

לקט

יִיִּדִישֶׁע שטודיעס היינט

Jiddistik heute

Yiddish Studies Today

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Der vorliegende Sammelband *לקט* eröffnet eine neue Reihe wissenschaftlicher Studien zur Jiddistik sowie philologischer Editionen und Studienausgaben jiddischer Literatur. Jiddisch, Englisch und Deutsch stehen als Publikationssprachen gleichberechtigt nebeneinander.

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יִיִּדִישׁ אױסגאַבעס און פֿאַרשונג

Jiddistik Edition & Forschung

Yiddish Editions & Research

Herausgegeben von Marion Aptroot, Efrat Gal-Ed,
Roland Gruschka und Simon Neuberger

Band 1

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Yidish: oysgabes un forshung
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Diana Matut

What Happened in Hamburg...

A Yiddish Document about Polish Jews in Germany during the Early Modern Period

1. Introduction

In 1675, David de Castro Tartas¹ printed *A Beautiful New Song: What Happened in Hamburg* (אין איין שוין נייא ליד / וואס צו האמבורג איז גישעהן) *Ain schèn nei' lid / was zu Hamburg is gèschehén*). Two identical copies of this text survive which is a rare occurrence for an Old Yiddish print. Today, one is to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,² the other in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam.³

The main story-line is quickly told: a Polish Jew (named Yoyne/ Jonah) has taken up residence in Hamburg, where he has married a second woman (Fraydkhen) without being divorced. His first wife in Poland (unnamed) therefore effectively remains an *agune*.⁴ When she hears about his whereabouts from 'travelling people,' she leaves her home and turns to her brother in Amsterdam for help. Together they travel via Friesland to Hamburg, where Yoyne is brought before a *beys-din* (בית-דין, rabbinical court) by his brother-in-law. The *beys-din* rules that until it is clear to which wife he is supposed to hand a *get* (divorce), he is to live alone, a judgment Yoyne does not obey. Therefore, his first wife appeals to the members of the (Christian) city council. He is arrested and spends time in prison while Fraydkhen gives birth to his child. Finally, after he almost perishes in jail, Yoyne's first wife has pity on him and pleads for his release. Subsequently, he is set free and driven out of Hamburg together with Fraydkhen, handing his first wife the *get* before he has to leave.

¹ David de Castro Tartas lived as a printer of Hebrew and Yiddish books in Amsterdam, where the family had arrived as Marranos in 1640. His career lasted from 1662 to 1695 and encompassed the printing of 66 (known) books and pamphlets, but more may have been published that are now lost; see http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/judaica/pages/brazil.html (under no. 48. Mishnah [Amsterdam: David de Castro Tartas, 1685–1687]; last accessed February 25th, 2012).

² Sign. Opp. 8° 1120 (B) (4 fol.); Catalogue entries: Steinschneider 1848: nos. 105 and 172 (there with a wrong date [1695], identified by himself as a typographical error [Steinschneider 1852–1860: no. 3636]); Steinschneider 1852–1860: nos. 3636 & 5646; Cowley 1929: see entry *Ezekiel b. Zechariah*.

³ Gutschow 2007: no. 63 (with further references).

⁴ According to Jewish religious law, a woman whose husband has vanished (for whatever reason) remains in a situation where she is unable to marry again.

The song's narrative is, of course, much more complex (see the edition provided here) and gives an insight into various aspects of Ashkenazi life in the Early Modern Period – such as the pursuit of legal cases, the status and situation of Jews in Hamburg-Altona, common ways and means of travelling, and so forth – that are historically plausible and sound (see below).

2. The Author

In verse 33.6 of the *Beautiful New Song* the author mentions himself as *Jehask'el ben haḥōver rabi Secharie der schreibèr* (יחזקאל בן החֹבֵר רבי יחזקאל דער שרייבֵיר, Ezekiel, son of the learned fellow Rabbi Zechariah, the scribe). Weinreich already notes that nothing is known about Ezekiel b. Zechariah,⁵ but his title and self-description reveal a few facts. The attribute “the scribe” (if it does indeed refer to his own profession and not that of his father) already brings him close to the world of song. Ashkenazi customers would often seek the assistance of professional scribes to have songs they liked written or copied in order to remember and perform them. Sometimes they would buy – for instance in a printing shop, a booth or via a book-peddler – a songtext in Latin script, bring it to a Jewish scribe and have it transcribed into Yiddish letters so as to be able to read it. We know of this through the complaints of scribes and authors who were unhappy about their task and the “infiltration” of the Ashkenazi world by supposedly non-pious song material.⁶ It may well be that, as a scribe, Ezekiel had some experience with songs describing historical events – maybe Jewish, but very likely non-Jewish ones, too.

Somehow, Ezekiel must have acquired knowledge about life in Hamburg-Altona, since his account of the structure of the community, the juridical system – the *beys-din*, the city council, the special Hamburg-Altona relationship, and so forth – seem to reflect a certain amount of insight. Whether he ever lived there himself or simply had well-informed accounts at his disposal is difficult to judge.

⁵ Weinreich 1928: 261–265, here 265.

⁶ See for instance the title page of Ephraim bar Judah Halevi's (Gumprecht Levi) and his *איין נייע ליד אויף דער מגילה* (*A new Song on the megile*) (Amsterdam: Judah ben Mordechai & partners, 1649), now in the *Rosenthaliana* (Amsterdam). See Gutschow 2007: 14; Shmeruk 1979: 135; Baumgarten 2005: 155f.

3. The Genre

The title – *A Beautiful New Song* – already clearly refers to the genre this text belongs to, and is further supported by indication of a melody (see 4.): this is one of the many Early Modern Yiddish songs (to be specified below) that were printed alone or together with one, sometimes two other texts in a pamphlet and then sold relatively cheaply to Ashkenazi customers. It was published in Amsterdam, one of the major Yiddish printing centers of the time, from which many a song made its way into the East or South.

A title like “Beautiful New Song” was by no means exceptional. “Beautiful” does not hint at a song being particularly ‘nice’ or pleasant in terms of its content or style; it was a standard phrase, used in the hope of making a work more attractive to potential customers. “New,” on the other hand, did in fact usually (but not always) refer to a recently written or published work, either containing new information or presenting an old theme clothed in a new garb.

As Walter Salmen wrote about the ‘new song’ of the Early Modern Period:⁷

It is remarkable that since the days of the troubadours and minnesingers the literarily documented offer to create ‘niuwez [ze] singen’ (Wolfram von Eschenbach), ‘neue Lieder’ or ‘chançons noveles’ (Messire Thibaut, *Li Romanz de la Poire*) grew considerably [...]. An increasing demand for the ‘new’ in a song stimulated the market until during the 16th century huge numbers of distributed printed matters bore the advertising title ‘...beautiful, new, secular song’ that had become an established wording [...].⁸

Whether the incident rendered in these ‘new songs’ was indeed recent or from the distant past, it often had some connection to a real event. Thus, a link exists between the so called ‘historical songs’ and titles including the phrase ‘new,’ although, as said before, this is not an exclusive connection.

Max Weinreich classified *A Beautiful New Song: What Happened in Hamburg* as a “news(paper) style account” (צײַטונגסמעסיקער באַריכט).⁹ Since it is indeed the rendering of a (real or fake) event, he is correct in his classification. Weinreich does not, however, distinguish between באַריכט (account) and ליד (song). Furthermore, ‘news(paper)-style’ in

7 Salmen 1975 (II): 407–420.

8 Ibid.: 408.

9 Weinreich 1928: 253.

a song would correspond to what in German is called a *Zeitungslied* ('news song'). In terms of format and title, however, this category does not apply here. Rather, 'historical song,' as described in Shmeruk's essay "Yiddish 'Historical Songs' in Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th century."¹⁰ – the rubric under which Chone Shmeruk classified it – seems to fit this song best.

4. The Melody

The melody to which a text was meant to be sung – as usual in Yiddish manuscripts and prints of the Early Modern Period – indicated by the term בניגון (*benigen*), meaning "to the tune (of)." This was standard procedure and – to the best of my knowledge – none of the Yiddish song-pamphlets that survive from the Early Modern Period contain direct musical notations.¹¹ It was expensive and certainly difficult to add notes, an undertaking further discouraged by the fact that sight-reading music was not a common skill. One can therefore only speculate as to whether such booklets existed at all, and to find an example would be a most spectacular discovery.

For centuries the simple solution was thus to use a tune most people would already know and recognize, and write a new text to it – that is, to create a *contrafact*.¹² Any contrafact must necessarily have the same number of lines per stanza as the original; otherwise it would not fit the same melodic structure. In most cases, the rhyme-scheme is also preserved, and sometimes even the initial lines or rhyme-words are used for the contrafact's text.

In case of the *Beautiful New Song* the author (or publisher?) indicated a well-known secular song, namely לישט ביקאם איך מאלט דאש איך לויט (אין מאלט, דאס איך לויט בעקאם) *Ain-molt, das ich lust bekam* (Once when I had the desire).¹³ This song was indeed famous during the seventeenth century (but also later on). Its beginning reads *Einsmahls da ich lust bekam, anzusprechen eine Dam* (Once I had the desire to approach a lady).¹⁴ It was (supposedly) writ-

¹⁰ Shmeruk 1984: 153.

¹¹ The first Yiddish print with musical notation is – to the best of my knowledge – the famous *Simkhes hanefesh* (Delight of the Soul) by Elhanan Kirchhan (vol. 1: Frankfurt, 1707; vol. 2: Fürth, 1727); musical notations in vol. 2 only.

¹² It may also have been the case that printers or publishers, wishing to increase sales, simply chose a melody that fitted the text, either because the author had given no indication or because the melody given was not known in the area. Since it was not unusual to sing a song with different melodies, this procedure is conceivable as well.

¹³ On the title page, see the edition below.

¹⁴ Quoted from the *Venus-Gaertlein: Oder Viel Schoene / außerlesene Weltliche Lie=der / allen zehntigen Jungfrauen vnd Jungen=Gesellen zu Ehren...* (Hamburg: Georg Popen, 1659),

ten by Gabriel Voigtländer, a Danish court trumpeter, originally from Sorau (now in Poland). Voigtländer mentions the melody in the preface to his *Erster Theil Allerhand Oden vnd Lieder* (Lübeck: Volck, 1650), but unfortunately did not include it in his collection.¹⁵ The song itself, though, must have been written *before* 1639, since during that year it had already appeared as an indication for a tune.¹⁶ From then on it was published continually – either directly with its full text or mentioned as a melody.¹⁷

The Jewish community obviously knew it as well, since there exists a contrafact in Yiddish letters, called *Ainés-mol, dás ich lust bëkam zu frei'ën ainén jungén mán* (Once I had the desire to court a young man) which became part of the so called *Wallich Manuscript* – among other things a collection of Yiddish and German songs – which was probably compiled over a period around and after 1600.¹⁸ Most of the time, the existence of contrafacts is an indication of the popularity of a song. In the case of this melody, not only secular, but also religious contrafacts exist, for instance the *Ein schön newes/ Geistliches Lied. / Das Geistlich: Eins male ich lust / bekam, genandt. / Eins mals ich lust bekam, anzusprechen Gottes Sohn* which was printed continually between 1638 and 1670 by Christoff Schmidt in Augsburg.

Thus, all in all, three contrafacts are known for *Einsmahls da ich lust bekam, anzusprechen eine Dam* (Once I had the desire to approach a lady): The *Ainés-mol, dás ich lust bëkam zu frei'ën ainén jungén mán* (Once I had the desire to court a young man) of the “Wallich Manuscript,” *Einsmals ich lust bekam, anzusprechen Gottes Sohn* (Once I had the desire to approach God’s son), and last not least our *Ain schèn nei' lid / waś zu Hamburg is gëshehën* (*A Beautiful New Song: What Happened in Hamburg*), two of which have come down to us in Yiddish letters.¹⁹

no. 59. Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim called it *Des guten Kerls Freierey* (The Good Lad’s Courtship), but this title is artificial. See Rölleke 1979 (V): 94–97. There with the incipit *Einstens, da ich Lust bekam / Mir zu freien eine Dam* (Once I had the desire to court a lady).

15 See Müller 1928: 182 and Holzapfel 2006 (1): 428f.

16 Brockmann 1639; see also Holzapfel 2006 (1): 428.

17 Brockmann 1639; Vierdanck 1641; *Zwey schöne neue weltliche Lieder / Das Erste Als ich einmal Lust bekam / anzusprechen eine Dam...* 1646; *Drey Weltliche Neue Lieder: Das Erste, Einßmahls da ich Lust bekam, anzusprechen...* 1647; Neukrantz 1650: 23; *Venus-Gaertlein* 1659: no. 59.

18 See Rosenberg 1888–1889: 251; Weinreich 1928: 261f, and Matut 2011 (11): 133f.

19 The following examples are taken from: Matut 2011 (1): 22–73 (*ainés mol, dás ich lust bëkam*) and Waldberg 1890: 109–111 (*Einsmahls, da ich lust bekam*).

a	hert mir zu ir libè leit	ainés mol, dáś ich lušt bëkam	Einsmahls, da ich lust bekam
a	was sich hot far-lafèn zu disèr zeit	zu frei'èn ainèn jungèn mán –	anzusprechen eine Dam
b	was zu Hamburg is geschehèn	ainè fru' zu werèn,	vnd sie freundlich fragte,
c	es is gèkumèn ous Polèn ain bèsèr man	do fil es mir asò ebèn ein,	ob ich ihr auch wol gefiel,
c	der do hot gar fil ma'ásim ro'im géton	was var ain lušt ain jung-frau'lein	warlich nicht besonders viel
b	das hot got nit lengèr kenèn zu sehèn	hot uf düsèr erdèn.	sie gar spoetlich sagte.

(Source: *Ain schèn nai' lid*)

(Source: Ms. Opp. add. 4^o 136)

(Source: Venus-Gaertlein)

It is safe to assume that a chosen melody may have had various functions: it could certainly underline the content of a poem, thus enhancing its effect and creating a stronger emotional response. But it could surely also be used to create irony or satire, too, or allude to certain underlying, perhaps suppressed themes. In the case of the *Beautiful New Song* it seems as if the melody wasn't randomly chosen. The beginning of the 'original song' reads *Einsmahls, da ich lust bekam, anzusprechen eine Dam* (Once I had the desire to approach a lady) and is in most parts a monologue spoken by a man to his beloved, whom he wants to win for himself by describing his good, modest, honest character and way of life. Knowing this, we immediately understand the relationship with our Yiddish text, since in both cases a man has the desire to 'conquer' ladies. But whereas in *Einsmahls, da ich lust bekam, anzusprechen eine Dam* this is done with honor and decency resulting in a faithful marriage, the Jewish protagonist Yoyné has given in to immoral urges in order to gain sexual pleasures, abandoning his wife, marrying again without being divorced, and even contemplating taking a third wife.

Whereas the text of *Einsmahls, da ich lust bekam, anzusprechen eine Dam* is well documented,²⁰ no clear source is available as to its melody. As mentioned earlier, Voigtländer did not include it and other attempts to try and trace it by way of its contrafacts and various prints have so far led to nothing – but it might be only a matter of time until it is rediscovered. In 1928, though, Willibert Müller tried to reconstruct the original melodic material using the unison parts of Johann Vierdanck's *Capricci, Canzoni vnd Sonaten* (Rostock, 1641) in which one piece is entitled: *Sonata, worin die Melodia des Liedes: Als ich einmahl Lust bekam / & enthalten / mit drey Tromboni vnd swey Cornetten* (Sonata, wherein the melody of the song: 'Once I had the desire' is contained with three trombones and two cornetti).²¹ This undertaking seems justified but it

²⁰ See footnotes 18 and 19.

²¹ Müller 1928: 182. Müller's article is only one page long, but he does mention the Yiddish transcription of the song through Rosenberg's work: Rosenberg 1888–1889: 251.

leaves us in the dark as to whether Müller's reconstruction does indeed bear a close resemblance to the original melody – is perhaps even identical with it – or not. Trying to sing the *Beautiful New Song* to Müller's melody does prove difficult in terms of text distribution (there are too many words in the Yiddish text), but this does not necessarily speak against Müller. Many a contrafact suffers from the necessity of squeezing in more text than the original had, which is mostly achieved by dividing longer note values into halves or even smaller fractions.

Als ich ein-mahl Lust be-kam [an-zu-spre-chen ei-ne Dam'
und sie freund-lich frag-te, ob ich ihr auch wohl ge-fiel,
'Wahr-lich nicht be-son-ders viel, sie gar spöt-tisch sag-te].

Ill. 1: Müller's (1928: 182) reconstruction of the melody for *Einsmahls, da ich lust bekam, anzusprechen eine Dam* (Once I had the desire to approach a lady)²²

5. Historical Background & Sources

5.1 East European Jews in Germany during the 17th Century

The development of the stereotype of the *Ostjude* is strongly associated with the 19th and especially the early 20th centuries.²³ For decades, scholars viewed the westward migration of Eastern Jews as a phenomenon that suddenly brought together “two segments of a once unified Ashkenazic Jewry [that] had been driven into two distinctive and mutually exclusive camps by the time they met in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.”²⁴ Of course, the size and scope of

²² Reconstructed by using the unisono passages of Johann Vierdanck's *Capricci, Canzoni...* 1641.

²³ See, for instance, Wertheimer 1987; Aschheim 1982; Lowenstein 1997.

²⁴ Wertheimer 1987: 3. Wertheimer, trying to offer a nuanced and differentiated picture of Eastern Jews in Imperial Germany, also accounts for the help and hospitality they received from their German coreligionists, and the efforts that were made to ease their situation and to offer practical assistance. He also takes into account Shulvass' work on earlier migration (see below).

this migration, as well as its political, social and cultural implications, are unique. German and Eastern Jews did not, however, create their images of each other out of the blue. Rather, these images are part of a continuous *othering* that was already taking place in the Early Modern Period, as is evident in Yiddish sources from the 1600s to the *Haskole*-period and from there into the modern discourse.²⁵

Underlying these sources is the historical fact, that Eastern Jews were moving into the German lands in significant numbers after 1648, a year which is of dual importance: On the one hand, it marked the beginnings of the Khmel'nitsky massacres in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (on the territory of modern-day Ukraine); on the other it saw the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, which marked the end of the Thirty Years' War. Even before 1648, (especially) Polish Jews had made their way as merchants, teachers, rabbis, army provisioners, printers or beggars into the German-speaking lands, but after 1648 their number increased significantly. One of the first to recognize the importance of this early westward migration by Eastern Jews was Moses A. Shulvass. In his pathbreaking *From East to West* (1971), he describes how the Drang nach Osten "came to a standstill during the years 1648–1660, when Polish-Lithuanian Jewry suffered the great calamities of the Cossack massacres and the Muscovite-Swedish invasion" and the "drive west" began.²⁶

With it came, according to Shulvass,²⁷

(1) the progressive decline and pauperization of the Polish commonwealth, and the perpetual persecutions of the Jews that resulted from them, and (2) the fact that during this period Western Europe began to develop into the political, economic, and cultural centre of the world. Therefore, Jews who succeeded in overcoming the formidable obstacles of settling in Western Europe were able to live under politically more secure and economically much more favorable conditions.

The "wandering Jews" in particular remained a "bizarre part of the Jewish population of the West until emancipation made it possible for

25 See for instance Weinreich 1929: col. 537–553; Aptroot 2010: 295–318; Geller 2012: 357–368. For further bibliographical information, see 5.2.

26 Ibid.: 11. On the subject see also Fram 1997: 6–10.

27 Ibid.: 15. This view has recently been challenged, for instance in works like Gershon D. Hundert's *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century*, which combats the image of the Eastern Jew after 1648 sinking into a state of constant political, religious and economic crisis, and emphasizes the Polish Jews' majority status in many towns, their "indispensability to the national economy," the "ramified, extensive, and complex" organization of Polish-Lithuanian Jewry, resulting in an image of the West as "an empty void," an undesirable place; see Hundert, 2004: 236–239.

them to become citizens of their various cities and states.”²⁸ As said before, many came to the West as merchants or as part of the professional intelligentsia, but a significant number of newcomers were either “illegal” Jews who sometimes worked for their richer German coreligionists, or joined the poorer strata of society as Betteljuden (Jewish beggars).²⁹ There was even an entire “genre” of emigrant literature in Yiddish and Hebrew, offering practical aid for those intending to leave – two important publications were written by Jewish emigrants from Poland.³⁰

All in all, the seventeenth century saw German Jewry being forced to care for and tend to their Eastern brethren, who came in unforeseeable numbers, needing housing and shelter, work and food, physical and spiritual care. Sometimes, though, they saw their hospitality abused through the indecent behavior of the newcomers, their inability to adapt to a new lifestyle, and their unwillingness to integrate in terms of clothing, language and general appearance.³¹ This led to situations where German Jews had to post bail to free their fellow Jews from jail, to provide for those who, for example, roamed the streets when they entered a town or were in need during the preparation for Jewish holidays, and even take care of children who were born in the new country to parents who didn’t have the means to provide for them. Another such worry concerned the wives of Polish Jews who were left behind by their husbands, who vanished without a trace. Even before 1648 – in 1635 to be precise – the council of the Four Lands worried about the increase in *agunes* and decided to send special officials to the Germanies and Bohemia in order to track down men who had left their wives,³² a situation reflected in this song.

Jonathan I. Israel is of the opinion that “the significance of this Polish Jewish migration westwards during the mid-seventeenth century has in the past been absurdly exaggerated” and that “the majority of the Ashkenazi immigrants into the Dutch provinces and the Hamburg region in the 1650s and 1660s were ‘High German’ and not ‘Polish’.”³³ Since it is impossible to engage in a historical argument at this point, it might be enough to respond to the controversial views of Shulvass and Israel that the character of the Polish Jew did not make its way into the text by accident (whether or not the song is based on a true story). By the time “Ezekiel, son of the learned fellow Rabbi Zechari-

28 Shulvass 1971: 14.

29 Ibid.: 20f; 25–43.

30 Ibid.: 28f.

31 Much could be said, of course, about the often problematic ‘hospitality’ of the German Jews, as is well reflected in Yiddish sources.

32 Shulvass 1971: 22.

33 Israel 1985: 135.

ah” wrote his work, Polish Jews in Germany must have been a common enough phenomenon or were at least a *sujeet* that was easily recognized by readers. However great or small the actual number of newcomers may have been, using a *polak* as protagonist meant that the audience associated certain stereotypes with it and maybe even had expectations about how the subject would be treated (for this, see 5.2). All in all, *A Beautiful New Song: What Happened in Hamburg* seems to reflect a post-1648 situation, even if we have no other clear indication except the printing date. The same holds true for the factor of an increasing number of *agunes*, the ‘fate’ of one of whom (whether real or imagined) is depicted in the text. Furthermore, Yoyne, the protagonist of the song, has no clear source of income – how he spends his time and how he earns a living is unknown, but he seems to be no proper business man and certainly is no religious authority. Instead, he is marked by unruly and indecent social behavior. This image would fit a time when the poorer strata of Polish Jewish society were a factor within the Germanies, marking the reversal of a situation: Eastern Jews, for decades regarded first and foremost as learned and gladly brought into the German countries as teachers, rabbis, cantors, religious slaughterers and so forth, were now in the process of decline and pauperization, and had to migrate under completely different circumstances.

5.2 Yiddish Sources on the Relations between German and Polish Jews from the 16th and 17th century and ‘A Beautiful New Song: What Happened in Hamburg’

The Early Modern Period is a most fascinating time with regard to Ashkenazi consciousness. On the one hand – especially, but not only, after the expulsion from Spain and the influx of Sephardim into the Ashkenazic realm – a clear awareness of a cultural uniqueness and separation from ‘other’ Jewish traditions is evident. This self-awareness of ‘Ashkenaz as Ashkenaz’ seems to increase due to various cultural confrontations. At the same time, however, beside a pan-Ashkenazi consciousness, very strong local identities become apparent.³⁴ Especially in popular culture, this growing rift lies at the basis of many a literary piece depicting Jewish characters from the various realms of the Ashkenazic world, among them not only German and Polish Jews,³⁵ but also

34 This is why “at least by the seventeenth century, if not earlier, one might speak of a ‘Polak’ in contradistinction to an ‘Ashkenazic’ Jew. The latter term, in other words, reverted in some measure to its earlier denotation of a Jew in German lands. Nevertheless, Ashkenazic Jewry by the seventeenth century was coterminous with those who spoke Yiddish in its various dialects and followed Mosheh Isserles’ glosses to the Halakhic code, *Shulhan ‘arukh*” (Marcus 2008: 79). A valuable article on the subject is Teller 2008.

35 What Steven E. Aschheim wrote about modern times partly holds true for the Early Modern period as well: “It is important to recognize that the stereotyping was not limited

protagonists from Italy or Prague, for example. The various Ashkenazim are then characterized by various cultural aspects, encompassing many aspects of daily and religious life.

Yiddish sources offer an almost unbroken stream of references as to these various images: one of the earliest is the *Bovo d'Antona* (composed in Padua 1507, first printed in Isny 1541) by Elye Bokher. In a tavern scene, Bovo pretends to be from Poland and is immediately confronted with Tirits' assessment of those who come from there: they only want to stuff themselves with food, and to woo and court ladies; they are starving beggars, and this is the true reason why they leave their country.³⁶ Around 1600 the *Khazonim-shpil* of the so-called Walikh manuscript introduces a 'classical' Ashkenazic triad in form of an Ashkenaz (meaning a 'German'), a Polish, and an Italian Jewish cantor (hence, *Khazonim-shpil*), who are compared with respect to their eating habits. Since most of this *Purim-shpil* is lost, we do not know if and how the play elaborated further on their cultural differences. Choosing cantors as protagonists at least opens the possibility of them 'competing' musically, too.³⁷

The most famous and elaborate literary example for the expression of a pre-Haskalah inner-Ashkenazic bias, though, was written in the second half of the 17th century (maybe around 1675–1680). It is "The Description of (an) Ashkenaz and (a) Polish Jew" (די בשרייבונג פון אשכנז און פאלק *Di báschreibung fun Ašcenas un Polák*).³⁸ Its title is somewhat misleading, since it features not only a German and a Polish Jew, but also a representative of Prague's Jewry. The three argue most fervently about the merits and shortcomings of their respective cultures, thereby delving into almost every imaginable subject. In the piece, written in form of a dialogue, the protagonists debate about religious learning and observance; intellectual capabilities; virtues such as hospitality and moderation; dress and appearance; eating and drinking habits; social behavior, marriage customs (at what age and under what circumstances) and married life, treatment of children, and so forth.³⁹

to German Jewish conceptions of Eastern ghetto Jews. German Jews also had their particular place in the folklore and popular literature of East European Jewry. In many ways the respective East-West stereotypes were inverted images of each other." Aschheim 1982: 249. 36 Already mentioned by Erik [1928] 1979: 262f. See the edition by Rosenzweig 2007: v. 518.1–5. I am indebted to Claudia Rosenzweig for finding and sending me the concrete verse for Erik's general reference.

37 For this play see, for instance, Shmeruk 1979: 105; Shmeruk 1988: 200; Butzer 2003: 73–77; Aptroot 2010: 298–300, Matut 2011 (I): 452–454, (II): 379–383.

38 Opp. 80 1061, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Originally, two copies of this text existed in the Bodleiana. When Max Weinreich visited, though, one was already missing and has not reappeared.

39 See Erik [1928] 1979: 262–265; Weinreich 1929: col. 537–553; Shulvass 1971: 25; Low-

Undoubtedly, this verbal dispute reflects a post-1648 situation, which is clear for text-immanent reasons as well, since the protagonists refer to the war(s). When Max Weinreich edited *Di báschraibung*, he included a second text with a related theme called “A Nice History about a Polish Jew” (*Ain schène hiſtorie fun ain Polak* / איין שינה היסטאריע פון איין פאלק).⁴⁰ Probably printed in Prague during the second half of the 18th century, this text is extremely relevant for *A Beautiful New Song: What Happened in Hamburg*, since it also tells the ‘story’ of a Polish Jew coming to Germany. He, too, is married, and in addition to that, he has debts. Therefore, he makes his way into the *medine Ashkenaz* (!),⁴¹ where he marries a second wife and starts to have children with her. Since he can’t stand children, he chooses to move on and the story continues with the two wives accusing him together and him being forced by the *beys-din* to give one of them a divorce.

It is fascinating to have at least two texts from the 17th century that borrow the cliché of a Polish Jew who takes a second wife in Germany without being divorced, has children with her in the new country, is brought before a *beys-din* and is, all in all, a rather dubious character. As was said before, it is not by chance that this century brought forth such types and personages in Yiddish literature, since they reflect a specific historical situation.

It would be a commendable achievement to think further at this point and compare these images of Polish and German Jews to those in texts of the 18th century⁴² as well as later *Haskole* comedies and maybe even to the stereotype *Ost-* and *Westjude* of the 19th and 20th century. The question would be whether some of these earlier typologizations still resonate in the literature and images of later periods.

5.3 The Situation in Hamburg-Altona in the Late 17th Century: the Song and its Historical Reality

Max Weinreich was convinced that a real historical event led to the composition of the text: „אויך דאָ האָבן מיר געוויס צו טון מיט אַ פֿאַקטישער פּאַסירונג. (Here as well we are certainly dealing with a real event).⁴³

To start with the facts, one has to say that no legal case is known to us from 17th century Hamburg-Altona that would support the story of

enstein 1997: 73f, fn. 1; Butzer 2003: 73f; Aptroot 2010: 298–300; Matut 2011 (11): 380–384; Geller 2012: 357–368.

40 Sign. 1979.c.25, British Library, London (4 pages; Octavo-format). Weinreich 1929: col. 551–554.

41 Weinreich 1929: col 552.

42 For a very valuable overview, see Aptroot 2010: 295–318. Further material will be made accessible by Berger (forthcoming).

43 Weinreich 1928: 261.

our song (or at least none has been found so far). Neither the archives of the *Senat* (city council, senate) nor those of the *Geistliches Ministerium* (clerical ministry) contain any information about a Polish Jew being imprisoned for bigamy or on behalf of his first wife. Other legal case files from this century that could be relevant did not survive.⁴⁴

It would have been fascinating to find a true historical event to be the basis of this song. However, this does not influence its validity as ‘historical source-material’ for various reasons. First of all, the situation of Ashkenazi Jews during the Early Modern Period is well captured in the text: main centers of living play a role (Poland–Amsterdam–Hamburg); ways of travelling (Amsterdam–Friesland–Hamburg–Altona), the juridical system (*beys-din*; city council) and the executive in Hamburg-Altona, women’s autonomy (traveling alone) and dependence (on a relative) are depicted and, last not least, a Polish Jew in Hamburg represents an underlying reality or at least a perception of reality as well (see 5.1 and 5.2). Furthermore, as we’ve seen above, the image of Polish Jewry in the German-speaking lands became a topos or sujet laden with resentment during the Early Modern Period. As such, our song represents an important source for the development of Western Jewry’s view on their Eastern coreligionists. Therefore, the text is a true historical source, even if the actual case may never have happened.

The conditions of Jewish life in Hamburg (and Altona) are especially well captured in the text for various reasons:

(1) The general picture. According to Jonathan I. Israel, the 17th century was a time of “stagnant or falling population in much or most of continental Europe,” but the situation was different for the Jewish communities. There, one notices a “rapid increase of numbers in almost all of the regions where they were permitted to live.”⁴⁵ And for Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbek he explicitly states:⁴⁶

44 I am deeply indebted to Jutta Braden, expert on Hamburg’s Jewish history of the 17th century, for this information; (Braden 2001). She told me, too, about the case of a Polish Jew being sentenced to pay a financial penalty in 1671 because he “married his beloved.” The name of this Polish Jew was Mos(he) Salomon: “13. 5. 1671: Mos. Salomon weil er sich gegenst dieser Stadt Verfassung midt seiner Liebsten copuliren Laßen” (‘13th of May 1671: Mos. Salomon because he married his beloved against the constitution of this city’) (Source: Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 332-1 1, Bestand Wedde 1, 11 Band 1 [Strafen]). However close the resemblance to our case might seem, we do not have enough information to verify a direct connection.

45 Israel 1985: 134.

46 Ibid.: 135. The picture varied, of course. After 1650 hardly any Jews remained in Vienna; the Jewish community in Prague suffered from the plague (1680) and the great fire (1689); Frankfurt recovered slowly, and around 1700 only 2000 Jews lived there. Lvov, Cracow and Lublin tended to stagnate in size, while Amsterdam grew, outstripping Prague and Rome.

Figures are lacking for Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbek as a whole, but we do know that, in Hamburg proper around 1660, there were approximately 120 Sephardi and between 40 and 50 Ashkenazi families, giving a total of around 800; for the entire city, including Altona and Wandsbek, the combined Sephardi-Ashkenazi population had probably outstripped that of Frankfurt by 1700 to become the second-largest concentration of Jew in the Empire after Prague.

(2) Ashkenazim in Hamburg. For decades, the Ashkenazi community in 17th-century Hamburg proper could develop only under the auspices of the Sefardim. Since 1610/11, Ashkenazim worked in the city and had non-permanent rights of residency – but only as servants and employees of their Spanish-Portuguese coreligionists.⁴⁷ Without a proper permit, Ashkenazim were not allowed to stay in the city overnight and therefore had to return to their home places after work (most commonly in the more liberal Danish-Holstein towns).

(3) Polish Jews and Hamburg. According to Shulvass, the year 1656 must have been extraordinary. He reports that in the fall of that year “a number of refugees from Poland were staying within the vicinity of Hamburg.” The Sephardim obviously helped them generously and provided boats for them to travel on, covering their travel expenses.⁴⁸ Furthermore, when large groups of Polish Jews had to stop in Lübeck on their way to Altona in the same year, the Sephardim of Hamburg helped them immediately, too, and made an official appeal so as to raise money. It is difficult to imagine how a person like Yoyne could gain a permanent right of residence in Hamburg proper given the city’s restrictive policy of admittance.

(4) Communal Structure. At the time the song was printed, the towns of Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbek formed a so called *Dreige-meinde* (Triple-community) – abbreviated as אה”ט (אד”ט) – but they shared a common *beys-din* with the majority of Jews living in Danish Altona. This explains why, in the song, “Altona and Hamburg” (verse 14.5) knew all about the sorrows of Yoyne’s first wife: first of all, because people would bring the news with them from Hamburg to their hometown in Altona, and second, because Yoyne had to appear before a *beys-din*, which would have gathered in Altona, too.

47 Only a handful of Ashkenazim lived in the city before that time.

48 Shulvass 1971: 28.

(5) The role of the city council. Throughout the text, the city council or senate of Hamburg is depicted as extremely friendly towards the Jews. Not only is Yoyne's first wife treated fairly and sympathetically – legal executive actions are even taken on her behalf – but also his second one, Fraydkhen, claims that she has a good relationship with the masters of the city (which is of no use in this case, since she is in the wrong). This reflects a historical situation. By all accounts, the city council of Hamburg seems to have been quite liberal and relatively welcoming towards a Jewish (also an Ashkenazic Jewish) settlement in town. Obviously, there was a substantial rift between their rather generous approach and the partly unfavorable one of the town's citizens.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it was not uncommon for a Jewish community or its members to appeal to a non-Jewish court or instance throughout the Early Modern Period.

(6) The *beys-din* and the city council. Legal Affairs. In the story of the song, Yoyne's first wife and her brother turn to a religious court in order to decide the situation. This was common procedure, since questions of family law belonged to the sphere of 'ecclesiastical' or 'Church law' (they were part of the so-called *Ceremonialsachen*) – in this case, to the Jewish religious law (הלכה). From a legal point of view, Church law and *Halakhah* meant the same thing, namely that marriage and divorce cases were not part of secular, civil legislation, but subject to and part of religious discretionary competence.⁵⁰ Especially for Altona, it is known that the competence of the *beys-din* reached quite far (not only in terms of decisions but also in terms of geography: they ruled for Hamburg and all of Schleswig-Holstein) and that their privileges were confirmed in 1680.⁵¹

With regard to the text at hand, we are left with several questions: Was it written shortly before it was printed? Was its author a Western Jew or did he come from the East? Is it a moralistic piece about *agunes* and a warning to Jewish men? Is it simply part of a literature based on using Polish Jews as cliché or stereotype, or is it based on historical fact? Is the unnamed first wife a real character or is she an embodied image of the אשת־חַיִל (Woman of Valor)?

At this point, there is no room to answer these questions, but hopefully our understanding of the text and its context will grow through the further (re-)discovery of Yiddish sources as valuable and important documents of literary, social and political history.

49 For general information on the subject, see Braden 2001 and Grunwald 1904.

50 Gotzmann 2008: 44f, 53–56.

51 Ibid.: 54, 56.



Ill. 2: Title page of Opp. 8° 1120 (B), Bodleian Library, Oxford

איין שיין נייא ליד	[1]	ain schèn nei' lid
וואש צו האמבורג איז גישעהן	[2]	was zu Hamburg is gèschehèn
וויא אייניר צו האמבורג האט איין הור גינומן .	[3]	wi' ainèr zu Hamburg hot ain hur gènumèn ·
אונ' זיין ערשטי פרויא האט דאש גיהערט אונ'	[4]	un` sein erstè frau' hot das gèhert un`
איז אויז פולן קומן : וויא ער איר האט מוזן	[5]	is ous Pòlèn kumèn : wi' er ir hot musèn
גט געבין . עש העט אין באלד גיקאשט זיין	[6]	get ¹ gebèn · es het in bald gèkošt sein
לעבין : דען ער איז אויף דאש חיות תפוס	[7]	lebèn : den er is ouf das hajess ² thofu ³
גיוועזין . העט דיא ערשטי פרויא ניט פאר	[8]	gèwesèn · het di' erstè frau' nit far
אין גיבעטן ער העט ניט קענין גינעזין : אונ'	[9]	in gèbetèn er het nit kenèn gènesèn : un`
וויא ער איז מיט זייניר אנדרי פרויא פריידדין	[10]	wi' er is mit seinèr anderè frau' Fraidchèn
דיא הור אויז האמבורג גיאגט . דאש זייא	[11]	di' hur ous Hamburg gèjagt · das sei'
איך פאר איין גיווישי ווארהייט גיזאגט : זער	[12]	eich far ain gèwišé worhait gèsagt : ser
שיין דרינן צו לייאין אודר צו זינגן וויא עש איינים	[13]	schèn drinèn zu lai'èn odèr zu singèn wi' es ainèm
איטליכעם גיפֿעלט . איר קענט עש קויפן אום	[14]	itlichèm gèfelt · ir kent es kaufèn um
איין גירינג געלט :	[15]	ain gèring gelt :
בניגון	[16]	benigen⁴
איין מאלט דאש איך לושט	[17]	ain molt das ich lùst
ביקאם .	[18]	bèkam ·
באמשטירדאם	[19]	be'Amstèrdam
בבית דוד די קאשטרו	[20]	bebèss Dovid dè Kastrò
תארתאס יצ"ו ¹	[21]	Tharthaš jaz`u
שנת התל"ה לפ"ק ²	[22]	šnass hetl`k ⁵

1 'His rock and redeemer may protect him.'

2 'minor era.'

1 'document of divorce.'

2 'life.'

3 'imprisoned.'

4 'in the melody (tune) (of).'

5 'The year 5435 minor era' (= 1675). The formula "minor era" is usually used if the year is written without the thousands. In this case, however, the thousands are given, so the formula is unnecessary.

- [2^r] bèss ⁵²
- [1] hert mir zu ir libè leit,
 waś sich hot far-lafèn zu disèr zeit,
 waś zu Hamburg is geschehèn:
 es is gèkumèn ous Pòlèn ain bèsèr man [r. mon],
 der do hot gar fil ma' eśim-ro'im ⁵³ gèton,
 das hot got nit lengèr kenèn zu-sehèn.
- [2] Jòne, jimaḥ-šemò,⁵⁴ is er gènant,
 in alè bèsè štik is er wòl bèkant,
 ain hur hot er sich gènumèn.
 do daś di erstè frau' hot wordèn gèwar [r. gèwor],
 far grósè laid reišèt si' sich ous irè hor,
 ken Amstèrdam is si' gèkumèn.
- [3] do find di' gutè frau' irèn brudèr do
 un` èrzèlt im, wi' ir der man hot gèton also.
 „ach got, waś sol ich armè frau' an-fangèn?“
 der brudèr sagt: „du libè schweštèr mein,
 got der almechtig sol unsèr bei-štand sein!
 sag mir, wi' hot es her-gègangèn?“
- [4] si' šprach: „du' libèr brudèr mein,
 ò wè' gèschri'èn di' grósè pein!
 es sein nun bei' etlichè jorèn,
 daś er is gèzògèn fun mir awekèn.
 ich hab in gèsucht in alèn ekèn
 ich hab gèmainèt er wer far-lorèn.
- [5] eś habèn mir abèr gèsagt di' leit,
 di' aso hèrum-wandèrn alè zeit,
 daś er hot zu Hamburg ain hur gènumèn!
 drum, mein libèr brudèr, mein libś kind,
 zich mit mir noch Hamburg gèschwind,
 daś ich mecht bei' den hedièt ⁵⁵ kumèn“
- [6] der brudèr mit seinèr schweštèr, di warèn nit treg,
 si' machtèn sich alè baidè ouf den weg.
 dorch Friś-land warèn si' noch Hamburg zihèn
 in fróšt un` kelt un` hungèrs-nót,
 si' sein bald gèfrorèn tót,
 si' ferchtèn sich, der hedièt ⁵⁶ mecht in èntfliehèn!

52 Number 'two.'

53 Pl. 'bad deeds.'

54 'May his name be obliterated,' curse after a name is mentioned. Still to be found in modern Yiddish, see Niborski 1999: ימח שמו.

55 'Plain, simple person,' here with a negative connotation. Still used in modern Yiddish; see Niborski 1999: דהדייט *hedyet*.

56 See 5.6.

ב

2r

- [1] הערט מיר צו איר ליבי לייט .
וואש זיך האט פֿאר לאפֿין צו דיזר צייט :
וואש צו האמבורג איז גישעהן .
עש איז גיקומן אויז פולין איין ביזר מאן .
דער דא האט גאר פֿיל מעשים רעים גיטאן :
דאש האט גאט ניט לענגיר קענין צו זעהן :
- [2] יונדה ימח שמו איז ער גינאנט .
אין אלי ביזי שטיק איז ער וואול ביקאנט .
איין הור האט ער זיך גינומן .
דא דאש דיא ערשטי פרויא האט ווארדן גיוואר .
פֿאר גרושי לייד רייסיט זיא זיך אויש אירי האר .
קען אמשטירדאם איז זיא גיקומן :
- [3] דא פֿינד דיא גוטי פֿרויא אירן ברודר דא .
אונ' ארצילט אים וויא איר דער מאן האט גיטאן אלזא .
אך גאט וואש זאל איך ארמי פֿרויא אן פֿאנגין .
דער ברודר זאגט דוא ליבי שוועסטר מיין .
גאט דער אלמעכטיג זאל אונזיר ביי שטאנד זיין .
זאג מיר וויא האט עש הער גיגאנגין :
- [4] זיא שפראך דוא ליבר ברודר מיין .
או וויא גישריאן דיא גרושי פיין .
עש זיין נון בייא עטליכני יארן .
דאש ער איז גיצוגן פון מיר אוועקן .
איך האב אין גיזוכט אין אלין עקין .
איך האב גימיינט ער ווער פֿאר לארין :
- [5] עש האבן מיר אביר גיזאגט דיא לייט .
דיא אזא הרום וואנדיין אלי צייט .
דאש ער האט צו האמבורג איין הור גינומן .
דרום מיין ליבר ברודר מיין ליבש קינד .
ציך מיט מיר נאך האמבורג גישווינד .
דאש איך מעכט בייא דען הדיוט קומן :
- [6] דער ברודר מיט זיינר שוועסטר דיא ווארן ניט טרעג .
זיא מאכטן זיך אלי ביידי אויף דען וועג .
דארך פֿריש לאנד ווארן זיא נאך האמבורג ציהן .
אין פֿרושט אונ' קעלט אונ' הונגירש נוט .
זיא זיין באלד גיפרארין טוט .
זיא פֿערכטן זיך דער הדיוט מעכט אין אנטפֿליהן :

[R:] do

[2v]

[7] do Jōnĕ, jimaḥ-šemo,⁵⁷ is daś wordĕn inĕn,
do hot er sich nit lang tun bĕsinĕn,
noch dem schwogĕr tet er schikĕn:
„šolĕm-‘alĕchem, ei, wu kumt ir her?
sagt mir dōch epĕs nei’ĕ mer!“
far grōsĕr behole⁵⁸ tet er bald der-štikĕn.

[8] der schwogĕr sagt: „eś sein grōsĕ ḥidušim⁵⁹ far-handĕn,
daś mir habĕn gĕhert in fremdĕ landĕn!
drum sein mir her gĕkumĕn.
du’ lōsĕr man, sag mir her:
waś is dōch mit dir der mer,
daś du’ hošt ain andĕrĕ frau,’un` der-zu ain hur gĕnumĕn?

[9] bei’ dein frum keštlich weib!
du’ hediĕt⁶⁰ bišt nit wert an-zu-rirĕn irĕn leib!
an dir hediĕt is jō’ zu-mol kain broche⁶¹!
do hub der tomĕ⁶² zu schrei’ĕn an:
„eś is šeker-vecosev,⁶³ ich bin nit ir man!
ich ken si’ nit ódĕr ir mišpoĕ!“

[10] do der schwogĕr daś hot fun im gĕhert,
daś der hediĕt⁶⁴ sein erstĕ frau’ ganz zu far-laikĕnĕn⁶⁵ bĕgert,
er šprach: „daś mus ich andĕršt machĕn!“
ain bĕss-din⁶⁶ liĕ er sezĕn ebĕn,
si’ soltĕn ain mišpet⁶⁷ gebĕn,
as wi’ do gĕhert zu selchĕ sachĕn.

57 See 2.1.

58 ‘panic; commotion’; still used in modern Yiddish, see Niborski 1999: בדהלה.

59 Pl. ‘remarkable things; novelties.’

60 See 5.6.

61 ‘Blessing’; *an dir ... is jō’ zu-mol kain broche* is probably a proverbial expression, meaning ‘there is nothing good about you.’

62 ‘unclean person; devilish, corrupted’; for modern Yiddish, see Niborski 1999: טמא.

63 ‘lie and falsehood; complete lie’; also modern Yiddish, see Niborski 1999: שקר ובוז.

64 See 5.6.

65 ‘to renounce.’

66 ‘religious (rabbinical) court.’

67 ‘sentence; judgment.’

דא

[2v]

[7] דא דא
 דא יונה ימח שמו איז דאש ווארדן אינן .
 דא האט ער זיך ניט לאנג טון ביזינגן .
 נאך דעם שוואגיר טעט ער שיקן .
 שלום עליכם איי וואו קומט איר הער .
 זאגט מיר דוך עפיש נייאי מער .
 פֿאר גרושיר בהלה טעט ער באלד דער שטיקן :

[8] דער
 שוואגר זאגט עש זיין גרושי חדושים פֿאר האנדן .
 דש מיר האבן גיהערט אין פֿרעמדי לאנדן .
 דרום זיין מיר הער גיקומן .
 דוא לוזיר מאן זאג מיר הער .
 וואש איז דוך מיט דיר דער מער .
 דאש דוא האשט איין אנדרי פֿרויא אונ' דער צו איין הור גינומן :

[9] בייא
 דיין פֿרום קעשטליך ווייב .
 דוא הדיוט בישט ניט ווערט אן צו רירן אירן לייב .
 אן דיר הדיוט איז יוא צו מאל קיין ברכה .
 דא הוב דער טמא צו שרייאין אן .
 עש איז שקר וכזב⁶⁸ איך בין ניט איר מאן .
 איך קען זיא ניט אודר איר משפחה :

[10] דא
 דער שוואגיר דאש האט פֿון אים גיהערט .
 דאש דער הדיוט זיין ערשטי פֿרויא גאנץ צו פֿאר לייקינגן ביגערט .
 ער שפראך דאש מוז איך אנדרשט מאכֿן .
 איין בית דין ליס ער זעצין עבין .
 זיא זאלטן איין משפט געבין .
 אז וויא דא גיהערט צו זעלכי זאכֿן .

- [11] דא דא האט די אנדרי פֿרויא ארפֿארין .
 דא האט זיא זיך אויך ניט טון שפארין .
 מיט דער ערשטי פֿרויא הוב זיא אן צו קריגן אונ' צו צאנקין .
 איך האב דיין מאן ווען עש דיר שון ניט גיפֿעלט .
 אונ' דוא ביקומשט דער צו פֿון אים קיין העליר געלט .
 מעכשטו גט פֿון אים קריגן אזא זעלשטו יוא גאט דאנקין :
- [12] ערשטי פֿרויא שפראך דאש טוא איך ניט .
 עש זייא דען דין תורה ברענגט עש אזא מיט .
 דעם רב אונ' בית דין שטעל איך עש אין האנדן .
 איך מיין עש ווער
- [3r] בעשיר
 ג
- בעשיר⁷⁹ צו לעבין מיט זיינים ערליכֿן ווייב .
 אונ' זיא צו ליבן אז זיין אייגין לייב .
 אז מיט פֿריידֿין דיא הור צו לעבן אין שאנדן :
- [13] דא האט דאש בית דין גיפסקנת פֿיין .
 יונה זאל זיך פֿון דער הורן פורש⁸⁰ זיין .
 ביז מאן ווערט דרויש לערנין עבין .
 וועלכי פֿרויא ער ביהאלטן מעכט .
 דער מיט דאש קייניר גישעך אונרעכט .
 אזא מוזט ער יוא דאך גיוויש אייניר גט געבין :
- [14] יונה ימד שמו האט אביר אויף דען רב אונ' בית דין ניקש טון געבין .
 נייאירט ער האט גיפֿירט זיין הורן לעבין .
 אין איסור אונ' הפֿרשה האט ער טון בלייבן .
 וואש דיא ערשטי פֿרויא האט פֿאר צער גיהאט .
 דאש ווייש מאן וואול צו ק"ק אלטנויא אונ' צו האמבורג אין דער שטאט .
 ווער קאן עש אלש דער שרייבן :

79 In print: בעשיר (ב with Raphe).

80 Should be פרוש. This mistake is significant, though, since it reflects on the actual pronunciation.

- [15] far di' 'eze⁸¹ jor`h⁸² is si' gétretén,
 di herén hot si' gar ser gèbetén,
 man solt ir doch zu-herén.
 di' rošé-'ezess⁸³ frogétén: „junk-frau', waś is ei'ër bëger
 ôdér worum seit ir gèkumén ain-her?
 sagt ei'ër nót sundèr alè bèschwerén!“
- [16] si' šprach: „ir grós ginštigè herén un` weisèr rot,
 eich mus ich klagén meinè nót,
 mein herzè-laid un` gròse schmerzén:
 mein man is hi'-her ous Pòlén gèkumén
 un` hot hi' ainè andèrè frau' un` der-zu ain hur gènumén!
 wi' hot er daś kenén habén in seinèm herzén?“
- [17] do di' herén recht far-štundén di' sach,
 do gobén si' der frau' ain brīvchén an di' wach:
 man solt ir muškétirèr mit-gebén.
 der ófizirèr hot daś brīvchén an-gènumén
 un` šprach: „di'-weil es is fun di' herén gèkumén
 so musén mir ir helfén ebèn!“
- [18] noch dem hous zu gingén fir muškétirèr mit,
 si' suchétén
- [R:] Jòne
- [3v] Jòne übèr-al, si' gèfandén in abèr nit.
 si' sagétén: „daś sein gar wunderlichè sachén!“
 der frau'èn brudèr šprach: „ir libén herén mein,
 sucht doch in dem schorèn-štain!
 fil-leicht hot er sich drein far-kròchén!“
- [19] di' muškétirèr šprochén: „daś is werlich wor,
 es felt auch wòl nit um ain hor,
 drum musén mir übèr-al recht wòl zu-sehén!“
 do si' nun kamén bei' den schorèn-štain zu gén,
 do gèfundén si' bar-Homen drinèn štèn.
 do daś nun war gèschehén,

81 Usually 'advice'; but the meaning here is 'city council,' see: Weinreich 1928: 263, fn. no. 1, and Kleine and Steffers-Maus 2007.

82 ירום הודו *jorum hódó* 'his glory may endure'; also used as eulogy for non-Jewish rulers.

83 The meaning here is probably 'members of the city council,' see: Kleine and Steffers-Maus 2007.

- [15] פֿאר דיא עצה יר"ה איז זיא גיטרעטן .
 דיא הערן האט זיא גאר זער גיבעטן .
 מאן זאלט איר דאך צו הערין .
 דיא ראשי עצות פֿראגטן יונק פֿרויא וואש איז אייאיר ביגער .
 אודר ווארום זייט איר גיקומן איין הער .
 זאגט אייאיר נוט זונדר אלי בישווערין .
- [16] זיא שפראך איר גרוש גינשטיגי הערן אונ' ווייזיר ראט .
 אייך מוז איך קלאגין מייני נוט .
 מיין הערצי לייד אונ' גרושי שמערצין .
 מיין מאן איז היא הער אויז פולין גיקומן .
 אונ' האט היא אייני אנדרי פֿרויא אונ' דער צו איין הור גינומן .
 וויא האט ער דאש קענין האבין אין זיינים הערצין :
- [17] דיא הערן רעכט פֿאר שטונדן דיא זאך .
 דא גאבן זיא דער פֿרויא איין בריבֿכין אן דיא וואך .
 מאן זאלט איר מושקטירר מיט געבין .
 דער אופיצירר האט דאש בריבֿכין אן גינומן .
 אונ' שפראך דיא ווייל עש איז פֿון דיא הערן גיקומן .
 זא מוזן מיר איר העלפֿין עבין :
- [18] נאך דעם הויז צו גינגן פֿיר מושקטירר מיט .
 זיא זוכיטן
- יונה [3v] יונה אויבר אל זיא גיפֿאנדן אין אביר ניט .
 זיא זאגטן דאש זיין גאר וואונדערליכי זאכֿן .
 דער פֿרויאן ברודר שפראך איר ליבן הערן מיין .
 זוכט דאך אין דעם שארן שטיין .
 פֿיל לייכט האט ער זיך דריין פֿאר קרוכֿין .
- [19] דיא מושקטירר שפראכן דאש איז ווערליך וואר .
 עש פֿעלט אויך וואול ניט אום איין האר .
 דרום מוזן מיר אויבר אל רעכט וואול צו זעהן .
 דא זיא נון קאמן בייא דען שארין שטיין צו גין .
 דא גיפֿונדן זיא בר המן דרינן שטין .
 דא דאש נון וואר גישעהן .

- [20] di' mušketirèr hubèn in an zu schlepfn.
 der tomë⁸⁴ der-schrak un` mainèt, man wert in thecef⁸⁵ kepfèn!
 gar bitèr hub er an zu wainèn un` zu schrei`èn:
 „ir libè herèn lost mich štèn,
 ich wil gerèn mit eich gèn,
 got der her wert mir meinè sind far-zei`èn!“
- [21] do Jòņe nun tet in der thefiše sizèn,
 er kont far kelt nit an-hébèn zu schwizèn,
 wi' gerèn wer er widèr arous gèwesèn!
 aso sol eš al den gèn, di' sich far got nit schemèn,
 un` sich zwai' weibèr nemèn,
 di' kenèn far gotš štrof nit gèsesèn.
- [22] do er nun in der thefiše war gèsesèn
 un` hot nit fil zu trinkèn odèr zu esèn,
 sein andèr frau' Fraidchèn, di' hur, kont daš nit lengèr far-tragèn:
 si' štund ouf ous dem kind-bet
 un` hub an zu laufèn um di' wet,
 bei' den man un` hub an zu sagèn:
- [23] „òch got, waš hoštu nun gèton?
 freg dein erštè frau', waš si' wil fun dir hon!
 du' wilšt ir doch gerèn get gebèn!“
 „sag ir, mit meinèm tót is dir doch bëholfèn nischt!
 drum bit ich dich, lema'an hašem,⁸⁶ zu disèr frišt,
 mach doch, daš ich mecht bëhaltèn mein lebèn!“
- [4r] [R:] un`
 dalet⁸⁷
- [24] „un` ich wil auch bei' di' roš-'ezess gèn,
 den ich tu' gar wòl mit in štèn!
 ich hof, si' werdèn mir auch zu-herèn.
 ich wil redèn alès, waš mir müglich is,
 so waiš ich den gar wòl far gèwiš,
 si' werdèn mir meinè bet gèwerèn!“

84 See 9.4.

85 'immediately, instantly; at once.'

86 'For the love of God'; still used in modern Yiddish, see Niborski 1999: למען השם.

87 Number 'four.'

[20] דיא מושקטירר הובן אין אן צו שלעפפֿין .
 דער טמא דער שראק אונ' מיינט מאן ווערט אין תכף קעפפֿין .
 גאר ביטר הוב ער אן צו וויינן אונ' צו שרייאן .
 איר ליבי הערן לאזט מיך שטין .
 איך וויל גערין מיט אייך גין .
 גאט דער הער ווערט מיר מייני זינד פֿאר צייאין :

[21] דא יונה נון טעט אין דער תפֿיסה זיצן .
 ער קאנט פֿאר קעלט ניט אן היבן צו שוויצן .
 וויא גערין ווער ער ווידר ארויז גיוועזין .
 אזא זאל עש אל דען גין דיא זיך פֿאר גאט ניט שעמין .
 אונ' זיך צווייא ווייבר נעמין .
 דיא קענין פֿאר גאטש שטראף ניט גינעזין :

[22] דא ער נון אין דער תפֿיסה וואר גיזעסין .
 אונ' האט ניט פֿיל צו טרינקן אודר צו עשין .
 זיין אנדר פֿרויא פֿריידליך דיא הור קאנט דאש ניט לענגיר פֿאר טראגין .
 זיא שטונד אויף אויז דעם קינד בעט .
 אונ' הוב אן צו לויפֿן אום דיא וועט .
 בייא דען מאן אונ' הוב אן צו זאגין :

[23] אוך גאט וואש האשטו נון גיטאן .
 פֿרעג דיין ערשטי פֿרויא וואש זיא וויל פֿון דיר האן .
 דוא ווילשט איר דאך גערין גט געבין .
 זאג איר מיט מיינים טוט איז דיר דאך ביהאלפֿין נישט .
 דרום ביט איך דיך למען השם צו דיזר פֿרישט .
 מאך דאך דאש איך מעכט ביהאלטן מיין לעבין :

אונ'
 ד

[4r]
 [24] אונ' איך וויל אויך בייא דיא ראש עצות גין .
 דען איך טוא גאר וואול מיט אין שטין .
 איך האף זיא ווערדן מיר אויך צו הערין .
 איך וויל רידן אלש וואש מיר מויגליך איז .
 זא ווייש איך דען גאר וואול פֿאר גיוויש .
 זיא ווערדן מיר מייני בעט גיווערין

- [25] si' hot abèr bei' den herèn niks ous-gèricht,
do hot si' nit gèwißt wi' ir gèschicht,
daś aso ain macę⁸⁸ is ouf ir gèkumèn.
daś is gèwesèn der mòsèrthę⁸⁹ rechtè lon,
den si' hot der ganzè kehilę gar wè' gèton!
ain schènè mapolę⁹⁰ hot si' ein-gènumèn.
- [26] do man nun hot gesehèn, daś špil tut kain gut,
eś wert Jone kostèn sein gut un` blut,
zu der erstèn frau' is man gègangèn
un` hot ir gèsagt: „sich zu, waś du' gèdenkšt,
daś du' ain bar-Jišro'el um daś hajęss brengšt!
er wert 'efšer gèkepft ódèr wól gar gèhangèn!“
- [27] di' gutè frau' ging zu dem roše' bei' di' thefišę hin
un` šprach zu im: „du' mechšt mich leicht gèfindèn in dem sin,
un` wolt an dir tun ain hüpschè nekome!⁹¹
abèr ich hab, borech-hašem, ain judèsch herz,
wen du' mich gleich hošt gèbracht in grošè schmerz!
ich bèdenk abèr mein nešome!“⁹²
- [28] do šprach der hedię: ⁹³ „het ich di' hur nit gènumèn,
aso wer ich nit in daś zorešs ⁹⁴ gèkumèn!
ich wil der hur daś schön bèzalèn: [r. bèzolèn]
ich wil nun zihèn in ain fremd lant,
wu ich gar nit bin békant,
ain dritè frau' wil ich mir holèn!“
- [29] do ging di' frau' widèr far di' herèn tretèn,
un` um sein lebèn hot si' gèbetèn.
do šprochèn zu
- [4v] ir di' herèn gar ebèn:
„mir welèn eś eich zu gèfalèn tòn,
er het wól far-dint ain schlechterèn lòn!
fun ei'èrènt-wegèn welèn mir im schenkèn daś lebèn.
- [R:] ir

88 'trial; plague.'

89 Fem. 'defamer; traitress; denunciator,' from מַסְרִין *masern* 'to denunciate; to betray.'

90 'defeat; decline.'

91 'vengeance.'

92 'soul.'

93 See 5.6.

94 'trouble; worry.'

- [25] זיא
האט אביר בייא דען הערן ניקש אויז גיריכט .
דא האט זיא ניט גיווישט וויא איר גישיכט .
דאש אזא איין מכה איז אויף איר גיקומן .
דאש איז גיוועזין דער מוסירתה רעכטי לאן .
דען זיא האט דער גאנצי קהלה גאר וויא גיטאן .
איין שיני מפלה האט זיא איין גינומן .
- [26] דא
מאן נון האט גיזעהן דאש שפיל טוט קיין גוט .
עש ווערט יונה קאשטן זיין גוט אונ' בלוט
צו דער ערשטן פרויא איז מאן גיגאנגין .
אונ' האט איר גיזאגט זיך צו וואש דוא גידענקשט .
דאש דוא איין בר ישראל אום דאש חיות ברענגשט .
ער ווערט אפשר גיקעפפט אודר וואול גאר גיהאנגין :
- [27] דיא
גוטי פרויא גינג צו דעם רשע בייא דיא תפיסה הין .
אונ' שפראך צו אים דוא מעכשט מיך לייכט גיפינדן אין דעם זין .
אונ' וואלט אן דיר טון איין הויפשי נקמה .
אביר איך האב ברוך השם איין יודיש הערץ .
ווען דוא מיך גלייך האשט גיבראכט אין גרושי שמערץ .
איך בידענק אביר מיין נשמה :
- [28] דא
שפראך דער הדיוט העט איך דיא הור ניט גינומן .
אזא ווער איך ניט אין דאש צרות גיקומן .
איך וויל דער הור דאש שון ביצאלין .
איך וויל נון ציהן אין איין פרעמד לאנט .
וואו איך גאר ניט בין ביקאנט .
איין דריטי פרויא וויל איך מיר האלין :
- [29] דא
גינג דיא פרויא ווידר פאר דיא הערן טרעטין .
אונ' אום זיין לעבין האט זיא גיבעטין .
דא שפראכין צו
- איר
- [4v]
איר דיא הערן גאר עבין .
מיר וועלן עש אייך צו גיפאלן טון .
ער העט וואול פאר דינט איין שלעכטירן לון .
פון אייארינט וועגין וועלין מיר אים שענקין דאש לעבין .

- [30] mir welèn eich daś abèr far ain worhait sagèn:
mit der hur welèn mir in zu der štat anous-jagèn!
nehšt got mag er eich dankèn far sein lebèn,
gèt ir abèr doch gèschwind,
bei' di' eltštèn fun dem judèschèn gèsind,
ain schaid-briv sol er eich erst gebèn!"
- [31] aso sol es ainèm itlichèn roše' gèn,
der seinè erstè frau' lost štèn
un` tut sich ain andèrè nemèn!
der kan nit bleibèn an kainèm ört,
er is far-lorèn hi' un` dort
un` mus sein ḥelek⁹⁵ far got un` auch far leitèn schemèn!
- [32] daś schènè lid hab ich gètracht,
un` hab es aso in reim gèbracht,
gleich as wi' es is gèschèn!
daś hot gègebèn ain grós rumòr,
do man den hediṭ⁹⁶ Jòṇe mit Fraidchèn, der hur,
hot gèjagt ouś Hamburg, daś hot col 'òlem wòl gèsehèn,
- [33] un` habèn gèhat ain grósè nèkomę daran!
drum sei' gèwarènt ain idèr erlich man
un` nem sich kain zwai' weibèr!
es hot Jòṇe bald gèkošt sein lebèn,
kain zwai' pfenig het man far in gègebèn!
daś sagt eich Jehask'el ben haḥover rabi Secharię der schreibèr.
- [34] ir libèn rabössaj kent wòl gèdenkèn,
worum ich eich daś lid tu' schenkèn!
ain klainè mathone⁹⁷ mir zu gebèn wert eich nit far-drišèn,
do-dorch wert ir den sòche⁹⁸ sein,
bald zu kumèn in 'erez Jiśro'el arein,
daś milch un` hònig tut flišèn! omen ve'omen!

šelik šelik šelik

95 'part; share'; still used in modern Yiddish.

96 See 5.6.

97 'present' In the print ך has a raphe-sign (ř) which indicates a pronunciation as *massone*.

98 'be worthy of (smb., smth.); to have earned (smth.)'

- [30] מיר וועלן אייך דאש אביר פֿאר איין ווארהייט זאגן .
 מיט דער הור וועלן מיר אין צו דער שטאט אנויז יאגין .
 נעהשט גאט מאג ער אייך דאנקין פֿאר זיין לעבין .
 גיט איר אביר דאך גישווינד .
 בייא דיא עלטשטין פֿון דעם יודשן גיזינד .
 איין שייד בריב זאל ער אייך ערשט געבין :
- [31] אזא זאל עש איינים איטליכן רשע גין .
 דער זייני ערשטי פֿרויא לאזט שטין .
 אונ' טוט זיך איין אנדרי נעמין .
 דער קאן ניט בלייבין אן קיינים אורט .
 ער איז פֿאר לארין היא אונ' דארט .
 אונ' מוז זיין חלק פֿאר גאט אונ' אויך פֿאר לייטין שעמין :
- [32] דאש שיני ליד האב איך גיטראכט .
 אונ' האב עש אזא אין ריים גיבראכט .
 גלייך אז וויא עש איז גישעהן .
 דאש האט גיגעבן איין גרוש רומור .
 דא מאן דען הדיוט יונה מיט פריידדין דער הור .
 האט גיאגט אויש האמבורג דאש האט כל עולם וואול גיזעהן :
- [33] אונ' האבן גיהאט איין גרושי נקמה דראן .
 דרום זייא גיווארינט איין אידר ערליך מאן .
 אונ' נעם זיך קיין צווייא ווייביר .
 עש האט יונה באלד גיקאשט זיין לעבין .
 קיין צווייא פֿפעניג העט מאן פֿאר אין גיגעבן .
 דאש זאגט אייך יחזקאל בן החבר רבי זכריה דער שרייביר :
- [34] איר ליבן רבותי קענט וואול גידענקין .
 ווארום איך אייך דאש ליד טוא שענקין .
 איין קלייני מתנה מיר צו געבין ווערט אייך ניט פֿאר דריסן .
 דא דארך ווערט איר דען זוכה זיין .
 באלד צו קומן אין ארץ ישראל אריין .
 דאש מילך אונ' הוניג טוט פֿליסן : אמן . ואמן :

סליק סליק סליק

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ותחצב (כרים) אדוומי וק



זה דשער לה צדוקים יבואו בו



ויאמר אליהו בחרו לכם הפר



ויתן את צפרה בתו למשה



זוה הדברים נקחתי אספרים הרבה יקרים והם עקידה : מושך : כלי חמדה : כלי יקר : דברי טונס : לרה האור : אעשה ה' ונעתיקו אטון משכני על ידי האחבר בעל : צאנה וריאנה : ה' החכם הטון החסיד וחר' יעקב בלא א הר ר יצחק זאה אטפת רבינו טעה ויכה את הרבים : וענה נוסף עליהם פטטים נאים ואלוקים רבים האתייבין על האב והספה טפתי כהן טעל התור און ספר אעטה ה' בסדר וואל הברכה זה טלוח היה ברמטויק : ויפת הרבים תלוי בהם משר רבים אעאי הארץ ואתהדיק בהיה טטולאים בזה החבור פטטים ואמאריס טארהדיין אה המרין אענרין מילו אאוד בו : ויכיל את הרבים הוצא עור הפעם און הידעום ע' : האדקים אלו ידי כהר' יעקב באהר' יתח' סג' : ואטפתה ויאפעלא :



ויפגשו בווד האחים וישק לו



והעורבים מביאים לחם

באמשטרדם

בשנת בתום לבבי עשיתי זאת לפ'ק



ב. וסוסי אש ויעל אלדו



ותקח צפרה צר



בבית ובכמות הנדיב משה קאשמן בן הקצין ומפטר הר' אליהו שליט עמריך :



ויט משה און ידו על הים