmik met at Ptkań in September of that year. Trawicka, Sejmik, p. 18.


105. Oprawko and Schuster, Lustracja województwa sandomierskiego, passim. In Zwolen, the number of houses was reduced by almost two-thirds between 1629 and 1661. Szczygiel, "Dzieje miasta," pp. 72, 75.

106. ADO, I/35.

107. Ibid.; Arch. Pod.

108. The date of the entry was 28 Ellul, 5422 (September 12, 1662). Sokolow, "Haqirot," p. 41.


111. The extent to which this phenomenon may be correlated with the rise of the hofjuden in central Europe awaits systematic investigation. For now, see Schipper, Dzieje, pp. 174, 185–90, and the sources cited there, as well as, Israel, European Jewry.

112. Manikowski attributed the monochromatic picture of the period in Polish historiography not to the lack of sources but to the a priori assumptions of historians, "Zmiany," p. 774.

113. Perhaps this is the place to say that I found no reference to Shabbetai Tsevi or the Sabbatarian movement in the few sources related to Opatów during the 1660s and 1670s.


119. Balaban, "Ustrój kahału."

120. The korobka rates of 1665 were tallow, 1 kamień, 5 tyńf; soap, 1 wór, 6 groszy, 1 tyńf; wax, 1 kamień, 2 groszy, 1 szeląg; cloth, per zloty profit, 2 groszy, 2 szelągi; wine, 1 beczek, 2 złotie; mead, 1 beczek, 6 groszy, 2 szelągi; vodka, 2 garnie, 5 szelągi; anise, 1 kamień, 5 szelągi; cows, each, 4 groszy; bulls, each, 8 groszy; calves and lambs, each, 1 groszy; salted fish, 1 beczek, 50 groszy; herring, 1 beczek, 15 groszy; oats, 1 korec, 1 szelągi; wheat (ground), 1 korec, 5 szelągi; salt, 1 beczek, 5 groszy; artisans, per zloty profit, 6 szelągi; arendars, per 100 złotie czynsz, 12.5 groszy; any good purchased, per 100 złotie, 20 groszy; any good exchanged, per 100 złotie, 10 groszy; purchase in one place and sale in another, per 100 złotie, 20 groszy; purchase and sale in the same place, per 100 złotie, 10 groszy; oxhides, each, 1 grosz; cowhides, each, 2 szelągi; sheepskins, each, 1 szeląg; calf, lamb, or goat hides, each, 1 tyńf.
122. Š. Horowitz, Le-toledot, pp. 41–47; Bałaban, Historja Żydów," vol. 1, p. 262; Halpern, Pirqas, no. 268, p. 110; no. 270, p. 112.
124. Freudenthal, Leipziger, p. 171.
125. For more on the Landau family, see chapter 7. The Heilperin family also had a representative in Opatów before the end of the seventeenth century. He was Avrahah ben Binyamin Wolf, whose father and grandfather were leaders of the Council of the Lands. Eisenstadt and Weiner, Da’at qedahim, pp. 57–61; Halpern, Pirqas, s.v. Avraham ben Eli'ezer Lipman Heilperin, Binyamin Wolf R. Avrahams. About 1712, Me‘ir ben Binyamin Wolf Heilperin became rabbi of Opatów.
127. Zbiór dokumentów.
128. On Mendel’s death, financial documents relating both to the community and to the galil were found among his papers. ADO, I/108.
130. Qonqi is quoted in Ya‘ari, Shelu‘ei, p. 476. The identification of Mendel (Horowitz, Le-toledot, p. 18) seems doubtful.
131. ADO, I/108.
133. ADO, I/72; Arch. Sang., 378. There was also an effort to streamline and reduce the number of guilds. For example, the cooperers, joiners, harness makers, turners, glaziers, saddlers, and purse makers (miechownicy) were all to be members of the guild of paniiczyc.
134. ADO, I/72. The existence of these joint guilds in Opatów is mentioned in Kremer, "Participation," p. 21. See also Fudalewski, Miasto Opatów, pp. 34–36. And compare the privilege to the Jews of Tarnopol issued by Józef Potocki in 1740, which also provided for joint guilds. Korngruen, Tarnopol, col. 27.
135. ADO, I/73, I/122.
137. ADO, I/72. For Lubomirski’s insistence in 1754 that the Jewish tailors’ annual payment be to the guild and not to the church, see ADO, I/73.
139. Ibid., p. 546.
140. That is, lest a surprising and unnatural situation arise. Deuteronomy 28:43; Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 47a.
142. The privilege of the Jewish community in Tarłów, as confirmed in 1665, provided that appeals of decisions in local cases between Jews be brought before "starszych ziemskich opatowskich." Arch. Z., 2808, p. 31. See Wyrobisz, "Ludność," p. 10.
143. According to the ruling, he had been rebuked and warned more than once to stop his money-changing operations, particularly at fairs and sejmik meetings. He had been threatened with expulsion, but "he added sin to sin" and continued to endanger
the community, doing deeds that “a Jew ought not to do.” Frenk, “Le-toledot ha-
ḥazaqqah,” p. 243.

144. The matter of the ranking of communities within the autonomous Polish
Jewish organs awaits further research. The communities subject to Opatów were Bar-
anów, Dzików, Iwaniška, Klimentów, Kolbuszowa, Mielec, Ostrowiec, Ożarów, Rud-


146. Trawicka, Sejmik, p. 39.

147. Ibid. And see the detailed description of a sejmik tumult in 1733 in
Gierowski, Rzeczpospolita, pp. 131–36.

148. Frenk, Ha-ironim, p. 48; Sokolow, “Mi-pinqas,” p. 142; Bursztyn, “Di apter
185–89.

CHAPTER 3

JEWS AND OTHER POLES

1. See the material assembled for a different purpose by Rosman, “Dimuyo.” And
see, in particular, the introduction to Margoliot, Sefer hibburei, cited by Rosman,
where the author was at great pains to distinguish between the Jews of German lands
and “the people of Poland.” Compare, also, Hundert, “Advantage to Peculiarity?” pp.
25, 28; Jellinek, “Qoror,” p. 19. And see “a true story I heard about a man of Poland
who was living in German lands and transgressed by cutting off his beard; the other
men from Poland rebuked him.” Yishaq ben Ben-Siyon, Sefer mikklal yofi, p. 9b.

2. “Il fait souligner—notre bourgeoisie n’ait pas formé, comme cela avait lieu en
Europe Occidentale, une auto-conscience développée, dépassant le cadre d’une seule

3. For this reason the characterization of eighteenth-century Jews as “non-Polish”
in a recent work on Polish urban history must be judged profoundly anachronistic.
Bogucka and Samsonowicz, Dzieje, p. 475.

4. Tazbir, “Polish.” There seems no need to discuss the peasants in this context.
As late as the twentieth century, many responded to surveys on nationality with the
word meaning “from here.”

5. The letter to his parents in 1790 by Avraham Nahman ben Ya’aqov Moshe
Loewensram is quoted in S. Horowitz, Le-toledot, p. 70.

Also cited by Shahar, “Biqoret,” p. 28.

7. “Przyszyczaionym patrzyc na naszych Ickow i Moszków siedzących po kar-
czach i pospólstwo rozpaczających, dzwno nam będzie ludzi tegoż narodu i wiary tak
pożytecznych i oświęconych w innych krajach.” Gazeta narodowa i obca, no. 37 (1791),
as cited by Ringellblum, “Żydzi,” pp. 42–43. Compare the similar remark, though
framed somewhat more positively, of Mateusz Butrymowicz in 1789, in Eisenbach et
al., Materiały, p. 80.

8. Compare Hundert, “Advantage to Peculiarity?”; idem, “Some Basic Character-
istics.”

9. Margoliot, Sefer hibburei, pp. 3a, 4a.


15. Bogucka, "Les villes," p. 166. And see Bogucka and Samsonowicz, *Dzieje*, p. 574. As noted earlier, there is, in this latter work, a breathtaking reduction of the significance of Jews in the urban history of the commonwealth. The same remarkable feature characterizes Topolski, *Dzieje*.


17. See, for example, Katz, "Bein tatnu," p. 330.

18. Kartoteka materiałów, s.v. "Opatów."


20. Mordekhai ben Naftali, *Pithei Yaqh*, p. 25a, indicated that merchants felt themselves wiser than the scholars: "she-einam yod’im le-dabber ‘im anshei ha-‘olam . . . le-dabber be- la’azei saḥaf kemotam."

21. See the references in Hundert, "On the Jewish Community," p. 364, n49.


24. "Le-qapitulah gedolah de-poh a’y ha-dzekan, maḥmat inyan ha-yadu’a, 1000 zehuvim, revahim mi-zeh, 40 zehuvim." Nahum Sokolow Collection; ADO, 1/71.


28. ADO, 1/71.


32. ADO, I/71.
33. These were, principally, that he imposed extortionate taxes and payments, judged cases and imposed fines arbitrarily, favored the rich, was a fornicator who ordered women to come to him, permitted market day to be held on Sunday, and in sum, "porządku nie masz."
34. The charges were, mainly, that they were impious and their courts corrupt.
35. "Psze skurwy synu bodajsto diabłów ziadł." ADO, I/71. In 1759, church officials demanded of the Jews of Chrzanów that "wobec kapłana idącego do chorego . . . okazywać uszanowanie." Peckowski, *Chrzanów*, p. 147. By the way, if the quotation was based on reality, it indicates that Kalman could at least curse eloquently in Polish!
37. The expenses involved were recovered through a special tax collected from all members of the community. Sokolow, "Ha'iqrot," p. 44.
39. One kahal expenditure was explained as follows: "le-fašot et ha-qozaqim she-lo yelkhu derekh qehilatenu." Frenk, *Ha'-ironim*, p. 49.
42. Arch. Sang., 378 (1708).
43. See the following cases: Russian troops, 1767–68, ADO, I/62; Bar confederates, 1770, 1771, 1772, ADO, I/61; Russian troops, 1771–72, ADO, I/38; Prussian troops, October 1771, ADO, I/38; Prussian and Polish troops, 1775, ADO, I/115.
45. ADO, I/76; Frenk, *Ha'-ironim*, p. 48.
46. ADO, I/109.
47. Arch. Sang., 441; ADO, I/76.
48. In 1752, the gubernator's expenses for traveling to Sandomierz to file a claim regarding robberies that had occurred at the time of the Easter procession were paid by the kahal. ADO, I/109.
49. Arch. Sang., 441; ADO, I/76.
50. "Ponieważ chłopi że wsiów przyjechawszy na targ poprzedawszy zboja, poprawski się wielkie chałasy robią i bunty zmawiają się, nie tylko od pacholków który skarbu pańskiego i arendy pilnują, ale i mieszczan palkami biją iako się traflono. Iż u Żydów szkody porobili, młodszych czechowob pobili aby moczniejsze warzy u Pana Burmistrza były . . . Dla ostrożności naznaczamy aby zawsze co niedziela stali cechowi, do czego powinni Żydzi swoich ludzi dać dwie części, a my katolicy trzecią część, aby się takie rozterki w mieście nie działy," quoted in Trojan, *Dzieje*, p. 31.
51. ADO, I/88.
52. ADO, I/91, I/114.
53. ADO, I/125.
54. Sulima, *Historya*, p. 110, n4. The author pointed out that the entry in the communal minutebook noting the expenses involved in sending the observer to Lwów
was dated 1757. He suggested that this was an error. The Polish translation of that budget, also dated 1757, rendered *viquah* as *kongres*. The context was a report of expenditures over four years (1756–59). Although there was an earlier debate with the Frankists in the year 1757, it was held in Kamieniec-Podolsk. Thus it seems likely that Sulima was correct in his emendation. ADO, I/111. Compare Bałaban, *Skizzen*, p. 70. And see Goldberg, *Ha-mumarim*. or idem, "Żydowscy." And compare Eisenbach et al., *Materiały*, p. 180. The case of a late eighteenth-century "Spinoza of Opatów" is discussed in chapter 5.

55. In 1707, Hersz Hasklewicz (Śevi Hirsh ben Yehezqel Landau) and, in 1775, Marek Rabinowicz (Mordekhai Babad) translated certain documents. ADO, I/74, I/108.

56. The indictment added, for some reason, "a do tego że ten Żyd mając zone wielkie wszeteczeństwa porobił (!)." Akty Sang., 126/12. Bogucka listed opulent costumes, carrying a saber, and "la tenue orgueilleuse" among the types of Sarmatian gentrylike behavior imitated by the burghers. See Bogucka, "Les villes," p. 167.

59. ADO, I/88.

61. The three rabbinic authorities were the communal rabbi, Aharon Moshe Ya'akov of Cracow, Alexander Sender Meisels of Opatów, and Avraham ben Ya'akov of Pińczów. ADO, I/42.


63. To overcome the prohibition on carrying between domains on the Sabbath, a blending of domains was achieved by marking off the whole of the Jewish neighborhood with a wire or a fence, or with some combination of methods. Compare Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges*, p. 166.


CHAPTER 4

JEWS IN THE ECONOMY

1. ADO, I/69, I/102, I/110. Mahler, *Yidn*.
7. Akty Sang., 163/4. And see there the complaint of the bakers' guild: "now only Jews bake."
9. Ibid., before 1737.
10. ADO, I/110.
11. Ibid.
12. Akty Sang., 163/4; Arch. Sang., 378; Fudalewski, Miasto Opatów. pp. 34–35. This passage was cited, on the basis of Fudalewski, by Ptasnik, Miasta, pp. 356–57. See, also, the clause in the privilege to the Jews in Tarnopol in 1740 to the effect that Jewish artisans were to be registered in Christian guilds. Korngruen, Tarnopol, col. 27. In general, see Kremer, “Participation.”


14. ADO, 1/73.

15. Information in this paragraph from ADO, I/63, I/74, I/110, I/122, I/125.

16. ADO, I/125.

17. Arch. sang., 378 (1708).

18. ADO, I/42 (1756); I/74 (1776); I/73 (1789). Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 620.


21. A small collection of six Polish calendars, published during the first half of the eighteenth century, is found in one file in the Sanguszko collection in Cracow. Opatów fairs were listed in only three, those published in Lwów in 1740 and 1742 and in Cracow in 1741. Akty Sang., 458/9. Hebrew calendars, however, published in Dyhernfurth between 1741 and 1789, did list the November 11 fair in Opatów. Luah...im kol. The Opatów fair was not listed in the Hebrew calendars published in Nikolsburg in 1725. Luah shel benat [5]486, nor were they listed in Szkłow in 1792: Luah mi-benat [5]553.

On the other hand, the Opatów fair, along with three in Sandomierz, was listed in a calendar published in Lwów in 1799. Luah shel benat [5]559. A Hebrew calendar published in Warsaw for the year 1786–87, however, did not list the fair in Opatów. Luah mi-benat [5]547. In this last calendar, there appeared no less than twenty fairs not listed by Grochulska in her list of the main fairs in the Polish Commonwealth. It would seem, given the significance of Jews in certain sectors of Polish commerce, that such a list of the main fairs cannot be prepared without reference to Hebrew as well as Polish calendars. Grochulska, “Jarmarki,” pp. 811–21. The whole matter cries out for a systematic comparative study. Compare Hüttenmeister, “Luhot.”

22. The fairs in 1708 were Św. Trojcy (first Sunday after Whitsuntide), Św. Anny (July 26), Św. Marcina (November 11), Św. Franciszka (October 4), Św. Agnieszki (January 21), Św. Tomasza (December 21), Kwietnia Niedziela. ADO, I/14. According to a calendar published in Lwów in 1740, there was also a fair in Opatów on St. Leonard’s day (November 6). Akty Sang., 458/1. In 1806, the following fair dates were listed as well: Nowy Rok, Wśępna Środa, Przewodnia, Św. Jana, Św. Bartłomiej. ADO, II/102. Compare the somewhat different list provided by Guldon and Stękowski, “Udział Opatowa,” pp. 115–16.


24. The following, grouped by region, are the records that were surveyed. An asterisk indicates a reference to merchants from Opatów. The material is in Arch. K.III; the file number follows the place name.

Great Poland: Bydgoszcz (1517), Dębno (1535), *Fordan (1538), Gniezno (1540), *Grabów (1544), Jastrów (1566), Jutrosin (1560), *Kalisz (1561), Kcynia
Notes to Pages 55–56

(1571), Kempno (1569), Konin (1579), Leszno (1592), *Międzyrzecz (1604), Nakło (1616), Piła (1635), Poznań (1641), *Rawicz (1652), Sarnowo (1660), Sieraków (1661), Stawiszyn (1677), Wschowa (1712), Zbąszyn (1719), and *Zwolen (1722).

Ruthenia: Bar (1495), Beresteczko (1503), *Brody (1515), Gródek (1545), and Janów (1552).

Ukraine: Berdyczów (1500), Czarnobyl (1503), *Kamieniec Podolski (1564), Lwów (1596), *Łuck (1599), Raszków (1650), and Śniatyń (1672).

Little Poland: Barwinek (1498), Będzin (1495), Biecz (1504), Czersztyn (1530), Grybów (1547), Józefów (1559), Kazimierz (1567), Kenty (1570), *Kozienice (1586), *Kraków (1587), *Łublin (1594), Luboml (1595), *Muszyna (1611), Opatowiec (1625), *Opatów (1626), *Opoczno (1627), Piwniczna (1636), Polaniec (1639), *Przedbórz (1644), Puławy (1648), *Sandomierz (1654); Wodzisław (1710), *Zawichost (1718), and Żywiec (1727).

Mazovia: Chorzelle (1520), Mława (1605), Nowogród, Łomża (1621), Praga (1642), Sierpc (1667), and *Warszawa (1702).

White Russia—Lithuania: Augustów (1490).

25. ADO, I/122, I/125; Fudalewski, *Miasto Opatów, p. 33. For the text of the 1569 privilege of the merchants’ guild in Opatów, see Wiśniewski, Dekanat, pp. 306–9.


27. ADO, I/125.


30. Compare “Punkta... o upadek miasta Chrześcijańskiego Opatowa y całego pospólstwa podane w A-o 1722.” Akty Sang. 163/4. And see the undated petitions in that file and in file 9/9.


32. “A choć by się katolik mógł przepomoć na jaki handel w mieście z którego by mógł mieć pożywienie, to oni mają takowych Żydów kilkunastu faktorów baraników którzy kupami biegają i za miasto wybiegają czyli szlachcica czyli księdza, czyli też ościenego człowieka wyprowadzą z miasta Katolickiego na ulicę żydowską do kupienia, a nam katolikom niedopuszczą. Przez co my pożywici się nie możemy, bo nietyklo rzemieślnicy wszelkie, chleb, piwo ale i ubogim przekupkom kaszę, ser, kropy, masło, świec... cybule, garki, łyszki, wrzeciona odebrali, które iuż niemając sposobu inszego podupadły w ubóstwie swoim nie mogąc się pożywici musi puścić na ostatek do szpitala.” Akty Sang., 163/4 (1722).

33. Ibid.


35. “Użyjże pańskiey nad nami compassyjej. Zostając przedtym kupcy nasi... którzy ze Gdańska, Wrocławia i Amsterdamem handle swoje prowadzili mieszkańcy tamże inni Żydzi dobrze się mieli, a przecie nigdy nie byli do płacenia dwóch części podatków pociągani tylko do trzeciej części. A teraz, kiedy kilka kupców najsławniejszych zbankretovali, drudy w mizerię poszli i mało co handlów prowadzą
36. ADO, I/14, I/58, I/66.
37. ADO, I/122.
38. ADO, I/42.
39. ADO, I/125.
40. ADO, I/110; Mahler, Yidn, vol. 2, tables 43, 45.
41. Arch. Sang., 526; ADO, I/2, I/122.
43. Arch. K., III/1604/5: "Rewizyja kupców Małopolskich z jarmarku frankfortskiego reminiscere." They were from Brody, Janów (two), Końska Wola, Końskie, Kozienice, Kurów, Międzyborz, Przysucha (two), Radom, Satanów, Witków, Zasław, and Żółkiew. The largest single shipment was that of Leyb of Żółkiew: 25,776 zloties.
44. Eliyahu ben Yechezqel, She'elot u-tehshuvot, "l:foshen mishpat," qu. 15, p. 12r.
45. See, for example, Kuklińska, Handel, pp. 29–30.
46. Arch. K., III/1604/5.
47. In 1762, at Tartaków, two Jewish merchants from Opatów purchased 1,574 sheepskins from Jerzy Włoyszn "kupiec orygentalnym." They paid 2,831 zloties in cash and gave him a note, to be paid at Brody, for the balance of 5,000 zloties. ADO, I/122, I/125. In 1764, the wealthy Brody merchant Samuel Jakubowicz Rabinowicz (Babad) organized a convoy to Breslau with an escort of thirty cossacks. His partners included two other Brody merchants and one Opatów merchant, David Jakob. Wurm, Z dziejów, pp. 28–29. In 1765 and 1766, six Jewish merchants from Opatów paid tolls in Brody. Arch. K., III/1515.
48. It is astonishing that historians continue to cite, without criticism or analysis, Czacki's statement that, at the end of the eighteenth century, Jews were responsible for three-fourths of Poland's exports and a tenth of its imports. Rutkowski, Historia, p. 247; Kuklińska, Handel, p. 38. Compare Czacki, Rozprawa, p. 118.
49. See the letters complaining about two Opatów Jews, Isaac Lubelski and Wolf Golda, who owed considerable debts (6,966 and 5,886 zloties, respectively) for merchandise acquired at Frankfurt or Leipzig from the Berlin house of Jean Platzmann and Lautier. Arch. G., 215.
50. He was a nasi in 1694. Nahum Sokolow Collection.
51. ADO, I/91; Akty Sang., 122/26. He was in Leipzig for the fairs in 1697, 1698, and 1701. Freudenthal, Leipziger, p. 171.
52. Akty Sang., 122/26; ADO, I/108: the inventory of his goods was carried out after his death.
53. Eight Jewish merchants from Opatów attended Leipzig fairs between 1700 and 1762. Freudenthal, Leipziger, p. 171.
55. See the figures cited by Kuklińska, "Kupcy."
56. ADO, I/122.
57. ADO, I/71, I/88. In 1764 and 1765, Lubomirski purchased fabrics for 1,125 zloties from six different Opatów Jewish merchants. ADO, I/98.
58. French sukno, axamit, Durch linen, Venetian atlas, muslin, and so on. ADO, I/71. See, also, the list of goods seized by the Bar confederates in 1770. ADO, I/61.
59. ADO, I/125.
60. ADO, I/73. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 504.
61. "Bławnych, sukiennych, i futerniczych." ADO, I/91 (1756).
62. *Paklak*: 154 *postaw*; *sukno*: 98 *postaw*; *kamłot*: 40 *sztuk*; cheaper linens: 25 *sztuk*, 38 kop. (One *postaw* = 30–40 *lokci* = 15–18 meters.) *Paklak* is a coarse cloth, sometimes half wool on a linen or burlap warp; it was used most often for cheap winter clothing. *Sukno* means cloth; its price in these entries (one *postaw* at about 34 złoties) was just over twice that of *paklak* (one *postaw* at 15 złoties). *Kamłot* or *camlet* is a coarse worsted but not very thick. It was produced in Poland or imported from other countries and was among the cheapest woolen cloths. See Wyrobisz, "Materiały"; Guldon and Stępkowski, Statystyka; Arentowicz, Miary; Glamann, "European Trade," p. 506.
63. Of 100 entries representing Oparów Jewish merchants at eighteen toll stations, the most frequent appearances were at Przedbórz—16; Zawichost—15; Brody—13; Cracow—13; Oparów—12; Koziernice—5; Lublin—5; Rawicz—5; Warsaw—4; and Międzyrzecz—4. One each were at Grabów, Jozefów, Kalisz, Kamieniec Podolski, Opoczno, Sandomierz, Wschowa, and Zwolen.
64. Merchants from Oparów seem to have had a preference for Rawicz throughout the century. Arch. Sang., 526 (1730s); ADO, I/83 (1770s–1780s).
65. The price was 1,137 złoties, 16 groszy, 1 szeląg. ADO, I/125.
66. Arch. K., III/1626 (2).
67. Eliyahu ben Yechezkel, *She’elot u-teḥuvot*, "Ḥoshen mishpat," quo. 35, p. 27v. And see the report of 1805, which, commenting on this trade in general, contended that it was concentrated in the hands of Jews who "zalewali wsie i kupowali welne jeszcze na owcy." Quoted by Ringelblum, Projekty, p. 35.
68. The tax was 2.5–3 percent, as opposed to 1.5 percent. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 528.
70. "She-meshartim . . . ešel soḥarim be-ha-kippot . . . kedei she-lo yasig gevul la-ba‘al bayit ha-rišon be-‘inyanei ha-mehiyah." Nahum Sokolow Collection. In the eighteenth century, in Przemysł, there was a guild of "małych kupców." Schorr, Żydzi, p. 69, n1. Compare Goldberg, "Ha-mishar," p. 27.
72. ADO, I/73; I/91; I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 617–18.
73. ADO, I/73; Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 617.
74. Carosis, Reisen, p. 238.
75. Akty Sang., 15/30.
77. The creditors were Malicki, Kossecki, Krzysztof Reklowski, Trzcinski, Walenty Dąbrowski, Szymon Wylczyński, Jan Leźnicki, Szaul Szymchowicz (rabbi of Opatów), and Platzmann and Lauzier of Berlin. ADO, I/77, I/83, I/88, I/122, I/125; Arch. G., 215, 246.
78. Such a requirement was imposed by Sanguszko in 1741 and reiterated by Lubomirski in 1767 and 1778. Arch. G., 246.
79. ADO, I/125. In July 1762, Malicki, who had extended loans totaling 16,226 złoties to ten Opatów Jewish merchants, complained to Lubomirski that he had not received the scheduled payments. Anteriora, 110.
80. ADO, I/122; Arch. G., 215.
82. ADO, I/102.
83. ADO, I/88, I/125; Arch. G., 246.
84. ADO, I/71, I/79, I/125.
85. ADO, I/125.
86. ADO, I/71, I/79, I/109, I/110; Akty Sang., 469/1; Arch. Sang., 526.
88. ADO, I/61, I/71, I/122; Arch. K., III/1604.
89. The debts were incurred in Frankfurt or Leipzig. The letters, incidentally, are in French and are followed in the archival file by translations to Polish. Arch. G., 215.
90. See the extensive file, with details. Arch. G., 246.
91. ADO, I/2, I/38, I/58, I/61, I/63, I/73, I/77, I/78, I/93, I/102, I/122; Anteriora, 117; Arch. G., 215, 239, 246.
92. ADO, I/71.
94. The stock included 101 hats of four types ranging from "Bulgarian" (27 at 27 zloties, 20 groszy) to plain (4 at 4 zloties, 15 groszy), valued at 1,441 zloties; 197 sheepskins of six types, valued at a total of 1,384 zloties; and various furs, valued at 613 zloties, ADO, I/42.
95. Iwaniewicz of Chocim, 666 zloties; Leyzor of Tartaków, 123 zloties; and a merchant of Rawicz, 108 zloties (total, 897 zloties). Pan Mikułowski, 900 zloties; Pan Czarnecki, 900 zloties; Pan Grablowski, 1,098 zloties; and Pan Rej, 1,314 zloties (total 4,212 zloties). To Dawid Chęciński of Opatów, 1,325 zloties, and to eight other Opatów Jews, 926 zloties. ADO, I/42.
96. ADO, I/122. Compare ADO, I/79; Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje*, p. 543. The question of lending by the kahal itself is taken up in chapter 6.
100. ADO, I/14, I/42.
103. The phrase was usually “przy swoich schadzkach.” Anteriora, 108.
104. ADO, I/69.
105. ADO, I/41, I/42, I/63, I/91; Anteriora, 108.
106. ADO, I/63, I/71, I/73, I/74, II/99.
109. ADO, I/91, I/105.
110. “Z żydowskiego narodu... prawo, wolność będą mieli zażywać tego cechu za słusznym ukomentowaniem cechu i opłaceniem służby kościelnej, jednak tylko dożywotnie a nie wiecznie, ponieważ takiej wolności nigdy przedtem w Opatowie nie mieli.” ADO, I/71.

111. These included dom pański, kamienica wielka murowana, domostwo klemense, domostwo Sabatowski, and the Ratusz. ADO, I/41, I/42, I/91, I/95.

112. ADO, I/14, I/42, I/63, I/91; Arch. Sang., 526.

113. ADO, I/76; Arch. Sang., 526.


115. ADO, I/38, I/102.

116. Arch. K., III/1545, pp. 4, 5, 7 (Grzybów); III/1547, pp. 6, 7, 8 (Gródek); III/1611, p. 10 (Muszyna).

117. ADO, I/38.


120. ADO, I/14, I/15, I/16, I/38, I/71, I/75, I/88, I/98, I/125, II/21a, II/22, II/22b; Arch. Sang., 441; Akty Sang., 19/16, 163/4. Andrew (Andrzej) Thomson was a “merchant and citizen” of Opatów who also held municipal office. He was a Protestant and was buried alongside his wife, Anna, in the Protestant cemetery at Wielko Tursk after his death on February 26, 1727. Arch. Sang., 378; Akty Sang., 163/4; Steuart, Papers, p. 116.

121. Arch. K., III/1604/12 (Międzyrzecz).

122. ADO, I/102.

123. It is striking that, in this century, the town’s Jews believed that Opatów had been founded as a Jewish town and that Christians had arrived only in the nineteenth century. Yasheev, Apt, pp. 9, 19.

CHAPTER 5
JEWISH SOCIETY

1. Compare the recollections of his life of Katzenellenbogen, Sefer, passim. And see Weinreich, “Lantukh.”


3. In the case in 1798, involving a father and son, the minute book recorded only that a crime had been committed “asher lo natan likhtov” (which may not be written). Nahum Sokolow Collection.


5. Nahum Sokolow Collection.


7. See Assaf, Ha-onashin, p. 31.

8. Was it a parokhet? The name of the thief was Jasek son of Golda (1773). ADO, I/122.

9. For other instances of the use of the kuna, see ADO, I/122; Akty Sang., 12/16.
On shaming as a sanction in Polish Catholic society, see Baranowski, *Życie*, p. 149. Unaccountably, he described the stocks as a corporal punishment.

10. The list of questions and the transcript of the interrogation are in the file. ADO, I/122. There are some elisions of little import in the transcription.


12. Wulf Korzennik appeared in the records from 1755 to 1763. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/102, I/110, I/125.

13. "Że u nas nie wolno Panną się starzeć, namówili za Żyda y wesele sprawili."

14. "Obiecywał, tylko niewiem co bo mówił; dam ja ci co sranie ci za to. Potem, gdy w czwartym miesiącu postrzegłam po sobie, wstyd mi było pójść do miasta, poszłam do Baranowa, gdzie Żydzi według zwyczaju mi odesłali, tak od niego nic nie wzięłam."

15. ADO, I/102, I/110.

16. ADO, I/122.

17. Abus Tabacznik first appeared in the records in 1760. Although his weekly *sympla* payment was quite low, he was a member of the Burial Society, which indicates a measure of prestige and relatively high social status. ADO, I/58, I/102, I/110.

18. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/95, I/102, I/109, I/125.

19. Kamler, "Infanticide."


22. ADO, I/102. Of the seventy-three households of Jews from Opatów in Warszaw in 1778, sixteen, or 22 percent, included servants.

23. For illustrations, see Katzenellenbogen, *Sefer*, passim.

24. In 1721, it was 5 percent; in 1755, 6 percent; in 1766, 14 percent. ADO, I/66, I/102, I/110.


31. The income from thirty-four funerals, ranging from 4 zloties to 207 zloties each, was 1,089 zloties. The income from children's funerals was 128 zloties, 4 groszy. ADO, I/118.

32. The cost of such funerals and of shrouds and other related expenditures amounted to 288 zloties, 20 groszy. Ibid.


34. ADO, I/120. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje*, p. 570.

35. Arch. G., 239. In 1766, two groups of women—one of four, the other of three—borrowed 2,000 zloties each from a szlachcic. ADO, I/77.


37. Shaindl bat David (Chęciński) and Shelomoh Zalman ben Menahem Mendel. ADO, I/38, I/91.
38. ADO, I/88.
41. Wyrobisz, "Materiały."
42. ADO, I/112.
44. ADO, I/125. No complete list of this kind has been preserved. Individual cases of daughters (and sons) marrying and moving to the following places are known: Ciechanów, Głogów, Ozarów, Stryj, Szędziszów, and Turobin. ADO, I/74, I/78, I/111, I/114; Arch. Sang., 441.
45. ADO, I/111.
47. Arch. Pub. Also see chapter 1. Pejsach Chaimowicz of Opatów, syndic of the Warsaw Jewish community from 1759 to 1784, did not appear on the 1778 list among the Jews from Opatów. On him, see Ringelblum, "Jews in Warsaw," p. 257; M. Horn, Regesti, vol. 1, p. 17. But see ibid., vol. 2, p. 49, where the same individual, apparently, is referred to as ‘z Kozienic.’
49. On Isaac Meir Frankel (died 1703), see Nadaw, "Toledor," pp. 146–47, and the references there.
51. Eidelberg, "Rabbinic Emigrants"; Shulvass, From East to West.
54. Nahum Sokolow Collection.
55. Žuchowski, Odnos. The sejmik meeting in Opatów in August 1697 also led to anti-Jewish violence in the town. Trawicka, Sejmik, p. 39.
57. ADO, I/110.
58. At the beginning of the century, likely at the request of the Council of the Lands or of the regions of Great Poland and Little Poland, this congregation had sent funds to Poland for the relief of twenty-six Jewish communities "in Upper Poland [and] Lower Poland," including Opatów. Barnett, "Correspondence," pp. 20–21. Compare Halpern, Yehudim, p. 72; Hyamson, Sephardim, p. 164.
59. Undoubtedly, Joseph Gikatila, Sha'arei orah.
60. There is no kabbalistic work with this title and attributed to Abraham. The best-known work with this name is by Nathan Hannover and is concerned with the
liturgy. It turns out, however, that Hannover's work was published, with supplements, in Constantinople in 1732. Among the supplements was Sefer yesirah, an important kabbalistic work, which was indeed attributed by the mystics to the first patriarch. I am much indebted to Professor Arthur Green and, particularly, to Dr. Ze'ev Gries, whose erudition informs this note.

61. Parts of this passage have been published in Dexter, Literary Diary, vol. 1, pp. 299–303, 322; Kohut, Ezra Stiles, pp. 79–83. The material has been expanded considerably here on the basis of Ezra Stiles Papers, pp. 277–82, 286–87, 293, 295–96, 322, 326.

62. ADO, I/63.

63. Alexander lived in a large brick house with more than one domestic servant. ADO, I/42, I/58, I/88, I/102, I/110, I/114, I/122. See also his approbation to Yosef Yehuda ben Yisrael, Sefer aseifat yehuda.


65. The Jewish community of Jerusalem experienced a revival in the 1730s after the establishment of the Constantinople Committee, Officials of the Land of Israel. Barnai, Yehudei, p. 133.

66. This is the place to correct an error made by Anatol Leszczynski in his remarks related to the Opatów kahal budget of 1752, parts of which he published. That budget included an expenditure of 4 zloties in favor of "Tym, co siędzą w Szkole na Świątę." Leszczynski thought that this was a subsidy to a group of individuals who studied in the beit midrash (chapel, study hall). However, this is most unlikely because of the words "na Świątę" (during the holiday). The entry was listed for October, and the reference was almost certainly to villagers who slept in the beit midrash when they came to Opatów for the High Holidays. Of course, this does not mean that there was no one who filled the role described by Hisdai, "Eved ha-Shem," but there is no documentation for the existence of such an individual or group of individuals in Opatów. Leszczynski, "Ekspensy," p. 197.

67. Also see chapter 7. On Kossover, see Weiss, "Reshit," pp. 60–62. See the comments modifying Weiss's characterization of Kossover as a "pre-Hasidic" figure in Rapoport-Albert, "Ha-Tenu’a," pp. 190–91.

68. Emden, Megillat sefer, pp. 40–41; idem, Shevirat, p. 50a; idem, Sefer hitavqut, p. 147b; idem, Petah, p. 14b. Compare Dubnow, Toledot ha-hassidut, p. 120; Dinur, Be-mifneh ha-dorot, p. 160; Heschel, Circle; p. 125, n3. Heschel denied that this Nahman of Kosów was to be identified with the man of the same name who was a companion of the Besht.


70. Ginzburg, R. Moshe Hayyim, docs. 101, 103, pp. 264, 270, 466; Benayahu, Kitvei, p. 218. And see chapter 7 on the Landaus.

71. Both Dinur and Dubnow interpreted Nahman's visit as part of the "missionary" efforts of the Beshitran hassidim. See n67.

72. Hevracha qedisha ner tamid shel shabbat. Excerpts from the minute book of this fraternal society, founded in 1741, were published in Rakocz, Sefer siftei, pp. 3a-4b. Compare Yaari, "Ner Tamid Societies."

73. From the tax rolls, it would appear that, while not desperately poor, Siaps Introligator was a man of distinctly moderate means. Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/88.
74. According to legend, the young boy was an only child, born in their old age to Shabbetai and his wife, Pearl, only after they had received a blessing from the Besht.

75. Elijor, "Between yeib and ayin," p. 295, and the sources cited there. Dubnow, who wrote that the Israel of Kożanice was born in Ostrowiec, was mistaken. Toledot ha-bassidut, p. 217.

76. ADO, I/77, I/83.


78. Nigal, "Maqor rishoni."

79. There were, apparently, three works that remained in manuscript. Lieberman, "Keisad." Compare Sefer ner misvah (Piotrków, 1911).


CHAPTER 6
THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

1. On the subject of Jewish autonomous institutions, see the literature listed in Hundert and Bacon, Jews in Poland, pp. 17–21. On comparisons with Christian municipal government, see also Hundert, "On the Jewish Community."

2. The expenditures for mead for the elders during election time were included in virtually all of the surviving annual budgets of the community.

3. ADO, I/42, I/121; Trojan, Dzieje, p. 50; Bałaban, "Ustrój kahalu," p. 31.

4. ADO, I/103.

5. Incomplete transcriptions of the election results in 1694, 1696, and 1726 are preserved in the Nahum Sokolow Collection.


7. Icko Zamojski and his son, Jakub, were wealthy textile merchants. Jakub traded in Gdańsk at times and, at least once, supplied goods to Sangusko. Akty Sang., 12/6, 122/16; Arch. Sang., 441, 526; ADO, I/42. Joseph Davidowicz is mentioned in ADO, I/108. Mordekhai ben Yehuda Leib (Marek Lewkowicz) was one of six sons of Yehuda Leib of Szydłów, rabbi of Cracow in 1713–31. Four of Mordekhai-Marek's brothers were rabbis (in Szydłów, Chmielnik, Tarnów, and Pińczów); the other was a communal elder in Straszów. In 1760, Yoseph ben Yehuda Leib, formerly rabbi of Pińczów, was living with his brother in Opatów. In 1744, Mordekhai-Marek leased the commerce korobka together with Yosef Landau. In a Hebrew tax roll of 1755, he was listed as R. Mordekhai Babad (ben av bet din). In 1756, he leased the meat korobka together with Binyamin Wulf Landau and Avigdor Jeremiaszowicz. In 1757, he was referred to as "Kassyer przeszy skarbu pańskiey, wierny kahalu." Akty Sang., 12/16; ADO, I/71, I/110, I/114, I/121; Bałaban, Historja, vol. 2, p. 264; Halpern, Pinqas, no. 651, p. 331, n6.


10. ADO, I/114 (1760), I/102 (1770, 1771), I/38 (1772), I/58, I/115 (1775), I/109 (1776), II/123 (1789, 1790).


13. "Yehidei segulah . . . qeru'ei 'edah ha-niqra'im le-khol arekh tiqueni kelal ha-qehillah." Sokolow, "Haqiqot," p. 45. And see n 40, below, describing the participants in the decision to raise the rabbi's salary.


16. Rakocz, Sefer siftei qodesh, pp. 3b-4a; also see chapter 5.

17. ADO, I/74, I/118, I/122. Compare, for one other example, Biber, Mazkeret, pp. 5-7.


19. ADO, I/74, I/122.

20. ADO, I/118 ("Rachunek Bractwa Kierkuckiego").

21. Moshe (ben) Nathan Neta Shapiro was perhaps the son of R. Notele Apter. See n 34.


23. "Zé przedtem osobiwy krome szkolników, sendyk dla attentowania i promowania spraw kahalnych i interesów po grodach i trybunalaх bywał." ADO, I/121. Compare ADO, I/79; Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 542.


25. ADO, I/100, I/102. Compare ADO, I/116; Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 579, 581, 599.

26. The word is from the Polish-Yiddish word puszka-pushke, meaning box for charitable donations. It is unlikely to have meant gunsmith, which is the other definition of puszkarcz.

27. Avram ben reb Dovid Shames (Abuś Szkolnik Kahalny) paid 3 groszy weekly in sympla in 1755 and a similar amount in 1770. Icek Szkolnik (puszkarz) paid 3 groszy weekly in 1770. Jakiel Szkolnik paid 2 groszy a week in 1760. ADO, I/58, I/102, I/110.

28. The homeowner was Menczel; three other families lived in the same house. ADO, I/102, I/110.

29. ADO, I/102, I/114.


31. Yi\'iq\'aq ben Ben-Siyon, Sefer mikhlal yofi, p. 45b.

32. Nahum Sokolow Collection.


34. Nathan Neta Shapiro was known as Reb Notele Apter and was, according to Horowitz, the son of Shelomoh Shapiro, rabbi of Satanów (died 1649). Reb Notele was married to Rekhish, daughter of Yechezkel Landau (died 1718). They had at least two daughters; one married Wolf Tovei Medinah of Opatów, another married Naftali Taussig (Tang) and moved to London. In 1741, the preacher of the Eternal Light Society was perhaps his son: Moshe (ben?) Nathan Shapiro. Horowitz, Le-toledot, pp. 25, 483; Leperer, "Abraham," p. 83. Yi\'iq\'aq ben Ben Siyon is the author of Sefer mikhlal yofi. In the introduction to this book, he wrote that he had been second preacher in Brody before he was thirty years old. From there he went to Dubno, then to Czortków, and then "for this long period" to Opatów. On him, see particularly Piekarz, Bi-mei, s.v. Yi\'iq\'aq b. Ben-\'siyon.
35. In March 1753, there was an expenditure for a visiting cantor from Komarno. ADO, I/109. Compare ADO, I/116; Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 600.


37. The rabbis of Opatów in the eighteenth century were as follows:
- 1696–1703: Sha’ul ben Yehoshu’a Heschel; during the last three years he lived in Cracow where he had assumed the post of rabbi.
- 1712–18: Me’ir ben Binyamin Wolf Heilperin.
- 1719–24: Yiśqaq ben Ševi Hirsh Segal Landau.
- 1731–64: Aharon Moshe Ya’aqov of Cracow.
- 1772–75: Hananiah Lipman Meisels.

The list is incomplete, and some of the dates are less than certain. Dembitzer, Keli/at yoji, pp. 19v-20, 41, 103v, 128v; Bałaban, Historja żydów, vol. 2, pp. 263–64, 275; Horowitz, Le-toledot, pp. 49–58, 61–62; Eisenstadt and Weiner, Da’at qedarim pp. 57–61; Halpern, Pinqas; Nahum Sokolow Collection; ADO, I/2, I/66, I/74, I/77, I/83, I/122; Arch. G., 215.

38. Aharon Moshe Ya’aqov of Cracow, rabbi of Opatów from 1731 to 1764, was termed av beit din and was head of the yesibuta. Nahum Sokolow Collection.


40. ADO, I/63. The one-page document recording the decision to raise the rabbi’s salary is a translation into Polish of the Hebrew original, which has not been preserved. The document carries the date “11 Aprilis 1705 według kalendarza żydowskiego.” This is clearly an (understandable) error. The turn of the century, according to the Jewish calendar, coincided with 1740. Thus, the Hebrew document would have been dated (5)505. Moreover, the document notes that permission for the raise in salary had been granted by Imści Marszałka W X. Litt. The only owner of Opatów who had this title was Paweł Karol Sanguszko, who acquired control of the town after the death of his brother-in-law, Aleksander Dominik Lubomirski, in 1720. And the twelve signatories—starsi synagoga Opatowska y naypryncpalnyeszey gospodarzów co naywięcey płaca podatków iako y Starsi Ziemsik y duchowny także starsi szpitalni y inni co podarki płaca—were all active at midcentury, rather than at its beginning.

41. “Kopia konsensu rabina opatowskiego,” January 5, 1777. ADO, I/77.


43. This raises an interesting and important issue, which cannot be explored here. Namely, ought the rabbinate be treated as a clerical class in Jewish society, with its own particular interests? The matter deserves study.

44. “Którę więciey oplaty od nikogo wyciągać niepowienien.” ADO, I/109. See the similar, if less detailed, list of “Dochody Rabina Zaslawskiego.” Teki Schneidera. The degree to which the rabbi was treated as a part of the administrative apparatus of the estate is discussed in chapter 8.


47. This would place the rabbi’s income at the level of all but the most important
estate managers and above that of the highest paid municipal officials in Cracow. Makowska, "Pracownicy"; Tomaszewski, Ceny w Krakowie, pp. 148–49. In Lublin, such municipal salaries appear to have been much lower—about 200 zloties annually. Adamczyk, Ceny w Lublinie, p. 104.


49. ADO, I/77.


51. ADO, I/122.

52. See the complaints of Dawid Zamojski, the comptroller, in 1722, against Juda Hasklewicz (Landau), whom he could not control. Akty Sang., 9/9, 12/16.


54. ADO, I/109.


56. The rate of taxation, based on an estimate of contemporary prices, was generally .33–.66 percent of the selling price. Bałaban, "Ustroj," pp. 45–46.

57. ADO, I/121.

58. During 1758–59, the korobka replaced the sympla. The total paid for the contract to collect the commerce tax was 19,000 zloties, close to 60 percent of the income of the kahal in that year. ADO, I/71, I/79.


60. Of 352 payers of the korobka in 1758, 45, or 12.78 percent, paid more than 2 zloties weekly. Of 378 payers of the sympla in 1760, 47, or 12.4 percent, paid more than 2 zloties weekly. Of the 45 in 1758, 38 reappeared paying much the same amount in 1760. Of the remaining 7, 2 apparently died or left town, because they did not appear in any record after 1758. Four paid less than 2 zloties, and one reappeared on the tax rolls only in 1770. His name was Judka Mały, and the problem is likely that he was listed by some other variation on his name (e.g., Lewek Plonowicz) on tax rolls during the intervening period.

61. One of the items was a note of the proceeds from the sale of the house of Szmul Lewkowicz: 650 zloties: "na którym miał kahal dług dawnej." Was this "old debt" for taxes in arrears, or was it a mortgage? ADO, I/109.

62. See Halpern, "Review of Dzieje handlu."

63. ADO, I/102. Compare Halpern, Pinqas, no. 834, p. 443.

64. Halpern, Pinqas, no. 83, p. lxxxv.

65. ADO, I/58, I/109; Ya’ari, Sheluhei, p. 476.


67. ADO, I/111.

68. The kahal owed interest on 20,000 zloties to the chapter house in Sandomierz. ADO, I/75, I/111–I/114.

69. Opole Lubelski was the chief residence of Antoni Lubomirski, who owned Opatów at that time.

70. During that period, the Council of the Lands customarily met at Konstan-
tynów. The existing records do not note the presence of Opatów elders there in 1757 or 1758.

71. Wiśnicki may have been a *shamash*. He appeared in the records between 1755 and 1770. In 1758, he paid no commerce tax. His *sympla* payments ranged between 15 and 20 groszy weekly. ADO, I/58, I/63, I/77, I/88, I/102, I/110.


73. The Opatów kahal owed interest on 6,000 zloties to the church in Raków.

74. This is Yechezqel Landau of Tarnów, elder of the Land of Cracow-Sandomierz. On him, see Halpern, *Pingas*, under Yechezqel ben Sevi Hirsh Landau of Tarnów.


76. "Na pozwolone świątalne instruktarzem kommissarskim opisane." ADO, II/111.

77. Apparently, the interest was added to the principal. ADO, I/114.

78. This was the skarbnik podlaski; the community owed him interest on 4,000 zloties.

79. Sciborowski was the previous *gubernator*.

80. The community had a long-standing debt to the Moszyński family, going back at least to 1715. Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/108.


82. This was perhaps Marek Rabinowicz, the supervisor (attendent) of the kahal. ADO, I/122.

83. In 1758, the rabbi of Chęciny was Yosef ben Avigdor. Halpern, *Pingas*, no. 677, p. 360; no. 722, p. 394.

84. *Koróbka* is the commercial tax enacted in 1758; the amount was actually 29 zloties, 16 1/2 groszy.


86. Repairs apparently began in November. An expenditure of more than 200 zloties for beer for the artisans working on the synagogue was noted in December. ADO, I/109.


88. For a detailed contemporary report of one such fracas, which led to some serious fighting, see Gierowski, *Rzeczpospolita*, pp. 131–36.

89. On one occasion, however, the minute book of the kahal recorded the payment of the expenses for a messenger’s travel to Sandomierz “to protest against the plundering of Jewish homes by the servants of the marshall [of the sejmik].” Bursztyn, “Żydzi,” p. 9.

90. ADO, I/16, I/109.


92. The wording is as follows:

Zagęszczona licencyja chłopców, którzy Żydów Opatowskich podczas obrad naszych nachodzic i rabować zwykła i stąd causaे tumulty, więc obviando inconvenientis inae in futurum spondemus sobie, ze zaraz po obraniu JMPana marszałka w kole naszym na uśmierzenie tak zbytniej licencyi IMPanów delegatów, tenze JMP marszałek z powiatów podać po jednemu powinien będzie. A će cum
adminicululo przytomnych IM Panów obywatełów kongresom naszym takowych coercere i sądzić będą. Ponieważ sama synagoga nie z żadnej powinności, ale ex bene placito et libera sponte ofért im po złotych 40 na każdy sejmik, któryby się, pierwszego dnia nie zerwał, żeby pacifice handle swoje prowadzić mogli podczas sejmików et securitas ich mościom stojącym w gospodach miasta żydowskiego była. (ADO, I/2)

Compare Guldon and Krzystalnek, "Instruktarz," p. 177.


95. See, for example, ADO, I/38, I/63.


98. I strongly suspect that Nahum Sokolow's transcription (Nahum Sokolow Collection) of a list of the debts of the community in 1695 was incomplete. It lists four debts to church institutions and only two to noblemen:

—To the {Bernardine) monastery here, 2,000 złoties; interest on this, 140 złoties annually.
—To the large chapter house here through the Deacon on account of the well-known matter, 1,000 złoties; interest on this, 40 złoties at each St. Martin fair.
—To the small chapter of the vicars here, 1,00 złoties; interest on this, 70 złoties annually.
—To the priest from Słupa, 1,000 złoties; interest on this, 70 złoties.
—To the nobleman Rebulowski, 1,350 złoties.
—To the nobleman Linowski, 1,000 złoties, and 60 interest.

99. ADO, I/79, I/109, I/112, I/114. The debt to the chapter house was rescheduled in Sandomierz in 1775; the interest had not been paid "przez wiele lat." ADO, I/71.

100. ADO, I/102.

101. ADO, I/38.

102. One exception: in 1773 the kahal received permission from the town owner to borrow 8,000 złoties at a rate of 6 percent. ADO, I/77.


104. ADO, I/69, I/100, I/102. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 557, 578.


106. ADO, I/38, I/109, I/125.

107. The average tax payment of roshim was 7 złoties, 8 groszy in the 1750s and 1760s and 4 złoties, 11 groszy in the 1770s and 1780s. ADO, I/38, I/58, I/102, I/109, I/114, I/115, I/123.

108. There may have been a council of the land of Małopolska, but there is very little evidence. To my knowledge, such an institution is attested only in an approbation signed in Jarosław in 1671 by "ha-rabbanim de-mdinat Polin Qarṭan." There were


110. ADO, I/58, I/102; II/123; and see chapter 1.

111. As noted above, the community also expended funds to feed poorer Jews who slept in the *beit midrash* when they came to town for the holidays. ADO, I/109. Compare the misunderstanding of the phrase “Tym, co siedzą w szkole na święta,” by Leszczyński, “Ekspensy,” p. 197, n41.


117. Schipper, “Beitragé,” which is based on Bib. Oss., ms. 303.

118. ADO, I/121, p. 40 (1745).


120. Balaban put the date of the transfer at 1717. *Historia Żydów*, vol. 2, p. 258. But it must have occurred somewhat later, since Yechezqel Landau remembered seeing the record books in his father’s house in 1722 or 1723. *She’elot u-teḥuvot nodah bi-buda,* “qama, even ha’ezar,” qu. 87, p. 85.


122. Dubnow Collection. Compare Eliyahu ben Yechezqel, *She’elot u-teḥuvot*, qu. 12, pp. 10b–11a: “The custom of our land is to announce the prospective sale of property three times in the synagogue so that creditors can make their claims to the court before the sale.”

123. What follows is based on a Polish translation of the original judgment (now lost). Arch. Z., 2808, pp. 229–30.

124. “Chcą się odłączyć od miasta Tarłowa, a pod inszą zagraniczną protekcją chcą się oddawać.” Ibid.
125. In 1788, the owner of Tarłów intervened on the side of the kahal in its claim that the town of Sienno had usurped its jurisdiction over certain villages. Ibid., 2808, pp. 227–28. Compare the “Konsens . . . Józefa Butiera starosty kwieciańskiego dziedzica Franopola inkorporujący Żydów franopolskich do kahału biłgorayskiego” (1741). Anteriores, 214, pp. 10–11.

126. According to Halpern (Pingas), meetings were held in 1668, 1680, 1685, 1688, 1692, 1696 (two), 1697, 1699 (two), 1700, 1712 (two), 1717, 1719, 1721, 1724 (two), 1730, 1739, 1742, and 1752. See also idem, Yekudim, p. 130 (1627). And see n. 127.


130. See, also, the similar complaints voiced by Margoliot, Sefer hibburei, pp. 4a–4b.

131. Halpern, Pingas, no. 231, pp. 89–90; no. 253, p. 102; no. 438, p. 208; no. 698, pp. 379–80. As late as 1767, the commission charged with liquidating the debts of the “Generalności y Ziemstw Żydowskich” called on the estate owners not to grant “protekcya” to their own Jews. Arch. Z., 2808, pp. 235–37.

132. “Ten jest zwyczaj po innych znacznych miastach i synagogach żydowskich w Koronie Polskiej że e medio sui wybawszwy jakowe rozumne osoby na dyspartyment generalny, gdy pisarze generalni zdziwcy z prowincyi obrani dla pomiarkowania podatków wieleby krore województwo i ziemia ća ća miało zjeżdżając się. Dla attendencyi tego dyspartymentu posyłać tedy i synagoga opatowska przy tym zwyczaju i prerogatywye ma być zachowana i aby także delegatów swoich przez kahał i pospolstwo obranych wysłać mogli pozwalać.” ADO, I/121, p. 4. What prompted Sanguszko to promulgate this consent at that time is not at all clear, but see chapter 7.

133. ADO, I/71.

134. ADO, I/42. Sedlnicki’s letter is cited by Leszczyński, “Ekspensy,” p. 192, n. 24, but he seems unaware of its context. Sedlnicki attended meetings of the Council of the Lands in this period. Halpern, Pingas, no. 64, p. lxii; no. 65, p. lxvi; no. 72,

135. "Ciz Żydzi opatowscy mają dokumenta, że tylko dziesiątą część podatkowania czyli ekspensy wojewódzkich tak pretendoię silnie, żeby dziesiątą część dla siebie do uspokojenia mieli wyznaczona dla skarbu i wyderków. Ja co możności mojej nietylko inne, ale i ten do dalszego czasu wstrzymuję interes względem którego życzę waści żebyś z temi Żydami opatowskim uczynił, nadgłoszwszy się do nich należytym pomiarowaniem i ugodą, aby w przyszłym czasie nie nalegali. Oto a byłoby z niemalą ziemstą konfuzją." ADO, I/42.


137. ADO, I/111, I/112.

CHAPTER 7

AUTHORITY IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

1. For a review of the subject in general, see Pocock, "Classical Theory." For an illustration, see Margoliot, *Sefer hibburei*, p. 6b.


3. Dinur, *Be-mifneh ha-dorot*, p. 108. There were also more localized instances of this phenomenon—certain families dominating the life in individual communities, like the Gordon and Peseles families in Vilna and the Yekels family in Cracow. See Shatzky, "Review," vol. 23, p. 374.


6. Nahum Sokolow Collection. Sokolow’s transcription contains a number of elisions, which have been filled in here based on what seems to be reasonable deduction.


12. This was one of the arguments marshaled by the heirs to avoid the town owner’s invocation of his right of escheat. ADO, I/63.
14. The document refers to Nathan as Yehuda’s brother, but this was probably an error. ADO, I/66.
16. ADO, I/108.
17. Binyamin Wolf ben Shelomoh ha-kohen, Tovei Medinah, was called, in the archival sources, Wulf Natowicz. He had married the daughter of Rekhl Landau and Nathan Neṭa Shapiro. Arch. Sang., 428; Akty Sang., 4/16.
18. Some think he also occupied a rabbinical position in Opatów at some period, either as rabbi or rosh beit din. Compare Gelber, Brødy; Wunder Ensiqlopediyah. He was certainly an elder (rosh) in 1714, 1723, and 1727. Akty Sang., 122/26; Arch. Sang., 428, 526.
22. The topic of approbations ought to be investigated thoroughly. Were the approvers remunerated? What was the role of the rabbi of the town in which the press was located? To my knowledge, the existing scholarly literature has yet to deal with these questions.

The following is a partial list of works carrying the approbation of Yišaḥaq ben Ṣeṿi Hirsh Landau: Shmu’el Ashkenazi, Yefeh mar’eb, Amsterdam, 1727; Levi ben Shelomoh, Beḥṭ ha-levi, Żółkiew, 1732; Aryeh Yehuda ben Shmu’el Gershon, Leviyat ben vehor yegarot, Żółkiew, 1732; Yehuda Aryeh ben David, Gur aryeh, Amsterdam, 1733; Ṣeṿi Hirsh ben Azriel, Beḥṭ lehem yehuda, Żółkiew, 1733; Alexander Shorr, Simḥat hadashah, Żółkiew, 1733, Yehuda ben Ḥananiah Zelig, Qol yehuda, Żółkiew, 1734; Babylonian Talmud, Hullin, Berlin, Frankfurt a/O, 1736; Yehuda ben Moshe, Tiqun shemirat shabbat, Żółkiew, 1737; Levi ben Shelomoh, Ateret shelomob, Żółkiew, 1738; Aryeh Leib ben Yehoshua Heshel, Torah or, Berlin, 1745; Moshe ben Ya’aqov, Mishmeret haqodesh, Żółkiew, 1746; Shelomoh ben Binyamin Wolf, Sefer beṭ ṣhelomob: Hiddushim yegarim al meṣekhet yeḥimat. Piotrków, 1927; Alexander Ziskind ben David Qantshiger, Sefer misneṭet bad, Żółkiew, 1757; Ṣeṿi ben Moshe Lifshis, Tiferet gevī, Żółkiew, 1759; She’elot u-teshuvot be-ge’onim be-traie, Turqa, 1764; Yosef ben Yerahmiel, Rosh yosef, Fioda, 1764; Aharon Zelig ben Yehuda, Beṭ abaron, Żółkiew, 1768.
23. 13 Kislev. ADO, I/121; Akty Sang., 9/9; Arch. Sang., 441. And see his son Yeḥezqel’s reminiscence: She’elot u-teshuvot noda bi-buṭa, “qama,” even ha-ezer, qu. 87.
25. ADO, I/14.
27. ADO, I/42, I/121; Arch Sang., 526; Halpern, Pingas, no. 644, p. 329.
28. ADO, I/63, I/114; Bib. Oss., ms. 303, p. 223; Arch. Z., 2808, 2814; and see the approbations to Shelomoh ben Binyamin Wolf, Sefer beit shelomoh.
29. Nahum Sokolow Collection. I think Halpern’s identification of this Judah as the son of Yechezkel of Tarnów is mistaken. See his Pingas, no. 657, p. 334.
31. He was referred to as rabin Krzeszowski for the first time in 1744. ADO, I/121.
32. ADO, I/114.
33. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/110, I/114. In 1768–69, the following words appear beside his name on the tax roll: "na ten rok nie pisany w symplę." ADO, I/102. This may have meant that by that time he was elderly and no longer economically active.
34. There is no evidence that Yosef headed the kloiz in Brody or that he was the rabbi of Zolkiew. It seems most unlikely that he was rabbi of the kloiz in Opatów from 1716, since he died in about 1788. See Halpern, Pingas, no. 689, p. 373, and the note there.
35. The earliest reference to him as rabin mizerycki was in 1765 or 1766. ADO, I/102. In approbations in 1769 and 1782, he signed as "av beit din Międzyrzecz." Aryeh Leib Epstein, Soddot ha-tfilah; Eliyahu ben Yechezkel, She’elot u-teshuwot. In approbations in 1752 and 1754, he signed, simply, "of Opatów." Avraham Kohen of Zamość, She’elot u-teshuwot; Shelomoh ben Binyamin Wulf, Sefer beit shelomob.
37. Nahum Sokolow Collection; ADO, I/71, I/74, I/122.
39. Among Israel Berkowicz’s approbations are the following (second date is date of approbation): Mordekhai ben Yehoshua, Milei de-avot, Zółkiew, 1754, 1746; Binyamin Ze‘ev ben David, Sha’arei binyamin, Zółkiew, 1752, n.d.; Avraham Yehoshua ‘a Fishel, Imrei serufah, Berlin, 1757, 1753; Ya‘aqov Yisra’el ben Sevi Hirsh, Shevet mi-ysira’el, Zółkiew, 1772, 1769; Yehuda ben Asher Zelig Margaliot, Qorban reshit; Frankfurt a/O, 1778, 1777.
40. Nahum Sokolow Collection.
42. There was a family relationship to Mordekhai ben Yehoshua ‘a, scribe and judge of the Brody community. See the approbations of Yechezkel ben Yehuda and Ya‘aqov ben Yišhaq Landau to his Milei de-avot.
43. On Jacob Emden, see Cohen, Jacob Emden; Bick, Rabbi; Liebes, “Meshiḥiyuto.”
44. Emden, Megillat sefer, pp. 40–41, or see the Bick edition, pp. 64–65; Emden, Shevirat lulot ha-aven, p. 50a; idem, Sefer hitavqut, p. 147b.
45. Emden, Megillat sefer.
46. There is a vast literature on this controversy, which eventually touched virtually the entire European rabbinate. See works listed in n43 above and in Perlmutter, R. Yeḥonatan.
47. Emden regarded a certain Avigdor, rosh medinah of Opatów, as his supporter. This was Avigdor ben Yirmiyahu. He was a communal elder at various times between 1745 and 1760. Interestingly, Avigdor had close business ties to Binyamin Wulf ben
Yechezkel Landau. This may mean that Binyamin Wulf did not share the anti-Emden sentiments of his relatives or, more likely, that such disagreements were not strong enough to break relationships between the prominent men of Opatów. Emden, *Tuzit ba-qana’ut*, p. 129; ADO, I/63, I/88, I/111, I/113, I/114; Nahum Sokolow Collection.

49. *By giving a tarkabful of dinars* (after Babylonian Talmud, Yoma 18a), ibid.
50. Akty Sang., 12/16 (1728).

51. This dispute between the two brothers probably occurred in 1727. Evidence for this is provided by a document of a decade later consisting of a bill of particulars against Krzyżanowski, *gubernator* of Opatów from 1724 to 1736. The list of complaints included an allusion to a disagreement between the *ziemski* (land elder)—that is, Yehuda, elder of the *galil*—and the kahal. In the course of the dispute, the *gubernator* had accepted substantial funds both from the kahal and from Yehuda and his supporter, the rabbi—presumably, Yiśhaq. The following year, there was another dispute, this time between the kahal and the rabbi—Yiśhaq. He was supported by two of his brothers, Yechezkel and Avraham. There was no reference to Yehuda taking his side. This may, in fact, have been the very dispute to which Emden refers, but the document itself includes no elaboration. Arch. Sang., 526.

52. Emden used the pejorative term *bamah* (high place) for "synagogue."
53. Akty Sang., 12/16.
"Punkta podane od Zyda Dawidka." Akty Sang., 469/1 (undated).
58. Ibid.
60. “Partyi przeszlego rabina.” Ibid.
63. Akty Sang., 12/16.
64. “Dekretom moim ... odkłada się ponieważ ciż sami arrendarze continuant funkcję swoją skarbową.” Akty Sang., 4/16. There is, of course, the likelihood that the *arrendators* bribed the official. Their contract was for three years, beginning in 1727. ADO, I/14; Arch Sang., 526.
65. Arch. Z., 1615.
66. Akty Sang., 12/16. Compare ADO, I/121. Did Yiśhaq have a hand in this decision? There is no support in the sources for such a contention, but it seems not unlikely.
67. Ş. Horowitz, Le-toledot, p. 403.
69. ADO, I/121.
71. Emden, Sefer hitavqut, p. 147b; idem, Petah einayim, p. 14b. Compare Dinur, Be-mifneh ba-dorot, p. 160; Dubnow, Toledot ha-hassidut, p. 102. And see Heschel, Circle, p. 125, n3. This matter is also discussed in chapter 5.
72. Emden, Sefer hitavqut, p. 147b; idem, Petah, p. 14b. My translation follows Heschel's for the most part. According to the version of Emden's words cited by Dinur, Be-mifneh ba-dorot, the controversy led "to the spilling of blood." The word almost was elided.
74. For a summary of Ezekiel Landau's negative views on Hasidism, see Jacobs, Hasidic Prayer, pp. 140–53; and see chapter 5, n68.
77. Emden, Shevirat, p. 50a.
78. ADO, I/121.
79. Hundert, "Sheqi'at"; idem, "Discipline."
81. ADO, I/58, I/88, I/102, I/110.
83. The term *klqtwa* (ban) was used in all the sources. If it was in fact a *herem* (ban) of some type, it was likely one that applied as long as the accused had not paid his fine. There are numerous other possibilities as well, since the ban as a sanction is unknown in Opatów, except for the case of Śvi Hirsh ben Eli'ezr at the end of the eighteenth century. The expectation would be the removal of the "right of settlement," which was the usual sanction against miscreants and rebels.
84. "Darmo nie poroście, nie wskóracie nic." Arch. Sang., 378.
85. "Bijcie chłopcy tych hultzajów, na funty płacić ich będziemy" or "bicie na nasze pieniądze tych hultzajów" or "bić tych hultzajów na funty ich zapłaciemy." Ibid.; ADO, I/121.
86. "W tym strażnicy i inni Żydzi z kijami chłopi subordynowani od starszych pogotowiu pałkami bili, co się im podobało . . . nie mogłem uhamować." Arch. Sang., 378.
88. ADO, I/121.
89. Ibid.
91. "A tymczasem większa malevoli populi przeciwko starszym kahałowym seditio i przeciwko samemu ziemskiemu starszemu z niektórych okazy i . . . zaszły . . . tumulty. Tedy perioribus zabiegając consequentio któreby z oczywista miasta całego być
mogła ruina . . . chcąc doskonalej uspokoić do przyczyn ich wewnętrznych poznania i wykorzeniania.” ADO, I/121.

92. In 1747, it might be noted here, there were twenty-two signatories to a kahal enactment recorded in the minute book, among them both Yosef and Binyamin Wulf, sons of Yechezqel Landau. Yosef’s name appeared second, after the rabbi; Wulf’s name was well down the list. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

93. See chapter 6, n132.

94. ADO, I/114.

95. Binyamin’s children apparently left Opatów; some years later, a tax roll noted that his house “was standing empty.” ADO, II/73. For Yosef, see ADO, I/78.

96. ADO, II/102.

97. ADO, I/122.

98. Nahum Sokolow Collection.

99. The story, as it is preserved in print, is somewhat confused. The rabbi in question is identified as the author of Sefer tavnit of yOJej. However, the author of that work, Yosef ben Avigdor, was the rabbi of Ostrowiec and Tarnogrod; his father was the rabbi of Chęciny. Further, Yosef’s mother was not a Landau but was Avigdor’s second wife, the daughter of Ḥayyim of Sacz. And see the approbation of Yechezqel ben Ṣevi Hirsch Landau to Yosef ben Avigdor’s book, Sefer tavnit, where Avigdor is referred to as Yechezqel’s brother-in-law. Yosef, incidentally, was related by marriage to the rabbi of Opatów, Aharon Moshe Ya’aqov of Cracow. See the latter’s approbation to the same work. Horowitz, Le-toledot, p. 317; Rakocz, Sefer siftei qodesh, p. 4b.

100. On this topic, in addition to Weber, I am indebted to Hammack, Power and Society; particularly the first three chapters.

CHAPTER 8
POWER AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

1. Anteriora, 140. Ignacy Potocki was a leader of the progressive faction at the four-year sejm. He supported the proposals to reform the situation of the Jews in a rather half-hearted fashion and with a view to larger questions. See Eisenbach et al., Materialy, no. 25, p. 310, no. 30, p. 312, no. 31, p. 313, no. 56, p. 328.


4. “Żydzi cieszą się prawami i przywileiami miasta, iako współmieszczanie, equali juri guadere maiā.” Ibid.

5. “Jako przeciw nie tylko wierze Świętej Katolickiej, ale i samym prawom koronnym działa¼ by¼ to, aby infida gens et servituti subjecta miał praeoccupaturity . . . nad katolikami . . . a ieżeli₁by takie execrandum nefas et inconveniens electio ryeçów Opatowskich in antecessum bydzi miały tenquam abominabilis actis interdicitur praeoccupatibus.” Ibid.

6. See Mazurkiewicz, “O niektórych,” p. 110 (Konskowola, Kraśnik, Łęczna, Modliborzec); Opas “Sytuacja,” p. 26 (Piaś, Opole); Gelber Brody, p. 29 (Zmigrod); Korngruen, Tarnopol, col. 28; Gelber and Ben-Shem, Sefer Zolqab, col. 43 (Zółkiew, Brody, Bolesław).

7. According to Trojan, the gubernator’s approbation of the results of municipal
elections usually included the formula "przycyliając się do elekcji pospólstwa i cechów

8. "A przytym w zgodzie i miłości z Synagogą Żydowską aby przestawali, jeden
drugiemu na złość nic nie robiać, ale we wszystkich okazjach osobliwie około dobra
publicznego znosząć się i jeden drugiemu pomagając." Ibid.


10. The terms in the documents were instrukcja, porządki Synagogi, and punkt

11. "Wolna zawsze napelnia pomienionej synagodze opatowskiej starszych swoich,
aby ją każdego roku według praw i zwyczajów swoich żydowskich swobodnie bez
wszelkiego od jurysdykcji zamkowej przeszkody intrzyngowania się do niej odprawować
mogli." ADO, I/121.

there.


15. Akty Sang., 9/9; Arch. Sang., 530; ADO, I/42, I/121.

16. Golda and his partners had defended their testimony by taking an oath "na
rodale w śmiertelnej koszuli." That is, holding a Torah scroll and wearing a
kittel, a white gown a man wore to be married, for the High Holidays, for the festive meal on
the eve of Passover, and to be buried. Akty Sang., 12/16.

17. Akty Sang., 397/9; Arch. Sang., 441, p. 119.

18. Arch. Sang., 526, p. 179. In Lwów, increasingly in the course of the eighteenth century,
more cases between Jews came directly to the podwojewoda’s court than


pesahim, p. 70b.

22. ADO, I/63, p. 4. The signatories as well as the reference to the town owner
as marshall of Lithuania make the date given in the manuscript impossible to accept.
It says, “11 Aprilis 1705 według kalendarza Żydowskiego.” The Hebrew year was
likely (5)505, and the translator made an understandable but careless error.

or and other parts of the klucz were sometimes leased separately, it is difficult to be
precise.


25. Ibid.; ADO, I/121.

26. Akty Sang., 12/16. A year later (1729), it was noted that these steps still were
not in evidence in front of most houses.

27. ADO, I/71.


31. Akty Sang., 9/9, 469/1; Arch. Sang., 428; ADO, I/66.


33. Ironically, in 1714, there had been complaints on the part of the Jewish pos­
pólstwo to the effect that Icko Chaimowicz, Dawid Zamojski’s father, had been an elder
for three consecutive years and that he was rigging the kahal elections. Akty Sang., 12/16.

34. Ibid.

35. Akty Sang., 4/16.

36. "Od starszych aż do ostatniego którzy krupkę płacą w szkole . . . na rodale w obecności rabina opatowskiego i dwóch wiernych rozą swoją zwyczajną przysięgać mają." ADO, I/121.


38. Akty Sang., 12/16; ADO, I/121.


40. Akty Sang., 12/16.

41. "Al admat neikhar." Frenk, Ha-'ironim, pp. 59–60; ADO, I/121. On the fire in 1741, see ADO, I/122; Trojan, Dzieje, p. 30. For the 1751 fire, see Fudalewski, Miasto Opatów, p. 27.

42. See, for example, Halpern, Pinqas, no. 216, p. 81, no. 221, p. 85, no. 241, pp. 93–94. Arch. Sang., 441, pp. 143, 168–70; ADO, I/42, I/74, I/78, I/79, I/102, I/114, I/125.


44. Many of Lubomirski’s instructions were published by Baranowski et al. Instrukcje, pp. 523–690. And see Guldon and Krzystanek, "Instruktarz." Part of a 1755 instruction to the kahal was published in Bursztyn, "Żydzi opatowscy," pp. 16–17. See also idem, "Apter yidn," pp. 128–29; Kiryk, Opatów, p. 146.

45. Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. lxviii.

46. In addition to published material see the documents addressed to following: in 1756 to the merchants, ADO, I/91; in 1759, to the gubernator, ADO, I/63; in 1760, to the kahal, ADO, I/114, and to the merchants, ADO, I/42; in 1763, to the gubernator, ADO, I/16; in 1770, to the kahal, the rabbi, and the gubernator, ADO, I/102; in 1772, to the kahal, the gubernator, and the town, ADO, I/38; in 1774, to the kahal, ADO, I/16; and to the kahal, ADO, I/74; in 1776, to the gubernator, ADO, I/73, and to the kahal, ADO, I/74; in 1777, to the gubernator, ADO, I/73; and in 1788, to the gubernator, ADO, I/69.

47. ADO, I/78, I/79, pp. 2–8, I/102, p. 226, I/113. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 525, 540, 595. And see Kozmian’s recollection of a conversation between Lubomirski and Zamojski on the subject of Jews. Kozmian, Pamiętnik, p. 82. See also, Regesti i nadpisi, vol. 3, no. 2032.


49. ADO, I/69a, pp. 4–6 (1758), I/16, pp. 2–5 (1763). Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 536.


52. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 575, 577–80.

53. Anteriora, 102, p. 226. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 525. The term used here for subjects, poddaństwo, which usually denoted serfs, is not to be taken literally. It was used in a general way to designate the Jews of the town.

54. ADO, I/74, pp. 39–41.

55. Trojan, Dzieje, p. 28; ADO, I/73, I/122, p. 206: ordinance of "ha-ḥevre decoroyal varkers ve-hitl makhers." Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 615–16.
57. ADO, I/121, pp. 10–11.
59. Ibid., p. 4.
61. “Powiedziała że te reegesta przed samym jasnie oświęconym księciem Imci będą produkować, ale nie przed wami, Ja nie za was sprawie.” ADO, I/122, pp. 229–30.
64. ADO, I/122, pp. 1–2, 72–73, 81–82.
65. ADO, I/122, p. 81. The disputants were Alexander (Haimowicz) Rabin Woijslawski and Alexander Józefowicz. Both were merchants, the former was also a dayyan in Opatów. The elders of the Lublin galil were Jakub Rabin Lubartowski, Marek of Belzyce, and Szlama of Zwoleń. Jakub Rabin Lubartowski was Ya‘aqov ben Avraham Segal Landau. On him, see Halpern, *Pingas*, nos. 738, 741, 991, pp. 404, 407, 513.
75. He signed the contract, in Hebrew, “Shelomoh Zalman ben Menahem Men­del.” His wife was Sheindl, daughter of Dawid Chęciński. ADO, I/91, p. 151.
77. ADO, I/38, pp. 143–44.
78. David ben Yišaḥq Ha-qaro, Ḫabʾ el, p. 1.
79. ADO, I/74, p. 10; Anteriora, 102. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 525.
80. ADO, I/71, p. 105, I/100; see also I/79, I/116. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 581, 599, 600.
82. ADO, I/73, pp. 20–21. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 616–17.
85. ADO, I/73, p. 26, I/125, p. 43.
86. “W kuśnictwie garbarskim i szewskim magistra wydoskonalonego.” ADO, I/74, pp. 100–101. For a similar case, also involving a Jewish artisan, see ADO, I/78, p. 1.
90. The fine was 500 grzywien. ADO, I/42. For a somewhat similar case, in which Jewish merchants were more or less bribed to attend a particular fair, see Matuszewicz, Diariusz, p. 85.
92. ADO, I/71, p. 37, I/102, p. 100.
93. ADO, I/75, I/112. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 531.
96. ADO, I/73, p. 31. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 619.
97. ADO, I/42, p. 36, I/73, pp. 33–34, I/74, p. 13. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 620–21. In 1774, five butchers were forbidden to practice their craft until further notice because their prices were extortionate and their meat not good. ADO, I/16, p. 15.
98. ADO, I/69a, p. 2; Anteriora, 102, pp. 279–80 (1758); ADO, I/76, pp. 5–6 (1760), I/70 (1769), I/16, p. 11 (1774), I/78, I/113, pp. 12–13 (1776), I/71, p. 33 (1789). Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 535, 551, 565, 598.
99. In Cracow, one łokieć = 0.5494 meters; in Wrocław, 0.5759 meters; in Gdańsk, 0.4724 meters. On the general problem of measures, see Kula, Miary; Areńtowicz, Miary. On the sanctions, see ADO, I/42, p. 37, I/75, I/112; Anteriora, 102, p. 126. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, pp. 523, 534. Compare Kula, Miary.


105. ADO, II/99, p. 5. In 1775–76, Koppel and three partners held the beer and mead *arendu*. He was among the leaders of the Jewish Burial Society, indicating high social status. ADO, I/91, pp. 3–6, I/122, p. 282. The fine was 500 grzywien. ADO, I/122, p. 308.

106. As an example: for the year 1771–72, the Christians and Jews of Opatów paid a total of 5,576 złoties in regular taxes and remissions to the town owner. In that year, the *arendu* contracts on vodka, beer, and mead alone yielded 35,700 złoties. ADO, I/38, pp. 68–71, I/41, pp. 1–2.


109. ADO, I/16, p. 3 (1763).


113. These occasions were in 1759, 1769, and 1770. ADO, I/79, pp. 7–8, I/102, pp. 20–21, 96, I/113, pp. 21–22. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje*, pp. 544, 563.


118. ADO, I/125, p. 3.


120. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje*, pp. 575–76.


129. ADO, I/71, p. 62.


132. ADO, I/102, p. 99.


134. ADO, I/73, p. 13.


137. See, for example, the material cited by Dinur, *Bemifneh ha-dorot*, pp. 109–10.

138. Other town owners also raised these matters. See Pawlik, *Polskie*, no. 134–35, p. 22.


140. ADO, I/100. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje*, p. 575.


142. Anteriora, 102, p. 226. To my knowledge, this matter has not been investigated by the historians of law.

143. This was the case in Rzeszów. Przyboś, *Akta radzieckie*, no. 49, pp. 25–26.

144. Pęckowski, *Chrzaniów*, pp. 21, 27.


146. See, for example, Gelber, *Brody*, pp. 25–26.

147. ADO, I/69, p. 21, I/69a; Anteriora, 102. Compare Baranowski et al., *Instrukcje*, pp. 526, 535.

148. ADO, I/73, p. 15.

149. See "Konnotata przedanych domostwie w Opatowie w roku 1770." ADO, I/2. The vexed question of the legal significance of property ownership in private towns has not been answered fully.


151. See Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges*, p. 31; idem, "Gminy żydowskie," pp. 159–
61; idem, "Die Ehe"; Leszczyński, Żydzi Ziemi, p. 58; Pęckowski, Dziesje, p. 70. And see the explicit guarantee of freedom of movement to the Jews of Łańcut in the privilege of 1722. Opas, Własność, p. 81.


156. ADO, I/114, p. 2.


158. The amount of the fine was 1,000 grzywien. ADO, I/74, pp. 9–10.

159. "z racji, że mimo wiadomości dworskiej wyjechał z Opatowa (do Turobina na rabinstwo)." ADO, I/78, p. 3.

160. ADO, I/42. Compare Baranowski et al., Instrukcje, p. 546.

161. ADO, I/106. This was a characteristic action by town owners.


168. Stone, "Jews."

169. "Il doit donc se borner à laisser aux Juifs la liberté de se décider d’après leur propres intérêts et leur volonté." Piattoli had apparently sent Potocki no less than four notes in a single morning in connection with the Opatów delegate. Eisenbach et al., Materiały, no. 30–31, pp. 311–12.

AFTERWORD

1. "Ale chociaż zarówno z chrześcijanami należą do cechów usuwają się od świadectw rzecz miasta i składce cechowych, dostarczają robót parackiej, znieślawiają przez to, poniżają i dezorganizują swój własny cech. . . Żyd . . . działał na szkodę mieszczanstwa . . . w znacznej mierze przyczyni się . . . upadku polskiego miasta." Ptasnik, Miasta, pp. 356–57.


4. Ibid., p. 176.

5. "In the 18th century [Opatów's] economic position deteriorated, and it became dependent on the whims of the overlords of the town and the governor." "Opatów."