About these translations and transcriptions

Every English translation and transcription on this site was produced by artificial intelligence: Anthropic's Claude did the transcribing, translating and formatting. These versions have not been proofread or checked against the originals, and they may contain errors in wording, numbering, citations or Hebrew.

They are offered so readers can explore and compare these catechisms. They are not a scholarly edition. Anyone quoting or citing these texts for research should work from the original printed books.

Translator's Note

This is an English translation of the front matter of *Catechismus Judæorum* (London: printed by [A. Godbid?] and J. Playford for Samuel Carr, 1679). The book is the Latin version, by Louis de Compiègne de Veil, of Abraham Yagel's Hebrew catechism לֶקַח טוֹב (*Lekach Tov*, "Good Doctrine"). The translation was made from 18 photographs of a printed copy (IMG_4812 to IMG_4829). De Veil was a Jew from Metz who became a Catholic and later an Anglican. This was the first book he published after arriving in England.

Contents of the photographs. The first 18 photographs (IMG 4812 to IMG 4829) contain de Veil's front matter: his title page, his dedication to Henry Compton, Bishop of London, his preface *(Prooemium Interpretis)*, a list of printer's errors and the licence to print. The next 26 photographs (IMG 4832 to IMG 4857) begin Yagel's book itself. They contain the Hebrew and Latin title pages, Yagel's dedication to Rabbi Joseph of Fano, Yagel's own preface, and the catechism from its first page to page 10. The next 16 photographs (IMG 4858 to IMG 4873) continue it through page 18: the rest of the Thirteen Principles, why the creation of the world is the root of the Law, and the start of the section on hope (Hebrew בִּטָּחוֹן, trust). The next 30 photographs (IMG 4875 to IMG 4904) carry it through page 33: the end of the section on trust and its five premises, prayer and blessings, the love of God and of one's neighbour, three kinds of hatred, forgiveness, the three roots of sin, and the seven vices. The last 50 photographs (IMG 4906 to IMG 4955) complete the book, pages 34–58: the seven vices one by one, the six sins God hates and the four that cry to heaven, repentance and the remedies for the vices, the fruits of the spirit, the Pupil's request for instruction and the Master's closing counsels, Yagel's prayer, and a commendatory poem by Rabbi Meshullam Salem. The translation now covers the whole book. Later pages can be added to this document once they are photographed.

Layout. Grey numbers in square brackets, e.g. [IMG 4815], mark where each photographed page begins. The front matter is unpaginated, so the photo numbers are used in place of page numbers, and the translation can be checked against the photographs. Where a printer's signature is visible (a2, b2, c3) it is mentioned in a note. Running heads (*Dedicatio*, *Prooemium Interpretis*) and catchwords have been left out.

Hebrew. De Veil gives Hebrew book titles, honorific abbreviations and the errata in Hebrew type. These are kept in Hebrew, followed by his Latin rendering of them translated into English.

The bilingual text. De Veil printed Yagel's Hebrew and his own Latin on facing pages, with the same page number on each page of a pair (so there are two pages numbered [4], one Hebrew and one Latin). Here each passage is given first in Yagel's Hebrew, right-aligned, and then in an English translation of de Veil's Latin. The English translates the Latin, not the Hebrew. Where the Latin noticeably departs from the Hebrew, a note says so. Grey markers such as [p. 4] give the printed page numbers. In the catechism, the Hebrew labels the speakers ר׳ (*Rabbi*, the Master) and ת׳ (*Talmid*, the Pupil). The Latin labels them M. and D. *(Magister, Discipulus)*. In the English the Master's questions are in bold.

Hebrew transcription. The Hebrew was transcribed from the photographs as printed, keeping Yagel's spelling (for example אלקים for the divine name) and his abbreviations. Vowel points are not used in the original and are not added. A few letters near the gutter or in damaged type are uncertain, and these are flagged in notes. The Hebrew should be checked against the photographs before it is quoted.

Scripture. Biblical quotations are translated from de Veil's Latin, so they follow his wording rather than a standard English Bible. His marginal references are given in modern form in parentheses.

Notes. All footnotes are the translator's. They identify the people, books and places de Veil mentions and flag doubtful readings. They are kept brief and should be checked before being relied on for publication.

A possible gap. The dedication page photographed as IMG 4814 (signature a2) ends with the catchword "&" in mid-sentence. The next photograph (IMG 4815) begins with a new sentence, "Quò meliùs…". At least one page appears to be missing between them, either not photographed or bound out of order. The break is marked in the text. It is worth checking the physical copy.

Point of view. De Veil wrote as a Christian convert for an Anglican patron. His preface praises the book for agreeing with "truly Christian doctrine," frames it in terms of faith, hope and charity, and regrets that its closing prayer lacks the name of Christ. These remarks are translated as he wrote them.

[IMG 4812]

Catechism

of the

Jews,

in a disputation and dialogue between master and pupil,
written by Rabbi Abraham Jagel,[1]
a native of Monselice.[2]

And made into Latin from the Hebrew by
Louis de Compiègne de Veil, M.A.[3]

London:
Printed by [A. Godbi]d & J. Playford, for Sam. Carr, [at the sign of the] King's Head in St Paul's Churchyard,[4]
1679.

Translated from the Latin

[1]Abraham Yagel (Latin *Jagel*), author of לקח טוב *Lekach Tov*, a catechism in question-and-answer form generally dated to Venice, 1595. De Veil says below that he was of the Gallico family. Historians have long debated whether he is the same person as the Abraham Yagel of Monselice who wrote other works around the same time.

[2]Latin *Mons Silicis*: Monselice, south of Padua.

[3]Louis (Ludovicus) de Compiègne de Veil, born a Jew in Metz, became a Catholic with his brother Charles-Marie de Veil and later an Anglican. He settled in London in 1679 and translated a number of rabbinic works into Latin. "A.M." is *Artium Magister*, Master of Arts.

[4]The bottom left corner of the title page is torn, and the bracketed words are supplied. Latin: "[Typis …]d & J. Playford, pro Sam. Carr [ad insigne C]apitis Regii in Cœmeterio [Pa]ulin[o]." "A. Godbid" is a likely restoration: Anne Godbid and John Playford the younger printed in partnership in London around this time. Samuel Carr was a bookseller in St Paul's Churchyard.

[IMG 4813] # Dedication

To the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend
Father in Christ,

HENRY COMPTON,

Bishop of London, a member of the King's
Privy Council, and Dean of the Chapel Royal,[5]

Louis de Veil

sends very many greetings.[6]

A small gift, Venerable Prelate, I bring to you, as the first-fruits and firstlings of the works that I mean to complete hereafter in this fortunate island. [IMG 4814] [7]For it is plain that in pagan and Jewish antiquity alike, the first-fruits of the seasons, of labours, of crops and of fruits were consecrated so that a man might proclaim, extol and celebrate the Author of all things. In much the same way I now dedicate to you the first Hebrew work I have translated here, with this in mind: that by this offering[8] it may be made public that my literary leisure was established by you. This testimony of a grateful and mindful heart will, I trust, be welcome to you for its own sake; and besides, I know, you will take no small delight in the kind of writing that is offered. For it treats of the principles of the Mosaic religion, and treats of them in such a way that nothing […] to the love of true virtue, and […]

[A page of the dedication appears to be missing here; see the Translator's Note.]

[IMG 4815] So much the better is it for those whom God, Best and Greatest, has committed to your protection and care. They hear you on every solemn day before the congregation, expounding the divine oracles, inspired by the divine Spirit. To them easy access to you always lies open. Some of them you help by consoling them, others by counsel, either with material aid or with a weighty recommendation. These you embrace with all your zeal, your labours and the dangers of your life. This was, indeed, often recognized before. But from the time when that most wicked conspiracy against the Apostolic religion began to come to light,[9] against our august king, by far the most merciful in human memory, and against all who are faithful to Christ and to the king, you, stirred by a divine impulse, [IMG 4816] displayed to the Church, the king and the country the light of your mind, your genius and your counsel, and together with them a fortitude attended by the whole chorus of the virtues.

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[5]Henry Compton (1632–1713), Bishop of London from 1675 and Dean of the Chapel Royal. "Regi à Consiliis sanctioribus" is a classicizing way of saying Privy Councillor. Compton was known for his interest in winning over foreign Protestants and converts, which may explain his patronage of de Veil.

[6]Latin "P. S. D." = plurimam salutem dicit, the standard opening of a Latin letter.

[7]Signature a2.

[8]Latin "anathema," used in its classical sense of a votive gift set up in a temple, not in the later sense of a curse.

[9]The "Popish Plot" alleged by Titus Oates in autumn 1678, a supposed Catholic conspiracy to murder Charles II. It was at its height when de Veil wrote this in May 1679. "Apostolic religion" here means the Church of England.

What then? What could I say that would be worthy enough of the glorious course of your studies? When you aspired to the laurel of learning, you were so far from accepting the shortcut that the splendour of your birth offered you,[10] that you looked rather to those ancient investigators of wisdom, Pythagoras, Plato and their like. Following their example you crossed the seas and travelled through many and various great regions, renowned in every discipline, so that you might seek out and hear the most learned men of each. From this comes that deep and recondite knowledge of yours in things divine and human. [IMG 4817] This it is that has so sharpened your judgement, naturally shrewd and keen, that at the very first glance you tell true from false, see through the character of any man, and reach even the innermost recesses of the mind. Indeed, your outstanding merits are so many that they cannot be confined within the narrow limits of a letter; and so I now return to myself.

This little gift of mine, Most Reverend Father, such as it is, will certainly not be unwelcome to one so devoted to letters and to men of letters. But if in every gift one weighs not so much what is given as the spirit in which it is given, then whatever it may be, I certainly offer it with a singular sense of devotion. For [IMG 4818] your kindnesses towards me and mine are such that I owe you, no less than the best of fathers, reverence, honour and dutiful love. I therefore consecrate to you this pledge and memorial of my grateful goodwill towards you, and at the same time I solemnly make this vow: that to the last breath of my life I will strive with all my might so that no one may judge me unworthy of this kindness of yours. Farewell.

Given at London, on the third day before the Ides of May, 1679.[11]

[10]Compton was a son of the second Earl of Northampton. As a nobleman he could have taken a degree by privilege without the usual course of study. Instead he travelled on the Continent after leaving Oxford.

[11]13 May 1679.

[IMG 4819] The Translator's Preface

I bring to light the principles and foundations of the Mosaic Law, rendered into Latin from the Hebrew tongue. With them I publish the thirteen articles of the Jewish faith as it now stands.[12] That nation clings to these so firmly that if any one of them rejects even one of them, it is all over with him: he has fallen out of the communion of the synagogue and has lost his name of Jew.

This subject was treated most fully by Rabbi Moses Maimonides, easily the foremost of Hebrew writers. [IMG 4820] [13]After him a great many others have treated it as well. Don Isaac Abarbanel did so in the book entitled ראש אמנה, *Head of Faith*.[14] Rabbi Tam, grandson of Rabbi Solomon Jarchi through his daughter, did so in ספר הישר, the *Book of the Upright*.[15]

Rabbi Joseph Albo did so in ספר עקרים, the *Book of Principles*.[16] Rabbi Chisda, son of Rabbi Abraham, did so in ספר אור יהוה, the *Book of the Light of the Lord*.[17] Rabbi Joseph Jaabez did so in two books, one of which is called מאמר האחדות, *Discourse on the Unity of God*, and the other ספר האמונה, *Treatise on Faith*.[18] Rabbi Shem Tob did so in ספר האמונות, the *Book of Things to Be Believed*.[19] Rabbi Elias Delamdenu, son of Rabbi Moses of Crete, a distinguished philosopher, did so in the book entitled בחינת הדת, *Examination of the Law*.[20] And so did the anonymous author of the book [IMG 4821] that is called מאמר השכל, the *Dictate of Reason*.

But those writers treated the matter too diffusely and too intricately. They wove into the subject many and various controversies, extremely thorny, and to explain these one had to use very long windings and circumlocutions.

For that reason our author set his mind to go through the earlier writers and to pluck from each whatever was finest of its kind, so as to make from it a sort of commentary, solid and full of substance. For he composed a manual of instruction in which a master and a pupil discuss with one another, plainly, concisely and calmly, faith, hope and charity.[21] After that they discuss the uprooting of the roots of the

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[12]The Thirteen Principles of Maimonides, from his commentary on Mishnah Sanhedrin, chapter 10 (Perek Chelek).

[13]Signature b2. The Hebrew titles in this paragraph are printed in Hebrew type in the original, each followed by de Veil's Latin rendering.

[14]Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), *Rosh Amanah* (Constantinople, 1505), a defence of the Thirteen Principles.

[15]Rabbenu Jacob Tam (c. 1100–1171), grandson of Rashi ("Solomon Jarchi") through his daughter Yocheved. The ethical work *Sefer ha-Yashar* was attributed to him in the period, but the attribution is generally doubted today.

[16]Joseph Albo (c. 1380–1444), *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, which reduces the principles of faith to three.

[17]Hasdai Crescas (c. 1340–1410/11), son of Abraham, author of *Or Adonai*. De Veil spells the name "Chisda."

[18]Joseph Jabez (Yaavetz), a Spanish exile who died c. 1507. The titles are given as de Veil prints them.

[19]Shem Tov ibn Shem Tov (c. 1390–1440), *Sefer ha-Emunot*, a kabbalistic polemic against the philosophers.

[20]Elijah Delmedigo (c. 1458–1493) of Crete, Averroist philosopher and teacher of Pico della Mirandola, author of *Behinat ha-Dat*. "Delamdenu" is de Veil's spelling, as printed (broken across a line: "Delamde-nu").

[21]De Veil describes the book in terms of the Christian triad of faith, hope and charity (1 Corinthians 13:13). Whether Yagel himself organized his work this way needs to be checked against the Hebrew.

vices that keep a man from the highest good, [IMG 4822] [22]and then the sowing and cultivating of the virtues in the soul. They also discuss the bitter fruits of the vices and, by contrast, the wonderfully pleasant and sweet fruits of the virtues.

Here one may see teaching on life and conduct that agrees remarkably with truly Christian doctrine. Divine providence takes thought for every individual person, and even brings it about that people take pity on one another. Virtue is granted to mortals by the gift and kindness of God, and the dire desire of mortals can at last be quenched only by the all-powerful help of divine grace. A community of people united by religion is like a body divided into its members: just as, if one of these is struck by another, it takes no revenge for it, so in that assembly too, when one person [IMG 4823] has injured another, the injury must be forgiven, and pardon must even be begged from a merciful God for the one who is at fault.[23] A Jew must be just, faithful, fair, kind and courteous to strangers no less than to his own. Those who live piously and holily will attain the highest good, not by their own merits, but by the pure kindness of God.

In short, you will find nothing by any of the Rabbis written more chastely and purely, nothing more clearly concise, nothing in every respect more fitting, well-rounded and consistent with itself. At the end of the book the author has added a prayer, to be offered to God, Best and Greatest, earnestly and again and again, both for reverence in sacred things and for the correction of vices and the attainment of wisdom. In it, surely, you would miss nothing except the august name of Christ Jesus. And he saw fit [IMG 4824] to dedicate this work of his to a certain Rabbi, a thing as unusual among Hebrew writers as anything could be.

Now this author was born of a distinguished family whose surname was Galiki.[24] His native place was Mons Silicis, a town of the Venetian territory situated between Padua and Este, on the lesser river Medoacus.[25] As for his era, there is deep silence everywhere; and even about the time when this book was printed nothing is said openly. Yet I can make out both fairly clearly. For on the title page it is stated that this book was printed under the care of Joannes de Gara,[26] and there, after the writer's name, following the custom and practice of the Jews, these three letters, the initials of three words, are added as a mark of honour: [IMG 4825] יצ״ו. Their meaning is "May God, his Avenger and Deliverer, protect him."[27]

From this it is plainly known that this writer was still alive when his work was printed. Otherwise there would have been added to his name either the abbreviation ז״ל or זצ״ל, which we Christian writers

[22]Signature b (as photographed).

[23]The image of the community as one body whose members do not take revenge on each other is rabbinic: Jerusalem Talmud, Nedarim 9:4, on Leviticus 19:18, compares it to a man who cuts one hand with a knife and does not then cut the other hand in revenge.

[24]The Gallico family (Hebrew Gallico / Galico), an Italian Jewish family.

[25]Monselice lies between Padua (Latin *Patavium*) and Este (*Ateste*). The "lesser Medoacus" is the classical name usually identified with the Bacchiglione.

[26]Giovanni di Gara, a Christian printer of Hebrew books in Venice, active c. 1564–1610.

[27]יצ״ו = *yishmerehu tzuro ve-go'alo*, "may his Rock and his Redeemer preserve him," used of a living person.

usually render “of blessed” or “of happy memory.”[28] Hebrew works came out of that Joannes’s press from the year 1573 to the year 1609. So it is clear that this writer flourished as the last century was drawing to its close, or else at the beginning of this one.

There is, besides, another book by this same author on the Woman of Valour, אשת חיל. This book, likewise dedicated to a certain great Rabbi, was printed by Daniel Zanetus at Venice in 1611.[29] In it, [IMG 4826] [30]on the authority of Holy Scripture, he discusses aptly the praises of the woman of valour and her duties towards her husband, the keeping of peace between husband and wife, and the careful increase of the household’s estate. But enough of this book for now; perhaps more at another time.

The book, however, which we now publish rendered into Latin from the Hebrew is very highly esteemed in the synagogue, and rightly so. In composing it, its author gathered all the best material from suitable writers, ancient and modern, and in arranging it he used not only a refined method but also a striking brevity, than which nothing is more pleasing in setting out a teaching.

I, for my part, judged that this little work would be of no small use [IMG 4827] to learning and to Christianity alike. And although I have many great works in hand which, I know for certain, will not be unwelcome, I nevertheless thought it right, immediately upon my arrival in this most great and august realm, first of all to publish something worth knowing. So much, then, for the plan of the book and my purpose. Let us at last hear Jagel speaking Latin.

[28]זי״ל = *zikhrono livrakhah*, “may his memory be a blessing”; זצ״ל = *zekher tzaddik livrakhah*, “may the memory of the righteous be a blessing.” Both are used of the dead.

[29]A commentary on Proverbs 31:10–31 (*Eshet Chayil*). Daniel Zanetti was a Venetian printer of Hebrew books. The date is given as de Veil prints it.

[30]Signature c3.

[IMG 4828] **[Errata]**

Some printer's errors have crept in, slight ones indeed, but errors nonetheless. Correct them as follows:

Page 3, line 1: read *iisdem*.

p. 10, l. 3: פה אל

p. 12, next-to-last line: שתשוב

p. 19, l. 14: בשלֹמות

p. 20, third line from the end: the reference *Jer. 17:5* is missing in the margin.

p. 27, l. 5: בלבבך

p. 28, l. 16: ניתן

p. 29, l. 2: אותו

p. 33, l. 13: *commissis, enascuntur*: remove the comma.

p. 35, last line: כדי

p. 36, l. 17: כי כלם

p. 50, l. 24: *adeo, sanctam*: remove the comma.

p. 52, last line: שהגוף

p. 55, l. 3: החכמה

The page and line numbers refer to the catechism itself (Latin and Hebrew pages share the same numbers). The Hebrew words are the correct readings to be substituted. The first two corrections can be checked in the pages translated below.

[IMG 4829] **Imprimatur**

Let it be printed.

Given 12 March 1678/9.[31]

H. London.[32]

[31]The double year reflects the English Old Style calendar, in which the year began on 25 March. The licence was granted on 12 March 1679 by modern reckoning, two months before the dedication.

[32]Henry Compton, signing as Bishop of London, the dedicatee of the book.

[IMG 4832 Hebrew title page · IMG 4833 Latin title page]

כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם

לקח טוב

להצעיר אברהם יג״ל יצ״ו ממונציליצי ממשפחת הגאליקו

והוא דרוש מעט הכמות ורב האיכות הכולל עקרי התורה והדרך הישרה שהיא תפארת לעושה בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא

חנוך לנערים באמונה ובמוסר וגם כי יזקינו לא יסורו מהדרך הסלולה כי ישרים כל מסילותיה וכל נתיבותיה שלום

נדפס במצות זואן די גארה בווינציא

For I give you good doctrine. (Prov. 4:2)[33]

GOOD DOCTRINE

By Abraham Jagel of Monselice, of the Galiki family,
whom God, his Deliverer, keep safe and sound.[34]

This treatise is altogether small in bulk, but of great weight. For it contains the foundations of the Law and the right way of living, and whoever keeps to that way will gain immortal glory in the present age and in the age to come alike.

With it, then, boys will be initiated both into the teachings of the faith and into moral instruction. But not even old men will hold back from it, for it is a paved road, all of whose paths and byways are straight and peaceful.[35]

Printed by order of Joannes de Gara, at Venice.[36]

[33]The Hebrew title, לקח טוב (*Lekach Tov*), is taken from this verse: כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם. De Veil renders it *Doctrina Bona*, "Good Doctrine."

[34]This renders the Hebrew abbreviation יצ״ו after Yagel's name, which de Veil discusses in his preface (above).

[35]The Hebrew alludes to Prov. 22:6 (חנוך לנער, "Train up a child") and Prov. 3:17 ("all her paths are peace").

[36]Giovanni di Gara. The Latin title page reproduces the Hebrew one, including its printer's line. Neither gives a date.

[IMG 4834–4837] Dedication to Rabbi Joseph of Fano

יקר רוח איש תבונה המרומם והנשא לכבוד ולמעלה ה״ה המפואר כמהר״ר יוסף מפאנו יצ״ו בן איש חיל רב פעלים כמהר״ר יצחק זלה״ה כבוד יפעתו בפירר״ה

To a man of great and lofty mind, and above all wise, most eminent in glory and dignity, the renowned Rabbi Joseph of Fano, son of that Rabbi Isaac of eternal memory, a man of valour and great deeds, who shines at Ferrara too with the highest splendour of honour: health and the peace of God.[37]

במה יזכה עבד למצא חן בעיני אדוניו כי אם בהביא לפניו מנחה מטוריוני לבו ועיונו וגם כי תהיה קטנת האיכות והכמות לעלות על שלחן מלכים לא מפני זה תהיה לבוז כי לזאת הסבה רצויה היתה סלת העני כשור העשיר:[38]

In no other way could a servant more easily win his master's favour than by bringing him as a gift something he has drawn from his own mind by thinking it over again and again. And if it has too little weight and size to be fit for setting on a royal table, it should not for that reason be despised at once. For we see that in divine worship the fine flour of the poor man is as welcome as the ox of the rich.[39]

לכן הרימותי ראש והעזותי פני להביא לפני מזבח אדום הטהור את מנחתי הקטנה הזאת ואם מצער הוא תחי נפשי בה ותהלך כי תהיה לה רוזני לחומה נשגבה ולמגן וצנה נגד כל יורה בקשת וחצים נגדה ולא יפצה פה לרעה כי איתן מושבה ותלתה עצמה באילן גדול יפה נוף פאר הדור והדרו לו דומיה תהלה ומיחסותיה שתקותא: התערב נא אדוני ואלופי לקחת אותה[40]

Therefore, with head held high and a bold face, I have brought this very small gift of mine to that bright and pure altar. Yet this tiny work will greatly refresh my spirit, because for this reason it will do you handsome honour. For you, my Lord, will be to this work of mine like a lofty wall; you will be its shield and buckler, set against every arrow that anyone shoots at it with the bow. Indeed, no one will attack it with abuse, because it is set in a place excellently fortified, and is upheld by a tall tree spreading out such lovely branches that it stands as the ornament and glory of this age. To him silence is praise, and reticence the proclamation of his lineage. [IMG 4836–4837] Accept, therefore, my Lord and Teacher, this little gift of mine, such as it is.

ועתה קחה נפשי הצמאה משתוקקת בכל עת ורגע לעשות נחת רוח לפניך ולהיות מוכן לכל עבודתך כפי המדבר אליך

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[37]Hebrew בפירר״ה, "in Ferrara." The Fano family were prominent in Ferrara and Mantua. The identity of this Joseph ben Isaac of Fano needs checking.

[38]The word read here as מטוריוני is uncertain in the photograph. The Latin has "from his own mind."

[39]Compare the rabbinic teaching that the poor man's meal offering of fine flour is as dear to God as the rich man's ox (Leviticus Rabbah 3:5; Rashi on Lev. 2:1).

[40]אם מצער הוא תחי נפשי echoes Gen. 19:20 ("is it not a little one? and my soul shall live"). לו דומיה תהלה is Ps. 65:2. The last phrase plays on the Talmudic saying that the mark of good lineage in Babylonia is silence (Kiddushin 71b).

Let access to you be open to me, for I thirstily seek always to do your will, and I am ready for anything for you, as I now openly promise and profess to you.

נאם הצעיר והקטן תולעת ולא איש משרתך אברהם יגל יצ״ו בכמהר״ר חנניה זלה״ה ממונצילִיצי

Given by me, the least and humblest of all, a worm and no man, your servant Abraham Jagel, son of R. Chanania of blessed memory, of Monselice. Be gracious to me, God my Saviour.[41]

[41]"A worm and no man" is Ps. 22:7. The closing prayer, "Be gracious to me, God my Saviour," is in the Latin only.

[p. 1 · IMG 4838–4839]

The Author's Preface

הקדמה · *Prooemium Auctoris*

לפנים זאת בישראל לעשות סייג לתורה ולהעמיד הדברים על שרשם באופן שכללי הדברים העקריים יהיו שגורים בפי הכל כמו שעשו הנביאים ע״ה יש מהם שהעמיד כל דברי התורה על י״א כללים יש שהעמידם על שלש עד שלבסוף קם אחד מהם והעמיד כל התורה כולה על כלל אחד שנאמר וצדיק באמונתו יחיה:

It was once the custom of the Israelites to surround the Law with a kind of fence[42] and to reduce the whole of it to certain heads, so that its foundations were familiar to everyone. The prophets of blessed memory certainly followed this method. Some of them summed up the Law in eleven articles, others in three, until at last one of them comprehended the whole Law in a single thing. This is what we read written: *But the just shall live by his faith* (Hab. 2:4).[43]

ומה גם עתה שבעו״ה צרות צרורות תוכפות זו את זו כי טוב ונעים להעמיד כללי התורה עבודה וגמילות חסדים ודרך ארץ שאלפים שנה קדמה לתורה על כללים קטני הכמות ורבי האיכות ובאופן שנער קטן דלא חכים ולא טפש ינהג בם בשאט בנפש כדי להגדיל תורה ולהאדיר:

Now, therefore, since because of our many sins miseries and hardships press upon us one after another, it is much more useful still to gather into a few short and weighty sentences the force of the Law, the method of religion, the nature of charity, and the instruction in manners, which flourished even two thousand years before the Law.[44] Then a youth who is not very wise, but no fool either, may be eager to shape his mind by them, so as to magnify and strengthen the Law.

ומי יתן והיה לבבם זה של אלופינו ראשי הקהלות יצ״ו נפוצות יהודה וישראל לצוות ולהודיע דרכי האמת והיושר ויהיו כלם כלם קטנים וגדולים יודעים את ה׳ ודרכי המוסר כי בזה ירבה הדעת בין התלמידים ונער או פתי וסכל אשר לא השיגה ידו להבין בלמודי החכמה והתושיה עד שידע פנות התורה והמוסר לא מפי סופרים ומפי ספרים ידע ויבין ישיג האמת ממי שאמרו[45]

And would that those masters of ours who are set over the synagogues of the Jews, scattered and dispersed far and wide, would resolve to explain the method of what is true and right by their precepts and admonitions, so that at last all, both the older and [p. 2 · IMG 4840–4841] the younger, might know well the power and nature of God and also the rule of morals! Assuredly all their disciples would then make great progress in this sublime knowledge. And the boys too, the simple and the slow, who are unable to reach such wisdom and understanding by way of teachers or the books they publish as to penetrate

[42] "Make a fence around the Torah": Mishnah Avot 1:1. The Hebrew uses the same phrase, סייג לתורה.

[43] Talmud, Makkot 23b–24a: David reduced the 613 commandments to eleven (Ps. 15), Isaiah to six, Micah to three, Isaiah again to two, and Habakkuk to one, "the righteous shall live by his faith."

[44] The Hebrew lists the three pillars of Avot 1:2, "Torah, worship and deeds of lovingkindness," and adds דרך ארץ (good conduct), which "preceded the Torah" (Leviticus Rabbah 9:3).

[45] The Hebrew repeats כלם at the turn from page 1 to page 2, a printer's doubling at the page break.

the inner parts of the holy Law and of its moral teaching, would still grasp the truth to some extent, provided someone set it out for them in this manner.[46]

ולכונה זו ולכבוד ה׳ קמתי אני הצעיר והקטן אברהם יגל יצ״ו בכמהר״ר חנניה זלה״ה ממונצילִיצי ממשפחת הגאליקי בקנאתי לה׳ מתוך העדה ולקחתי עט סופר בידי ולא התאמצתי ללכת בגבוהות לשון ערומים והלצה כי אם בלשון קל ומובן כדבר איש אל רעהו בלי הזכיר דברי האומר בשום מקום ואספתי דברי חכמים וחידותם אשר כתבו על שרשי התורה והדרך שהיא עטרת תפארת לעושה בעה״ב ותפארת לו מן האדם בעה״ז בעוד בחיים חיותו למען יהיה חבור קצר שגור בפי התינוקות וילמדוהו על פה ובזה יגדלו ויוסיפו ביראת ה׳ כל היום ולא יחטאו גם כי יזקינו לא יסורו מן הדרך הטובה הזאת

With these things in mind, and above all the glory of God, I, Abraham Jagel, the least of men, son of R. Chanania, of Monselice, of the Galiki family, came forth from the midst of the congregation inflamed with zeal for God, and set my mind to writing. I did not aim at a loftier or subtler style, but at one that is gentle and easy to understand, much like the common, everyday speech of conversation. I diligently gathered the sayings and riddles of the wise, scattered here and there, which they left in writing on the foundations of the Law, but I nowhere took the trouble to show who had handed down what.[47] For it concerns the way by which men, keeping to it, may win the distinguished laurel of the age to come and also glory among men in the present age while they still live. I wanted the disputation to be distinctly concise, so that the shorter it is, the more often [p. 3 · IMG 4842–4843] it may be in the mouths of boys, and the more easily they may learn it by heart.[48] In this way the fear of God may grow in them as they grow older, they may be kept back from sins, and when they are older still they may not turn aside from the right way.

וקראנו אותו בשם (לקח טוב) כי באמת לקח טוב נתתי לכם ולא מלבי אמנם מסוד שיח החכמים האמתיים אשר סוד ה׳ אתם ועל כן תורתי אל תעזובו ישמע חכם ויוסף לקח וישים אותו לפני הילדים יחזיק במוסרם אל ירף ידו מהם עד שירגילם בו ויהיה שגור בפיהם מראש ועד סוף כי אז יבינו יראת ה׳ ואהבתו ודעת קדושים במדות ודרך ארץ וכללי התורה ימצאו:

I have entitled this little work **GOOD DOCTRINE**. For *I give you good doctrine*, which I drew not from the stream of my own mind but from the springs of the wise, with whom God has shared his secrets. That being so, let no one forsake my teaching.[49] Rather, let a learned man add his own learning to mine and set it out to the boys. Let him instruct them in it constantly and not stop until they are as practised in it as can be, indeed until they know it by heart from beginning to end. Then they will grasp

[46]"Would that…" echoes Deut. 5:26 (מי יתן והיה לבבם זה).

[47]Compare Avot 6:6, "whoever says a thing in the name of the one who said it brings redemption into the world." Yagel deliberately omits his sources (בלי הזכיר דברי האומר).

[48]On the Latin page 3, line 1, the original prints "isdem" for "iisdem"; this is the first item in de Veil's list of errata (above).

[49]Prov. 4:2: "For I give you good doctrine; forsake not my teaching." The Hebrew also quotes Prov. 1:5, ישמע חכם ויוסף לקח, "a wise man will hear and increase in learning."

the fear and love of God, and that teaching of the holy ones which concerns life and conduct, and at last they will have taken the force of the divine Law into their minds.

זכרה לי אלקי לטובה כפי טוב ויושר הכוונה לא אבוש ולא אכלם לא בעה״ז ולא בעה״ב ויהא חלקי עם מזכי ומצדיקי הרבים הבהירים ומזהירים ככוכבים לעולם ועד אכי״ר[50]

Now, O God most good, remember me for good, because my purpose was good and upright. Surely I shall not blush or be covered with shame, either in the present age or in the age to come. Rather, You will give me a share with those who have roused many to piety and righteousness, for these are the ones who will shine like stars with radiant splendour. So, so may it please You.

[50]Neh. 5:19 (“Remember me, O my God, for good”) and Dan. 12:3 (“they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever”). אכי״ר = *amen, ken yehi ratzon*, “Amen, may it be Your will.”

[p. 4 · IMG 4844–4845] **Good Doctrine**

A dialogue between Master and Pupil

תלמיד

אדוני עמכם:

Pupil. God be with you.

רבי

יברכך ה׳ מי אתה בני:

Master. **God be gracious to you. But tell me, my son, who are you?**

ת׳ עבדך אנוכי ואת ה׳ אלהי השמים אני ירא מהלל ומשבח שבראני בצלם אנושי ועשאני יהודי:

Pupil. I am yours. I revere the Lord of all things, the Maker of the heavens, and I give Him the greatest thanks and feel the greatest gratitude to Him, both because He formed me in human shape and because He made me a Jew.[51]

ר׳ אלקים יחנך בני אמור נא לי לאיזה תכלית בראך אלהים בזה הצלם הנכבד:

Master. **May God deal kindly with you, child. Tell me now, I pray, for what purpose did God form you in this excellent shape?**[52]

ת׳ הכל ברא לכבודו ואני נבראתי לשמש את קוני ולאהבה וליראה מפני כבודו ולעשות נחת רוח לפניו שלא על מנת לקבל פרס אעפ״י שסוף השכר לבוא בעולם שכולו ארוך ולחיות לפניו בנעימות נצח:

Pupil. He made all things for His own glory. But me He made for this reason: that I should serve His honour, worship and revere His divine majesty, and do whatever pleases Him, with no reward set before me. Yet there will be a reward one day, in an age bounded by no limits, when we shall see God and live a life full of everlasting delight.[53]

ר׳ ואיך יבטח האדם ילוד אשה לבוא אל המנוחה ואל הנחלה מהאושר הנצחי המקווה לעולם הבא:

Master. **Relying on what protection, then, can a man born of woman aspire to that tranquillity of soul and the possession of eternal happiness which is awaited in the age to come?**[54]

[p. 5 · IMG 4846–4847]

ת׳ צדיק באמונתו ובבטחונו בה׳ ובקבלת עול תורתו אשר שם משה לפני בני ישראל יחיה בעולם ההוא:

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[51] Hebrew: “I am your servant, and I fear the LORD, the God of heaven” (Jonah 1:9).

[52] “God be gracious unto thee, my son” is Gen. 43:29.

[53] The Hebrew echoes Avot 6:11 (“all that God created, He created for His glory”), Kiddushin 82a (“I was created to serve my Maker”) and Avot 1:3 (“not for the sake of receiving a reward”). “A world that is wholly long” (עולם שכולו ארוך) is from Kiddushin 39b.

[54] “The rest and the inheritance” (המנוחה והנחלה) is Deut. 12:9.

Pupil. By true faith, by sure hope placed in God, and by taking up the yoke of the divine Law which Moses brought to the descendants of Israel. In this way he will become just, and will one day obtain eternal life.[55]

ר׳ ומה הוא שורש האמונה ושורש התורה:

Master. **What is the foundation and support of faith and of the Law?**

ת׳ שהאלוה ב״ה המצוי ברא מאין את העולם ועשה אותו כרצונו ואין מי יעצר בו מלשנותו אם בכלל חלקיו או פרטיו:

Pupil. That God, Best and Greatest, exists; that He made the whole world out of nothing, and made it according to His own will; and that no one can prevent God from changing, even now, either all the parts of the world together or some of them.

ר׳ היש זכרון על זה לעם בני ישראל:

Master. **Is there anything among the Israelite nation that reminds them of this?**

ת׳ שמירת השבת זכרון הוא בין ה׳ ובין בני ישראל כי ששת ימים עשה את השמים ואת הארץ וינח ביום השביעי ועל כן ברך אלקים את יום השבת ויקדש בו את בני ישראל להיות שורש האמונה הישראלית ועקר התורה:

Pupil. Yes: the keeping of the Sabbath. It is a kind of sign between God and the Israelites, by which they call to mind that the all-powerful God made heaven and earth in six days, and rested on the seventh day. For that reason He made the Sabbath a solemn day, and indeed consecrated the Israelites by the sacred rite of that day. He willed this to be the pillar of the Israelite faith, and laid it down as the foundation of the Law.[56]

ר׳ ומה היא אמונה שפירשת שרשה ועקרה:

Master. **Explain now, please, what faith is, since you have set out its basis and foundation.**

ת׳ האמונה היא מתנה הנחיל אלקים בנפשותינו אשר באמצעותה אנו מאמינים כל הדברים שאמר לנו על ידי עבדיו הנביאים:

Pupil. Faith is a gift of God which works upon our minds. By it we are led to believe [p. 6 · IMG 4848–4849] all the things which God has caused to be declared to us through His prophets.

ר׳ ומה הם הדברים שאמרו שמחוייבים אנו להאמין בהם:

Master. **What, then, have they declared to us that we must believe?**

[55]The Hebrew echoes Hab. 2:4 and Deut. 4:44 (“the Torah which Moses set before the children of Israel”). Its “faith and trust” becomes “faith and hope” in the Latin, matching the Christian triad de Veil mentions in his own preface.

[56]Exod. 31:16–17 and Exod. 20:11.

ת׳ דברים רבים אמרו אמנם י״ג יסודות הם שהנכנס בכלל ישראל צריך שיאמין בהם ותתברר אמונתו בהם וכשיתקלקל לאדם שום יסוד מאלו היסודות הוא הנקרא יוצא מן הכלל וכופר בעקר ובשם ישראל לא יכונה:

Pupil. Many things, indeed. But among them there are thirteen articles which anyone who is joined in communion with the Israelites must believe, and his faith in them must also become known and plain to all. Whoever corrupts even one of them is said to have left the synagogue entirely and to have renounced religion, and he will no longer be called by the name of Israelite.[57]

ר׳ ומה הם הי״ג שרשים ויסודות אלו פתח פיך ויאירו דבריך:

Master. **Come, speak, and explain more plainly what these thirteen articles are, these foundations of pure religion.**[58]

ת׳ היסוד הראשון הוא להאמין במציאות האלוה עלת העלות ויסוד היסודות ושכל הדברים שבמציאות התחתון והעליון ברואים ממנו וקיימים בו ובחפצו הפשוט בראם וכוננם ובחפצו יעדרו ומציאותו ית׳ בהעדרם לא יגרע ולא ישתנה כי מסתפק הוא במציאות עצמו ואין לו צורך מזולתו הוא אור ותעצומות וחי העולמים ולו לבדו יאתה האדנות והממשלה: כי הוא יחיד באמת ומלך הכבוד:

Pupil. **The first** of all is this: that we believe that God exists, the first of all causes and the last of all principles.[59] By Him all things above and below were established, and by Him they are continually upheld. All things were made and prepared by His will alone, and by His will they pass away again. Yet their passing away does not diminish or change the divine power in any way, since it is wholly sufficient in itself and never needs anything else. For God is light, power and everlasting life, and to Him alone dominion and rule properly [p. 7 · IMG 4850–4851] belong, since He alone is truly one and possesses royal majesty.

היסוד השני שהאלוה הזה אשר יצר ופעל המציאות כלו מעלה ומטה הוא אחד ומיוחד ואין כמוהו בשום א׳ מהעולמות ולא חוצה להן שיהיה אחד באמת אלא הוא כמו שכתוב שמע ישראל ה׳ אלקינו ה׳ אחד:

The second is that this God, who established and made all things above and below, is one and simple, so that nothing is found, either within any world* or outside it, that is truly simple as God is. This is what we see written: *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord* (Deut. 6:4).

> ** That worlds were created by God, and a great many of them, is asserted here and there by Jewish writers; our author here simply takes it as beyond doubt.*[60]

היסוד הג׳ שהאלוה היחיד והמיוחד הזה אינו גוף ולא יוגדר בגדרי הגוף וכמו שכתוב כי לא ראיתם כל תמונה:

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[57]These are the Thirteen Principles of Maimonides (Commentary on the Mishnah, Sanhedrin 10:1). "Goes out of the community and denies the root" (יוצא מן הכלל וכופר בעקר) is Maimonides' own wording.

[58]The Hebrew plays on Ps. 119:130: "Open your mouth, and let your words give light" (פתח פיך ויאירו דבריך).

[59]Hebrew עלת העלות ויסוד היסודות, "the Cause of causes and the Foundation of foundations" (compare Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, Yesodei ha-Torah 1:1).

[60]This is a marginal note printed beside the Latin text only. It is presumably de Veil's. A few letters are lost in the gutter of the photograph.

The third foundation is that this one and simple God is not a body, and cannot be enclosed within the frame of a body. This is what we see written: *For you saw no likeness* (Deut. 4:15).

היסוד הד׳ שהאלוה היחיד הזה שאינו גוף לא היה שום דבר שקדם מציאותו והוא ראשון ואחרון לכל הדברים כמו שכתוב אני ראשון ואני אחרון ומבלעדי אין אלקים וכמו שפירש אדון הנביאים מעונה אלקי קדם. היינו המעון של ישראל אשר ובטחו בו הוא אלקי קדם ואין כמוהו ואשריך ישראל מי כמוך שעליון שמת מעונך ובטוח אתה כי תהיה עם נושע בה׳ מגן עזרך:[61]

The fourth is that nothing whatever existed before this simple and incorporeal God, but He Himself is the first and the last of all things, as we read written: *I am the first and I am the last, and besides me there is no God* (Isa. 44:6). The chief of the prophets expressed the same thing in this way: *The dwelling-place of the God of eternity* (Deut. 33:27). Its meaning is that the dwelling-place of the Israelites, in which they rest, placing all their hopes and resources there, is the eternal God, to whom none is like. Hence the same [p. 8 · IMG 4852–4853] prophet soon adds: *Happy are you, Israel; who is like you, a people saved by the Lord, the shield of your help?* (Deut. 33:29).

היסוד הה׳ שזה האלוה הקדמון הבורא והיחיד לו לבדו יאתה העבודה והגדולה לא לזולת כי כלם ברואים והוא בורא וגם אין לבקש משום אחד מברואיו שום בקשה כי אם ממנו אשר כל יכול ולא יבצר מאומה והזובח או העובד או המבקש משום שר או מלאך או שלטון אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארץ מתחת בדרך אלקות יחרם בלתי לה׳ לבדו:[62]

The fifth is that worship and veneration are due to that eternal God alone, the one Creator of all, and to no one besides Him; for all things are created, and He is the Creator. It is not lawful to pray for anything at all to any created being; His help alone must be implored, in whose hands is power over all things without exception. Whoever honours as God a prince, an angel or a power, whether in heaven or on earth, or anything else besides the one divine nature, whether by offering sacrifices, performing ceremonies or making vows, will be bound by a dreadful ban and grievously punished.

היסוד הו׳ שהשי״ת למען טובו משפיע שפע נבואתו על איש או אנשים ממין האדם ועל אותם הראוים לכך והישרים בעיניו כדי להישיר המין האנושי בדרך אשר ילכו בה והמעשה אשר יעשון:[63]

The sixth is that God, Best and Greatest, out of His singular kindness, has chosen from the human race sometimes one person and sometimes many, those who were fit and whom He saw fit to choose. He inspired their minds and revealed the future to them, so that through them the efforts and deeds of the rest of mankind might be directed towards what is right.

[p. 9 · IMG 4854–4855]

[61]The Hebrew adds an allusion to Ps. 91:9, “for you have made the Most High your dwelling” (עליון שמת מעונך), which the Latin omits.

[62]The last words echo Exod. 22:19: “He that sacrifices to any god, save to the LORD only, shall be utterly destroyed” (יחרם).

[63]The last words are Exod. 18:20: “the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do.”

היסוד הז׳ שהאיש משה גדל מאד בנבואה על כל הנביאים שהיו מן העולם ועד העולם וכל שאר הנביאים שהיו לפניו ואפילו האבות ואשר קמו אחריהם כלם הם תחתיו במעלה והוא היה בחור אלקי יעקב שנתן על ידו לישראל תורת אמת משיבת נפש והשיג מידיעתו יתברך מה שלא השיג שום אדם:

The seventh is that Moses far surpasses in prophecy all the prophets of every age. All the prophets before him, even the patriarchs themselves, and those who came near his own time are inferior to Moses in the excellence of their prophecy. He is the one whom the God of Jacob judged most worthy to be the one through whom He would give the Israelites a just Law that soothes and refreshes the soul. Moreover, Moses reached a degree of the knowledge of God that no other human being has ever attained.[64]

ר׳ הידעת בכמה דברים נבדלה מעלת נבואתו על שאר הנביאים:

Master. **Do you know in how many respects, and in which, that prophecy of Moses differs from the visions of the other prophets?**

ת׳ בארבעה דברים והם האחד כי איזה נביא שיהיה לא דבר לו ה׳ אלא על ידי מלאך או נבדל אמנם משה דבר עמו ה׳ פה אל פה שנאמר פה אל פה אדבר בו:

Pupil. In these four. First, God moved no other prophet except through an angel or a messenger separate from a body. But with Moses God Himself spoke face to face, as one present to another, as we see written: *For mouth to mouth I speak to him* (Num. 12:8).

הב׳ כי כל שאר הנביאים לא באה להם הנבואה אלא בחלום וחזיון לילה או ביום אחר תרדמה באופן שיתבטלו כל הרגשותיהם כמו שכתוב במראה אליו אתודע בחלום אדבר בו אבל במשה נאמר לא כן עבדי משה וכו׳ פה אל פה אדבר בו וכו׳:[65]

Second, the power of prophecy came upon any other prophet through visions in dreams by night, or by day after a deep sleep, in such a way that all of the person's senses were dulled. These words of Scripture declare this: *In a vision I will appear to him, or in a dream I will speak* [p. 10 · IMG 4856–4857] *to him* (Num. 12:6). But of Moses we see it written: *Not so my servant Moses … for mouth to mouth I speak to him*, etc. (Num. 12:7–8).

הג׳ כי כל שאר הנביאים בבא אליהם שפע הנבואה יתבטלו כחותיהם ויחלשו אבל משה לא ישיגהו רתת וחולשה בשום אופן אמנם כאשר ידבר איש אל רעהו:

[64]The Hebrew says that all the prophets "before him, even the patriarchs, and those who arose after them" are beneath him. The Latin *huic aetati suppares* ("near to this age") is looser. "Refreshing the soul" is Ps. 19:8.

[65]At the top of Hebrew page 10, line 3, the original prints פהאל run together. De Veil's errata list corrects it to פה אל, and it is given corrected here.

Third, when the divine spirit breathed upon all the other prophets, their strength was stunned and weakened. But Moses talked with God without any sense of trembling or weakness, just as one man is used to talking with another.[66]

הד׳ כי כל שאר הנביאים לא תנוח עליהם הנבואה כל זמן שירצו אלא ברצון ה׳ והכנתם לנבואה אבל משה בכל עת היה מוכן וכל זמן שהיה רוצה שיחול עליו רוח ה׳ היה חל שנאמר עמדו ואשמעה מה יצוה ה׳ לכם:

Last, to the other interpreters of the divine will, prophetic visions were given not at whatever time they pleased, but when God willed to give them and the prophets themselves had been duly prepared. But Moses was always ready, and was inspired by the divine power whenever he wished. This can be understood well enough from this passage of Scripture: *Stand still, so that I may hear what the Lord commands concerning you* (Num. 9:8).[67]

ר׳ שמעתי וטוב הדבר בעיני ואתה חזור ופרש שאר היסודות:

Master. **I hear what you say and fully approve of it. Now let your discourse return to explaining the remaining foundations.**

ת׳ היסוד הח׳ שכל התורה כולה מבראשית עד לעיני כל ישראל כלה כתבה משה מפי הקב״ה ואין הפרש בין פסוק אנכי ה׳ אלקיך לפסוק ותמנע היתה פלגש וכדומה לזה אלא כלה שוה ודבר ה׳ ומאמריו הם כל פסוקיה ודבריה וכן פירושה המקובל על פה באופן עשיית מצותיה גם כן הלכה למשה שקבל מה׳ בסיני ומשה אמר לנו ונאמן הוא בשליחותו כמו שכתוב בכל ביתי נאמן הוא:

Pupil. **The eighth** foundation, then, is that Moses wrote down the whole Law, from its very first words, *In the beginning*, to its last, *before all Israel*,[68] [p. 11 · IMG 4858–4859] exactly as God dictated it. There is no difference between the words *I am the Lord your God* (Exod. 20:2) and the verse *Now Timna was a concubine* (Gen. 36:12), or any other of this kind.[69] The Law is alike in every part: all its verses and all its words are equally the word and utterance of God. Likewise the explanation of how its commandments are to be observed was entrusted by God to Moses' memory at Sinai, and was handed down by him to us without writing.[70] Moses carried out the office of his mission with outstanding faithfulness, as Scripture indeed testifies: *He is most faithful in all my house* (Num. 12:7).

היסוד הט׳ שאין להוסיף או לגרוע בתורת משה כלל אפילו מלה או אות אחד שנאמר לא תוסף עליו ולא תגרע ממנו וידוע כי מתנאי הדבר השלם שלא לקבל לא תוספת ולא גרעון והתורה היא שלמה ותמימה כמו שכתוב תורת ה׳ תמימה וגו׳ ועל כן אינה מקבלת לא התוספת ולא הגרעון:

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[66]"As a man speaks to his friend" is Exod. 33:11.

[67]The four distinctions follow Maimonides' commentary on the seventh principle and Mishneh Torah, Yesodei ha-Torah 7:6.

[68]Gen. 1:1 and Deut. 34:12.

[69]The example of Timna comes from Maimonides' commentary on the eighth principle (and Sanhedrin 99b), where it illustrates that a seemingly trivial verse of the Torah is as divine as the Ten Commandments.

[70]The Hebrew calls this the oral tradition (פירושה המקובל על פה) and "a law given to Moses at Sinai" (הלכה למשה).

The ninth is that nothing whatever may be added to the Law of Moses or taken away from it, not even a single word or letter, for it is expressly written: *You shall not add to it, nor take away from it* (Deut. 12:32).[71] For it is the nature of something perfect that nothing can be added to it or taken from it. And the Law is perfectly complete, as the royal prophet sang in so many words: *The Law of the Lord is perfect*, etc. (Ps. 19:8). Therefore it admits of neither addition nor subtraction.

היסוד העשירי שהש״י משגיח ויודע מעשי בני אדם ואינו מעלים עינו מהם כמו שכתוב גדול העצה ורב העליליה אשר עיניך פקוחות על כל דרכי בני אדם ונאמר ומגיד לאדם מה שיחו כי אפילו שיחתו ודברי פיו יודע כל שכן מעשיו:

The tenth is that God, Best and Greatest, watches and observes the deeds of men and never turns His eyes away from them. This divine oracle declares it plainly: [p. 12 · IMG 4860–4861] *Great in counsel and mighty in deed, whose eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of Adam* (Jer. 32:19); and that other one: *And declaring to man his speech* (Amos 4:13). For if He knows a man's thought and speech, how much more will He know his deeds?[72]

היסוד הי״א הוא שהש״י אינו מקפח שכר כל בריה ונותן שכר לשומרי המצות ועונש לעוברי עבירה או בעה״ז או בעה״ב או בזה ובזה כפי איכות המצות והעונות ואמנם גודל השכר הוא לעה״ב אחר המות וכמו כן העונש:[73]

The eleventh is that God repays each person according to the life he leads. Rich rewards are given to those who keep the commandments, and carefully measured punishments are taken from those who act against them, sometimes in this present age, sometimes in the age to come, and sometimes in both, according to the measure of their good deeds and their sins. Yet the chief rewards are put off to the other age, which follows death; and the same must be said of the punishments.

היסוד הי״ב שהש״י ישלח משיח שיגאל את עמו ואם יתמהמה נחכה לו והמשיח הזה מזרע דוד חוטר ישי בית הלחמי והאיש הזה במשפט יעמיד ארץ ושפט לאומים רבים והיה צדק אזור מתניו יראה זרע יאריך ימי׳ על מלכותו ואין בין העה״ז לימות המשיח אלא שתשוב המלכות לישראל כימי קדם וישבו על אדמתם ויבנו בית המקדש ועבודתו וקרבנותיו ישובו למקומם כהנים לעבודתם ולוים לשירם:[74]

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[71] Deut. 13:1 in Hebrew Bibles.

[72] Amos 4:13 in Hebrew reads ומגיד לאדם מה שחו, "and declares to man what is his thought." Yagel reads שיחו, "his speech," and draws the conclusion "how much more his deeds" (כל שכן).

[73] "God does not withhold the reward of any creature" (אינו מקפח שכר כל בריה) is a Talmudic phrase (Bava Kamma 38b; Pesachim 118a).

[74] The Hebrew strings together Hab. 2:3 ("though it tarry, wait for it"), Isa. 11:1 ("a shoot from the stock of Jesse"), 1 Sam. 16:1 ("Jesse the Bethlehemite"), Prov. 29:4, Isa. 2:4, Isa. 11:5 and Isa. 53:10 ("he shall see seed, he shall prolong his days"). "There is no difference between this world and the days of the Messiah except…" is from Berakhot 34b and Sanhedrin 99a, as quoted by Maimonides. Near the foot of Hebrew page 12 the original prints שתשיב; de Veil's errata list corrects it to שתשוב, which is given here.

The twelfth is that one day God, being merciful, will send the Anointed One to set His people free;[75] and though he delay a long time, he must be awaited none the less. This Anointed One will take his origin from the stock of David, which is why he is called the shoot of Jesse the Bethlehemite. He will restore and raise up the world by justice, for he will judge many peoples; his loins will be girded with righteousness as with a belt. He will be blessed with offspring, and will live a very long life in possession of his kingdom. For there will be no other difference between this age and the future age of the Anointed One, except that then at last [p. 13 · IMG 4862–4863] the Israelites will recover the kingdom they once possessed, and, dwelling in their own land, will rebuild the Temple. So the ancient order of religion and of sacred rites will be restored to its place, and the priests will return to their sacrifices and the Levites to their song.

ר׳ האם עכשיו קודם ביאת הגואל יוכלו הנפשות לבא לידי שלמותם והצלחתם בעולם שכלו ארוך:

Master. **What then? Even now, before the Anointed One has come, can men be perfect and attain the final good of the everlasting age?**

ת׳ אין ספק שבין קודם ביאת הגואל או אחרי ביאתו האיש הסר מרע ועושה טוב ושוקד על דלתי התורה והמצוה מקנה לנפשו שלמות ואושר אמנם לפי שהצרות תוכפות ומצוות רבות באו בתורה שא״א לעשותם כי אם בא״י ויהיה בית המקדש על מכונו כמו הקרבנות והעבודות התרומות והמעשרות ושאר הדברים על כן כדי שיותר בנקלה יבא האדם לידי שלמותו ממעון קדשו ישגיח ישקיף וירחם על נוהו וישלח לציון גואל בימיו תושע יהודה וכלם יהיו יודעים את ה׳ מקטנם ועד גדולם כי כל מונע ומעכב יסוף ויגוע יחד:

Pupil. There is no doubt at all that, both before and after the coming of the Anointed One, whoever shuns what is wicked, follows what is right, and holds fast to the Law and its commandments will one day reach perfect holiness and at last attain the highest good.[76] But great and many miseries and hardships continually hold us back. Moreover, the Law contains many commandments which may be carried out nowhere except in the land of Israel alone, when the Temple has been built on its site: such are the sacrifices, the solemn rites of worship, the offerings, the tithes and the rest. Therefore, so that we may more easily reach the fulfilment of our condition, we must beseech, pray to and implore the immortal God that from His holy and majestic seat He may look upon that place which is dedicated and consecrated to Him, and have mercy on it, and send to Zion a deliverer, in whose time salvation will be given back and restored to Judah, and the mind and nature of God will become known to all, old and young alike.[77] For whatever [p. 14 · IMG 4864–4865] now stands in the way and hinders us will then be removed and taken away altogether.

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[75]Here and below the Latin calls the Messiah *Christus*, literally "the Anointed One," which is the ordinary Latin equivalent of Hebrew משיח. A Christian reader of 1679 would naturally have heard it as "Christ." It is translated "the Anointed One" here to keep Yagel's meaning.

[76]The Hebrew draws on Ps. 34:15 ("depart from evil and do good") and Prov. 8:34 ("watching daily at my gates," here שוקד על דלתי התורה).

[77]Isa. 63:15 ("look down from heaven… from the habitation of Your holiness"), Isa. 59:20 ("a redeemer shall come to Zion"), Jer. 23:6 ("in his days Judah shall be saved") and Jer. 31:34 ("they shall all know Me, from the least of them to the greatest").

ר׳ טוב דברת אמור איזהו היסוד הי״ג:

Master. **You have spoken well. Now explain the thirteenth foundation.**

ת׳ היסוד הי״ג הוא האמנת של זמן הקבוע והנודע לה׳ לבדו לא לזולת יחיו המתים שכבר מתו ואין דת ולא דבקות בדת יהודית למי שלא יאמין זה כמו שכתוב יחיו מתיך נבלתי יקומון ונאמר הקיצו ורננו שוכני עפר ונאמר ורבים מישני אדמת עפר יקיצו והם הצדיקים אשר יזכו לזה יהי רצון שנהיה מכללם יחינו מיומים נקומה ונחיה לפניו:

Pupil. **The thirteenth** is that we believe that at an appointed time, known to God alone and to no one besides Him, all who have died will come back to life. Whoever does not believe this has no communion or fellowship in religion with the Jews. For we have in the prophets: *Your dead shall live, my corpses shall rise* (Isa. 26:19); and further: *Awake and sing, you who dwell in the dust* (ibid.); and again: *And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake* (Dan. 12:2). These are the righteous, who will be judged worthy of so great and so desirable a good. May we too be counted among their number: may God give us back life after two days; may we be raised from the underworld and live again in His sight.[78]

ר׳ למה אמרת שחדוש העולם הוא שורש האמונה ועקר התורה ולא שמת לשרש ופנה אחד מהיסודות האלו הי״ג שאמרת:

Master. **But why do you make the newness of the world, rather than one of the thirteen articles of faith you have just listed, the root of faith and the head of the Law?**[79]

ת׳ לפי שחדוש העולם הוא שורש גדול ויסוד כל התורה כי באמונה זאת תהיה הנבואה אפשרית וכל האותות והמופתים וקבוץ גליות ותחית המתים וכל שאר היסודות כי לכלם יש מענה לשואל למה ככה יעשה או עשה כי כמו שרצה ה׳ ב״ה לברא ולחדש העולם על זה האופן כן רצה וגזרה חכמתו לעשות את כל אלה ולכן אמר הכתוב בענין שבת שהוא זכרון החדוש ביני ובין בני ישראל אות היא לעולם היינו אות זה הוא השורש והיסוד הגדול אשר ביני ובין בני ישראל עם תורתי בלבם שמבדילם מכל שאר העמים והלשונות ועל כן שקול שבת כנגד כל התורה כולה:

Pupil. Because the newness of the world is the basis and indeed the solid foundation of the whole Law. Once a man has faith in it, it follows that prophecy and [p. 15 · IMG 4866–4867] signs and wonders are possible, and the gathering of our people scattered far and wide, and the resurrection of the dead, and everything contained in the articles of religion. And if anyone asks why God has done or will do this or that, the answer to each is easy and ready: just as God willed to found and build the whole world in precisely this way, so He also willed, and in His wisdom decreed, to bring about all these things of

[78]Hos. 6:2: "After two days He will revive us; on the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight" (יחינו מיומים… ונחיה לפניו).

[79]"Newness of the world" (*mundi novitas*, Hebrew חדוש העולם) means the creation of the world in time, out of nothing, as against the Aristotelian view that the world is eternal. The Pupil named it as the foundation of faith on page 5.

which we speak in this manner.[80] So when the Law gives its commandment about the Sabbath, which reminds us of the newness of the world, it says: *Between me and the children of Israel it is a perpetual sign* (Exod. 31:17). Its meaning is: this sign is the firm foundation and the safeguard of the covenant I have made with the Israelites, in whose hearts My Law is engraved, by which they are set apart from all peoples and tongues. For this reason the Sabbath alone carries as much weight as all the rest of the Law.[81]

ר׳ אחרי שאמרת מה היא האמונה וסעיפיה אמור לי מה הוא הבטחון הנלוה אליה שעוזרת את האדם לבא אל האושר הגמור בעולם הבא:

Master. **Now that you have set out faith together with what depends on it, I would like you to explain to me next what hope is, which is joined to it, and by whose help mortals can reach the highest good of the age to come.**[82]

[p. 16 · IMG 4868–4869]

ת׳ הבטחון היא מתנה נתונה מאת האלקי בנפשותינו אשר באמצעותה אנו בטוחים מתענוג הנפשות שהוא האושר האמתי מצד החסד האלקי עלינו לא בצדקתינו וטוב מעשינו וגם בעולם הזה שכל מחסורנו ימלא ויפתח את ידו וישביע לכל חי רצון ועיני כל אליו ישברו באמצעות הבטחון והוא נותן לכלם את אכלם בעתו מקרני ראמים עד ביצי כנים:

Pupil. Hope is a divine gift, by which our mind and reason are so cultivated and so lifted up that we trust we shall attain those delights of the soul which are the goal of all good things, not by our own righteousness and good deeds, but by God's supreme goodness towards us.[83] Likewise, that whatever this life of ours requires we shall have in abundance from a provident God; for He gives to every living creature with a generous hand what fully satisfies its nature. Let all, then, look with intent eyes and with confidence to Him who supplies each with its food in its season, and indeed to the eggs of lice as much as to the wild oxen.[84]

ר׳ ואיזה דבר יצטרך לנו לעשות כדי להשיג את הדברים האלו מלפניו:

Master. **Tell me, then: what must we do for God so that we may receive these great things from Him?**

ת׳ כעבד מאדוניו וכבן מאביו שאם כל אחד מהם יבטח להשיג שום דבר ישתדלו לעשות נחת רוח לפניהם בדברים ובמעשים הרצויים ואחר כך לשאול בלשון תחינה ובקשה מהם כן אנחנו אם כבנים אם כעבדים

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[80]This is Maimonides' argument in the Guide of the Perplexed II:25: if the world was created by God's will, miracles and prophecy are possible; if it is eternal and necessary, the Torah falls.

[81]"The Sabbath is equal to all the commandments": Jerusalem Talmud, Berakhot 1:5; Exodus Rabbah 25:12.

[82]The Hebrew asks about בטחון, "trust," which de Veil renders *spes*, "hope." Compare the note on page 5.

[83]Compare Dan. 9:18: "not for our righteousness, but for Your great mercies." De Veil highlighted this point in his preface ("not by their own merits, but by the pure kindness of God").

[84]Ps. 145:15–16 ("The eyes of all wait upon You, and You give them their food in due season; You open Your hand…"). "From the horns of wild oxen to the eggs of lice" (מקרני ראמים עד ביצי כנים) is from the Talmud, Shabbat 107b and Avodah Zarah 3b.

צריכים אנו להקדים בכל יום ויום הדברים הרצויים לפניו והם מצוות ומעשים טובים על פי תורת משה שבכתב ושעל פה ואחר כך לשאול מהנה בתחנון ובתפלה מלפניו ישמע את תפלותינו וימלא בקשותינו ואב הבטחון הוא הבסיס הגדול העוזרנו עם אלקינו לעשות חיל והוא מנוחת הנפש ושמחת הגוף ויש בו תועלת לתורה ולעולם והבוטח בה׳ חסד יסובבנו מכל הצדדים כל ימעדו קרסוליו כמו שימעדו למי שיבטח על זולתו כמאמר משיח אלקי יעקב בטח בה׳ ועשה טוב שכון ארץ ורעה אמונה והתענג על ה׳ ויתן לך משאלות לבך גול על ה׳ דרכיך ובטח עליו והוא יעשה:

Pupil. What the servant does for his master and the son for his father. Each of them, if he expects something good from the one in charge of him, does his utmost to comply with him in deed and in word, and each asks him for what he needs with prayer and entreaty. So it is right that we too, whether as children or as servants, should do every day what is dear to God's heart: that is, to think rightly, and to act in agreement with the Law of Moses, the written Law and the one handed down [p. 17 · IMG 4870–4871] by tradition; and to be suppliant to Him, stretch out our hands and pour out our prayers. For He will hear our petitions and answer our wishes. Hope, then, is the whole base which, with God's help, serves us in building up the remaining column of the virtues.[85] Hope calms the mind and soothes the body with the most joyful pleasure; hope is of benefit both to the study of the Law and to the life of the world. For grace will surround on every side the one who trusts in God.[86] His foot will not slip, as the feet of those slip who place their confidence in anything other than God.[87] This is surely what the one anointed by the God of Jacob says: *Hope in the Lord and do good; dwell in the land, and feed on faithfulness. Delight yourself in the Lord, and He will give you the desires of your heart. Roll your way upon the Lord, and hope in Him, and He will do it* (Ps. 37:3–5).[88]

ר׳ ואיך הבוטח בזולתו לא ישיג בטחונו:

Master. **What then? Will hope fail the one who trusts in things other than God?**

ת׳ כי על מה יבטח האדם וישען ולא יושע הישען ברוב עשרו משענת קנה רצוץ אשר פתאום יעשה לו כנפים התעיף עיניך בו ואיננו כי כמה וכמה פגעים ומקרים מעותדים עליו היבטח על חכמתו והנה חולי קטן שיבא במוחו יוכל לאבד אותו ממנו היסמך על רוב בניו ובנותיו אוהביו אשתו וקרוביו אשר רוחם ונשמתם ביד אל ורגע ימותו ויאבד מנוס ממנו וגם בחייהם על דבר קטן יוכל ליפול מחלוקת וקטטה ויהפכו לו לאויבים ועוד אם יבא לידי עניות או חולי ואינו יכול לעסוק במלאכתו ולהביא טרף לביתו ירבה המריבה בביתו של אדם וכל רעיו יבגדו בו כי כל אחי רש שנאוהו אף כי מרעיו רחקו ממנו ילדי ביתו ואמהותיו לזר יחשבוהו וכמו שהיה מתלונן איוב בצר לו רוחי זרה לאשתי וחנותי לבני בטני האם יתמך בגבורתו ורב חילו אשר כרגע יחלה ויחלש כחו ואפילו כגרעין חרדל שיבא לו באחד מאבריו ישב בדד לא יצא פתח לא כן למי שיבטח וישען בלב שלם באלקיו כי לא יפחד ולא ידאג משום דבר אלא ממנו ולא יעבוד אחד זולתו ולא יקוה בלעדו לא יחניף ליצור

[85]The Hebrew is simpler: trust is "the great foundation that helps us, with our God, to do valiantly" (Ps. 60:14, באלקים נעשה חיל). The image of a column of virtues is de Veil's. In the Hebrew, ואב is probably a misprint for ואף or ואז.

[86]Ps. 32:10: "he that trusts in the LORD, mercy shall surround him."

[87]Ps. 18:37 (ולא מעדו קרסלי). The Hebrew prints כל ימעדו, evidently for לא ימעדו, "shall not slip."

[88]"The anointed of the God of Jacob" is King David (2 Sam. 23:1), the traditional author of the Psalms.

כמותו ולא יסכים עם בני אדם בלתי עבודת בוראו ולא יפחידוהו פחדם ולא ייראו ממחלקותם ולבסוף יביאהו בטחונו לפנות לבו מהבלי העולם ויכין לבו ומאודו לתורה ולעבודה מאהבה ולא מיראה וייריש חיי העה״ז בהשקט ובמנוחה וחיי העה״ב בתענוג ושלום:

Pupil. That is so. Whatever else a man leans on, he leans on a broken reed.[89] For if he trusts in his great riches, they suddenly put on swift wings and fly out of sight;[90] and again, [p. 18 · IMG 4872–4873] they are struck by many and various calamities and crushed in ruin. If he trusts in his rare knowledge, see, a quite small illness may affect his brain, and all his learning may flow out of his mind. If he trusts in a great number of children, friends and relatives, or in a faithful wife, their breath and soul are in the hand of God: so it may happen that they die in a moment, and he is left without protection. Even while they live, they often bear great anger over the slightest offences and become enemies. Moreover, if he is reduced to poverty, or so caught up in illness that he can do no work nor provide food and clothing for his household, quarrels are ready at home, and all those close to him desert him together. For it is the saying of the wise man: *The brothers of a poor man hate him; and his friends too have gone far from him* (Prov. 19:7). Indeed, he may become a stranger even to the servants born in his house and to the maidservants. For this was the complaint of Job, afflicted by calamities: *My spirit is strange to my wife, though I entreat her by the children of my own body* (Job 19:17).[91] Nor will it be any better to trust in his own strength and muscles, which illness weakens in an instant: some foreign thing in one of his limbs, as small as a grain of mustard, may keep a man shut up alone at home and prevent him from going outside his threshold.[92] But nothing of this kind will befall the one who depends wholly on God. He will stand in awe of the divine majesty, and of nothing else besides; [p. 19 · IMG 4875–4876] he will revere the one majesty of God. His hopes and all his resources are placed in the one God, and he will not stoop to win the favour of a created being like himself by flattery. He will join with men wholeheartedly in worshipping his Maker as is due, but he will not be shaken at all by their fears and quarrels. At last he is so lifted up by his trust that he draws his mind away from the fleeting and perishable things of this age, and bends all the keenness and strength of his mind to the study of the Law and to sacred worship, and does so out of love of piety, not fear of punishment. So he passes this life in leisure and quiet, and attains the other with delight and tranquillity of soul.[93]

ר׳ ומה הם ההקדמות הצריכים לידע כדי להביא האדם לידי מדה זו בשלימות:

Master. **With what things, then, must a man's mind be filled and prepared, so that he can reach the highest degree of this virtue?**

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[89] 2 Kings 18:21; Isa. 36:6.

[90] Prov. 23:5: "Will you set your eyes on it? It is gone; for riches surely make themselves wings."

[91] Job 19:15–17. The Hebrew quotes Job 19:15 as well ("they that dwell in my house, and my maids, count me for a stranger").

[92] Lam. 3:28 ("he sits alone") and Job 31:34 ("and went not out of the door").

[93] The Hebrew: "he will inherit the life of this world in quiet and rest, and the life of the world to come in delight and peace." "Out of love and not out of fear" (מאהבה ולא מיראה) is a rabbinic distinction (Sotah 31a). "To empty his heart of the vanities of the world" (לפנות לבו מהבלי העולם) is the language of Bahya ibn Paquda's *Duties of the Heart*, Gate of Trust.

ת׳ חמשה דברים צריך לשים להם לב כל הבא להתעטר בכתר עטרה זו ואל יליזו מעיני שכלו לעולם והם ראשונה שידע שהש״י ב״ה משגיח על בני אדם לילה ויומם כמאמר הכתוב הנה לא ינום ולא יישן שומר ישראל וכל זה אם בטחונו שלם ולא יזח הבטחון מלבו ומשכלו:

Pupil. Whoever aspires to that summit must hold these five things and keep them always before the eyes of his mind.[94] **First**, that God, Best and Greatest, watches over and cares for men day and night. This is what we read written: *Behold, the guardian of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps* (Ps. 121:4). For this, however, [p. 20 · IMG 4877–4878] each person's trust must be as great as it can possibly be, and must never slip from his mind and heart.

שנית שידע שהקב״ה מרחם על האדם מכל מרחם ומשגיח בנסתר ובנגלה וכי כל רחמים וחמלה שיבאו לו מזולתו הם מרחמי ה׳ וחסדו עליו שנגע בלב המרחמים ועוררם עליו כי הוא מגלגל הדברים ומסבב כל הסבות וכל זה מבלי שיהיה ראוי לכך אלא חסד אלקים גמור וידע כי כל מה שיעבור עליו דבר קטן ודבר גדול הוא גזרת עליון לא זולת:

Next, that God shows far more mercy than all those who take pity on us, and that He provides for our affairs both secretly and openly. Moreover, all the zeal and kindness of others towards us flows from the love of a merciful God towards us. For it is He who moves the minds of men with compassion and stirs them to protect our welfare and safety; He weaves and arranges the chain of events in a wonderful way, and links causes one to another. Nor is this our merit; it is the pure kindness of God. From this it is clear enough that whatever befalls any of us, whether small or great, is ordained by none other than the supreme Ruler and Lord.[95]

שלישית שייחד כל בטחונו בה׳ ולא בזולתו כי הבוטח בזולתו כמי שבוטח על שתי דעות וחטאו גדול כי משתף ה׳ עם עזר בשר ודם אף כי אנוש רמה ותולעה וכמו שאמר הכתוב ארור הגבר אשר יבטח באדם ושם בשר זרועו ומן ה׳ יסור לבו:

Then, that all hope must be fixed on the one God, and nothing expected from anywhere else. For if someone also hopes for something from another, he does the same as one who trusts with one mind and with another as well,[96] which is surely a grave crime, because he joins the help of almighty God with the help of a man, who first consists of flesh and blood and then is turned into worms and maggots.[97] So we see it written: *Cursed is the man who trusts in man, and makes flesh his arm, and whose heart departs from the Lord* (Jer. 17:5).[98]

[p. 21 · IMG 4879–4880]

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[94]"Let them not depart from your eyes" (אל יליזו מעיניך) is Prov. 3:21. The five premises of trust follow Bahya ibn Paquda, *Duties of the Heart*, Gate of Trust, chapter 2, in shortened form.

[95]This is the point de Veil singled out in his preface: that a person's good comes "not by their own merits, but by the pure kindness of God" (Hebrew מבלי שיהיה ראוי לכך אלא חסד אלקים גמור).

[96]Hebrew על שתי דעות, "on two opinions": compare 1 Kings 18:21, "How long will you halt between two opinions?"

[97]Job 25:6: "man, that is a maggot, and the son of man, that is a worm."

[98]The Latin page prints no marginal reference for this verse. De Veil's errata list notes the omission: "p. 20, third line from the end: the reference Jer. 17:5 is missing in the margin."

רביעית שתהיה מחשבתו טהורה ונקייה חזקה לקיים מה שחייבו הבורא לעשות עבודתו ולהזהר מאשר הזהירו כפי מה שהוא מבקש שיהא הבורא מוכן ומזומן מצוי לו שהוא בוטח בו על כן ראוי שיעשה רצונו כרצון עצמו ויבטל רצונו מפני רצון הבורא כדי שה׳ ימלא מבוקשיו ורצונו יעשה אבל הבוזה את דבר ה׳ וממרה מצותיו אנה יוליך את חרפתו כמו שכתיב כי מה תקות חנף כי יבצע וכו׳ הצעקתו ישמע אל וגו׳:[99]

After that, that a chaste and pure mind is required, and one that is firm in doing what the Creator of all commands us for the sake of revering and worshipping Him, and again in refusing what He forbids us to do. All of us who trust in God want Him to be at hand for us always and everywhere. It is right, then, that we should obey His will just as we are used to obeying our own; indeed, that we should set aside our own will before His. Those who keep to this rule of life will certainly be granted by God whatever they ask of Him; whatever they wish, He will bring about. But those who despise the words of God and resist His commandments will be followed by a disgrace that will never anywhere be wiped out. For this is the meaning of what we read written: *For what is the hope of the hypocrite, though he gain greedily,* etc. *Will God hear his cry?* etc. (Job 27:8–9).

חמישית שיכוין בתפלותיו ויעשם תחנונים וידע כי קרוב ה׳ לכל קוראיו לכל אשר יקראוהו באמת כמאמר הכתוב תכין לבם תקשיב אזנך ולפחות זמנין תלתא ביומא ערב ובקר וצהרים יהא בריך על ברכוהי וכפי רעיוני פרושות השמים בתפלה ותחנון בהקדים זמרה ורנה לתפלה ולהודות ולהלל לפניו בכל דברי שירות ותשבחות שהתקין נעים זמירות ישראל ואנשי כנסת הגדולה לא יוסיף ולא ישנה ממטבע שטבעו חכמים בברכות פן יחטא בלשונו ויהיה טועה ועל כן כל אשר יארע לו טוב או רע יהלל וישבח ויפאר ליוצרו ויקבל בשמחה כמו שכתוב כוס ישועות אשא ובשם ה׳ אקרא צרה ויגון אמצא ובשם ה׳ אקרא ויהיה רגיל לומר כל מאן דעביד רחמנא עביד לטב גם על כל הנאה שיהנה בעה״ז יברך לאלקיו במאכל פת בגו ויין משתיו כפי נוסח הברכות שהתקינו רבותינו בכל מקום ובכל זמן ובכל הדברים:[100]

Last, that the greatest effort of mind must be applied to entreating and imploring God, who comes to the aid of all who call on Him, provided they call from the heart. For this is the force of the words: *Your ear has heard the preparation of their heart* (Ps. 10:17). Now, at least three times a day, at evening, at dawn and at noon, with bended knees, palms raised to the stars and thoughts lifted up, you must pray to God and beseech Him. And before you come to prayers and supplications, [p. 22 · IMG 4881–4882] you must extol the power and nature of God with praises, and celebrate it with hymns and songs, and with those verses which the far sweetest psalmist of the Israelites and those men of the Great Synagogue composed.[101] Do not add anything to them, nor change the forms of prayer laid down by the sages; for if the tongue stumbles at all, you will be entangled in errors.[102] Now, whatever good or

[99]"Do His will as if it were your will… set aside your will before His will" is Mishnah Avot 2:4.

[100]Ps. 145:18 ("The LORD is near to all who call upon Him in truth"), Ps. 10:17 and Ps. 55:18 ("evening, morning and noon will I pray"). The words זמנין תלתא ביומא … בריך על ברכוהי are Aramaic, from Dan. 6:11: Daniel "kneeled upon his knees three times a day."

[101]The "sweet singer of Israel" is David (2 Sam. 23:1). The Men of the Great Assembly (אנשי כנסת הגדולה) were credited by the rabbis with fixing the form of the prayers (Berakhot 33a). The order "praise first, then petition" follows Berakhot 32a.

[102]"Do not change the coinage the sages have minted in blessings" (לא ישנה ממטבע שטבעו חכמים בברכות) is from Berakhot 40b.

evil befalls you, accept it cheerfully from your Creator, whom you will therefore magnify, extol and glorify, according to what we see written: *I will take the cup of salvation, and proclaim the name of the Lord* (Ps. 116:13); *I found distress and sorrow; and I called upon the name of the Lord* (Ps. 116:3–4). So always have this on your lips: "Whatever God, in His mercy, does to us, He does for our good."[103] Likewise, for each of the good things of this life, for food, for drink, and indeed for everything, always and everywhere give thanks to God with the formulas of thanksgiving which our teachers composed.[104]

ר׳ אחרי שאמרנו מהאמונה והבטחון היש דבר אחר שיהיה הכרחי להקנות השלימות האנושי והתענוג הרוחני:

Master. **Enough has been said about faith and hope. Tell me now, if you please: is anything further necessary for a man to achieve the virtue that attains the everlasting delights of the soul?**

[p. 23 · IMG 4883–4884]

ת׳ יש מעבר אחר הנקרא מעבר האהבה:

Pupil. There is indeed another disposition of the soul: it is called love.[105]

ר׳ ומה הוא המעבר הזה:

Master. **What, then, is this?**

ת׳ האהבה היא מתנה נתונה מאת האלקים אשר באמצעותה אנו אוהבים את ה׳ מפני שראוי לכך מפאת גדולתו ורום מעלתו וחסדו עלינו וזו היא האהבה שתלויה ביראה ומחמת האהבה הזאת אנו מקבלים עול התורה והמצוה וגם שבעבורה אנו צריכים לאהוב את הבריות מעשי ידיו ולהטיבם כפי משאת ידינו וזה כלל גדול העלך סני לחברך לא תעביד:

Pupil. This love is a divine gift and present. When it has been given to us, we love God, as is right, for His supreme greatness and excellence, and for His very great kindnesses towards us. And this is the love that is joined with fear. By it we are led to take up the yoke of the Law and the commandments; by it we are obliged to care for all people, as being the work of God's hand, and to help them as far as our means allow. For a good and great part of the Law is this: *What is hateful to you, do not do to another*.[106]

ר׳ והיאך היא הדרך לאהבתו וליראתו כי דברים אלו הם שני דברים הפכיים כי הירא וחרד איך יאהב:

Master. **But to love and to fear are two contrary things, opposed to each other. How, then, can the same people who shudder at God and dread Him also love Him?**

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[103]The Hebrew gives the Aramaic saying of Rabbi Akiva, כל מאן דעביד רחמנא לטב עביד, "whatever the Merciful One does is for the good" (Berakhot 60b). Accepting evil as well as good with a blessing is Mishnah Berakhot 9:5.

[104]The Hebrew names "the bread of his table and the wine of his drinking" (compare Dan. 1:5, פת בג המלך וביין משתיו).

[105]The Hebrew מעבר (literally "a crossing" or "passage") is unusual here; de Veil renders it *animi affectus*, "a disposition of the soul." This begins the third part of the triad of faith, hope and love that de Veil described in his preface.

[106]Hillel's saying, given in the Hebrew in its Aramaic form, דעלך סני לחברך לא תעביד (Shabbat 31a), where Hillel calls it "the whole Torah." The Hebrew calls it כלל גדול, "a great principle" (compare Rabbi Akiva on "love your neighbour as yourself," Sifra Kedoshim 4:12). The Hebrew misprints העלך for דעלך.

ת׳ בשעה שיתבונן אדם במעשיו וברואיו הנפלאים והגדולים ויראה מהן חכמתו שאין לה ערך ולא קץ מיד הוא אוהב ומשבח ומפאר ומתאוה תאוה גדולה לידע את ה׳ הגדול כמו שאמר דוד ע״ה צמאה נפשי לאלקים לאל חי וכשמחשב בדברים אלו עצמן מיד הוא נרתע לאחוריו וייראו ויפחד וידע שהוא בריה שפלה וקטנה אפלה עומדת בדעת קלה מעוטה לפני תמים דעות כמו שאמר דוד כי אראה שמיך מעשה אצבעותיך וכו׳ מה אנוש כי תזכרנו וכו׳ ובזה האופן יהיה ירא ואוהב ומקיים שני כתובים שנראים כאלו מכחישין זה את זה ואהבת את ה׳ אלקיך בכל לבבך וכו׳ ופסוק את ה׳ אלקיך תירא ואותו תעבוד ובו תדבק כי בזאת האהבה והיראה יהיה הדבקות האמתי והנכון כי באמצעותו ילך בדרכיו מה הוא חנון ורחום וישר ונאמן ומתנהג עם בריותיו במדות האלו בלי שום הפעלות כן הדבק בו יהיה כן ויצא ממדרגות האלו אל מדרגת הקדושה כמו שכתוב קדושים תהיו כי קדוש אני׃

Pupil. When a man considers in his mind the making of created things, so many, so great and so wonderful, he recognizes from it the immense and infinite power of the divine intelligence, [p. 24 · IMG 4885–4886] which he continually worships, praises and proclaims, and he longs eagerly to see into the all-powerful and excellent nature of God. This is the point of that saying of David, by far the most religious of kings: *My soul thirsts for God, for the living God* (Ps. 42:3). He applies his mind to thinking about these things, and then at once draws his mind back from them; he is afraid, he trembles, he feels that his nature is lowly, small and dark, raising its maimed and unfinished understanding towards that supreme and wholly perfect Mind. David speaks of this as follows: *When I look up at Your heavens, the work of Your fingers*, etc. *What is man, that You are mindful of him?* (Ps. 8:4–5). So it comes about that a man both fears and loves the divine majesty, and keeps two precepts of the Law, of which one might seem contrary to the other: namely, *You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart*, etc. (Deut. 6:5), and, *You shall fear the Lord your God, Him alone shall you serve, and to Him shall you cleave* (Deut. 10:20). For this love joined with fear will unite us sincerely and fittingly to God. By it we shall be led to set before ourselves as a model to imitate the way in which God acts. Now God is gracious, kind, fair and faithful in governing His creatures (though these different affections exist only in His effects, since no affection whatever befalls God).[107] Therefore we too shall strive to become such, and by these steps [p. 25 · IMG 4887–4888] to ascend to holiness; for it is in the Law: *You shall be holy, for I am holy* (Lev. 19:2).[108]

ר׳ היצטרך לעשות דבר אחר לבא אל השלמות מהאושר נוסף על השני דברים אלו שאמרת אהבת המקום ואהבת הבריות׃

Master. **What then? Is anything further necessary for obtaining the highest good, besides this twofold love you have discussed, towards God and towards men?**

[107]Hebrew בלי שום הפעלות, “without any being-affected”: God acts mercifully but does not undergo emotions. This is Maimonides’ doctrine of the attributes of action (Guide of the Perplexed I:54).

[108]The whole answer follows Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, Yesodei ha-Torah 2:2, almost word for word in the Hebrew (“when a person contemplates His great and wonderful works… he immediately loves, praises and glorifies… and when he thinks of these very things he immediately recoils”). “Walking in His ways” (ילך בדרכיו) is Deut. 28:9, as explained in Sifre Deut. 49 and Shabbat 133b: “as He is gracious and merciful, so you be gracious and merciful.”

ת׳ שני דברים אלו הם כלל גדול בכל התורה כולה כי ואהבת את ה׳ אלקיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך יכלול כל הדברים שבינו לבין המקום ב״ה מצות עשה ומצות לא תעשה ואהבת לרעך כמוך הוא כולל כל הדברים שבין אדם לחבירו עשין ולאוין דברי ממונות ואונאות ודיני נפשות גם תורת הנשואין והבכורות שהתורה והישוב בנוי עליהם ובמה יתרצה עבד אל אדוניו כי אם בשתים אלה לשמוע ולעשות את כל תרי״ג מצות התלוים תחתיהם:

Pupil. The whole Law turns entirely on these two. For the first, *You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength* (Deut. 6:5), contains absolutely everything that declares what a man owes to God, the precepts both commanding and forbidding. And the other, *You shall love your neighbour as yourself* (Lev. 19:18), likewise includes all the precepts belonging to man's duty towards men, both positive and negative: lawful dealings in property and fraud, capital cases, and the laws of marriage and of inheritance, by which the divine Law and human society are held together.[109] So nothing else wins for us, the servants of our Lord, His favour, except the keeping of these two precepts, on which all six hundred and thirteen precepts depend.[110]

[p. 26 · IMG 4889–4890]

ר׳ האם אהבת הבריות שתלוי בו ואהבת לרעך כמוך צריך שיהיה בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך כמו אהבת המקום ב״ה:

Master. **Must this love towards men, which is contained in the verse *You shall love your neighbour as yourself*, also be served with the whole heart, soul and strength, like that love towards the immortal God?**

ת׳ להיות ששתי האהבות האלו הם שני עמודי התורה ראוי שיהיו דומים זה לזה וכמו שאהבת המקום היא בכל לב נפש ומאד ר״ל כי לקיים מצות ה׳ התלויים בלב ובנפש כגון להרחיק הדעות הזרות והנכריות מלבו צריך להתלהב בנפש משלהבת האהבה האלקית והיראה הפנימית עד שאפילו אדם נוטל נשמתו לא יעבור מפקודי ה׳ ומצותיו וכל שכן שלא יעבור אם יהיה בדבר חסרון כיס שעל כל אלה מפני אהבתו ית׳ אם יטלו ממנו נפשו וממנו ולבו היינו שיצערוהו בגופו אל יעבור על מצות קונו כן באהבת הבריות צריך שתהיה בכל לב נפש ומאד:

Pupil. Since these two loves hold up the Law like two columns, it is fitting that they be equal to each other. Now our love towards God without doubt claims for itself the whole heart, and soul, and all one's strength. That is as much as to say: to keep those commandments of God which concern the mind and reason, for example to reject foreign opinions alien to the truth, our heart must burn with the fervour of divine love and be touched by a certain inward fear, so much so that we would rather let our life be taken from us than resist God's warnings and precepts, and much less still do anything against

[109] The Hebrew uses the rabbinic categories בין אדם למקום and בין אדם לחבירו (Mishnah Yoma 8:9), "positive and negative commandments" (עשין ולאוין), and "monetary law, fraud and capital law" (דיני ממונות ואונאות ודיני נפשות). Its הבכורות ("firstborn rights") becomes "inheritance" in the Latin. Christian readers would have recognized the pairing of these two verses from Matt. 22:37–40.

[110] "How should a servant make himself acceptable to his master" (ובמה יתרצה עבד אל אדוניו) echoes 1 Sam. 29:4. The 613 commandments (תרי״ג מצות) are counted in Makkot 23b.

the divine Law for the loss of our property. In a word, even if we are stripped of life, of fortune, and of everything besides that is dear to us in this life, and to which in the end all bodily hardship comes back, that love of ours towards God must still keep us from committing anything against the precepts of our Ruler and Lord. Therefore our love for men also requires the whole heart, and soul, and strength.[111]

[p. 27 · IMG 4891–4892]

ר׳ צריך אתה לפרש דבריך ולהודיע איך באהבת הבריות יהיו שלש אלה:

Master. **You must throw light on these last words of yours, and explain how far love towards men requires those three things.**

ת׳ בכל לבבך היינו שלא לשנא שום אדם בלב כמו שכתוב לא תשנא את אחיך בלבבך והשנאה אשר בלב רובה באה מחמת הקנאה וגדולה השנאה הבאה מחמת הקנאה יותר מהבאה מחמת עלבון ותחרות או דבר אחר כי זו בסור הסבה סר כל חלאתה ויש לה תקומה אמנם הבאה מחמת הקנאה אין שום תקנה לה כי בכל עת תעורר מדנים ועל באשה היא אשר החריבה מקדש שני שלא היה בו לא עבודת אלילים גילוי עריות שפיכות דמים כמו במקדש ראשון והיא אשר הגלתה את פליטת יהודה ומקיימת את שארית ישראל בגלות ואשר סבבה כל הגרושים והרעות והצרות שהיו מעולם בגלות החל הזה כי עדיין צחנתה ועשנה עולה להשחית והשנאה הזאת אשר בלב נקראת שנאת חנם כי על עסקי חנם וקנאה לבד נכנסת בלבו של אדם והיא קשה שבכלם כי תרתי אית בהו לגריעותא הקנאה שמוציאה את האדם מן העולם והשנאה אשר בלב ועל זה נאמר בכל לבבך כי לא לבד חייב אדם להזהר שלא ידבק בו מאומה מהאד הרע הזה אמנם לאהוב את האדם בלבו ולהרחיק ממנו שמץ קנאה ותחרות וזו היא האהבה שבלב:[112]

Pupil. As for the heart: that we should have no hatred against any person conceived in the heart, about which the Law speaks expressly: *You shall not hate your brother in your heart* (Lev. 19:17). For the hatred that remains stored deep in the breast is for the most part born of envy; and the bitterness of that hatred is far greater than that of hatred produced by an injury, a dispute or some other such thing. For when the cause of this latter hatred is removed, all that boiling froth is at once removed too, and so there is some remedy. But no remedy at all can be found for the hatred that takes its origin from envy. It always stirs up quarrels and makes foul disturbances. It overthrew the Second Temple, which was not, like the First, defiled by idolatry, debauchery, adultery, incest and murder. It drove the remnant of the Jews out of their borders, and still keeps the Israelites who survive captive and in exile. It was this, moreover, that [p. 28 · IMG 4893–4894] brought about the expulsions of our people from almost countless places, the massacres, the calamities, all the miseries and hardships which we have suffered from the very beginning of this most grievous captivity. And it still breathes out smoke so thick and so foul that

[111] The Hebrew follows the rabbinic reading of Deut. 6:5 (Mishnah Berakhot 9:5; Berakhot 61b): "with all your soul" means even if He takes your life, and "with all your might" (מאדך) means with all your money (חסרון כיס). The Hebrew וממנו ולבו looks garbled; the sense, as the Latin shows, is "his money and his body."

[112] Yoma 9b: the First Temple was destroyed for idolatry, sexual immorality and bloodshed; the Second, though people studied Torah and did good deeds, for *sin'at chinam*, baseless hatred. Yagel identifies the hatred as springing from envy (קנאה). The Hebrew ועל באשה is probably a misprint for ועלה באשה, "its stench has risen" (Joel 2:20). "This host in exile" (גלות החל הזה) is Obad. 1:20.

it ruins everything.[113] That hatred deeply planted in the heart is called *baseless hatred*,[114] because it invades the human heart for no cause other than sheer envy. It is by far the gravest of all, because there is a double wickedness in it: envy, which removes a man from the world, and malice, which infects the breast.[115] Therefore it is prescribed: *with all your heart*. For it is not enough for a man to drive this inhumanity wholly away from himself; he must also love every person with his whole breast, and shrink from every kind of envy and rivalry. This is to love with the whole heart.

עוד יש שנאה אחרת והיא שאדם שונא לחברו לא מפני קנאה או תחרות אלא מפני רוע המדות אשר בנפש המתעורר כי כמו שהטבע ניתן שהאהבה נופלת בין הדומים כן כשלא ידמו יחד האנשים במדותיהם ובמנהגיהם יפול ביניהם שנאה וזו אינה קשה כראשונה אמנם קשה לתקן ולכן מוזהרים אנו להתרחק ממנה לפי שנאמר בכל נפשך היינו אף על פי שחבירך אינו שוה במדות כנפשך חייב אתה לסבול אותו ולאהבה אותו בעבור ה׳ שככה בראו:[116]

There is another kind of hatred, when one person is estranged from another not out of envy and grudge, but because of his character and disposition, which displeases him as bad. For just as likeness of character by itself stirs up mutual love among people, so on the contrary difference of character and nature gives birth to hatred. This is less bitter than the former hatred; yet it is hard to root out. So we are warned to keep well away from it. For the words *with all your soul* have this meaning: if someone's character [p. 29 · IMG 4895–4896] agrees less with your disposition, you must nevertheless bear with him and love him; for God is reason enough for you to do so.[117]

המין השלישי מהשנאה היא הבאה מחמת דרוא דממונא וזהו שנאמר בכל מאדך ובזו השנאה גם כן אותה הנופלת בין בעלי האומניות שכל אומן שונא בני אומנתו ועל הדבר הזה גם כן מוזהרים אנו וכשיחשוב הבעל אומנות שהכל מאת ה׳ העושר והכבוד ואין אדם נוגע במה שמוכן לחבירו לא ישנא לבעל אומנתו אדרבה יאהב אותו מפני הדמותו אליו וכן אם ריב או מצה יפול בין אנשים ונגשו אל השופט ושפטום ורוב יריבו יחד באותו הדבר אשר יפול הריב והאמת יעשה דרכו ולמה ישנאו זה את זה אחר כך כי כל העדה כלם כגוף אחד נבדל באבריו וכמו שאם ידו של אדם תכה את רגלו או שום אבר אחר מאבריו לא ישוב להכות לידו לנקום נקמת רגלו כן אם יחטא איש לאיש מצוה שלא לנקום ולנטור אבל למחול לו מיד ולהתפלל אל ה׳ עליו שימחול לו כמו שעשה הזקן אבינו שנאמר ויתפלל אברהם אל האלקים וירפא אלקים את אבימלך ויחשוב גם כן בלבו כמה אנחנו מוסיפים לחטוא בכל יום ויום לפניו יתברך והוא מוחל לנו על העונות והפשעים ואם אנו בניו כד״א בנים אתם לה׳ אלקיכם ומצווים ללכת בדרכיו מחוייבים אנו גם כן למחול כמוהו ולהעביר על מדותינו כי כל

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[113]Hebrew ועשנה עולה להשחית, "and its smoke rises to destroy."

[114]Hebrew שנאת חנם (Yoma 9b), which de Veil renders *odium temerarium*.

[115]"Envy, lust and honour remove a man from the world" (Mishnah Avot 4:21). "Two bad things are in it" (תרתי אית בהו לגריעותא) is Aramaic, a Talmudic idiom.

[116]De Veil's errata list gives ניתן as the correct reading on Hebrew page 28, line 16; it is given so here. "Love falls between those who are alike" echoes the proverb in Bava Kamma 92b, "not for nothing does the starling go to the raven, but because it is of its kind."

[117]The Hebrew is more pointed: "for the sake of God, who created him so" (בעבור ה׳ שככה בראו). It reads בראוי, which looks like a misprint.

העובר על מדותיו מעבירים לו כל פשעיו מדה כנגד מדה והוכח נוכיח את עמיתנו בדברים המתישבים על הלב ולא נשא עליו חטא לא במחשבה לא בדבור ולא במעשה אבל בשלשת אלה נועילהו וזהו ואהבת לרעך כמוך כי כל הדברים הנאהבים והרצויים לך חייב אתה להשתדל במעשה ובדבור ולעשות לרעך להביא שלום בין איש לאשתו בין אדם לחבירו כמו שכתוב בקש שלום ורדפהו ובמחשבה שתחמוד בלבך שיבא אליו טובה ועל זה תתפלל אל ה׳ תמיד כמו שאתה מתפלל על טובתך:[118]

The third kind of hatred is the one born of an immoderate desire for wealth; and this is what *and with all your strength* refers to. Under this kind also falls the hatred of one craftsman for another. For almost every craftsman hates those devoted to his own trade, which we are forbidden to do. And indeed, if the craftsman reflects that absolutely all gifts, wealth and honours come from the one God, and that no one can obtain what He has destined for another, he will be so far from hating those who practise his trade that he will rather love them because of the likeness of their way of life. Now, if it happens that some dispute and quarrel arises between one person and another, let them go to law and argue their case; and when the judge has examined the suit thoroughly and settled it, let each lay aside the role of adversary. For the whole community of the Israelites is like the body of one and the same man, divided and distributed into its parts. It is not the case that if a man's hand injures his foot or some other of his limbs, he punishes the hand badly to avenge the foot. In the same way, then, if one man wrongs another, it is right not to avenge the injury, nor to remember the offence, but [p. 30 · IMG 4897–4898] to forgive it at once, and to pray to God for pardon for the offender. For this is the way our long-lived ancestor acted, of whom we read written: *And when Abraham prayed, God healed Abimelech* (Gen. 20:17).[119] Besides this, let each person reflect in his mind that we, who never let a single day go by without sinning greatly against God, nevertheless have our sins and crimes forgiven by Him. So if we are His children, as we see written, *You are the children of the Lord your God* (Deut. 14:1), and if it is our duty to follow His way, we surely ought, as He does, to grant pardon and give up anger. For whoever lets go of anger, that is, of the desire for revenge, has the punishment of his own sins remitted: like is repaid with like.[120] Moreover, let us reprove one another with words suited to turning minds away from wrongdoing, and let us not allow ourselves to bear the guilt of what another has deserved, whether in thought, word or deed; rather, let us help one another in this threefold way of acting.[121] For this is the meaning of that saying of the Law, *You shall love your neighbour as yourself*. Namely, whatever is pleasant and agreeable to you, you must provide for all who are joined with you in society, and bring it about by deed and word: you must reconcile husbands [p. 31 · IMG 4899–4900] and wives, and fellow citizens with

[118] דרוא דממונא is Aramaic, roughly "the craving for money." "Every craftsman hates his fellow craftsmen" is a rabbinic proverb (Genesis Rabbah 19:4). "Wealth and honour come from You" is 1 Chron. 29:12, and "no one can touch what is prepared for another" is from Yoma 38b. The image of the hand that strikes the foot is from the Jerusalem Talmud, Nedarim 9:4, on Lev. 19:18; de Veil cited this passage in his preface.

[119] "You shall not take vengeance nor bear any grudge" (לא תקם ולא תטר) is Lev. 19:18, the same verse as "love your neighbour." That the wronged person should pray for the one who wronged him, as Abraham did for Abimelech, is taught in Mishnah Bava Kamma 8:7.

[120] "Whoever passes over his measures [i.e. forgoes retaliation], all his sins are passed over" (כל המעביר על מדותיו מעבירין לו על כל פשעיו), Rosh Hashanah 17a; "measure for measure" (מדה כנגד מדה), Sanhedrin 90a.

[121] Lev. 19:17: "You shall surely reprove your neighbour, and not bear sin because of him."

one another. For this is what we read written: *Seek peace, and pursue it* (Ps. 34:15).[122] Further, you must serve them in thought too: that is, wish them well from the heart, and pray to God as constantly for their prosperity as for your own.

ר׳ אחר שפירשת שני עמודים אלו שכוללים כל התורה כולה הדברים שבין אדם למקום ודברים שבין אדם לחבירו אמור בכלל כמה הם שרשי העונות שירחק מהם האדם כדי שלא ימנעוהו מלבא אל האושר המקווה:

Master. **You have discussed at length those two heads in which the whole Law, and indeed all a man's duties towards God and men, are contained. Next, explain plainly the seeds of sins: how many there are and of what kind, from which we must turn aside, so that they may not prevent us from one day attaining that highest good for which we hope.**

ת׳ שרשי העונות הם שלש והם מזיד שוגג ופושע:

Pupil. The root and seed of sins is altogether threefold: obstinacy, imprudence and rebellion.[123]

ר׳ מה הוא הנקרא מזיד:

Master. **What is it that is called obstinacy?**

ת׳ להיות כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעוריו עלובה העיסה שהנחתום מעיד עליה וכל איש לבצעו מנעוריו נקל להמשך אחרי שרירות לבו ותאותו מתענוגי העולם וחמדותיו ולא יבחין בין הדברים המותרים והאסורים כדי למלאת תאות הנפש הבהמית וכל העונות הנעשות בזדון מחמת התאוה והחמדה והודע אליו חטאתו ומכל זה יתפתה אחר יצרו יקראו כלם שנעשו במזיד:

Pupil. It is this: that a man's mind and spirit are evil from his earliest youth (a pitiable lump of dough indeed, of which the baker himself speaks [p. 32 · IMG 4901–4902] rather harshly).[124] Each one serves his own advantage from boyhood,[125] and, inclined to lust, so craves delicate and temporal pleasures that he does not distinguish the forbidden from the permitted, so long as he satisfies desires that are plainly those of cattle. So when a man willingly admits something for the sake of a pleasure he desires, and indulges his inclination even though he sees and knows that he is sinning, that is said to be done obstinately.

ר׳ מה הוא הנקרא שוגג:

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[122]"Bringing peace between a man and his wife, and between a person and his fellow" (הבאת שלום בין אדם לחבירו ובין איש לאשתו) is from the prayer book's list of deeds whose fruits are enjoyed in this world (Mishnah Peah 1:1; Shabbat 127a).

[123]The Hebrew terms are מזיד (one who sins deliberately), שוגג (one who sins inadvertently) and פושע (one who sins in rebellion). They correspond to the rabbinic triad עון, חטא and פשע in the High Priest's confession on Yom Kippur (Yoma 36b). De Veil's Latin renders them *obstinatio, imprudentia, rebellio*.

[124]"The inclination of man's heart is evil from his youth" is Gen. 8:21. "Poor is the dough of which the baker himself testifies that it is bad" (עלובה עיסה שנחתום מעיד עליה) is a rabbinic saying (Genesis Rabbah 34:10): the "baker" is God, who made man and Himself says his inclination is evil.

[125]"Every one for his own gain" is Isa. 56:11. The Hebrew also echoes Deut. 29:18 ("the stubbornness of his heart") and speaks of the "animal soul" (הנפש הבהמית).

Master. **And what is it that is called imprudence?**

ת׳ על שני אופנים נוכל לאמר אם שוגג בענין המעשה כי לא הודע אליו שהדבר ההוא עון לעשותו וחושב שהוא מותר ושגיאות מי יבין או כי בשגגה נתפתה אחרי הדברים שגופם אינו אסיר לגמרי אמנם מצוה להזהר מהם כגון הרהורי עבירה מחשבות און דברים בטלים רוב התענוג בדברים המותריים וכיוצא בזה שכלם מבטלים את האדם מדבקות מחשבת בוראו ואהבתו והם דברים שמעט מעט יוכלו להביא את האדם לידי רוע מעשה וקניית תכונות לנפשו את שבע תועבות ה׳ אשר שנא ולטרוף נפשו באפו ולהטרידו מחיי העולם הזה והבא:[126]

Pupil. I would rightly say that it takes two forms. One lies in the deed: as when someone, not knowing that a thing is wrong to do, has done it because he thought it was permitted to do it. *For who can understand his errors?* (Ps. 19:13). The other is when someone thoughtlessly gives himself over to things of a kind that are not in themselves altogether wicked, yet to abstain from them is a mark of integrity. Of this kind are desiring sin, lusting after wickedness, speaking idle words, taking too much pleasure in permitted things, and anything similar. For all these deter a man from applying his mind [p. 33 · IMG 4903–4904] to the contemplation of God his Maker, and from showing Him due reverence. Their force is such that they lead a man little by little into wickedness, and entangle him in these seven vices of the soul which God hates and abhors, which drive a man out of his health and his mind, and take from him the life of this age and of the age to come alike.[127]

ר׳ ומה הנה שבע תועבות אשר בנפש:

Master. **And what, then, and of what kind are these seven abominable vices of the soul?**

ת׳ הם שבעה גופי עבירה ראשיים אשר תחתיהם ישתרגו כל העונות ובראשיתם נראים דברי שוא ואין אדם נשמר מהם ואם יתפתה אחריהם טורדין אותו מן העולם כי בולמסם חזק וקשה אחר כך לתקן את אשר עותו כי הם מקנים גם כן תכונה רעה בנפש האדם על כן שומר נפשו ירחק מהם ואלו הם הבטלה הגאוה הגרגרנות הזמה הכעס הקמצנות הקנאה ולהם שבע שמות מתחלפים אשר קראו להם הנביאים והם רע ערל טמא שונא מכשול אבן צפוני:

Pupil. These are, as it were, seven trunks of wickedness of the greatest height, from whose branches, interwoven and joined together, all crimes spring.[128] At first they seem so trifling and light that no one guards himself against them; but afterwards they overwhelm the man who gives way to them. And what makes their force monstrous is that it is hardly possible for one whom they have corrupted to be

[126] "Who can understand his errors?" (שגיאות מי יבין) is Ps. 19:13. "Thoughts of sin" (הרהורי עבירה) is a Talmudic term (Yoma 29a). The Hebrew prints אסיר, probably for אסור.

[127] The "seven abominations" (שבע תועבות) are from Prov. 26:25 ("there are seven abominations in his heart"); compare Prov. 6:16–19. "Tearing his soul in his anger" (לטרוף נפשו באפו) echoes Job 18:4.

[128] The Hebrew: "seven chief bodies of transgression, under which all sins are intertwined" (ישתרגו, Lam. 1:14). On the Latin page 33, line 13, the original prints "commissis, enascuntur"; de Veil's errata list deletes the comma.

set right, for they steep the mind in wickedness.[129] So whoever wishes to protect his soul should turn away from these vices as carefully as he can. They are: **sloth, pride, gluttony, lust, anger, avarice, envy**. The prophets gave them seven other names: *evil, uncircumcised, unclean, enemy, stumbling-block, stone, hidden*.[130]

[The photographs end here, at the foot of page 33.]

[p. 34 · IMG 4906–4907]

ר׳ פרש דבריך ואמר טבע כל אחת מהעונות האלה ואיך מכוונים השמות שאמרת עם אותם אשר קראו להם הנביאים:

Master. **What you have just said needs explaining. So come, set out the force and nature of each of these seven vices, and show how the names you gave a little earlier correspond to those which the prophets gave to these same vices.**

ת׳ הבטלה היא רעה חולה שאדם מתבטל ומתעצל לבא אל שלמותו ויושב ופונה לבו לדברים בטלים ואינו עוסק בתורה ובמצות ולא במלאכתו והיא ראשית כל העונות ועל כן נקרא רע כמו שכתוב כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעוריו ואוהב הבטלה יותר מהתעסק בשלמותו ולא ידע כי בנפשו הוא ומכלל העון הזה המשחק בקוביא או בקלפים וכיוצא לפי שאינו מתעסק בישובו של עולם ואסור לאדם שיתעסק בעולמו אלא או בתורה וגמילות חסדים או בסחורה או אומנות ומלאכה שיש בהן ישובו של עולם ועל כן איש זה מכלל אותם שהן פסולים לדון:

Pupil. **Sloth** is the vice that so affects a man that, neglecting and leaving aside the task of cultivating his soul, he sits and yawns, and turns his thoughts away from the knowledge of the Law, the keeping of the commandments and the doing of his work, to frivolous and futile things. This is the origin of all vices, and for that reason it is called *evil*. For this is the meaning of that verse of the Law: *For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth* (Gen. 8:21). That is, a man much prefers to give himself up to idleness rather than to labour to make his nature perfect in every part; nor does he understand that this is the proper perfection of the soul.[131] The same vice holds whoever is forever playing at dice, cards and similar games of chance, since he contributes nothing at all to the common good. For the use of life is given to man only so that he may spend it in constant meditation on the Law and the practice of kindness, or in trading, or in following a craft, or in labouring at some such work that serves the upkeep of the world. So a gambler is among those who are not fit to give judgement.[132]

[p. 35 · IMG 4908–4909]

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[129]Hebrew בולמסם חזק, "their ravenous hunger is strong" (*bulmos*, from Greek *boulimos*). "It is hard afterwards to straighten what they have made crooked" echoes Eccl. 1:15. "He that keeps his soul shall be far from them" is Prov. 22:5.

[130]Hebrew הבטלה הגאוה הגרגרנות הזמה הכעס הקמצנות הקנאה. This list closely matches the medieval Christian "seven deadly sins"; Yagel substitutes miserliness (קמצנות) for avarice. The seven prophetic names, רע ערל טמא שונא מכשול אבן צפוני, are the seven names of the evil inclination listed in Sukkah 52a (with "the northerner," *tzefoni*, from Joel 2:20).

[131]"A sore evil" (רעה חולה) is Eccl. 5:12. "He does not know that it is for his life" (ולא ידע כי בנפשו הוא) is Prov. 7:23.

[132]"A dice-player" (המשחק בקוביא) is disqualified as a witness or judge in Mishnah Sanhedrin 3:3, and the Talmud explains it is because "he is not occupied with the settlement of the world" (אינו עוסק בישובו של עולם, Sanhedrin 24b). Yagel adds cards (קלפים), a popular pastime among Italian Jews of his day.

הגאוה היא מלכותא בלא תגא שאדם מתגאה וערלה אזנו ועינו ולבו מלשמוע ומלראות ומלהבין כי איך יתגאה אדם שסופו רמה ותולעה כציץ נובל וכעשן כלה ועל כן נקרא ערל כמו שכתוב ומלתם את ערלת לבבכם וכו׳ וממנה ימשך השנאה שכל הבריות שונאים אותו כי לכל הדברים יש חבור חוץ מן הגאוה וידוע כי מן השנאה ימשך הפירוד ומן הפירוד השממון והאיבוד ונמצא הבעל גאוה מחריב הישוב והעולם והוא שנואי למטה ולמעלה שכל שאין רוח הבריות נוחה הימנו אין רוח המקום נוחה הימנו:[133]

Pride is a kingdom without a diadem. You see a man stubbornly exalting himself, in whom there is such insolent disdain of ears, eyes and mind that he hears nothing, sees nothing and understands nothing. But truly, what is it that a man claims so much for himself, who will one day be a worm, a beast, a creeping thing? Who withers like a flower and vanishes like smoke? So one affected in this way is called *uncircumcised*, from that saying of the Law: *Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart*, etc. (Deut. 10:16). First of all, pride gives birth to hatred: everyone scorns it and shrinks from it. For there can be some union with all other things, but with pride none. Next, from offence and hatred comes the scattering of people, and from this it is plain that desolation and ruin arise on every side. From this it is understood that the society of men is broken up by a proud man, and the world itself overthrown. And if the proud man is hated by those below, he is certainly no less hated by those above; for God too is angry with the man with whom all men are offended.

הגרגרן הוא המתאוה בכל תאוה לאכול לשבעה ולמכסה עתיק והיא חמדה משולחת בבטן הרשעים האומרים אכול ושתה כי מחר נמות וחיים כדי לאכול לא אוכלים כדי לחיות ובטן רשעים תחסר מכל טובה כי אין אדם יוצא מהעולם וחצי תאותו בידו והאיש הזה נקרא טמא כי כמו שכתיב לב טהור ברא לי אלקים מכלל דאיכא טמא כי הטומאה והפסולת נמשכת ממנו לעשות כל הדברים הבלתי טהורים:[134]

A glutton is one in whom there is an insatiable greed for feasting, and for feasting in such a way that earlier feasts are always outshone by later ones. For it is a mad appetite clinging to the bowels of the wicked, who keep saying, *Let us eat and drink now, for tomorrow we shall die* (Isa. 22:13). They live to eat; they do not eat to live. [p. 36 · IMG 4910–4911] Meanwhile the belly of the wicked is the neediest of all; for the way of things is that no one leaves this life having obtained even half of what he desired. Such a man is called *unclean*: for from what we read written, *Create in me a clean heart, O God* (Ps. 51:12), it is understood well enough that there is such a thing as an unclean one. And this vice is like a filthy spring from which defilements flow; it overwhelms a man with every kind of impurity.

הזמה היא חמדה שבלב האדם אל תענוגי הבשר והנאוף והוא עון פלילי ונקרא שונא כמו שכתוב אם רעב שונאך האכילהו לחם וכו׳ כי שונא האדם באמת הוא היצר הרע המבקש לקחת נפשו ממנו ולהחטיאו לאלקיו

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[133]"A kingdom without a crown" (מלכותא בלא תגא) is Aramaic, from Sanhedrin 105a, where it describes brazenness. "Whose end is maggot and worm" echoes Avot 4:4 and 3:1; "as a fading flower" is Isa. 28:1. "Whoever is not pleasing to people is not pleasing to God" is Mishnah Avot 3:10. "All things have a joining except pride" is close to the medieval ethical tract *Orchot Tzaddikim*, Gate of Pride.

[134]On the last line of Hebrew page 35 the original prints כרי; de Veil's errata list corrects it to כדי, given here. "To eat to satiety and for stately clothing" is Isa. 23:18; "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" is Isa. 22:13; "the belly of the wicked shall want" is Prov. 13:25. "No one leaves the world with even half his desire in hand" is from Ecclesiastes Rabbah 1:13. מכלל דאיכא ("which implies that there is") is a Talmudic idiom.

והאיש שבלבו נכנס בולמוס זה הוא שנאוי לשמים כי אלקים קדושים ושונא זמה הוא ולבריות גם כן הוא שנאוי כי כלם ישנאוהו מפני שאינו חס לא על כבוד עצמו ולא על כבוד אחרים ולזה אמר הכתוב אם רעב שונא זה להחטיאך האכילהו לחמה של תורה והשקהו מי התשובה והיראה לאלקים כי בזה גחלים אתה חותה על ראשו ושכרך הרבה מאד ואם פגע בך מנוול זה משכהו לבית המדרש וה׳ ישלם לך:[135]

Now by **lust** must be understood an unbridled desire for sexual pleasures. This is a monstrous crime, and it is called *enemy*; for this is the point of what we see written: *If your enemy is hungry, feed him with bread*, etc. (Prov. 25:21). For wicked desire is man's greatest enemy: it brings death to his soul, because it drives him to provoke the majesty of God with crimes. And a man given to lust is hateful to God, for God is holy and bitterly hates unchastity. The same man is hateful to men too, for all turn away from a man of this kind, who spares neither his own honour nor another's. This, then, is the force and sense of that verse: if the hunger of this enemy urges you towards crimes, see that you fill him with the food of the divine Law and the drink of repentance and the fear of God; in this way [p. 37 · IMG 4912–4913] you will heap burning coals on his head, and you will win the most ample rewards. As the wise put it briefly and aptly: "If that obscene one meets you, drag him into the school appointed for expounding the divine Law; God, most generous in giving, will give you your reward."[136]

הכעס הוא התלהבות הבשר והדם וחומד הנקימה ונקרא מכשול שנאמר הרימו מכשול מדרך עמי כי למכשול ולאבן נגף הכעס בלבו של אדם ומי שאינו מתון גורם רעה לעצמו ורעה לאחרים בעולם הזה ובבא:

Anger is a burning desire for revenge, with which the whole man is set ablaze. It is named *stumbling-block*; for this is the point of what the prophet sang: *Take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people* (Isa. 57:14). For the mind in anger strikes against something, just as a ship is dashed against a rock. And unless a man is slow and patient, he makes his own life and the life of others wretched in both ages.[137]

הקמצנות היא חמדה גדולה בלב האדם לקבוץ הממונות והיא הפך הנדיבות וקשה בלב האדם כאבן שאינו מטיף טפה ואינו מזדעזע ממקומו ואפילו כל רוחות שבעולם נושבות בו כן הקמצן לא ישמע לקול מלחשים שידברו באזניו לעשות צדקות או שום מצוה אחרת שיש בה חסרון כיס כי חביבה עליו ממונו מנפשו וגופו ועל כן נקרא אבן שנאמר והסירותי את לב האבן מבשרכם ונתתי לכם לב בשר היינו שרחם ירחם לראוי לרחמים:[138]

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[135]On Hebrew page 36, line 17, the original runs the words together; de Veil's errata list corrects them to כי כלם, given here. "A heinous crime" (עון פלילי) is Job 31:11. "If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat" is Prov. 25:21; the Talmud reads "your enemy" as the evil inclination and "bread" as Torah (Sukkah 52a). "God is holy and hates lewdness" is Sanhedrin 106a.

[136]Prov. 25:22: "For you shall heap coals of fire upon his head, and the LORD shall reward you." "If this disgusting one meets you, drag him to the house of study" (אם פגע בך מנוול זה משכהו לבית המדרש) is the famous saying about the evil inclination in Kiddushin 30b and Sukkah 52b. De Veil marks it as a quotation with inverted commas in the margin.

[137]Hebrew מתון, "deliberate, patient": "be deliberate in judgement" (Avot 1:1). "A stone of stumbling" is Isa. 8:14.

[138]The comparison with a stone that does not drip a drop and is not moved even if all the winds blow on it is adapted from the Talmud's praise of the Torah scholar (Sanhedrin 14a) and Avot de-Rabbi Natan. "He will not listen to the voice of charmers" is Ps. 58:6. "His money is dearer to him than his body" is from Berakhot 61b.

Avarice is a boundless desire for amassing riches, planted deep in the soul. It stands against generosity like a rough rock in the human heart: that rock never drips a drop of moisture of itself, nor is it moved from its place by any force of winds. In just the same way the avaricious man does not hear those who whisper to him that he should come to the aid of the poor in their need, or perform any duty of piety that involves some loss; for this is his disposition, that riches are far dearer to him than his soul and his body. And for this reason he is called *stone*, from which that prophecy too comes: [p. 38 · IMG 4914–4915] *I will take away the heart of stone out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh* (Ezek. 36:26), whose meaning is: the merciful God will have mercy on those who are worthy of mercy.[139]

הקנאה היא חמדה רעה בלבו של אדם שדואג מטובתן של בריות ושמח לאידם והוא דומה לצפעוני שמטיל הארס בלי שום יתרון ותועלת ומה הצפעוני בעיניו יוציא הארס הבא מלבו כי שורשי העינא בלבא תליין כן הקנאי עיניו כלפידים והיא המקיימת אותנו בגלות כי ממנה ימשך השנאה ועל כן נקראת צפוני שהיא צפונה בלבו של אדם ולעתיד לבא בבא הגואל יסיר אותה ממנו כמו שכתוב את הצפוני ארחיק מעליכם ונאמר וסרה קנאת אפרים וכו׳:[140]

Envy is a depravity of the soul by which a man is so affected that he grieves at the good fortune of others and rejoices at their misfortunes. Such a man imitates the basilisk, a monstrous creature that breathes out poison although it gains no advantage or benefit from doing so. And just as the basilisk sends out through its eyes the poison produced in its heart, since the eyes' gaze hangs on the heart, so the eyes of an envious man betray the flame conceived in his breast. This is the very thing that keeps us exiles and captives for so long; for from it hatred is born. It is called *hidden*, because it lies hidden in the recesses of the soul. But it will come about that our Redeemer, when he comes, will take it out of us; for we see written: *And I will remove the hidden one far from you* (Joel 2:20); and in another place: *And the envy of Ephraim shall be removed* (Isa. 11:13).[141]

אלו הם שבעה גופי עבירה והאדם אשר בשוגג יתפתה אחריהם בהיתר אחד אחד יבא להתפתות אחריהם באיסור ולנתק חבל הכסף והחוט הקושרו ומעמידו עם אלקיו באופן כי עבירה גוררת עבירה ולא לבד יתנו תכונות רעות בנפשו אבל גם כן יטרידוהו ויעבירוהו על הששה דברים אשר שנא ה׳ כמו שכתוב שש הנה אשר שנא ושבע תועבות היינו למי ששבע תועבות הנזכר בנפשו ימשך גם כן לעבור על שש אשר שנא ה׳ וגם על הארבעה אבות נזקין שהעובר עליהם צועקים וצעקתם עולה השמים ומבקשים נקמה עד שמאבד עולם הזה ועולם הבא:[142]

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[139]De Veil's marginal reference is Ezek. 36:27; the verse is 36:26.

[140]The basilisk (צפעוני) was believed to kill by its gaze. "The roots of the eye hang on the heart" is given in Aramaic (שורשי עינא בלבא תליין). "Rejoicing at their calamity" echoes Prov. 17:5. "His eyes like torches" is Dan. 10:6. "I will remove the northern one far from you" is Joel 2:20 (de Veil's margin: Joel 2:20), and "the envy of Ephraim shall depart" is Isa. 11:13.

[141]De Veil translates הצפוני ("the northerner") as *absconditum*, "the hidden one," following Yagel's wordplay with צפון, "hidden."

[142]"The silver cord" is Eccl. 12:6. "One transgression drags another after it" (עבירה גוררת עבירה) is Mishnah Avot 4:2. "Six things the LORD hates, and seven are an abomination to Him" is Prov. 6:16. "The four principal categories of

These are the seven trunks of wickedness. When you have entangled your soul in them, imprudent and unaware of the evil, you will nonetheless be led little by little to give your soul over to them shamefully from then on, and to break the silver cord, and that bond by which mortals are joined to the immortal God. [p. 39 · IMG 4916–4917] For so it is: one sin arises out of another. These, while they infect the soul of themselves, also draw it into those six crimes which are supremely hateful to God. For what we read written, *There are six things which the Lord hates, and seven abominations of His soul* (Prov. 6:16), has this force: whoever has in him those seven abominable depravities of the mind that I have mentioned is led to commit those six crimes which the Lord bitterly hates, and to do those four chief injuries which, with cries reaching to heaven, demand vengeance until they take from the guilty man the life of this age and of the everlasting age.

ר׳ ומה הם הששה דברים אשר שנא ה׳:

Master. **Which, then, are those six crimes that God hates so greatly?**

ת׳ ראשונה הוא העזות והחושב בלבו לזכות לחיי העולם הבא מבלי שיעשה הפעולות הצריכות והמצוות ומעשים טובים שנית הבלתי בוטח בחסד ה׳ וחושב שאין תקנה לו כאלישע אחר וכאלו אין יד מלמעלה לקבל שבים ולא ידע כי רחמי ה׳ על החוטאים ואפילו עבר אדם כל העבירות ושב עליהם בלב נשבר ונדכה ומבקש סליחה מרחם עליו כי לא יחפוץ במות המת כי אם בשובו מדרכיו וחיה ומי לנו חוטא לאלקים כמנשה המכעיס ועליו נאמר ויתפלל אליו ויעתר לו וישמע תחנתו וכו׳ שלישית המתנגד אל האמת אחרי שהכיר אותה ולכוונת השלוח ולהיות חפשי רביעית המקנא בטובות שנתן ה׳ לחבירו כקין שקנא בהבל על כי שעה אל מנחתו:[143]

Pupil. **The first** is if a man shamelessly persuades himself that he will attain the life of the everlasting age even though he neglects the commandments of God that must be done and the duties of piety.[144] **The second** is if he distrusts the kindness of God, and so thinks that, after the evil deeds he has committed, no hope at all is left to him, just as Elisha* did; [p. 40 · IMG 4918–4919] as if the heavenly Power had no hands to stretch out to those returning to the way, nor any mercy for evildoers. Yet even if someone bound by every sin of every kind comes to his senses, and with a broken and afflicted spirit begs pardon from God, he will still find God open to entreaty and ready to be appeased. For God does not desire the death of the wicked man, but that he turn from deadly corruption to an upright life. Is there anyone among us who has committed so many great and dreadful offences against God as Manasseh, who strove to inflame God with anger? Yet of him we read written: *He prayed to Him, who was entreated and heard his supplication*, etc. (2 Chron. 33:13). **The third** is to resist the truth after it has been recognized and fully seen, in order to strengthen one's abandon of mind and licence of living.

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damage" (ארבעה אבות נזיקין) is the opening phrase of Mishnah Bava Kamma, used here for four sins that cry out to heaven.

[143]Elisha ben Abuyah, called אחר ("the Other"), the Talmud's great apostate, who heard a heavenly voice saying that every penitent would be accepted except him (Chagigah 15a). "A hand stretched out from above to receive the penitent" echoes Pesachim 119a. "A broken and contrite heart" is Ps. 51:19; "I do not desire the death of the wicked, but that he turn from his way and live" is Ezek. 18:23 and 33:11. Manasseh's repentance is 2 Chron. 33:13. Cain and Abel: Gen. 4:4–5.

[144]Hebrew העזות, "brazenness": presuming on salvation without deeds. The "six things" that follow are not the six of Prov. 6:17–19 but a rabbinic-style list of sins against hope and repentance.

The fourth is to envy another for the divine gifts bestowed on him, as Cain envied Abel because God had regarded the offering he brought.

> ** Elisha, who was given the surname Other. [De Veil's own longer note, printed at the head of Latin page 40:] This Elisha, son of Abuyah, is said to have been of remarkable talent and pre-eminent in the knowledge of divine things; but at last he lost heart, renounced the Jewish religion, and gave himself over to every vice: hence he came to be called Other. That is, those who first learned of his defection refused to believe it, and insisted that it was not that outstanding man but some other, one of many. See the Talmudic tractate entitled* חגיגה*, chapter 2, folio 15.*

ר׳ ומה הפרש יש בין קנאה זאת לאותה קנאה שנמנית בשבע תועבות ה׳:

Master. **But how does this envy differ from the envy you counted among the seven vices abominable to God?**

ת׳ ההפרש הוא כי קנאה זו הוא האיש המקנא בטובות הנפש ומתנות ה׳ לאחרים עבור הפעולות הטובות שעשו כקנאת קין בהבל וחושב שהוא עשה פעולות טובות כהנה ומכל זה לא השיג וכאלו משוא פנים יש למעלה ועל זה מתחרט מהראשונות שעשה ועוית את חבירו כי מצא חן יותר ממנו כקנאת שאול בדוד אמנם הקנאה שנמנית בשבע תועבות ה׳ הוא האיש המקנא בממון או בשאר הטובות של חבירו ודואג עליהם והיא מתחלת ברוב בנשים וחלושי הדעת אך אינה מוציאה לתרבות רעה מיד כזו:

Pupil. The difference is that this one is a grief taken up on account of goods of the soul granted to others by divine kindness for their right deeds. Such was Cain's ill-will towards Abel. For when someone envies in this way, he thinks that he yields to no one in good deeds, and yet has not obtained what others have; that the supreme Judge therefore respects persons. He regrets having done right before, and bends himself to the ruin of the other, who is loved by God more than he is, as Saul envied David.[145] But that former envy, which is counted among the seven vices so hateful to God, is a grief taken up over the riches and other external advantages of another. It falls for the most part on women and weak minds, and it does not, like this one, drive a man straight on to the most outrageous crimes.[146]

[p. 41 · IMG 4920–4921]

ר׳ שמעתי וטוב פירשת והבדלת שוב לפרש השנים הנותרים בששה:

Master. **I hear your explanation and distinction, and fully approve. It remains for you to explain the other two of the six crimes you mentioned.**

ת׳ חמישית המתעקש ורוצה לעמוד על דעתו אפילו במקום שחולקים עליו רבים והוא הזקן ממרא ומורה גם כן לאחרים לעשות שנאמר והאיש אשר יעשה בזדון ששית החושב וגומר בלבו שלא לעשות תשובה משום חטא שעשה ואף כי ימות בחטאתו:

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[145] "As if there were favouritism above" (משוא פנים): compare 2 Chron. 19:7. Saul's envy of David: 1 Sam. 18:8–9. The Hebrew ועוית ("and perverts") is probably for ועוין, "and is hostile to."

[146] "It does not lead at once to evil ways" (אינה מוציאה לתרבות רעה): "going out to evil ways" is the Talmudic phrase used of Elisha ben Abuyah himself (Chagigah 15a). Yagel's remark about women reflects the attitudes of his time.

Pupil. **The fifth**, then, is if someone remains stubbornly in his own opinion even when most men of supreme authority disagree with him. Such a person is commonly called the rebellious elder; he goes so far as to hand on his opinion to others to be followed. Of him we read written: *But the man who acts presumptuously* (Deut. 17:12).[147] **The sixth** is when a man has resolved and settled in his mind never to repent of any of the sins he has committed, [p. 42 · IMG 4922–4923] but to die bound by his sins.

ר׳ ומה הם הארבעה אבות נזקין שצועקים לפני ה׳ ומבקשים נקמה:

Master. **But what, then, are those four chief injuries which raise cries to God and demand vengeance from Him?**

ת׳ ראשונה שפיכות דמים הרצוניי אשר יעשה בזדון שאפילו המזבח אינו קולט הרוצח שנאמר וכי יזיד איש על רעהו להרגו בערמה מעם מזבחי תקחנו למות ועל כיוצא בו נאמר קול דמי אחיך צועקים אלי וגו׳ שנית גלוי עריות באשת איש שנאמר כן הבא על אשת רעהו לא ינקה כל הנוגע בה שלישית שוד עניים ואנקת אביונים שנאמר עתה אקום יאמר ה׳ וכו׳ רביעית עושקי שכר שכיר שהרי הוא כאלו נוטל נשמתו ממנו שנאמר ואליו הוא נושא את נפשו והעושה אלה ושבע תועבות נפשו מיד הוא נופל בפח המין השלישי מהעונות שהם הפשעים שהוא היודע רבונו ומתכוין למרוד בו ואז אבד מנוס ממנו ואין תקומה לו כי איזה תרופה ימצא העבד המכיר עבודת אדוניו ומורד בו ביד רמה כי יבער כמעט אפו עליו ורוע ירוע עליו בשבט ברזל וייסרהו במשפט ונקה לא ינקה:[148]

Pupil. **The first** is this: if a man kills a man willingly and knowingly. For not even the altar gives refuge to a murderer, since it is in the Law: *If anyone with wicked will attacks his neighbour to kill him by treachery, even from my altar you shall drag him to death* (Exod. 21:14). To the same point is that saying of the Law: *The voice of your brother's blood cries to me*, etc. (Gen. 4:10). **The second** is to violate other men's marriage beds, of which we see written: *So is he who goes in to his neighbour's wife: whoever touches her shall not go unpunished* (Prov. 6:29). **The third** is to oppress the poor and reduce the needy to lamentation and wailing, about which that divine oracle stands: *Now I will arise, says the Lord* (Ps. 12:6). **The fourth** is to cheat hired labour of its wage, which is the same as extinguishing his very life; whence that saying of the Law: *And by it he sustains his soul* (Deut. 24:15). Whoever is given to these and to those seven vices especially hateful to God at once entangles himself in rebellion, the third kind of sins: that is, to know one's Master and to resist Him deliberately; [p. 43 · IMG 4924–4925] and then no refuge, no hope is left to him. For what remedy can that servant find who, though he knows how his master is to be served, openly opposes him with all his strength? Surely in a

[147]The "rebellious elder" (זקן ממרא) is the scholar who rules in practice against the high court (Deut. 17:8–13; Mishnah Sanhedrin 11:2). He is liable only if he "instructs others to act" (מורה לאחרים לעשות).

[148]"The four that cry out" recalls the traditional list of sins that "cry to heaven." The verses are Exod. 21:14, Gen. 4:10, Prov. 6:29, Ps. 12:6 and Deut. 24:15. "As if he took his life from him" is Bava Metzia 112a on Deut. 24:15. "One who knows his Master and intends to rebel against Him" is the Sifra's definition of a rebel (Sifra, Bechukotai 2:3).

moment the master will blaze with anger against him; he will break an iron rod over him, then bring him to judgement, and will not let him go unpunished.[149]

ר׳ והתשובה לא תעזור לפושע כמו לשוגג ולמזיד:

Master. **What then? Is repentance, which heals imprudence and obstinacy, of no use to a man bound by rebellion?**

ת׳ אין שום ספק כי גדול כח התשובה הצעקה התפלה ומעשים טובים שאין שום דבר העומד לפניהם ולעולם יד ה׳ פרושה לקבל שבים אמנם צריך יתרון הכשר מליצים טובים שהם תורה ומצות להקבל תפלתו ותשובתו לפני אלקיו כי עונות ותכונות רעות שהקנה לנפשו הם מסכים גדולים מבדילים בינו לבין ה׳ מלעבור תפלתו והבא לטהר נפשו צריך שיעשה כמו החולה חולי הגוף שהולך אצל רופא וילמדהו דרכי הרפואה אשר ילך בה כן חולה חולאי הנפש צריך שילך אל חכם וירפאהו וכמו שרופא הגופות נותן תרופה מתנגדת לטבע החולי והליחה הגוברת כן רופא הנפשות צריך שיתנגד ברפואותיו לטבע התכונה הגוברת בנפש החולה:[150]

Pupil. Without doubt the power of repentance, of lamentation, of prayer and of pious works is great: there is absolutely nothing that is not expiated by them, and the hand of God is always stretched out to receive those who return to the way. But for one infected with the stain of rebellion something more is necessary: the adoption of the best patrons, constant meditation on the Law, and the highest zeal for what is just and good. By their kindness it comes about at last that his supplication and repentance are given a hearing before God. For his crimes, and the evil desires planted in his soul, separate a man from God like widely spread veils, and keep his prayers from approach. Now whoever wishes to be relieved of an illness of the mind will follow the same method [p. 44 · IMG 4926–4927] as one who is troubled by bad health of the body. The latter consults a physician, from whom he may learn by what way the disease is to be driven out; likewise one sick in soul must go to a wise man by whom he may be cured. And since medicine for the body is prepared so as to be contrary to the nature of the disease and of the most dominant humour, it follows that the physician of souls too must seek remedies that fight against the force and nature of the desire that rules in the sick man's soul.[151]

ר׳ ומה הם הדברים והתכונות המתנגדים לשבעה גופי עבירה המתחילים בפה רך ומשלימים בפרך:

Master. **Set out now, please, the habits and pursuits opposed to these seven origins of all perversity, which are smooth at the start and at the end become intolerable mistresses.**[152]

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[149]"With a high hand" is Num. 15:30; "his anger is soon kindled" is Ps. 2:12; "you shall break them with a rod of iron" is Ps. 2:9; "I will correct you in measure, and will not leave you altogether unpunished" is Jer. 30:11.

[150]"Nothing stands before repentance" is from the Jerusalem Talmud, Peah 1:1; "Great is repentance", Yoma 86a. "Good advocates" (מליצים טובים): compare Shabbat 32a, "repentance and good deeds are a man's advocates." "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God" is Isa. 59:2, and "You have covered Yourself with a cloud so that no prayer can pass through" is Lam. 3:44.

[151]Healing the soul by its opposite, as a physician treats the body, is the method of Maimonides, Eight Chapters 3–4 and Mishneh Torah, De'ot 2:1–2.

[152]Hebrew: "that begin with a soft mouth and end with rigour" (בפרך, Exod. 1:13), a play on the Talmudic description of Pharaoh's enslavement as "with a soft mouth" (בפה רך, Sotah 11b).

ת׳ כנגד הבטלה יבא הזריזות הגדול כנגד הגאוה השפלות כנגד הגרגרנות העינוי בצום והנזר מתענוגי המאכל כנגד הזמה בטול התאוה כנגד הכעס הסבלנות והעדר הרגשת החרפה כנגד הקמצנות הנדיבות והותרנות כנגד הקנאה טוב הלבב וכן ישתדל לעמוד שנים או ימים על הפך תכונת נפשו עד שתקנה הנפש הפעלות רושם והרגל וירגיש תועלת רב בתרופה ואחר כך יחזור לאחוריו ויעמוד על המיצוע שהוא המשובח בין כל הקצוות כמו שילמדהו וישכילהו חרש חכם שיבקש לו:[153]

Pupil. To sloth is opposed outstanding diligence; to pride, humility; to gluttony, the mortification of fasting and abstinence from delicate foods; to lust, contempt of pleasure; to anger, patience and a kind of callus grown over the senses against the bite of insult; to avarice, beneficence and liberality; to envy, goodwill. Now it is necessary that for a long space of time you apply yourself with all zeal to the disposition of soul contrary to the desire, until long practice has bent the soul in this direction, and you come to know the great force and effect [p. 45 · IMG 4928–4929] of the remedy. Then step back again, and settle in the praiseworthy mean that lies between the two extremes, with that most skilled and wise man whom you have chosen to consult as your guide and counsellor.

ר׳ היצטרך דבר אחר לעמוד חזק כנגד השטן הוא יצר הרע המשטין ומבקש להחטיא את האדם בכל שעה ובכל רגע נוסף על הדברים שאמרת:

Master. **Is anything further needed, besides what you have mentioned, for standing firm against our adversary, wicked desire, which inflames us constantly and constantly drives us down into crimes?**[154]

ת׳ יצטרך חסד ה׳ וחנו יעזרהו ויאמצהו ימלט נפשו מיד שאול סלה שעל ידי התפלה וכונת הלב ומעשים טובים תושג כי קרוב ה׳ לכל קוראיו ולא ימנע טוב להולכים בתמים והוא יחוננהו העוז כנגד העצלה והבטלה יראתו הפנימית כנגד הגאוה השכל כנגד הגרגרנות החכמה כנגד הזמה הבינה כנגד הכעס העצה כנגד הקמצנות החמלה כנגד הקנאה ויאכילהו פרי המדות האלו שהוא מתוק לנפש שקוי לעצמות ומרפא לכל תכונה רעה בשריית וישב בהשקט ובשלוה וירגיש אפילו בעודו בחיים מעין העולם הבא כל שכן שאחרי מותו ישב במעלות הצדיקים ויתעדן עמהם בגן ערן:[155]

Pupil. Indeed: it is necessary that the mercy and grace of God help and strengthen us, and snatch our soul from the hand of implacable death. These will surely be with us if we apply ourselves with our whole heart to offering prayers to God, and strive to cultivate what is good and just. For God draws near to those who worship His divinity in prayer, and denies no help to those who follow the right way. He will grant us fortitude against sloth and idleness; perfect reverence towards Himself against pride; a sober heart against gluttony; wisdom against lust; prudence against anger; counsel against avarice; humanity against envy. Further, He will fill us with the fruit of these virtues, which at once delights

[153]Returning to the "middle way" after over-correcting towards the opposite extreme is Maimonides' teaching in Mishneh Torah, De'ot 1:4 and 2:2. "A skilful craftsman" (חרש חכם) is Isa. 40:20.

[154]The Hebrew is explicit: "against Satan, who is the evil inclination" (השטן הוא יצר הרע), as in Bava Batra 16a.

[155]"He shall deliver his soul from the hand of Sheol, Selah" is Ps. 89:49; "The LORD is near to all who call upon Him" is Ps. 145:18; "He will withhold no good from those who walk uprightly" is Ps. 84:12; "sweet to the soul and health to the bones" is Prov. 16:24, and "marrow to your bones" Prov. 3:8.

the soul, refreshes the limbs, and heals every bad state of the body by the wholesomeness of its moisture. So it will come about that we enjoy quiet and tranquillity, and [p. 46 · IMG 4930–4931] even while still living taste beforehand something of the highest good of the coming age; and after death we shall be raised to the lofty and illustrious rank of the pious, and with them rejoice in a wholly blessed life in a garden full of delights.[156]

ר׳ ומה הוא הפרי הזה המתוק והערב:

Master. **What, I beg you, is that fruit so sweet and pleasant?**

ת׳ האהבה השמחה השלום הזריזות הנקיות הטהרה הפרישות הקדושה הענוה היראה הפנימית בהכרת גדולת יוצרו והבנת דרכיו בחכמה והשכל החסידות ולבסוף רוח הקודש כי הואיל ויצא מלבו יין חמריות העולם ותענוגיו יכנס בלבו סוד ה׳ ורוח קדשו ויכינהו ויאיר כל שלשה חלקי נפשו ויתעדנו וישכילו מאותם השלשה מתנות שהם שרש האמונה ועמודי התורה עד כי יראה אור בעודו באפילת חשכת חמרו וגופו ולא ילך בהם כסומא בארובה:

Pupil. Love, joy, peace, diligence, innocence, chastity, continence, holiness, meekness, and that true fear of God which is born of knowing the excellence of the Creator and perceiving His prudence and counsel in governing; besides these, piety, and at the last the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[157] For when we have been drawn away from the foul wine of the earth and the obscenity of pleasure, then God will breathe His secret and His divine power into us, which will finely shape our breast and illuminate, delight and fill the three parts of the soul together. He will also impart to us those three gifts which are the root of true belief and the foundation of the divine Law. From this it will come about that, though still enclosed in an earthly, dark and gloomy body, we behold the heavenly light, and our walking will no longer be like a blind man's in the dark.[158]

[p. 47 · IMG 4932–4933]

ר׳ פרש דבריך ותחלה מה הם שלשה חלקי הנפש:

Master. **The words you have just used need explaining. And first: what are those three parts of the soul?**

ת׳ השכל הרצון והזכרון:

[156]The Hebrew pairs differ slightly: understanding (בינה) against anger, counsel against miserliness, compassion (חמלה) against envy. These echo the gifts of the spirit in Isa. 11:2.

[157]The Hebrew list follows the "ladder" of Rabbi Pinchas ben Yair (Avodah Zarah 20b; Mishnah Sotah 9:15): zeal leads to cleanliness, cleanliness to purity, purity to separateness, separateness to holiness, holiness to humility, humility to fear of sin, fear of sin to piety, and piety to the holy spirit (רוח הקודש). Christian readers would also have heard Paul's "fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22–23), which de Veil's Latin list resembles.

[158]"The three parts of the soul" are, in medieval Jewish thought, *nefesh*, *ruach* and *neshamah*; the Pupil names the parts and the gifts on the next page. "Like a blind man in the dark" (כסומא בארובה) is from Megillah 24b, on Deut. 28:29.

Pupil. Intellect, will and memory.[159]

ר׳ מה הם השלשה מתנות שהם שרש האמונה:

Master. **And what are those three gifts on which, as on a root, true belief rests?**

ת׳ האמונה הבטחון והאהבה שכבר אמרתי עניינם:

Pupil. Faith, hope and charity, whose nature I have set out above.[160]

ר׳ ומה הפרש יהיה בין היודע דברים אלו בקבלה לבד כמו שאתה יודעם עכשיו התלמיד הנאהב ובין היודעם בידיעה אמתית אחר שיתחדש לו בנפשו המתנות שאמרת:

Master. **What then? Does it make any difference whether someone, as you now do, my dearest pupil, has these things only by hearing, or has them fully known and grasped after those three gifts you spoke of have been imparted to his soul?**

ת׳ ידיעת דבר זה אין בי כח להשיב כי הסומא לא ישפוט במאורות אבל חושב אני שיש יתרון מעלה על היודעם בידיעה אמתית ומפורשת מהיודעם בקבלה לבד כמו שיש יתרון למי שאומרים לו האמן כי בכיס זה יש מאה זהובים ואין אתה יכול לראתם ולנגוע בהם אבל יהיו לצורכך ויועילוך למי שראה את הזהובים ומנאם חמשה וארבעה פעמים ויש כח בידו לראותם כשירצה ולהשתמש מהם כי אז ידע בודאי כי יהיו לו לבדו לעת הצורך ולכן באתי לפניך מרי ודבי שעל פי מדותיך תדריכני ולמדני את חקיך הביננני לעשות מצות קוני על פי התורה והקבלה אשר צוה לנו משה מורשה לבני ישראל כדי שאוכל להכיר גדולת מעלת יוצרי מלכי ואלקי עד מקום שאדם ילוד אשה יוכל להגיע בעיני שכלו בעודו בחיים ואל יטרידוני התכונות הרעות והמדות הפחותות ומעוט ההבנה כי לכך נוצרתי:[161]

Pupil. I cannot answer this question; for a blind man cannot judge of light.[162] Yet I have persuaded myself that a sure and tested knowledge of these things is far better than hearing alone. It is much as if someone were told, “Believe that there are a hundred coins in this purse; you may neither see nor touch them, but they are kept ready for your need and advantage”: he would certainly be less well off than if he were allowed [p. 48 · IMG 4934–4935] to look at the coins himself, and also count them four or five times, and use them whenever he wished, feasting his eyes on them as well; for only then would he know for certain that he alone had those coins ready for his use. For this reason I now come to you, most wise master, to be directed by your precepts and counsels and trained in your ways. Teach me how I may obey the will of my Maker according to the prescription of both Laws, the written and the traditional, laid down through Moses for the Israelites as a most rich inheritance. Make me discern the surpassing

[159]These are the three faculties of the soul in Augustine and the Christian scholastics; Yagel’s Hebrew has the same three (שכל, רצון, זכרון), rather than the usual Jewish nefesh, ruach and neshamah.

[160]The Hebrew: “faith, trust and love” (האמונה הבטחון והאהבה). De Veil’s Latin is the Pauline triad *fides, spes, caritas* (1 Cor. 13:13), which he highlighted in his preface.

[161]מרי ודבי (“my master and my teacher”) is Aramaic. “Teach me Your statutes” is Ps. 119:12; “the Torah that Moses commanded us, an inheritance” is Deut. 33:4; “for this I was created” (כי לכך נוצרתי) is from Mishnah Avot 2:8.

[162]“A blind man cannot judge colours” was proverbial; the Hebrew הסומא לא ישפוט במאורות echoes Megillah 24b, where a man blind from birth is said to benefit from the lights.

excellence of my Creator, King and God, as far as is granted to a man born of woman, while the use of this light is given him, through the weak sight of the mind. Do not let wicked desires call me back from this purpose, nor vicious habits and poverty of understanding: for it is for this end that I was born.

ר׳ ברוך הבא בשם ה׳ אשרי יולדתך ישמח אביך ואמך שמחתני בדבריך מובטח אני שתעשה חיל באפרתה ותורה הוראות ביהודה אך בני שמע בקולי יצפון לבך אמרי ואל תטוש תורתי הדרש ואאלפך חכמה:[163]

Master. May God, under whose auspices you have come here, bless your coming. Happy is she who bore you: you will truly be a great delight to your parents. Your words have filled me with joy, and I have no doubt that one day you will give an example of outstanding virtue in Ephrathah, and illuminate Judah with your teaching. Now therefore, my son, listen to what I say: store up my teachings in your mind and never depart from them. For if you will pay attention, I will shape your mind by my precepts to outstanding wisdom.

[p. 49 · IMG 4936–4937]

ת׳ דבר אדוני כי שומע עבדך הכינותי לבי ורעיוני להקשיב למצותיך מכל ארח רע כלאתי רגלי למען אשמור דבריך הנה תאיתי לפקודיך צמאה לך נפשי בצדקתך חייני:

Pupil. Speak, my lord, for your servant hears. I have set my mind and reason to obey your precepts; I will keep my feet from every way that is less than straight, so that I may more easily keep your teachings. For my soul longs for your precepts with eager thirst: grant me, then, that by your justice I may be kept safe and sound.[164]

ר׳ ואתה דע לך התלמיד הנחמד והנעים כי יראת ה׳ ראשית כל הידיעות וכל החכמות והוא האוצר הגדול המחזיק את כלן וכל מי שאין יראה בלבו אינו ראוי לבא לבית המדרש פן יוסיף על חטאתו פשע כי זכה בוראה התורה נעשית סם חיים בלבו של אדם לא זכה נעשית סם המות והוא רע מחיות השדה כי משתמש במיני הנבלים והערמות על כן אל תט ימין ושמאל מהדרכי הוראה כמאמר הכתוב את ה׳ אלקיך תירא ואת לרבות תלמידי חכמים כי הם יאירו עיניך ויהורוך וידריכוך על פי התורה אשר יורוך:

Master. **First, then, take this to heart, my dear and delightful pupil: the beginning of all knowledge and learning is the fear of God, in which, as in a vast treasury, absolutely all of them are contained. But one in whose soul this fear has not been planted is not fit to be admitted to the schools established for expounding the divine Law, lest he heap crime upon crime. For so it is: for the man to whom it is given to revere the majesty of God, the teaching of the divine Law will be like a saving medicine; but for one to whom this is not given, it will be a deadly poison. For a man so disposed is more savage even than the wild beasts, since he abuses the knowledge of the divine Law for fraud and malice. For this reason do not turn aside from the right way; do not stray from the path of that fear, either to the right or to the left, as the Law prescribes: *You shall***

[163]Ps. 118:26 (“Blessed is he who comes in the name of the LORD”); Prov. 23:25 (“let your father and mother be glad”); Ruth 4:11 (“do valiantly in Ephrathah”); Prov. 2:1, 1:8; Job 33:33 (“I will teach you wisdom”).

[164]1 Sam. 3:10 (“Speak, for your servant hears”); Ps. 119:101 (“I have restrained my feet from every evil way, that I might keep Your word”); Ps. 119:40 (“I have longed after Your precepts; quicken me in Your righteousness”); Ps. 63:2.

fear the Lord your God **(Deut. 6:13).**[165] **Now by this article of the Law it is also signified that reverence must be shown to the disciples of the wise; for these will hold a light before your mind, these will instruct you, and …**[166]

[p. 50 · IMG 4938–4939]

עוד דע והאמן שכל מי שרוח הבריות נוחה הימנו סימן טוב הוא לו שרוח המקום נוחה הימנו והוא ירא את ה׳ בסתר ובגלוי על כן לעולם יהיה אדם ערום ביראה ואת לעשות באופן שכל בני אדם יאהבו אותו ויהיה רצוי לכל אחיו ודא היא מרגליתא בפי קדמונינו להיות מענה רך שגור בפיו שהוא משיב חמה ולהרבות שלום עם אחיו וקרוביו ועם כל אדם ואפילו עם נכרי בשוק ולכבדו ולהיות מקדים בשלומו ולהיות ישר ונאמן עמו כמו עם אחיך זרע ישורון כי גזלתו חמורה מגזלת ישראל משום חלול ה׳ וכדי בזיון שיאמרו עלינו שטנה שתורתינו הקדושה תסבול חס ושלום הגניבה והגזל והבזיון לשום אדם והרי החמירה אפילו על גניבת דעתו של נכרי ומלדבר אליו תועה ודברי כזב כי שארית ישראל לא יעשו עולה ולא ידברו כזב עם שום אדם ולא ימצא בפיהם לשון רמיה ודמשתמע לתרי אנפי אלא מה שבלב יהיה בפה נקי כפים ובר לבב הולך צדקות ודובר משרים שונא בצע ועולה וכל רמיה:[167]

Next, learn this, which I would have you thoroughly persuaded of: whoever is acceptable to the minds of men has a good sign that he is pleasing to God too; for he fears God both in secret and openly. Therefore each person must give himself to this fear with all his talent, and bring it about that he is loved by all and is dear in the eyes of all his brothers. This golden saying was always on the lips of our ancestors: “Let everyone accustom himself to giving gentle answers, since that extinguishes anger, and with much zeal for peace and concord to win over his brothers, his relatives and all people, even the foreigner joined to him in the fellowship of the market; to show him honour, to greet him first, and to be as just and faithful to him as to his own kin born of the Israelite stock.” For it is a far graver crime to take something by force from a heathen than from a Jew: for he, because of the injury done to him, despises the divine Name as profane, and speaks harshly against us all, saying that our holy Law (God be merciful!) allows us to steal from a foreigner, to rob him and to insult him. On the contrary, it strictly forbids us to deceive a stranger with tricks and quibbles or to cheat him with lies. It is not right for the remnant of the Israelites to commit fraud [p. 51 · IMG 4940–4941] against anyone, nor to tell a lie, nor to pour out ambiguous words beneath which two different meanings lie hidden. They must always have

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[165] De Veil’s margin gives Deut. 6:18; the verse is 6:13 (and 10:20).

[166] “The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge” (Prov. 1:7); “the fear of the LORD is His treasure” (Isa. 33:6; Berakhot 33b). “If he merits, the Torah becomes an elixir of life for him; if not, a deadly poison” (זכה נעשית לו סם חיים, לא זכה נעשית לו סם המות) is Yoma 72b. The Hebrew misprints זכה בוראה, apparently for זכה בה. “The particle את comes to include the disciples of the sages” is Rabbi Akiva’s reading of Deut. 10:20 (Pesachim 22b). “According to the Torah which they shall teach you” is Deut. 17:11.

[167] “Whoever is pleasing to people is pleasing to God” is Mishnah Avot 3:10. “A person should always be shrewd in the fear of Heaven; a soft answer turns away wrath; increase peace with his brothers, his relatives and with every person, even a gentile in the market” is Abaye’s saying in Berakhot 17a, which Yagel calls “a pearl in the mouth of our ancestors” (מרגליתא בפי, Aramaic). “Greeting everyone first” is said of Rabban Yochanan ben Zakkai in the same passage. That robbing a gentile is worse because it profanes God’s name is from Tosefta Bava Kamma 10:15; the ban on “stealing the mind” (deceiving) even of a gentile is Chullin 94a. “The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity nor speak lies” is Zeph. 3:13. The Hebrew ואת after ביראה is probably a misprint for ודאי or similar. De Veil marks the whole passage as a quotation with inverted commas in the margin.

the same thing on their lips as in their heart; be pure of hands and chaste of mind; think rightly, speak truly; hate avarice, fraud and absolutely every deceit.[168]

לא תשא פנים לשום אדם נגד האמת ויהיה הוא אהוב אצלך מכל שאר הדברים כי אלקים קדושים וחותמו אמת הסתפק במה שחננך בוראך אם מעט ואם הרבה ודע כי אין עושר לאדם כהסתפקות והשמח בחלקו לא המרבה נכסים בדאגה וחומס נפשו הוא באמת עשיר:[169]

Take care not to respect any person so far as to abandon the truth: cultivate truth alone, putting all else after it; for God is holy, and His seal is truth. Next, whatever your Maker bestows on you, let it suffice you, whether it be little or much. For hold this firmly: he is rich who lives cheerfully content with his lot; but one who overflows with every abundance and is anxious and tormented in mind is by no means rich.

וכל מעשיך יהיו לשם שמים ולכבוד הבורא יתברך בכל דרכיך דעהו בלכתך בדרך בשכבך ובקומך והמשל במאכלך דע שהשם יתברך ברא המזון בעוצם חכמתו ונתן בו כח להשיבו לעצם הנזון בשכבך כשתלך לישון חשוב שה׳ ברא השינה לאדם כדי שהגוף ינוח ויחליף כחו ויהיה בריא לעבודת הבורא וכן בכל שאר הפעולות הגופניות התבונן בהם ותן כבוד ותודה לאלקים כי בזה האופן כל מעשך יהיו לשם שמים ותהיה השגחתו דבקה בך והוא ויישר כל ארחותיך הסר רגליך מכל נתיב ישט ימין ושמאל:[170]

Dedicate each of your actions to the name of God; refer all things to the glory of the all-powerful Maker; acknowledge your Author in the continual changes of life, in walking, lying down and rising. Let us add examples: when you take food, consider in your mind that by the infinite skill of the divine mind food has been so prepared that it has in it a power by which it is turned into the nature of the one who takes it. When you go to bed, think to yourself that sleep has been granted to us humans by divine kindness, so that the body [p. 52 · IMG 4942–4943] may relax and restore its strength, and so that, healthy and strong from then on, we may offer worship to God. Likewise turn your mind to the other functions of the body, and for them give honour and thanks to God. So, so you must refer to God all that you do; He will continually provide for you and take thought for you, will make all your ways straight, and will keep your feet from every path that might lead you away to the right or to the left.

והוי צנוע בכל פעולותיך במפורסם ונסתר כי את צנועים חכמה:[171]

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[168]"A deceitful tongue" is Zeph. 3:13; "what may be heard two ways" (דמשתמע לתרי אנפי, Aramaic) is a Talmudic phrase; "clean of hands and pure of heart" is Ps. 24:4, and "he who walks righteously and speaks uprightly, who despises the gain of oppressions" is Isa. 33:15. "Heathen" renders de Veil's *ethnicus*; the Hebrew has נכרי, "a foreigner, gentile." De Veil highlighted this teaching in his preface: "a Jew must be just, faithful, fair, kind and courteous to strangers no less than to his own."

[169]"The seal of the Holy One, blessed be He, is truth" is Shabbat 55a. "Who is rich? He who rejoices in his portion" is Mishnah Avot 4:1; "he who increases possessions increases worry" is Avot 2:7; "he who sins against me wrongs his own soul" (חומס נפשו) is Prov. 8:36.

[170]"Let all your deeds be for the sake of Heaven" is Mishnah Avot 2:12; "in all your ways acknowledge Him" is Prov. 3:6; "when you walk by the way, when you lie down and when you rise up" is Deut. 6:7. This is close to Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, De'ot 3:2–3.

[171]Prov. 11:2: "with the modest is wisdom."

Further, in all things to be done openly and in secret, keep the laws of modesty and reserve; for wisdom accompanies the modest.

שמור נפשך מאוד מלהתחבר עם פועלי און שהחברה ירגיל האדם לכל מדה טובה או מגונה והרשעים תועבת ה׳ המה על כן בסודם ובקהלם אל תבא נפשך מנע רגלך מנתיבתם כי רגליהם לרע ירוצו ודע והאמן כי בהתחברך עמהם אף כי לא תעשה כמעשיהם יפרוץ ה׳ מעשיך ויתרחק מאהבתו ויראתו ויקלקלו כל ארחותיך הסר רגליך מרע ומן הכיעור ומן הדומה לו והוי זהיר לעולם שלא לבא לידי חשד מדבר שהוא גנאי עשה טובה עם כל אדם אל תמנע טוב מבעליו בהיות לאל ידך לעשות ובלבד שלא תחטא לאלקים כי אם יאמר לך אדם ואפילו אביך קנך או מורה צדקך ואפילו שר או שלטון עשה דבר זה וחטאת לאלקים לא תאבה לו ולא תשמע אליו לא תירא מפניו כי גדול ה׳ ומהולל מאד ויראתו וצוויו תהיה קודמה להיות על פניך ממצות ויראת שום אדם ושלטון כי אם ככה אתה עושה ה׳ יהיה בכסלך ושמר רגלך מלכד ומכל דבר רע על שחל ופתן תדרוך תרמוס כפיר ותנין ותנצל מכל הפגעים רעים ואתה המבקש תורה שקוד על דלתותי יום יום מבקר לערב כי לא אמנע מללמדך להועיל וללכת ביראת ה׳ כל היום אך עשה זאת איפה בני הכון לקראת אלקיך והכן לבך ורעיונך והתפלל אליו בכל כחך ופונתך ויפתח לך שערי תורה שערי חכמה השכל וידוע אותו כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל את האלקים ירא ואת מצותיו שמור כי זה כל האדם:[173][172]

See to it carefully, again and again, that you do not form close company with the wicked; for the company one keeps bends anyone's mind towards better or worse, and God abhors wicked men. Do not, then, bring yourself to join in the counsel and gathering of such people; do not tread in the footsteps of those who hasten with swift foot to evildoing. Know and be persuaded of this too: if you are joined to them in familiarity, even though you do not imitate their crimes, God will nonetheless break off your undertakings, the love and holy awe of the Divinity will depart from your heart together, and all your ways will be so full of broken places. Flee wickedness, turn away from baseness, [p. 53 · IMG 4944–4945] and from whatever seems to come close to resembling it. Be constantly watchful not to be brought under suspicion of anything shameful. Strive to deserve well of all, and do not be reluctant to do a kindness to the needy when it is in your hand, provided you commit nothing against God. For if it happens that some man, even your own father, master or teacher, indeed a prince or even the most powerful king, orders you to do something against God, do not obey him or listen to his word. Let no man move you as much as God, Best and Greatest; let His command and dreadful tribunal strike more terror into you than the edict and threats of any man, however fearsome, even a king's. If you hold to this rule of conduct, God will meet your expectation, and will protect you from the hidden snare and from every mishap whatever: you will lay low great and violent lions, trample asps and dragons, and

[172]"Do not withhold good from those to whom it is due, when it is in the power of your hand to do it" is Prov. 3:27. "If your father tells you to violate a commandment, do not listen" is Bava Metzia 32a; Yagel extends it to princes and rulers. "The LORD shall be your confidence (בכסלך) and keep your foot from being caught" is Prov. 3:26; "you shall tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the serpent" is Ps. 91:13; "watching daily at my gates" is Prov. 8:34; "prepare to meet your God" is Amos 4:12. The Hebrew misprints על שחל for עַל שַׁחַל only in spacing; ופונתך is probably for וכונתך, "and your intention."

[173]"In their council let my soul not come; to their assembly let my glory not be united" is Gen. 49:6; "restrain your foot from their path, for their feet run to evil" is Prov. 1:15–16; "Woe to the wicked, and woe to his neighbour" (Negaim 12:6) lies behind the warning. "Keep away from ugliness and from whatever resembles it" (הרחק מן הכיעור ומן הדומה לו) is from Chullin 44b.

come out of every danger safe and sound. Now you, since you desire to grasp the secrets of the divine Law, keep close to my threshold every day from dawn until evening; for I will not be reluctant to instruct you all day long in virtue wholesome for your soul and in religion towards God. Come then, my son, prepare yourself, prepare your mind and reason, and from the bottom of your heart pray to God as ardently as you can, that He may open to you [p. 54 · IMG 4946–4947] the gates of doctrine and unbar the doors of wisdom. Know, know God: for this is the one thing in which you may rightly glory, if you wish to glory. For the rest, revere the majesty of God and carry out His precepts: for this, surely, is the complete perfection of man.[174]

תם ונשלם לכבוד ה׳ יוצר עולם:

For the little book made and finished, honour and thanks to God, whose workmanship is the whole universe.

[174]Jer. 9:23: “let him who glories glory in this, that he understands and knows Me”; Eccl. 12:13: “Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole of man.”

[p. 55 · IMG 4948–4949]

The Author's Prayer

תפלה תקנתי לשאול עזר מהעוזר האמתי על היראה והתשובה ולמוד החכמה:

This is a prayer composed by me, by which you may ask for reverence in sacred things, repentance for wrongdoing, and the attainment of wisdom from Him who alone is able to give those heavenly gifts.[175]

הכון לקראת אלקיך בכונה:

Turn your mind to God, and keep it as attentive as you can.[176]

אלקי תהלתי אל תחרש האל הגדול הגבור והנורא בך בטחתי אל אבושה דרכיך אדוני הודיעני ארחותיך למדני שלח עזרתך אל עבדך מקדש והבינהו תורתך ועדותיך כי צמאה נפשי ורוחי לדעת את מצוותיך גרסה נפשי לתאבה אל משפטיך בכל עת דרך שקר הסר ממני וכל דעת כזב אשר לא כתורתך וכדעת החכמים האמתיים אשר ישבו בסודך אל תשיבני מסברי עננ אדוני עננ כי טוב חסדך פתח לבי ורעיוני הבינני ואצרה תורתך ואשמרנה בכל לב ויהיו שני כליותי יועצות אותי בכל עת לנצור פקודיך ולבי כמעיין המתגבר וכנחל נובע וכבור סיד שאינו מאבד טפה הט לבי ורעיוני אל עדותיך לשמור ולעשות וליראה מפניך כי אתה מחסי וכסי אתה אדוני מגן בעדי כבודי ומרים ראשי אתה תומיך גורלי להעביר עיני מראות רע ורגל מלרוץ לרעה וידי מתמוך בשחד ובצע וכל כחתי מלעשות נגד רצונך גל מעלי חרפה ובוז מכל משטין ומפתה מארחתיך השיבני לעשות רצונך וקבלני לפניך בתשובה שלימה ושא על כל פשעי שגגות וזדונות ולא אוסיף לדאבה עוד בחטא לא במחשבה ולא בדבור תחטאני באזוב ואטהר וכל עונותי מחה אל תשליכני מלפניך חנני אלקים כחסדך בסתום חכמה ובינה תודיעני גל עיני ואביטה נפלאות מתורתך לב טהור ברא לי אלקים ורוח נכון חדש בקרבי ליראתך ואשמרה תורתך תמיד לעולם ועד אחלי יכונו דרכי לשמור חקיך אל תעזבני ואל תטשני ואל תסר חסדך מעבדך בן אמתך אלי אתה ואודך אלקי ארוממך ואתה אלקים אדוני עשה אתי למען שמך כי טוב חסדך הצילני ברוך אתה אדוני למדני חקך יהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי לפניך אדוני צורי וגואלי:[177]

O God, whose praises my voice proclaims everywhere, do not be silent towards me. Great, mighty and awesome God, I have trusted in You; do not let me be covered with shame. Show me Your ways, I beseech You, Lord; open Your paths to me. From Your majestic seat look upon Your child; make him knowing and wise in Your Law and Your teaching. For I thirst in every way for understanding of Your

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[175]The Hebrew: "A prayer I have composed to ask help from the true Helper for fear [of God], repentance and the study of wisdom." De Veil discussed this prayer in his preface, remarking that "in it you would miss nothing except the august name of Christ Jesus."

[176]Amos 4:12: "Prepare to meet your God, O Israel."

[177]The prayer is a mosaic of Psalm verses: Ps. 109:1 ("O God of my praise, do not keep silent"); Deut. 10:17 ("the great, mighty and awesome God"); Ps. 25:2, 25:4; Ps. 20:3 ("send you help from the sanctuary"); Ps. 119:34, 119:20 ("my soul breaks with longing for Your judgements at all times"), 119:29 ("remove from me the way of falsehood"), 119:116 ("let me not be ashamed of my hope"); Ps. 69:17 ("answer me, O LORD, for Your lovingkindness is good"); Ps. 51:9 and 51:12–13 (hyssop; "create in me a clean heart"); Ps. 119:5, 8, 18 and 12; Ps. 116:16 ("the son of Your handmaid"); Ps. 118:28; Ps. 109:21; and Ps. 19:15 ("Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable before You, O LORD, my Rock and my Redeemer"). Where the Hebrew ends "my Rock and my Redeemer" (צורי וגואלי), de Veil's Latin has "my Lord and my Saviour" (Dominus meus et servator meus), a rendering a Christian reader could hear christologically. "My kidneys counsel me" is Ps. 16:7 and Berakhot 61a; "my heart like an ever-flowing spring" is Avot 2:8.

precepts, and I so long for knowledge of the law You have founded that my spirit fails me for longing. Always turn away from me empty sense and false opinion, which shrink from Your Law and from the judgement of the wise, those men who cultivate the truth, to whom You Yourself have opened Your mysteries. Do not refuse to fulfil the expectation of my desire. Hear me, Lord, hear me, in Your wonderful kindness. Come, loosen my mind and reason, and give me, I pray, an understanding judgement. Grant that I may apply myself with my whole heart to keeping Your Law, and that both my reins may counsel me constantly in this, so that by Your commands [p. 56 · IMG 4950–4951] *I may obey. Make my soul like a spring ever more increasing, an everlasting flood, and a cistern lined with plaster, which does not lose even a drop of water. Incline my will and counsel to holding fast Your mysteries, to doing Your commands, and to fearing Your divinity devoutly. For You are my rampart, You are my breastplate; You, Lord, are that shield by which I am covered on every side; You are my comely helmet and lofty crest. May You likewise be the support of my lot; do not let my eyes feed on the sight of anything shameful. Be my restraint as well: keep my feet from the course of wickedness, keep my hands from the bribe of the corrupter and from unjust gain, keep all my strength from every undertaking that is against Your will. Turn me from depraved and wayward counsels to Your will; receive me into grace, wholly reconciled; forgive me all the wrongs I have committed, knowingly or unknowingly. I repent; I will not return to them; I will not sin again, in thought or in word. Sprinkle me with blessed hyssop, so that I may come out pure; wash away all the stains of my crimes; do not cast me, Your suppliant, away; have mercy on me, Lord, in Your immense and infinite mercy. Give me a prudence and foresight, inward and hidden; sharpen the eye of my mind so that I may see the wonderful splendour and beauty of Your Law. Make me a pure heart, and renew within me a right spirit, so that I may revere Your majesty ever more chastely,* [p. 57 · IMG 4952–4953] *and keep Your Law without end. Prepare for me, I beseech You, ways as fit as can be for obeying Your precepts. Do not desert me, do not forsake me, and do not deny Your mercy to me, Your servant, the son of Your handmaid. I will praise You, my God; I will magnify You, my Lord. I therefore beseech You, my Ruler and Lord, that, as befits Your goodness, You deal kindly with me for the sake of Your praise and take thought for my salvation; and that I may give You thanks on this account, that You have explained to me the meaning of Your oracles. May the words poured from my mouth and the thoughts of my mind be dear to You, who are both my Lord and my Saviour.*

[p. 58 · IMG 4954–4955] **Commendatory Poem**

כראות המשכיל ר׳ משולם בכמהר״ר יצחק סלם יצ״ו יופי החבור הלז וחין ערכו נשא משלו ויאמר כה:[178]

When Rabbi Meshullam, son of the most renowned Rabbi Isaac Selami, a learned and intelligent man, had considered the worth of this book, and at the same time its clear arrangement and order, he set down this praise of it in verse:

אנוש חפץ תמיד שלמות התלמיד
בחזק את בדק אמונותיו בטוב
הלא טוב אמנה ופרפר לחכמה
בספר זה ימצא ויקרא בו כי טוב
ואב ראם יגל לאברהם יגל
ישבח יען חננו לקח טוב

[179]

Whoever has taken up the office of teaching, take constant thought for the perfection of your pupils, in handing on the sincere worship of God and strengthening pure religion.

Pure religion, and teaching truly exquisite,
are contained in this book, to be celebrated by the voices of all.

Therefore let the parent of this our Abraham Jagel rejoice in so glorious an offspring,
and let him be extolled with praise who has imparted to us such excellent teaching.

FINIS.

[178] "The comeliness of its arrangement" (חין ערכו) is Job 41:4; "he took up his parable and said" is Num. 23:7. Meshullam son of Isaac Salem (Latin *Selami*) needs identifying; the name suggests a member of the Salem/Salom family of Italian Jews.

[179] Each Hebrew line is a couplet in two half-lines; the poem rhymes in pairs and plays on Yagel's name (יגל, "he will rejoice") and on the title, ending with לקח טוב. "To repair the breach" (בדק) is 2 Kings 12:6; ופרפר may be a misprint. The transcription of this page is less certain than elsewhere.