

Alexander Scheiber

**JEWISH
INSCRIPTIONS
IN
HUNGARY**



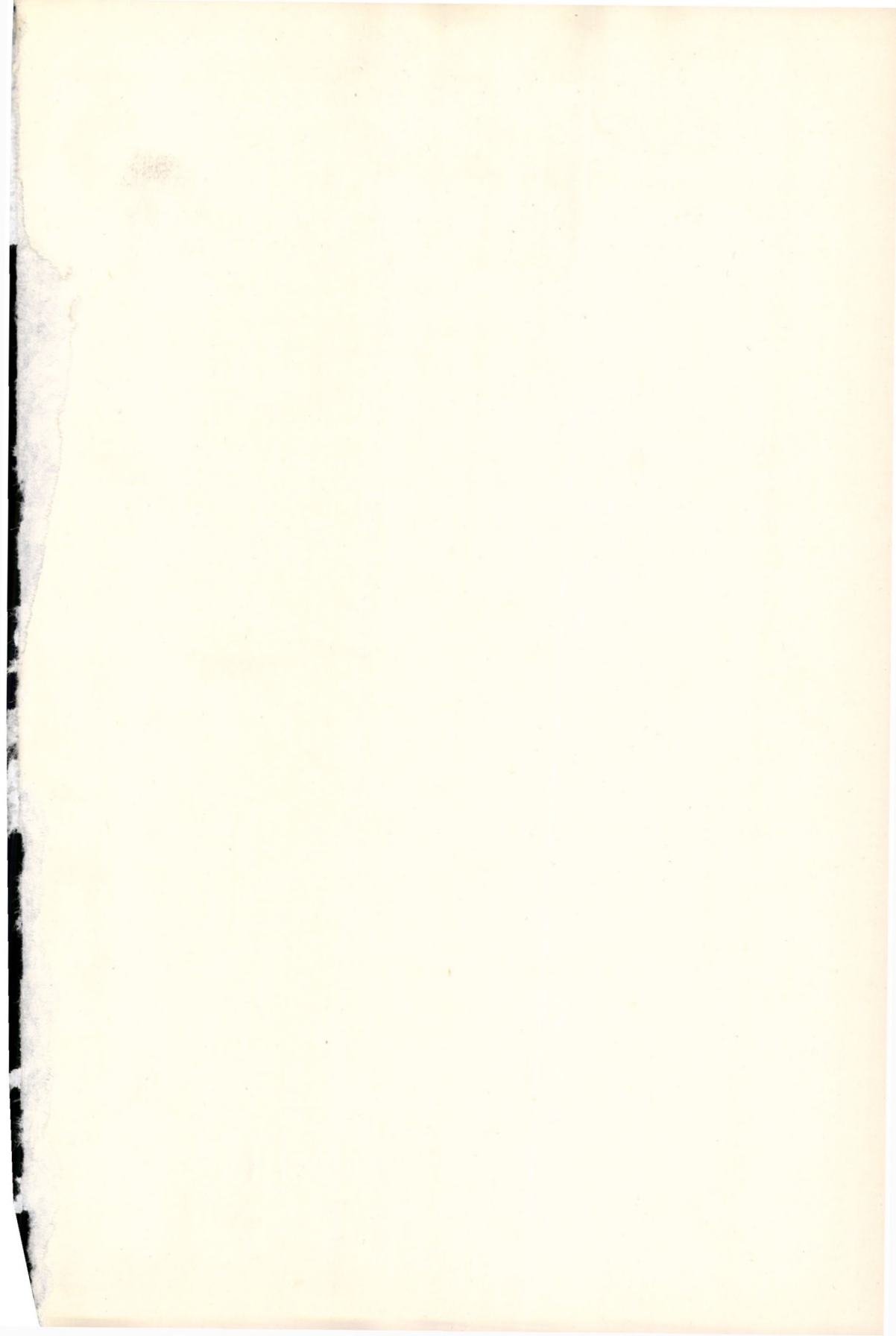
Akadémiai Kiadó · Budapest · E. J. Brill · Leiden

The world-renowned Hungarian scholar of Judaica is the first to report on the Jewish inscriptions of Hungary dating back to the Roman era, the Middle Ages and the Turkish occupation. The altogether 154 inscriptions are all given in translation and are richly documented with photographs. These inscriptions have survived on synagogues, tombstones, and a variety of objects (sword, seal, coin, textile, trenderli). In the last 25 years four old synagogues have been uncovered, two in Sopron and two in Buda. All the four are described in the present book.

The inscriptions bear the distinctive marks of various cultures: the tombstones from the Roman era reveal traces of Hellenized Roman culture, the ones from the Middle Ages show the influence of Rhineland, South-German, Austrian, and Bohemian-Moravian Jewish communities, while those surviving from the time of Hungary's Turkish occupation reflect the influence of Austrian, German and, to a lesser degree, Balkan Jewish cultural centers. The inscriptions from the Middle Ages are varied, born out of the need for personal and sometimes even poetic expression, while those from the Turkish era seem to be more rigid and are, with a few exceptions, composed after a rather uniform pattern.

The introductions present the internal and external history of each period, as well as the history of the settlements. The notes throw light upon the origin and distribution of names used by Jews.

The history of Hungarian Jewry has a rather small body of material testimonies. Most of them are collected here. It is for this reason that this collection deserves the attention of scholars of Judaism, Oriental studies, history, archaeology, history of art and ethnography alike. At the same time, Alexander Scheiber's unique book offers valuable reading experience to the interested layman.



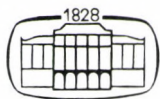


JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS IN HUNGARY

ALEXANDER SCHEIBER

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM
HUNGARIAE JUDAICARUM

A temporibus saeculi III., quae exstant,
usque ad annum 1686



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
BUDAPEST

1983



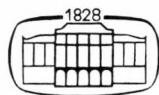
E. J. BRILL
LEIDEN

JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS IN HUNGARY

From the 3rd Century to 1686

by

ALEXANDER SCHEIBER



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
BUDAPEST

1983



E. J. BRILL
LEIDEN

ISBN 963 05 3304 9 (Akadémiai Kiadó)

ISBN 90 04 07050 8 (E. J. Brill)

© Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1983 · A. Scheiber

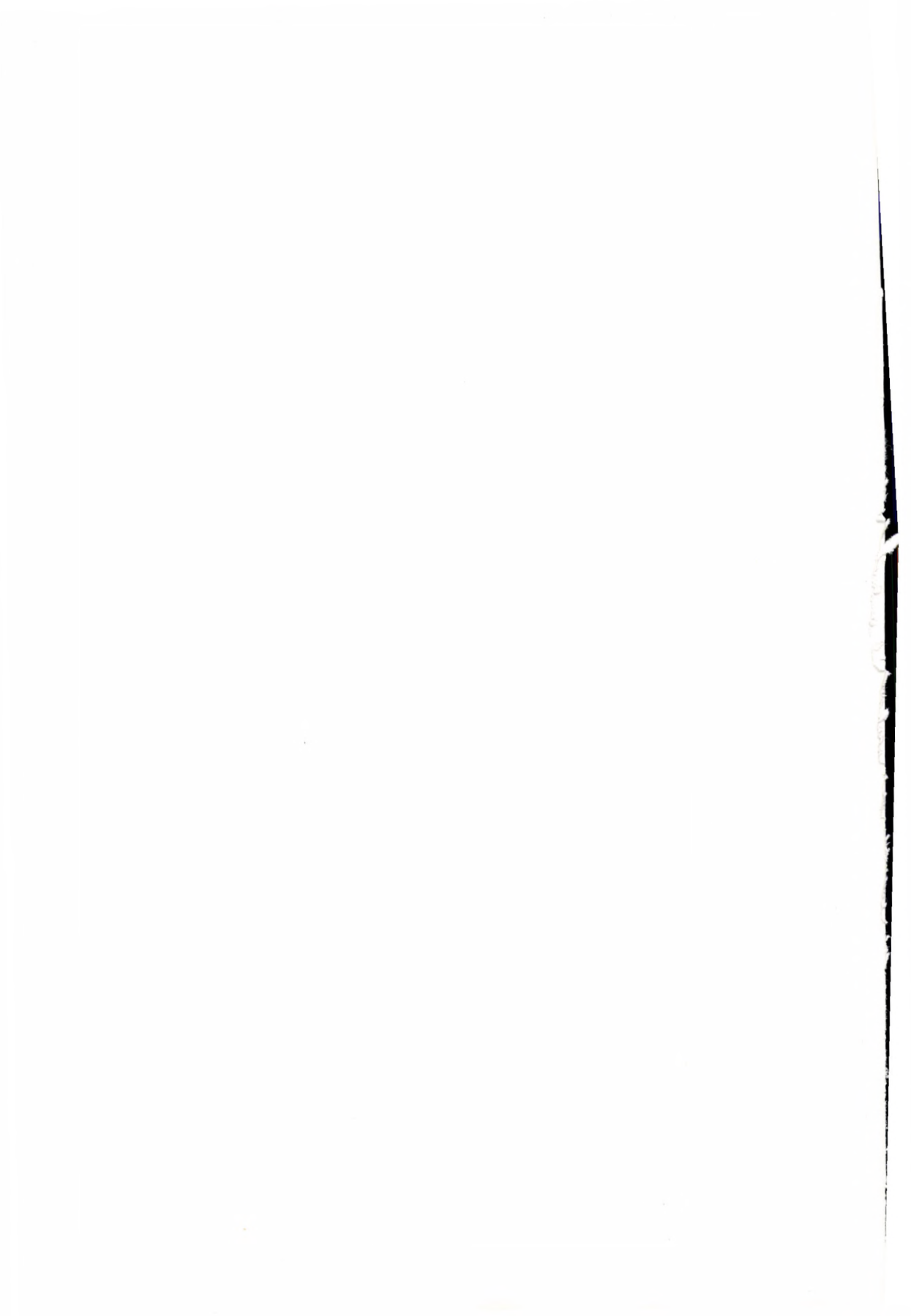
Printed in Hungary

To the blessed memory of my Mother

MARIA ADLER

ה'ד

Luctu meo vivit



CONTENTS

Preface	9
The Roman Period	11
Esztergom	15
Óbuda	19
Dunaújváros—Dunapentele	25
Siklós	42
Pécs	45
Dombóvár	47
Szombathely	49
Osijek—Eszék	51
Čelareco—Cséb	55
Gigen	57
Szöny	63
The Middle Ages	73
I. Hebrew Letters on a Khazar Ring	75
II. Coins bearing Hebrew Letters	77
III. Seal bearing Hebrew Letters	77
IV. Synagogues	81
V. Cemeteries	103
VI. Gravestones	106
Völkermarkt	107
Buda	110
Nagyszombat	136
Szokolca	147
Sopron	153

The Period of Turkish Occupation	179
I. Synagogues	181
II. Gravestones	185
Buda	185
Stomfa	369
Rohonc	371
Sopron	372
Csepreg	375
Temesvár	377
Miscellaneous Inscriptions	383
I. Bridal Ring	385
II. Ceremonial Sword with Hebrew Inscription	389
III. The Seal of Rakamaz	393
IV. Ark Curtain from Rohonc	394
V. Hanukah Menorah	397
VI. Bracelet	398
VII. Trenderli	399
VIII. Pair of Rimmonim	402
IX. Cover for Passover Dish	408
List of Abbreviations	411
Indexes	413
1. Chronological Index	415
2. Present Whereabouts of the Inscriptions	416
3. Buildings in Buda from which Gravestones have come to Light ...	418
4. The Names Appearing in the Inscriptions	420
5. The Hebrew Phrases in the Inscriptions	424
6. The Place-Names Featuring in the Inscriptions	429
List of Plates	430

PREFACE

Several people in Hungary and abroad have urged me to gather the Jewish inscriptions in Hungary and make them accessible to those engaged in research on Jewish history. Though the quantity of material available is not very great, it is dispersed, which makes it hard for those working outside this country to get access to it; that is why I have written this book. I have been collecting the data in it since 1951, and have discussed some details in a number of different publications. To give some examples, I covered the inscriptions from Roman times at Intercisa in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, NS, XLV, 1954–5, 189–97, and the inscriptions from the period of the Turkish occupation of Hungary (16th–17th centuries) on several occasions: 1. *Acta Orientalia*, II, 1952, 123–42; *Historia Judaica*, XIV, 1952, 145–53; *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists*, I, Istanbul, 1953, 156. 2. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, I, 1956, 269–78; *Budapest Régiségei* (Antiquities of Budapest), XVIII, 1958, 501–18. 3. *Acta Orientalia*, XII, 1961, 107–38; *Budapest Régiségei*, XX, 1963, 469–80. 4. *Acta Orientalia*, XXV, 1972, 465–74. 5. *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, Budapest, 1976, 321–24.

In this book I should have liked to present photographs of all the inscriptions, but I have not succeeded in doing so. For example, I have learned after a long correspondence that the medieval tombstones at Nagyszombat were destroyed after the War, and no photographs have survived.

Chronologically, the inscriptions presented in this book are divided as follows: there are 10 from the Roman period; 40 from the Middle Ages; and 104 from the period of the Turkish occupation of Hungary. Twelve stones from Eisenstadt (Kismarton) also date from the period covered in this book, but they have been omitted because descriptions of them have long been available (in B. Wachstein: *Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt*, Vienna, 1922, 1–4).

The material consists overwhelmingly of gravestone inscriptions which have shared the common fate of almost all similar objects in the world: some have sunk into the earth (such as those from the Roman and medieval periods), others have been torn up, taken elsewhere, or built into the town gates near which most Jewish cemeteries were situated (e.g. in Buda and Nagyszombat), into the walls of Christian churches (as at Sopron) or into various other buildings (for instance, some of the medieval stones in Sopron and some in Buda from the Turkish period).

The inscriptions from the Middle Ages and the Turkish occupation make a contribution to the study of settlement history. We find mostly Hebrew and German names occurring. These inscriptions also show the state of Hebrew studies in Hungary at the time, as do the Hebrew clauses in documents.

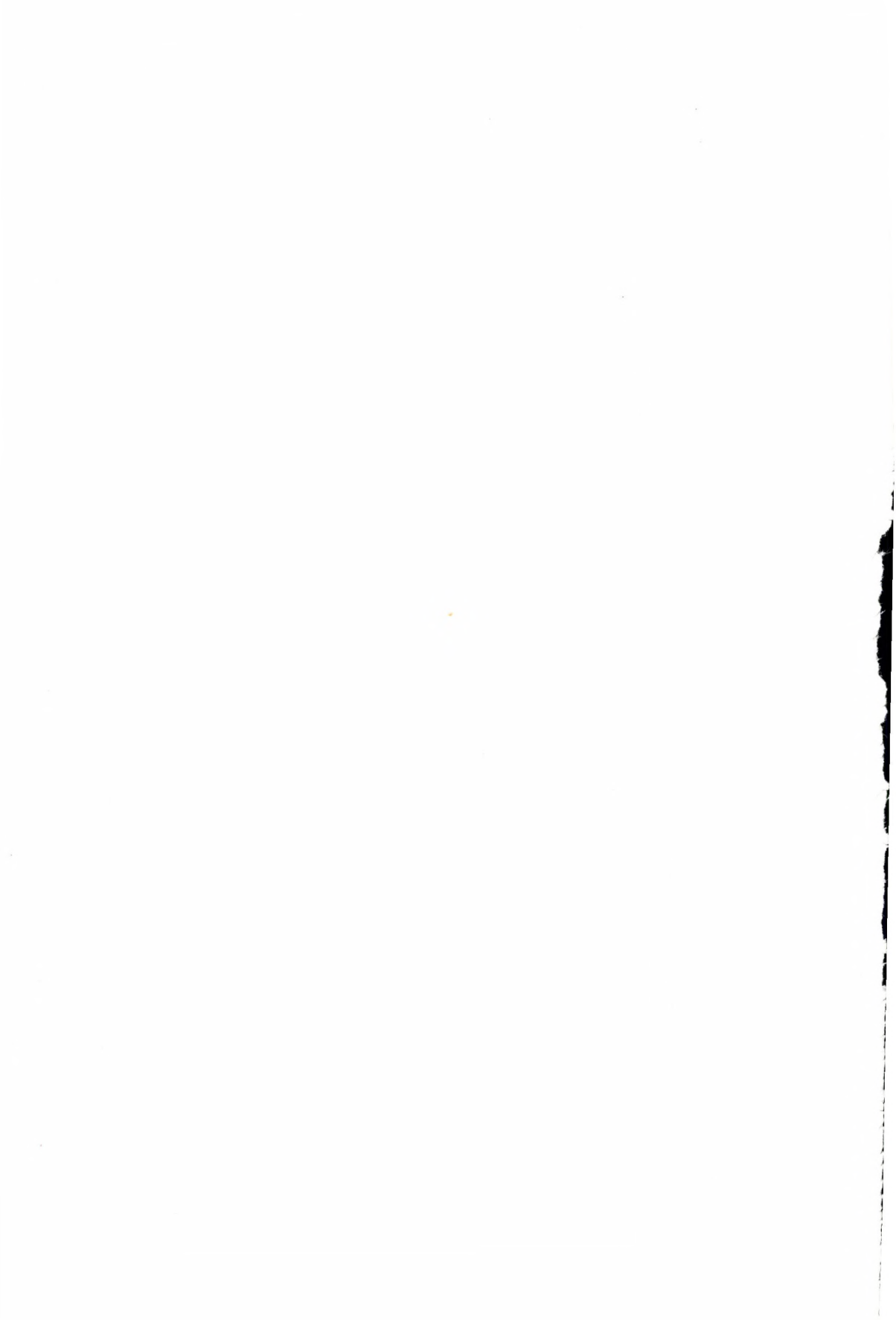
The wording of the inscriptions show an invariable similarity to other inscriptions of the same period. Stones from the Roman period were influenced by Romanized Hellenic culture; those from the Middle Ages by the Jewish centres in the Rhineland, Southern Germany, Bohemia and Moravia; and those from the Turkish period by the Austrian-German Jews. The medieval inscriptions are varied, with an independence in their wording that sometimes shows poetic aspirations; those from the Turkish period have, with a few exceptions, become stereotyped and uniform. The photographs of the stones shed light on the masons who carved them and the schools they belonged to.

Almost a century ago the editors of *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* (Hungarian Jewish Review) took up a suggestion of Simon Bacher's and declared their willingness to "publish in a separate volume" the grave inscriptions sent in to them (V, 1888, 302). Had that been followed through, a great many inscriptions from stones which have subsequently been lost or destroyed might have been preserved.

In fact, very few material relics of the history of the Jews in Hungary have come down to us; the bulk of what has survived is presented in this book, and this in itself was a good reason for compiling it. I should like to see this book serve as a source of reference for the writing of the history of the Jews in Hungary, one of the major tasks that still face us.

Budapest, July 9, 1983.

THE ROMAN PERIOD



The Romans occupied the area of present-day Hungary by degrees. The Emperor Augustus extended the Empire's borders as far as the Danube, and in 35 B.C. the Romans occupied Siscia (Siszek), after which they conquered the area between the rivers Dráva and Száva. By 9 B.C. one can presume that the Danube Bend was already under Roman rule. In 20 A.D. a permanent border post was built at Aquincum, within today's Óbuda district of Budapest. Before the end of the 1st century A.D. the occupation of the new province of Pannonia, which included Transdanubia, had been completed. Finally two campaigns against the Dacians were led by the Emperor Trajan, and in 105 A.D. the province of Dacia came into being in what was later to be known as Transylvania.¹

One is faced with the question as to whether there were any Jews among the Romans who settled in Pannonia.²

Before tackling it, let us recall a few pieces of historical information.

Judaea lost its independence and became a Roman protectorate in 63 B.C., which explains why many of its inhabitants migrated to Italy, where they sought a new livelihood or sought their fortunes. After the conquest of Judaea in 70 A.D. many of the inhabitants were taken to Italy as slaves. It seems reasonable to suppose that in the wake of the legions that marched in from Italy to Germany,³ and then on to Pannonia, there were also some Jews, either as soldiers, or as traders and craftsmen doing business with the soldiers.

"We must believe it possible that the appearance of the Jews is not only the result or consequence of involuntary emigration, but that as tradesmen and businessmen they came to substitute in part for the Syrian tradesmen and financiers eliminated by the difficult circumstance of that time" (G. Radan: 277).

One can easily explain how relatively large numbers of Jews appeared in Pannonia from the 3rd century onwards, leaving discernible traces behind them. The spread of eastern peoples and eastern cults in this area is linked with the visit the Emperor Septimius Severus made to Pannonia in 202. "Through his wife, Julia Domna, who stemmed from the family of the high priest of Hemesa," the Emperor "came close to the Syrian gods, but the direct knowledge of them was the outcome of his trips to the east, particularly of the lengthy stay in Syria at the end of 199, after the war against the Parthians."⁴ Septimius Severus was succeeded by members of his Syrian family, one of whom, Caracalla, in his *Lex Antoniniana*, granted equal rights to every provincial citizen in the Empire, including the Jews. In gratitude many took the Emperor's cognomen of Aurelius.

Not long afterwards the Jews were put to military use. The region along the Danube was protected by a system of frontier defences consisting of permanent, fortified military camps or *limes*, against the incursions of the warlike tribes of Quades, Sarmatians and Jazygians living in what later became known as Upper Hungary and the Great Hungarian Plain. As the Barbarian threat grew in the 3rd century, Syrian reserves were brought into Transdanubia, particularly to the camps of Intercisa (Dunapentele, now Dunaújváros) and Ulcisia Castra (Szentendre). At Intercisa troops from Emesa (Cohors milliaria Hemesenorum) were stationed, while at Ulcisia Castra there were Syrian archers (Cohors milliaria nova Surorum sagittariorum). Both might have had Jews in their ranks, although so far, we have proof only for Intercisa. Lajos Nagy is presumably right in saying "the Jews settled in large numbers between Esztergom and Dunapentele",⁵ even though his assertion has not been fully documented.

Only one of the following proofs can warrant one declaring that a person who features in a surviving inscription was Jewish:⁶

1. If the adjective *Judaeus*, denoting Jewishness, features in the inscription.
2. If the seven-branched candelabrum, the Menorah, or some other Jewish symbol (lulab, etrog, shofar, etc.) is visible on the stone.
3. If the Greek words „*Εἷς Θεός*” (God is One), referring to Jewish belief, are contained in it.
4. If there is some reference to a function held in the Jewish religious community.

To that list one might add that Hebrew names from biblical or other sources may also signify a person of Jewish origin, but since in the course of assimilation most Jews chose names from their environment, they cannot be identified on this basis.

ESZTERGOM

(Solva)⁷

There were two Roman settlements on the site of today's city of Esztergom. The remains of one were destroyed during the work on the foundations of the Basilica on Várhegy carried out at the beginning of the 19th century. The other is thought to have been situated in the area of today's Víziváros district. Extensive traces of Roman burials have been found. "Ancient Esztergom, identified with Solva mansio, had two links with the Pannonian road network, one along the *limes* by the Danube leading to Aquincum and the other following the line of the present-day road between Esztergom and Dorog."⁸ There may have been a fortified camp on the Várhegy. Remnants of the Roman *castrum* have recently been found on Hideglelőskereszt-csúcs as well.⁹ The Esztergom area became prominent during Marcus Aurelius's campaign in 172–180. The Emperor pitched his camp in the area and wrote his *Confessiones* there as well.

In the spring of 1890, a huge limestone gravestone broken crossways into two was found near Esztergom, next to the Primate's brick-kiln. It was purchased from the Primate's collection and taken in 1934 to the Hungarian Jewish Museum. The Jewish character of the stone is borne out by the names and by the seven-branched Menorah, with its candles alight. The stone was set up in memory of a father and mother, civilians, and clearly Roman citizens with full rights. The inscription is in a mixture of Greek and Latin, as in the case of the stones from Aquincum (No. 2) and Gigen (No. 10).



Inscription 1

1.

3RD CENTURY

MEMOPIA IVDATI PATIRI
ET MEMOPIA KACCIE
GYA



Memoria Iudati patiri
et memoria Cassi(a)e
Ἐὐλ(ογία)

In memory of father Juda
and in memory of Cassia
Bless(ing).

Discovered in 1890 in Esztergom, by the Primate's brick-kiln.
Height: 148 cm; width: 76 cm; thickness: 11.5 cm.
Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection, Budapest.
Inventory No. 2500.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: R. Fröhlich: *AÉ*, XI, 1891, 236, No. 26; *CIL* III, 10599;
S. Krausz: *AÉ*, XXIV, 1904, 172-3; idem: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1904, 24, Note 1;
J. Oehler: *MGWJ*, LIII, 1909, 449, No. 212; Frey: *CIJ*, I, 488, No. 676;
G. Radan: *AAH* XXV, 1973, 272-3; E. Thomas: "'Eins ist der Gott!'" Über
jüdische Denkmäler der Römerzeit in Pannonien', *Pannonia*, V, 1977, Nos.

3–4, 23; I. Bilkei: 'Die griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns', *Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis*, XVII, Székesfehérvár, 1979, 27, No. 8; L. Barkóczi and S. Soproni: *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns (RIU)*, III, Bp., 1981, 154, No. 787.

References: E. Grünvald: *ZsSz*, XXIX, 1934, Nos. 12–13; A. Gráf: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1939, 245; Ilona Benoschofsky: *ÚÉ*, XXXVIII, 1983, No. 1.

Photographs: *AÉ*, XXIV, 1904, 171; *Ararát Évkönyv... az 1939... évre* (Ararat yearbook... for 1939), Bp., 1939, 33; *General Encyclopedia in Yiddish*, Yidn. IV, New York, 1950, 555; *AAH* XXV, 1973, 273, Fig. 7; E. Thomas: *op. cit.*, 24; *Alba Regia*, XVII, 27, 47, Fig. 3; L. Barkóczi and S. Soproni: *op. cit.*, 355, Plate CIX; *Severin*, 258.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Iudati: the father's name is יהודה, which is the Greek Ἰούδας, see F. Preisigke: *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg, 1922, 522. The forms Ιαυδα and Ιουδα also occur, see H. Wuthnow: *Die semitischen Menschennamen*, Leipzig, 1930, 57, 58. The form Ἰούδας exists in Greek papyrus mss. as well (V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks: *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, 165, No. 24; 188, No. 43).

Same line: "der Punkt nach IVDAT bisher nicht bemerkt" (L. Barkóczi and S. Soproni: *op. cit.*, 154).

Same line: PATIRI is given by Krausz as PATP and by Frey as PATIR, yet another I at the end is clearly discernible.

Line 2: ET can be clearly discerned at the beginning of the line, but features in none of the text publications so far.

Same line: The woman's name is either the Graeco-Latin Cassia, the female form of Cassius (A. Kerényi: *A dáciai személynevek* (Dacian personal names), Bp., 1941, 18, No. 169; S. Sanie: *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie*, XXVIII, 1977, 141), or the Hebrew קציעה, the name of one of Job's daughters (Job xlii, 14). The CACIA form of the name would point to the latter (Frey: *CII*, I, 316, No. 413). This female name comes from the Greek κασια, meaning 'cinnamon', see L. Koehler: *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, Leiden, 1953, 847; B. Klar: *מחקרים ועיונים*, Tel Aviv, 1954, 52; J. Nacht: *סמלי אשה*, Tel Aviv, 1959, 211. It is transcribed in Hebrew as כסיאה (*Megillat Ahimaaz*, ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem, 1974, 26). R. Fröhlich (*AÉ*, XI, 1891, 236) and S. Krausz (*AÉ*, XXIV, 1904, 172) erroneously read it as KACETG, which would be the Greek transcription of the Hebrew חסידה, meaning 'pious'.

Same line: S. Krausz believes that at the end of the line there might have been another word: MATR, but there is no trace of it, nor would there have been room for it.

Line 3: S. Krausz (*AÉ*, XXIV, 1904, 172) and A. Gráf (*IMIT Évkönyve*, 1939, 245) read GVA, which they interpret as the name of the girl who had the tombstone erected for her parents. The reading is mistaken, because the stem of the Y reaches down below the line, showing that it is not a letter V. *Εὐλ(ογία)* is the equivalent of the Hebrew ברכה (blessing), usually abbreviated as לז on Jewish tombstones.

ÓBUDA

(Aquincum)

—Taken for a time to Alberti-Irsa—

The area around Aquincum was conquered by the Romans about 10 B.C. Presumably the Emperor Domitian visited the area personally in 89 A.D., at which time a legion was stationed in Aquincum. That may have been when a fortified camp was built, to accommodate the legion. From 106 until the end of Roman rule the Aquincum section was garrisoned by the same legion, the Legio II Adiutrix. In 194, under Septimius Severus, Aquincum was granted the rank of a *colonia*. In the 2nd century, whole units were transferred here from the East.¹⁰ By the beginning of the 3rd century, one can assume there was a proper Syrian community in Aquincum, forming a separate *collegium*.¹¹ There may have been Jews among them, and we have certain knowledge of one family.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE 4TH CENTURY

The gravestone was acquired by the family of the Counts Szapáry at an auction in Pest in the 1830s or 1840s. They took it to Alberti-Irsa, and placed it in the wall of a small chapel in the park of their manor house. Its presence there was first reported in 1878 by Károly Wolff (Vajda), who was a tutor to the Szapáry family.¹² The solution he gave to the original inscription does not make much sense, and he did not notice the Jewish inscription which had been cut into the



Inscription 2

stone later, and was first reported on in writing by Róbert Fröhlich in his noteworthy reading.¹³ Sámuel Krausz was right in supposing that if the stone appeared at the Pest auction it must have originated from Aquincum,¹⁴ and not from Intercisa, as was later claimed by András Gráf.¹⁵ The upper part of the stone shows a man on the right, and a woman with a child on her arm on the left. The later owners engraved a secondary inscription of Jewish origin between the figures and the *aetoma* (triangular surface). The fact of a gravestone being purchased and reused shows that we are dealing with a late Jewish relic. János Szilágyi dates it from the end of the 4th century.¹⁶ The parents selected the gravestone so that the relief would suit them and their dead little boy. According to B. Kanael: "Es ist dies die einzige jüdische Bildnisgruppe auf einem Grabstein der römischen Periode, die bisher bekannt ist."¹⁷ Unfortunately the stone does not prove this, since the group picture shows a *Roman* family.¹⁸ To indicate their Jewishness, a seven-branched Menorah was incised for each of the three persons. In the past only two of these had been recognized, and the child was thought to have a bird in his hand.¹⁹ The Menorah also features among the objects being carried off from the Temple in Jerusalem on the triumphal arch of Titus, and it is understandable that it should have served as a symbol for the Jews of the Diaspora.²⁰ The avowal *ΕΙΣ Θεός* engraved three times was also designed to certify the Jewishness of all three. Previously only one of the inscriptions had been discerned; the other two have been deciphered and are published here for the first time. The original inscription has no Jewish connotation whatever.²¹

The inscription presented here is in Graeco-Latin and in Graeco-Latin script. The Jews who came to Europe from the East spoke and wrote in Greek. Even if they forgot the spoken language and switched to Latin, they preserved the script as a tradition. Of course with the passage of time their orthography became weaker. A similar phenomenon is to be seen on the stones from Esztergom (No. 1) and Gigen (No. 10).



Detail of Stone 2

2.



MHMORIA ANECTACIO ET ΔΗΚΟΥCΑΝΙ
ΕΤ ΒΗΝΕΙΑΜΙ ΕΤ ΦΕΙΑΓΙΩ
ΝΟCΤΡΩ



ΕΙC



ΘΕΩC

5

ΕΙC ΘΕΩC

ΕΙC ΘΕΩC

Memoria An(a)stasio et Decusani
et Ben(e)iami <et> filio
nostro

ΕΙς Θε(ό)ς

5

ΕΙς Θε(ό)ς

ΕΙς Θε(ό)ς

In Memory of Anastasius and Decusanes
and Benjamin, our
son

God is one

5

God is one

God is one

Discovered c. 1830–40 at a Pest auction.

Height: 181 cm; width: 76 cm; thickness: 28 cm.

Now in the Hungarian National Museum.

Inventory No. 62.70.1.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: R. Fröhlich: *AE*, XI, 1891, 232–3, No. 18; *CIL*, III, 10611; S. Krausz: *AE*, XXIV, 1904, 170–2; idem: *IMIT Évkönyve* (IMIT Yearbook), 1904, 22–33; B. Kuzsinszky: *Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő* (Museum and library bulletin), II, 1908, 98–9; J. Oehler: *MGWJ*, LIII, 1909, 449, No. 211 (fragmentarily); Frey: *CIJ*, I, 487–8, No. 675; G. Radan: *AAH* XXV, 1973, 270; E. Thomas: *op. cit.* 23; I. Bilkei: *Alba Regia*, XVII, 1979, 27, No. 9.

References: *A Jövő* (The future), II, 1898, No. 12; J. Szilágyi: *Aquincum*, Bp., 1956, 46, 92; L. Hidvégi: 'Móra Ferenc levelesládájából' (From Ferenc Móra's mailbox), *MN*, XXXVI, 1980, No. 6.

Photographs: *AE*, XXIV, 1904, 171; *MKE*, II, 1908, 98, Fig. 34; E.R. Goodenough: *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, III, New York, 1953, No. 857; B. Kanael: *Die Kunst der antiken Synagoge*, Frankfurt a/M, 1961, Fig. 57; *AAH* XXV, 1973, 271. Figs. 3–5; E. Thomas: *op. cit.* 23; *Alba Regia*, XVII, 27; *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. A. Lengyel and G. T. B. Radan, Bp., 1980. CXXXV. 1.; *Severin*, 259.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Ἀναστασιος = resurrected, see, for example, Frey: *CIJ*, II, Rome, 1952, 205, No. 1123. The name corresponds to the Hebrew אליקים, see J. F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955/56, 349.

Same line: Decusani: the wife's name may have been Δικαιοσύνη, equivalent to the Latin *Pietas*, and the Hebrew צדקה. The latter also occurs as a woman's name (J. Nacht: סמלי אשה, Tel Aviv, 1959, 205). Δίκαιος is a man's name which occurs in an Egyptian Greek papyrus of the 3rd century B.C.; see V.A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks: *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, 180, No. 33.

Line 2: Ben(⟨e⟩)iami: בנימי: is the dative of the Greek *Beniamis*, see S. Krausz: *AE*, XXIV, 1904, 171. It occurs in Frey: *CIJ*, II, 127, No. 908. It is also known in the form *Βενιαμής*: B. Lifshitz (*Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions par Frey*, I, New York, 1975. *Prolegomenon*: 76, No. 693; 83, No. 715b). The form *Βενιαμιν* is of course more frequent (F. Preisigke: *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden [Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern usw.] Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, Heidelberg, 1922, 521; Frey: *CIJ*, II, 132, No. 920 = *Biram Jubilee*

Volume, Jerusalem, 1956, 180). The form *Βεννιξιμιν* is also known (Heinz Wuthnow: *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig, 1930, 35).

Same line: The second “et” is a dittography which can be deleted.

Line 4: *Θεωος* is a scribal error for *Θεος*. *Εἰς Θεός* is the Greek translation of the Jewish creed (יהוה אחד). By the Roman period Hebrew was not widely known even in Palestine; for instance in Hellenistic Caesarea even the שמע was recited in Greek (*Jer. Sota*, VII, 1). This phrase appears in a number of inscriptions, for example on the terracotta amulet from Egypt to be found in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (A. Scheiber: *JQR*, NS, XLVIII, 1957/58, 6–12; V.A. Tcherikover, A. Fuks and M. Stern: *op.cit.* III, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, 166, No. 1539).

Lines 5–6: were discovered and first deciphered by the author.

DUNAÚJVÁROS—DUNAPENTELE

(Intercisa)

The word “*Intercisa*” means “inserted” and is the attribute of “*castra*” or “*statio*”. When the number of Roman fortifications was increased under the Emperors Domitian and Trajan (81–117), a new fortified camp was built beside the Danube between the existing ones.²² The troops stationed there (Cohors I Alpinorum equitata) were responsible for security on the road connecting Intercisa with Dacia. In the German-Sarmatian war the camp was destroyed and its garrison routed (between 169 and 171). The camp was rebuilt and, perhaps around 176, a new garrison arrived with Marcus Aurelius, who was returning from Syria:²³ the Cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum, which consisted of troops from Emesa.²⁴ In 1962 excavations revealed a Syrian basilica. Syrian influence and the numbers of Syrian troops grew under Septimius Severus, due to the Emperor’s family connections with Syria. The imperial couple were very popular with the Jews both in Palestine and the Diaspora, as is clearly shown by a Greek inscription dated 197 in a Palestinian synagogue in honour of the Emperor, his wife and family.²⁵ In Rome there was a synagogue that bore the name of Severus.²⁶ Traces of that popularity have been preserved in the Midrash.²⁷ One of Severus’s successors, Alexander Severus, was nicknamed by the inhabitants of Antioch and Alexandria *syrus archisynagogus*, a reference to his affection for the Jews and Syrians.²⁸

Jews were living in Emesa (today Homs in Syria) as early as the period of the Second Temple. There are references to Emesa in the Talmud (מקץ *jer. Jeb.*, xi, 11d). Jews went there from בר עשתור with a question regarding the proselytes. From this the great number of the Jews can be deduced and the extent to which their religion had gained ground among the inhabitants. The Roman troops from Emesa may also have included Jews, for an inscription from Concordia reads as follows: “de num(ero) regi(or)um Emes(enorum) Judeoru(m)”.²⁹

The votive tablet below clearly shows that the people of Emesa arriving in Intercisa³⁰ included many Jews, who formed a religious community and built a synagogue.

The tablet was discovered by Flóris Rómer in 1864 built into the wall of a back building at the post house at Dunapentele. At that time a relief of Alexander Severus could still be seen on the upper part of the tablet, but it has vanished since. The inscription, which was first deciphered correctly by Theodor Mommsen, says that Cosmius, who is *praepositus stationis*, i.e. chief of the customs post³¹ and *archisynagogus*, president of the synagogue, has erected a votive tablet in honour of Emperor Alexander Severus and his mother, Julia Mamaea. Cosmius must have held an important office of state, as Intercisa at the time was a trading centre and the starting point of a Roman road that led through the Great Hungarian Plain to Transylvania along the Maros valley.

The post of *archisynagogus* in Intercisa clearly indicates that there was a synagogue in Alexander Severus's time (222–35). Sámuel Krausz, however, did not think it likely, “because it cannot be supposed that the Jews in Roman Pannonia were in a position to form communities”.³² József Hampel even explains the word by suggesting a *synagoga* might have been an association of people of Syrian origin: “That association . . . may primarily have been a burial society.”³³ Of Cosmius he writes, “There is no reason whatever for considering him a Jew; but he could very well have been a Syrian, and by ‘synagoga’ a corporation of Syrians should be understood.”³⁴ András Gráf held a similar opinion: “Here again it should be emphasized, however, that the synagogue referred to is not necessarily a Jewish assembly. With the Jews and throughout the Hellenistic East in general the word meant a community or an association, and only later did it come to denote a temple or house of worship.”³⁵

During the preparations for publishing all the inscriptions from Intercisa recently, the tablet received a careful cleaning, which revealed another word written vertically outside the area of the inscription field on the right hand side in the frame of the *tabula ansata*: IVDEOR, i.e. Judeor(um), which clinches the argument. It was deciphered by F. Fülep, and has unequivocally established the

sense in which the term synagogue is used, the presence of Jews in Intercisa, and the religious status of Cosmius.³⁶

Excavation work done at various times at Intercisa has turned up no remains relating to the synagogue, and there can be little hope of any being discovered in the future. Of course one should not imagine a large-scale synagogue of architectural merit. A rough idea of it can be gained from the synagogue from Roman times that lay nearest to it geographically, the one at Stobi, the former capital of Macedonia (in Yugoslavia). There, remains of both a 3rd century and a 4th century synagogue have been excavated by Serbian archaeologists, along with a long inscription in Greek on a column.³⁷

A votive tablet (Inscription 8) from Mursa, in Pannonia Inferior, first published incomplete in 1960, and in a more complete form in 1965, speaks of [pro]seucha (= προσευχη), which the Jews in Greek-speaking regions used as a synonym for συναγωγη. The Mursa synagogue is older than the one at Intercisa, since by the time of Septimius Severus it was already in ruins and in need of repair.³⁸ Yugoslavia is in any case in a fortunate position with regard to Judaistic material. Another inscription was discovered in 1954 at Salona, and bears out the presence there of four groups: Roman, Jewish, Christian and Barbarian.³⁹

The Intercisa synagogue must have been a simple building;⁴⁰ only the stone portal may have been more ornate. The members of the congregation, some of them soldiers, would no longer have understood any Hebrew even though they said their prayers in it. The delegates who came to them from Palestine to teach, preach and collect donations with the Emperor's permission for the academy of the Patriarch of the Holy Land spoke to them in Latin. They wrote only in Latin. Not a single Hebrew letter occurs on any of the Pannonian inscriptions, unlike those found elsewhere, which include Hebrew phrases and on occasions whole Hebrew texts.^{40a} But the first word on the only surviving votive tablet refers to their God, to the *Deus aeternus*, a translation of a biblical expression.



Inscription 3

3.

BETWEEN 222 AND 235

DEO · AETER
NO PRO SAL · D ·
N SEV A ······
... P · F · AVG · E ...
5 ... AE · AVG · M · AV · V
RED L COSMIVS PR
STA · SPONDILL · A · SYNAG
IVDEOR

Deo aeter
no pro sal(ute) d(omini)
n(ostri) Sev(eri) A[lexan
dri] p(ii) f(elicis) Aug(usti) e[t Jul(iae)
5 Mamae]ae Aug(ustae) m(atris) Au(gusti) v(otum)
red(dit) l(ibens) Cosmius pr(ae)positus
sta(tionis) Spondill. a(rchi)synag(ogus)
Jud(a)eor(um)

To the eternal God.
For the salvation of our lord,
Severus A[lexander],
the pious, felicitous emperor an[d of Julia
5 Mamae] the empress, mother of the emperor,
does Cosmius, the chief
of the customs station of Spondill(a) (?), the
president of the synagogue of the Jews gladly
fulfil his vow.

Discovered in 1864 in one of the buildings at the post house in Dunapentele.
Height: 58 cm; width: 82 cm; thickness: 22.5 cm.
Now in the Hungarian National Museum.
Inventory No. 154/1874, 2.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: F. Römer: *AK*, IV, 1864, 60, No. XXVIII (here the Jewish connection cannot yet be established); T. Ortway: *AK*, X, 1876, 123, No. 19 (again the inscription's Jewish character is not yet evident); *CIL*, III, 3327, 10301; S. Krausz: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1902, 298–303; J. Oehler: *MGWJ*, LIII, 1909, 449, No. 209; S. Klein: *MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 141–2; idem: *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, III, 1935, No. 2, 63–5; Frey: *CIJ*, I, 489, No. 677; F. Fülep: *Intercisa*, I, Bp., 1954, 269, No. 329; in the German edition: 323, No. 329; A. Scheiber: *JQR*, NS XLV, 1954–5, 194; G. Allon: **תולדות היהודים בארץ-ישראל**, II, Tel Aviv, 1955, 104 (with mistakes); F. Fülep: *AAH*, XVIII, 1966, 93; G. Radan: *AAH* XXV, 1973, 268; E. Thomas: *op. cit.*, 22.

References: J. Hampel: *AE*, XXVI, 1906, 230, 237–9; F. Grünvald: *ZsSz*, XXIX, 1934, Nos. 12–13; A. Gráf: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1939, 241–2; C. Blum: *Calendarul-Almanah. Evreesc.*, 5705–1945, 183–9 (which I have been unable to obtain); A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, VIII, 1952, No. 4; X, 1954, No. 7.

Photographs: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1902, 301; *AE*, XXVI, 1906, 229; *MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 141; *Intercisa*, I, Plate LXXX, Fig. 2; *JQR*, NS XLV, 1954–5, Plate I between pp. 196 and 197; F. Fülep: *AAH*, XVIII, 1966, after p. 98, t. LXXV–LXXVI; *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 269, Fig. 2; E. Thomas: *op. cit.* 22; *Severin*, 257.

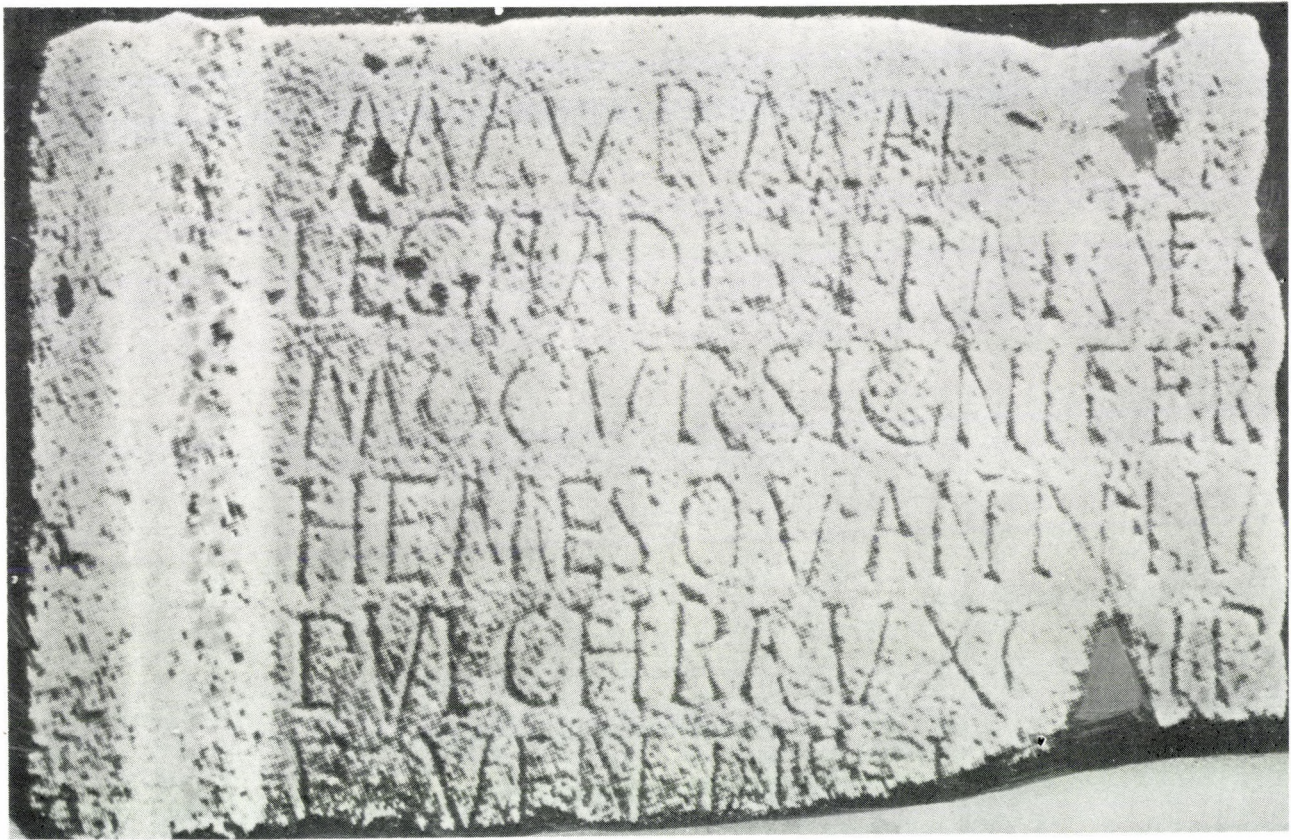
REMARKS:

Line 1: A translation of **אלהי עולם** (Jes. xl. 28). *Deus aeternus* also occurs in other places: *CIL*, V, 769, 770; E.J. Bickerman: 'The Altars of Gentiles', *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*, III Série, Tome V, 1958, 155–6; A. and J. Šašel: *op. cit.*, 102, No. 285.

Line 6: Cosmius: this is the correct reading given by József Hampel (*AE*, XXVI, 1906, 230), J. Juster (*Les Juifs dans l'empire Romain*, II, Paris, 1914, 257) and Gyula Gábor (*IMIT Évkönyve*, 1931, 152). Not Cosmus. See L. Barkóczi: *AAH*, XVI, 1964, 309. Similar names are: **קיסמא** (Sanh. 98a; Shabbat 75a); *Κοσμά*, *Κοσμάς* (A. Kohut: *Aruch*. VII, 148; S. Krauss: *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, II, Berlin, 1899, 535); **קסמא** (S. Klein: *Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vienna-Berlin, 1920, 51, No. 157). The female name *Κοσμία* occurs on a Greek papyrus from Egypt dating from 240 B.C. (V.A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks: *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, 182, No. 36).

Line 7: Spondill. was identified by S. Klein with Pentele: "How 'Spondilla' became transformed into 'Pentele' is a matter I entrust to the philologists." (*Bulletin*, III, 1935, No. 2, 64; *MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 141–2; S. Büchler: *ibid.*, 207). The supposition is incorrect, because Pentele received its name from St. Pantaleon (*Παντελεήμων*), who died a martyr's death in Nicodemia in 305. There was a convent of Greek nuns at Pentele. A document from 1238 includes the words "abbas ecclesie S. Pantaleonis de insula Danubii" (D. Pais: *MNy*, XXII, 1926, 49; Gy. Moravcsik: *Szent István-Emlékkönyv* (Memorial volume for St. Stephen), I, Bp., 1938, 419). According to János Harmatta "the word spondilla presumably derives from the Greek word *spondaules*, meaning a musician who plays music at sacrifices. . . The classical Latin *spondaulia* or *spondalia* originates from that, and this may have been the origin of *spondilla* as used in vulgar Latin in the province to denote a lower-ranking official of the Jewish synagogue, who provided musical accompaniment at sacrifices" (*Intercisa*, I, Bp., 1954, 216). Later F. Fülep proved the derivation in detail ('New Remarks on the Question of the Jewish Synagogue at Intercisa', *AAH*, XVIII, 1966, 93–4). J. Fitz accepted both the reading and the explanation (*Les Syriens à Intercisa*, Bruxelles, 1972, 187), and so did B. Lifshitz (*Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions par Frey*, I, New York, 1975, Prolegomenon, 59–60), but he adds: "The author of the dedication was a precentor in the synagogue, but this office is not attested in the Jewish communities". E.J. Bickerman writes that not "in the whole range of rabbinical information is there any hint at Jewish sacrifices performed away from the Temple in the Graeco-Roman age" (*op. cit.*, 160–1). However, by the 3rd century sacrifices were no longer made by Jews anywhere, and it seems to be an exaggeration to speak of music at a modest religious service in a simple synagogue of the Diaspora such as the one at Intercisa would have been. The word still awaits an explanation. We continue to assume it is a place-name. Fülep gives the following transcription: "spondilla synag(ogae) Iudeor(um)."

Same line: a(rchi)synag(ogus): this reading was first suggested by I. Löw (*Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, III, 1935, No. 3, 107; quoted by Ferenc Fülep, without making use of the suggestion in his own reading: *Intercisa*, I, Bp., 1954, 216). This is the Greek equivalent of **ראש הכנסת** (*Joma* vii, 1). Cf. S. Krauss: *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin-Vienna, 1922, 442, s.v. archisynagoge; E.L. Sukenik: *HUCA*, XXIII, 2, 1950/51, 544, 545, 550; S.D. Schwartzman: *HUCA*, XXIV, 1952/53, 118; *Biblica*, XXXV, 1954, 140; M.F. Squarciapino: *Scritti in Memoria di Attilio Milano*, Città di Castello, 1970, 183–91; S.J.D. Cohen: *JQR*, LXXII, 1981, 13.



Inscription 4

SECOND HALF OF THE 3RD CENTURY

It has been assumed that the persons recorded on the following gravestones were members of the Jewish community at Intercisa. The stones bear no Jewish symbols or any reference to Jewish origin or membership in the Jewish community; their Jewish origin is indicated only by their Hebrew names. Based on these names, F. Fülep has demonstrated the presence of a Jewish diaspora in Intercisa (*Intercisa*, I, 217), while S.M. Stern remarks: "Nevertheless it seems to me that the names in question are (or can be) Syrian Aramaic rather than Hebrew, so that there is no specific evidence to show that their bearers were Jews." (*Jewish Chronicle*, July 7, 1961).

The left-hand fragment of the inscription on one of the gravestones informs us that M. Aurelius Malchias, who was a member of the 2nd Auxiliary Legion and became a procuratorial outrider, erected a gravestone for someone, presumably his father, who bore one name only, Mocur, and although not a Roman citizen, was the standard-bearer of the Emesa cohort, and for his mother, Pulchra. Malchias, with his biblical and indeed godly name, was a Jew (he must have followed his mother's faith, as his father does not seem to have been a Jew). As a Roman citizen he was transferred to the 2nd Auxiliary Legion in Aquincum, while his parents remained in Intercisa. But he wished to be placed in the family vault after death.

4.

M· AVR· MALC[H]IA . . .
 LEG· II· ADI· STRAT· OFF . . .
 MOCVR· SIGNIFER C . . .
 HEMES· Q· V· ANN· LV . . .
 5 PVLCHRA VXO . . . IP . . .
 FVENTISSIM . . .

M. Aur. Malc[h]ia[s mil(es)]
 leg(ionis) II. adi(utricis) strat(or) off(icii) [co(n)s(ularis)]
 Mocur signifer c[oh(ortis) (mill.)]
 Hemes(enorum) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(is) LV [Aur.?)

5 Pulchra uxō[r] ip[s]ius
 (pi)entissim[a posuit]



Stone 5

M. Aurelius Malc[h]ia[s],
[a soldier] of the 2nd Auxiliary Legion, outrider of the [consular] office,
to Mocur, the standard-bearer of the Emesa r[egiment],
who lived 55 years, to [Aur.?)

⁵ Pulchra, his most devoted wife,
[he has erected].

Discovered c. 1890 on the Szitányi estate at Dunapentele.

Height: 40 cm; width: 60 cm; thickness: 14 cm.

It was destroyed while in the First District Grammar School in Budapest.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: R. Fröhlich: *AE*, X, 1890, 231–2, No. 32; *CIL*, III, 10315; E. Mahler: *AE*, XXV, 1905, 232; B. Kuzsinszky: *MKE*, II, 1908, 86–7; F. Fülep: *Intercisa*, I, 236, No. 17; in the German edition: 280, No. 17; A. Scheiber: *JQR*, NS, XLV, 1954–5, 195–6.

References: J. Szilágyi: *MM*, II, 1947, 11; G. Radan: *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 272.

Photographs: *MKE*, II, 1908, 86, Plate 15; *Intercisa*, Plate XLV, Fig. 3; *JQR*, NS, XLV, 1954–5, Fig. 2, between pp. 196 and 197.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Mal[c]hia[s]: the biblical מלכיה (I. Chronicles vi. 23; ix. 12), see R. Fröhlich: *AE*, X, 1890, 231. מלכיהו appears on two seals and in an ostrakon letter from Arad (A. Reifenberg: *IEJ*, IV, 1954, 140; N. Avigad: *Eretz-Israel*, XII, Jerusalem, 1975, 67, 75). Μαλχιας, Μαλχαιος (F. Preisigke: *op. cit.*, 523), as well as the forms Μαλχιον and Μαλχιων (H. Wuthnow: *op. cit.*, 70) belong here. E. Mahler (*AE*, XXV, 1905, 232) and J. Szilágyi (*MM*, II, 1947, 11) read it as Malcihia. This latter reading would obscure the Jewish character.

Line 6: *fuentissim[a]*: this makes no sense at all. It is a mistake made in the chiselling, and should definitely be read as *pietissima*. B. Kuzsinszky (*MKE*, II, 1908, 87) interpreted it this way.



Inscription 5

SECOND HALF OF THE 3RD CENTURY

The niche of the gravestone contains a half-length portrait of a man, two women and two little girls. On the bar between the relief and the inscription there is a sacrificial scene. As the text shows, Germanius Valens, a soldier in the Emesa regiment, raised the stone in memory of his wife Baracha, her two daughters (the four-year-old Aurelia Germanila and the two-year-old Aurelia Germanilla), his mother Immosta, and himself. As her name clearly shows, his wife was Jewish.

5.

D · M ·
 AVRELIAE BARACHAE · IXIT
 ANN · XXXV ET AVRHL · GER
 MA[N]ILAE VIXIT
 5 ANN · IIII ET ALTERA
 FILIA AVRELIA GER
 MANILLA VI . . . ANN ·
 II ET IMMOSTAE MATRI SV
 E VIXIT ANN · LX GERMAN
 10 IVS VALENS MIL · COH · (X) HEM
 ES · VXORI ET MATRI ET FI
 LIIS POSVIT ET SIBI VIVIVS FE
 CIT

D(is) M(anibus)
 Aureliae Barachae [v]ixit
 ann. XXXV et Aurel. Ger
 ma[n]ilae vixit
 5 ann. IIII et altera
 filia Aurelia Ger
 manilla vi[xit] ann.
 II et Immostae matri su(a)
 e vixit ann. LX. German

¹⁰ ius Valens mil. coh. (mill.) Hem
es(enorum) uxori et matri et fi
liis posuit et sibi v(iv)us fe
cit

To the gods of death.
To Aurelia Baracha, who lived
35 years and Aurelia Ger-
manila, who lived
⁵ 4 years and his other
daughter, Aurelia Ger-
manilla, who lived 2 years
and his mother, Immosta,
who lived 60 years, Germa-
¹⁰ nius Valens, soldier of the Hemesa regiment,
for his wife and mother and
daughters has erected this, and for himself even during his life
has made it.

Discovered c. 1905 in Károly Tiszuczky's vineyard at Dunapentele.
Height: 193 cm; width: 90 cm; thickness: 17 cm.
Now in the Hungarian National Museum.
Inventory No. 22/1905, 12.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: E. Mahler: *AE*, XXV, 1905, 225-6, No. 4; F. Fülep: *Intercisa*, I, 236, No. 19; in the German edition: 281, No. 19; A. Scheiber: *JQR*, NS, XLV, 1954-5, 196.

References: J. Hampel: *AE*, XXVI, 1906, 270; XXVII, 1907, 314; G. Radan: *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 272.

Photographs: *AE*, XXVI, 1906, 267, Plate XX; *Intercisa*, I, Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 4; *JQR*, NS, XLV, 1954-5, Fig. 3 between pp. 196 and 197; *AAH*, XXV, 1973, Fig. 6.

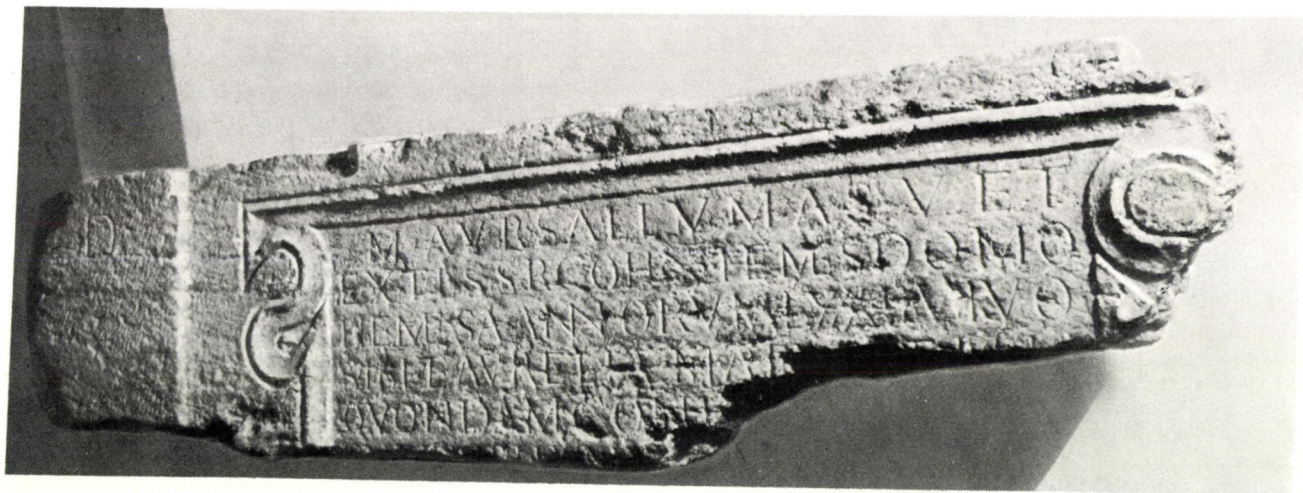
REMARKS:

Line 1: D. M: See remarks on Inscription No. 7.

Line 2: Barachae: from the biblical **בִּרְכָה** (I Chronicles, xii, 3), where it is a man's name. Its Greek form, *Βαρχαχος*, also appears as a man's name (H. Wuthnow: *op. cit.*, 33). Later the name was usually given to women. In the 15th century it occurs in Palermo as a man's name: Bracha Sacerdotus—Berakha ha-Kohen (E. Ashtor: *HUCA*, L, 1979, 246). See J. Nacht: **סמלי אשה**, Tel Aviv, 1959, 61. Its Aramaic form, Baricha ("blessed") and its Latin equivalent, *Benedicta*, also occur in inscriptions (Frey: *CIJ*, I, 338, No. 459; 572, No. 70*). E. Mahler erroneously read Baracea (*AE*, XXV, 1905, 226), and so the inscription was not classed as Jewish.

SECOND HALF OF THE 3RD CENTURY

The upper fragment of the façade of a sarcophagus. M. Aurelius Sallumas originating from Emesa and a veteran of the Emesa regiment, raised it in memory of himself, his mother Aurelia and his former wife. The Jewish origin of the veteran military clerk is indicated by his biblical name.



Inscription 6

6.

D·
M· AVR· SALLVMAS· VET
EX· TESSR· COH· (X) HEMES· DOMO
HEMESA· ANNORVM· LXXXII VIVO
5 SIBI· ET· AVRELIAE MAT... T....
QVONDAM CONI...
....NV....

D(is) [M](anibus)
M. Aur. Sallumas vet.
ex tess(er)ar(ario) coh. (mill.) Hemes(enorum) domo
Hemesa annorum LXXXII vivo
5 sibi et Aureliae mat[ri]... [e]t....
quondam coni(ugi)...
.... nv

To the gods [of death]
M. Aur. Sallumas, a veteran military clerk
of the Emesa regiment, of Emesan
origin, 82 years old, for himself
5 in his lifetime and for his moth[er], Aurelia...[an]d
to his former wife...
.....

Discovered c. 1874, in the vineyard of Gáspár Farkas at Dunapentele.
Height: 40 cm; width: 150 cm; thickness: 12 cm.
Now in the Hungarian National Museum.
Inventory No. 154/1874,4.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: F. Römer: *AK*, X, 1876, 45–6, No. XXXV; T. Ortvy: *AK*, 123, No. 20; *CIL*, III, 10318; F. Fülep: *Intercisa*, I, 250, No. 133; in the German edition: 298–9, No. 133; A. Scheiber: *JQR*, NS, XLV, 1954–5, 197.

References: J. Hampel: *AE*, XXVI, 1906, 223, 224; G. Radan: *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 272.

Photographs: *Intercisa*, I, Plate LII, Fig. 3; *JQR*, NS, XLV, 1954–5, Fig. 4 between pp. 196 and 197.

REMARKS:

Line 1: D. [M.]: see remarks on Inscription 7.

Line 2: Sallumas: the name Sallum was given to several biblical characters (Gesenius and Buhl: *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, Leipzig, 1921, 831). It also occurs in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (E.G. Kraeling: *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven, 1953, 307). So the identification with the name Salmas is incorrect (A. Kerényi: *A dáciai személynevek* (Dacian personal names), Bp., 1941, 187, No. 2168).⁴¹

SIKLÓS

The gravestone itself is missing, but the text was written down by a humanist who lived at the time of King Matthias and is referred to as Antiquus in his work: *Monumenta in Ungaria reperta ex codice Venetorum legati*. The work has survived in four codices. In it the author mentions Soklos [*sic*] as the place of discovery. According to S. Krausz, the stone could have come from the main camp at Aquincum, as the author mentions it among inscriptions from Tétény and Solymár,⁴² and so Soklos should be looked for somewhere in that region. Gy. Gábor identifies the place with Siklós.⁴³

The latter supposition seems the more probable. Pécs (Sopianae) was an important traffic junction in Roman times, one through which the road from Eszék (Mursa) to Szombathely (Savaria) led. The environs of Pécs itself was a Roman settlement, although it gained significance only later. Ammianus Marcellinus reports that the Carpathian people who had been rounded up on the eastern slope of the Carpathian Mountains and admitted into the Empire were resettled here under Diocletian. He remarks that the resettlement was to provide a better defence for the province,⁴⁴ and the cultivation of the many large estates also called for labour.⁴⁵ The stone the humanist writer saw might have been dragged away from Pécs, but it might have originated from Siklós itself, which also has Roman relics: a late Roman stone sarcophagus contained in the fortifications to the gate of Siklós Castle along with three octagonal stone shafts. As local finds they bear out the fact that Siklós was inhabited during Roman times. Perhaps the location of Serena, mentioned by Anonymus, should also be sought here, since the main road towards Pécs passed through.⁴⁶

BEGINNING OF THE 3RD CENTURY

D · M
 SEPTIM(I)AE · MARIAE
 IVDEAE · QVAE VIXIT
 ANNIS · XVII · ACTIA
 5 SABINILLA · MATER

D(is) M(anibus)
 Septim(i)ae Mariae
 Jud(a)eae quae vixit
 annis XVIII Actia
 5 Sabinilla mater

To the gods of death.
 To Septim(i)a Maria,
 a Jewess who lived
 18 years, Actia
 5 Sabinilla, her mother.

Dimensions unknown.

The stone has not survived, and is known only from a literary source.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: Antiquus: *Monumenta in Ungaria reperta ex codice Venetorum legati*, No. 30; *CIL*, III, 3688; S. Krausz: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1902, 295–8; J. Oehler: *MGWJ*, LIII, 1909, 449, No. 210; Frey: *CIJ*, I, 490, No. 678; J. Schweitzer: *A pécsi izraelita hitközség története* (History of the Jews in Pécs), Bp., 1966, 11; G. Radan: *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 273.

References: Gy. Gábor: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1931, 149–51; A. Alföldi: *Budapest az ókorban* (Budapest in antiquity), I, Bp., 1942, 316.

No photograph exists.



Amulet

REMARKS:

Line 1: "D. M." is rare in Jewish inscriptions; here it is an automatic adoption of the petrified pagan form, but it is also possible that a pagan mother erected the gravestone to her Jewish daughter.

Line 2: Septim(i)ae: in all previous text publications it is given as Septimae, which is incorrect. It refers to the rule of Septimius Severus (193–211).

Same line: Maria: the Graeco-Latin transcription of the Hebrew מַרְיָם. It appears as Μαρία (B. Lifshitz: *Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions par Frey*, I, New York, 1975, Prolegomenon 78, No. 694b). It also figures in the forms Μαριαμ (F. Preisigke: *op. cit.*, 523) and Μαριαμη (H. Wuthnow: *op. cit.*, 73).

Line 5: Sabinilla: Oehler erroneously writes Sabillinea.

PÉCS

(Sopianae)

In 1982 the museologist Zsuzsa Katona Győr discovered a late Roman cemetery in Pécs.

RING

4TH CENTURY

In the 92nd grave she found a sea-blue glass ring, with a seven-branched Menorah protruding on the top. The presence of the Jews is thus demonstrable at this point of the above described route too. The missing link has been discovered. We present its description and photograph with the permission of the discoverer.

Discovered in 1982 on the site of 3 Székesfehérvár utca, Pécs.

Height: 21 mm; diameter of the ring: 22 mm; diameter of the top: 11 mm; height of the Menorah: 8 mm.

Now in the Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Reference: Zs. Katona Győr: *MIOK Évkönyve* (MIOK Yearbook) 1983/84 (in print).



Ring

DOMBÓVÁR

In February 1968, a brick grave dating from the Roman period was found to the left of Highway 61 in Dombóvár. The finds have been taken to the Béri Balogh Ádám Museum in Szekszárd. The excavations were led by Mária M. Albeker, who reported on them in a valuable study.⁴⁷

AMULET

END OF THE 4TH CENTURY

In the third grave there lay the skeleton of a child, with a lead amulet beside it. The obverse of the amulet is decorated with a line of dots running around the edge. In the middle there is an angular three-legged Menorah, with a shofar to the right and a lulab to the left. The border ornament on the reverse corresponds to that on the obverse. The surface is badly damaged, but two spread palm leaves can be distinguished.

The object is undoubtedly a Jewish relic. The territory lies along the road from Pécs (Sopianae) through Sárvár (Tricciana) to Győr (Arrabona). It dates from between 375 and 380. No previous traces of Jews had been found in the neighbourhood.

Discovered in 1968 in Dombóvár.

Diameter: 3.1 cm; thickness: 0.1 cm.

Now in the Béri Balogh Ádám Museum, Szekszárd.

Inventory No. 77. 65. 4.

LITERATURE:

References: E. Thomas: *op. cit.*, 24; M.M. Albeker: 'Késő római kori temető Dombóváron' (The late Roman cemetery at Dombóvár), *AÉ*, CV, 1978, 66, 75; A. Scheiber: 'A zsidók újabb nyomai Pannoniában' (Recent traces of the Jews in Pannonia), *ÚÉ*, XXXIV, 1979, No. 19; *idem*: *Yigael Yadin Jubilee Volume*. Oxford, 1982, 495; J. Schweitzer-M. Szilágyi: *A Tolna megyei zsidók története* (History of the Jews in Tolna County), Budapest, 1982, 9.

Photographs: E. Thomas: *op. cit.*, 24; *AÉ*, CV, 1978, 73; *Yigael Yadin Jubilee Volume*, 498.



Lucern

SZOMBATHELY

(Savaria)

On the site of Szombathely, there was a Roman settlement of an urban character called Savaria. The amber road ran across the western part of Pannonia and was long known to the traders of northern Italy. Amber reached the ancient world along that route through barter trading for industrial goods. The road started from Aquileia, and linked the Baltic Sea and the source of the Vistula with Italy. After the conquest of Pannonia, it became the principal military road for the Roman troops. As early as the first half of the 1st century A.D. Roman settlements were set up along it, at Emona (Ljubljana), Poetovio (Ptuj), Scarbantia (Sopron) and Carnuntum (Deutschaltenburg). In the middle of the 1st century, Savaria (Szombathely) joined the line; it may have taken its name from the river Savarus.⁴⁸ Savaria steadily grew into one of the centres for trade radiating northwards from Italy. From the end of the 3rd century it was the capital of Pannonia Prima, and the seat of the *praeses*, the governor of the province. Syrian traders and veteran soldiers of Syrian extraction appeared here around that time, and introduced the worship of the Syrian Iuppiter Dolichenus to the town. The Isis cult is also linked with the immigration of eastern people, an occurrence tellingly documented by the Isis temple (Iseum) which has been excavated here.

Jews must have come to the town among the Syrians, and their presence is demonstrated by two relics which we mention here for the sake of completeness, although neither bears an inscription.

LUCERN

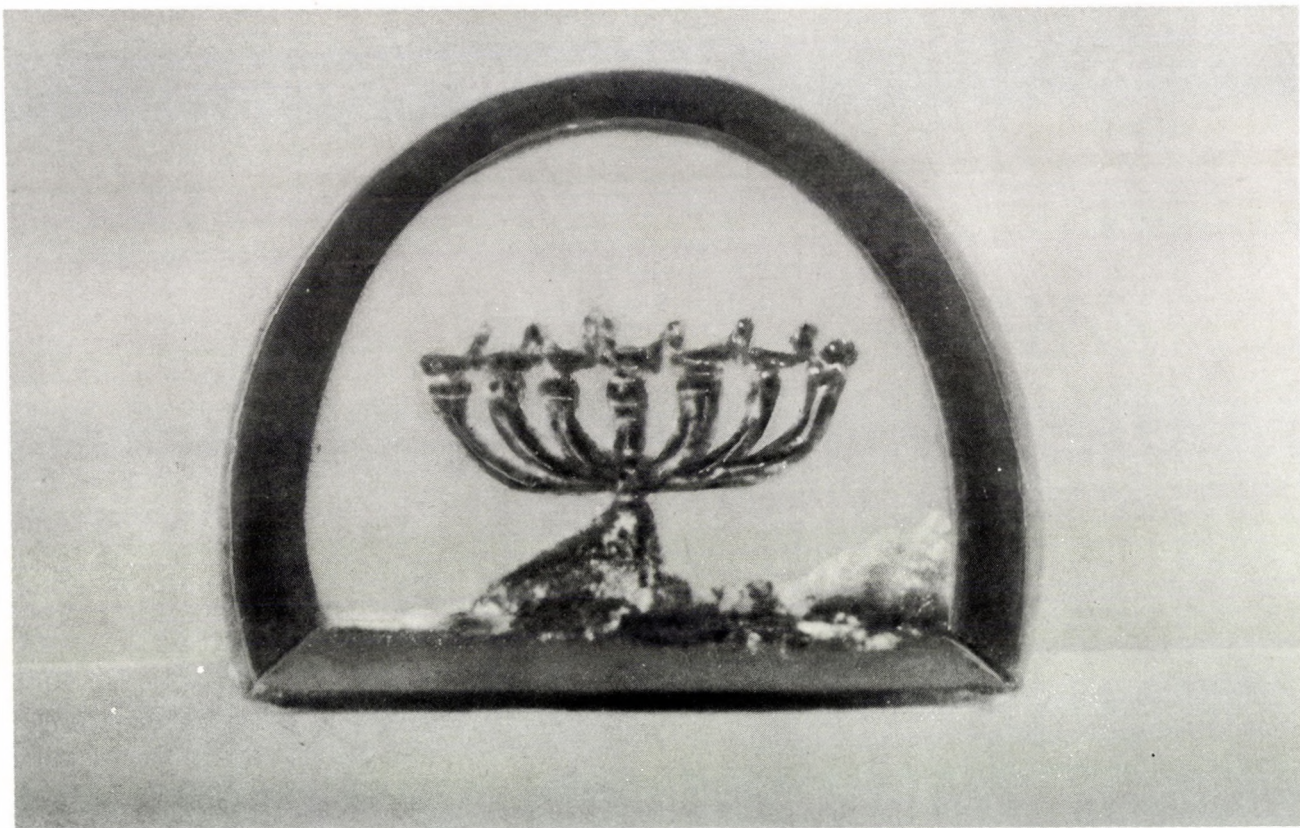
The first object is a lucern made of fired red clay. The disc of its cover displays a seven-branched Menorah in bas relief, with palm branches (*lulabš*) to the right and left. It conforms with the type of lucern common in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁴⁹

Discovered in Szombathely at an unknown date.

Height: 11 cm; width: 8 cm; thickness: 4 cm.

Now in the Savaria Museum at Szombathely.

Inventory No. 26.



Gem

LITERATURE:

References: S. Büchler: *A zsidók története Budapesten* (History of the Jews in Budapest), Bp., 1901, 13; Gy. Gábor: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1931, 153–4; D. Iványi: *A pannoniai mécsesek* (Die Pannonischen Lampen—The Pannonian Lucernae), Bp., 1935, 106, No. 986; S. Büchler: *MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 207; Frey: *CJJ*, I, 490; L. Nagy: 'Pannonia Sacra' in *Szent István-Emlékkönyv* (St. Stephen memorial volume), I, Bp., 1938, 96–7; N. Katzburg: *Hungarian Jewish Historiography* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1957, 24; E.B. Thomas: 'Savaria Christiana'. *A 200 éves Szombathelyi Egyházmegye Emlékkönyve* (Memorial volume for the 200th anniversary of the Diocese of Szombathely), Szombathely, 1977, 47; *idem: Pannonia*, V, 1977, Nos. 3–4, 24.

Photographs: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1931, 153; *Die Pannonischen Lampen. Tafeln*, Bp., 1935, XL, 5; *Szent István-Emlékkönyv*, I, Bp., 1938, 97; *Ararat Évkönyv... az 1939... évre*, Bp., 1939, 90 (with faulty inscription); *Savaria Christiana*, 48; *Pannonia*, 25; *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Bp., 1980, CXXXV. 2.

GEM

The second object is a gem of blue stone, showing a Menorah in bas-relief. Even the flames can be seen on top of the branches.

Discovered in Szombathely at an unknown date.

Height: 1.5 cm; width: 1.2 cm; thickness: ?

It disappeared from the Savaria Museum in Szombathely after 1944.

Inventory No. 5476485.

LITERATURE:

References: Gy. Gábor: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1931, 154; N. Katzburg: *Hungarian Jewish Historiography* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1957, 24; E.B. Thomas: 'Savaria Christiana,' 47; *idem: Pannonia*, 24.

Photographs: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1931, 154; *Savaria Christiana*, 47.

OSIJEK-ESZÉK

(Mursa)

In the second half of the 2nd century A.D. Mursa was the seat of the procurator of Pannonia Inferior. Under the Severus dynasty a good many Syrian tradesmen went to Mursa, where they spread their oriental cults (M. Bulat and D. Pinterović: *Osječki Zbornik*, XIII, 1971, 115).



Inscription 8

In the 1930s, a stone slab broken into two pieces was found in Osijek. According to the reading of H. Comfort, a professor of Haverford College, the problematic word fragment *seucham* can be completed as *proseucham*. This allows one to suppose that during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian there was a Jewish community in Mursa: by the beginning of the 3rd century their synagogue was in decay and had to be reconstructed. G. Radan has two reservations about this theory: "We have to mention that the meaning of the word *proseucha* does not relate unequivocally to synagogues . . . Besides this it is not likely that a Jewish community existed under Hadrian."

"Eine kleine DEO AETERNO von dem Freigelassenen Eutyth(ianus) geweihte Ara . . . wurde auf einem Platz schon ausserhalb der Mauern des einstigen Mursa gefunden" (D. Pinterović: *Mursa*, Osijek, 1978, 205, XXX, 1.).

8.

SECOND HALF OF THE 2ND CENTURY

PP
 RTINACIS
 AUGG
 RORUM
 5 NDUS
 SEUCHAM
 STATE
 LO

[Pro salute im]p(eratorum)
 [L(ucii) Sept(imii) Severi Pe]rtinacis,
 [et M(arci) Aur(elii) Antonini] Aug(ustorum)
 [et Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris cast]rorum

5 [Secu]ndus
 [. pro]seucham
 [Judaeorum? vetu]state
 [collapsam a so]lo
 [restituit]



Brick with Jewish symbols

[For the salvation of the em]perors
[Lucius Septimius Severus Pe]rtinax
[and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the] Augusti
[and Iulia Augusta mother of the cam]ps
5 [Secu]ndus
[. . . . the Sy]nagogue [of the Jews ?]
[fallen from] age
. [from the foun]dations
[has restored]

Height: 85 cm; width: 62 cm; thickness: 11 cm.

Now in the Museum of Slavonia, Osijek.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Pinterović: 'Da li je u rimskoj koloniji Mursi postojala šinagoga?', *Osječki Zbornik*, IX-X, 1965, 61-74; G. Radan: *AAH*, XXXV, 1973, 266-67; *Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions par Frey*, I, ed. B. Lifshitz, New York, 1975, Prolegomenon: 60-61, No. 678a; D. Pinterović: *Mursa i njeno područje u antičko doba. Mursa und sein Raum in der Zeit der Antike*, Osijek, 1978, 63-64. (Reviewed by J. Fitz: *Alba Regia*, XVIII, Székesfehérvár, 1980, 346.).

References: D. Pinterović: *Mursa*, Osijek, 1978, 205.

Photographs: *Osječki Zbornik*, IX-X, 1965, 75; *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 267; *Mursa*, Plate XIII. 1.

ČELAREVO- CSÉB

(Ciglana)

Since 1972, excavations have been going on along the southern Pannonian reach of the Danube at Ciglana, near the village of Čelarevo, 20 km from Novi Sad (Újvidék). There 263 graves have been excavated, dating from the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th. Fragments of more than 80 Roman bricks have been found in the graves, with Jewish symbols: Menorahs, etrogs, candle-snuffers and ash collectors. Those may have come from the late Roman cemetery.

One fragment bears a Hebrew text, which Professor J. Naveh reads as follows:



Inscription 9

END OF THE 4TH CENTURY

יהדה רי

Jehuda, oh!

The stone stood over the grave of Jehuda.

Discovered at Ciglana after 1972.

Now in the Novi Sad Museum.

Inventory No. 110.

LITERATURE:

References: E. Thomas: *Pannonia*, V, 1977, Nos. 3–4, 24; R. Bunardžić: 'Report on the protective archaeological excavation of the medieval necropolis at the "Ciglana" locality near Čelarevo', *Grada za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine*, VIII–IX, Novi Sad, 1978–79, 53; *Exhibition. Menoroth from Čelarevo*, Beograd, 1980; A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XXXVI, 1981, No. 6; *idem: Yigael Yadin Jubilee Volume*, Oxford, 1982, 495–496.

Photographs: *Exhibition*, 153, t. XXVII, 2; *Yigael Yadin Jubilee Volume*, 499.

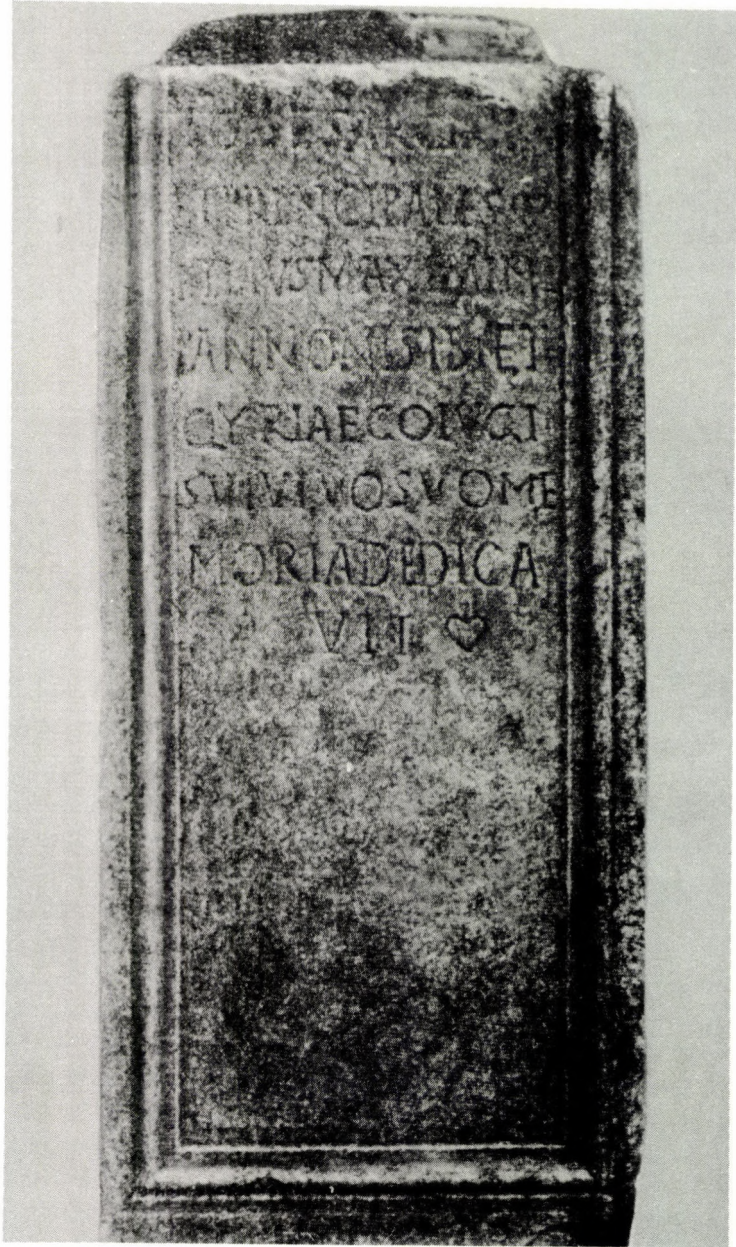
GIGEN

(Oescus)

A gravestone found in Oescus (today Gigen), a town in Moesia Inferior (Bulgaria), also has a bearing on the Pannonian Jews. The place was an urban settlement in Roman times. Trajan made it a military seat with the name of Colonia Ulpia Oescus. It was a region rich in agricultural produce, and was known for its exports. Traders were able to make use of the Danube for navigation. The town must have possessed all the institutions of urban administration usual for the *colonia*.

The Jews may have settled in Moesia even in Trajan's time, and the first Jewish community may have been founded at Nicopolis, after the victory over the Dacians (105–107 A.D.). As this inscription bears out, there was a Jewish community at Oescus as well.

The inscription speaks of one Joses, who erected a sepulchral monument to his wife Kyria and to himself. Joses was an *archisynagogus*, i.e. chairman of the community and a *principalis*. The latter title denotes a high post either in the army or the town administration. The latter explanation seems the more probable, as a military dignitary could hardly have been head of the synagogue.



Inscription 10

So he held a double office, as Cosmius did in Intercisa, who was at once *archisynagogus Judaeorum* and *praepositus stationis* (Inscription 3). The father of Joses was Maximinus Pannonus,⁵⁰ which indicates he originated from Pannonia. One would suppose he was named Maximinus after the Emperor Maximinus Thrax (235–238), a frequent practice among the Jews. The Emperor was born near where the inscription was found, and for a time lived in Pannonia. Accordingly Joses's father was born between 235 and 238 in Pannonia, and from there moved to Moesia Inferior, where he settled in Oescus. The father has a Latin name, the son a Hebrew one (with a Greek ending). According to M. Schwabe, this may indicate that the son was born in Moesia, as Pannonia was more Romanized than the eastern provinces of the Balkans.⁵¹ This is contradicted by the Aquincum stone already discussed (No. 2), where something similar occurs: the father's name is Latin, the son's Hebrew. The Greek name of Joses's wife (*Κυρία*), and the last three letters in the word *archisynagogos*, which are written in Greek, prove that Greek influence had reached Moesia, partly from the seacoast to the east and partly from Macedonia to the south. It also bears witness to the bilingualism of the Jews (Latin and Greek) and their dual culture, evident also from the stones from Esztergom (No. 1) and Aquincum (No. 2).

The gravestone Maximinus's son Joses erected for his wife may have been carved in the first half of the 4th century. The father must certainly be counted as a Pannonian Jew.

The inscription takes up the upper part of the stone; the larger, lower part is empty.⁵²

10.

FIRST HALF OF THE 4TH CENTURY

IOSES ARCISINA ΓΟC
 ET PRINCIPALES
 FILIVS MAXIMINI
 PANNONI SIBI ET
 5 QVRIAE COIVGI
 SVI VIVO SVO ME
 MORIA DEDICA
 VIT

Ioses arcisina[go]γος
et principales
filius Maximini
Pannoni sibi et
5 Qyriae co(n)iugi
sui vivo suo me-
moria dedica-
vit

Joses, the president of the synagogue
and principalis,
the son of Maximinus
of Pannonia, has for himself and
5 for his wife, Qyria,
consecrated
a memorial
during his own lifetime.

Discovered before 1906 in Gigen (Bulgaria).
Height: 96 cm; width: 40 cm; thickness: 34 cm.
Now in the Sofia Archaeological Museum.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: S. Mézan: *Jüdisches Lexikon*, IV, Berlin, 1930, 619; M. Schwabe: *ידענות החברה העברית לחקירת ארץ ישראל ועתיקותיה*, II, 1935, Nos. 3–4, 19–25; Frey: *CIJ*, I, 492, No. 681; A. Dobó: *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes*, Bp., 1940, 40, No. 196; G. Radan: *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 273–4; E. B. Thomas: *Pannonia*, V, 1977, Nos. 3–4, 24.

References: S. Mézan: *Enc. Jud.*, IV, Berlin, 1929, 1190; A. Gráf: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1939, 246; Marko S. Mirč: *Jevrejski Almanah*, 1957–1958, Beograd, [1957], 50; V. Tamir: *Bulgaria and Her Jews*, New York, 1979, 3–4.

Photographs: *Enc. Jud.*, VII, Berlin, 1931, 615; *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 274, Fig. 8; *Pannonia*, V, 1977, Nos. 3–4, 24; V. Tamir: *op. cit.*, in the appendix after p. 158.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Ioses: the Talmudic יוֹסֵי with the Greek ending (Ἰωσηϛ). See F. Preisigke: *op. cit.*, 522; H. Wuthnow: *op. cit.*, 60. It also appears in the form Ἰωσηη, which is an exact Greek transcription of the Hebrew יוֹסֵי (Frey: *CIJ*, II, 6, No. 735).

Same line: arcisina [go]γoc: see remark on Inscription No. 3. A. Dobó reads it as "... io Sesarcinao", and S. Mézan as "Arcisinao". The last three letters are by a later hand. See B. Lifshitz: *Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions par Frey*, New York, 1975, Prolegomenon: 63, No. 681.

Line 2: principales: would correctly be "principalis".

Line 3: Maximini: the name Maximinus does not feature in other Jewish inscriptions, although its female form, Maximina, occurs once (H.W. Beyer and H. Lietzmann: *Die jüdische Katakomben der Villa Torlonia in Rom*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, 38, No. 51; Frey: *CIJ*, I, 42, No. 70).

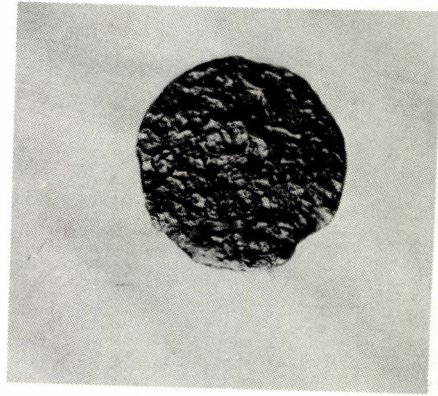
Line 5: Qyriae: a transcription of the Greek Κυρία (lady) into Latin letters. It was obviously taken from the Greek translation of the Aramaic words מרתה, מרתה. Lady Νεβία Κυρία features in a Roman catacomb (Beyer and Lietzmann: *op. cit.*, 35, No. 41; Frey: *CIJ*, I, 32, No. 47). It also occurs as an adjective, e.g. קירא מרים, and its Latin text: Kyra Maries (Frey: *CIJ*, I, 474-5, No. 661; F. Cantera and J.M. Millás: *Las Inscripciones Hebraicas de España*, Madrid, 1956, 270-3, No. 198). Most recently it emerged in Bet Shearim as קירה מגה (N. Avigad: *Israel Exploration Journal*, IX, 1959, 209). On some Israeli mosaic flagstones: קירה (J. Naveh: *על פסיפס ואבן*, Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, 1978, 54, No. 32; 60, No. 34). In Ketubbot (M. A. Friedman: *Jewish Marriage in Palestine*, I, Tel Aviv-New York, 1980, 116).

Line 6: sui: correctly "suae".

Same line: suo: correctly "se".

Line 7: memoria: correctly "memoriam".

Line 8: vit: is followed by an ornament to fill up the line, in the shape of a heart or a leaf.



Bar Kochba coin 4/1940-17

SZŐNY
(Brigetio)

In 1940, a Bar Kochba coin was retrieved from a grave under a Roman villa some 30 metres from the camp-wall, on the eastern side of the legionary camp at Brigetio (today Szőny).⁵³ After the joint cremation of several bodies, the ashes and objects had been put into this grave, where the remaining heat somewhat melted the medal. It is now preserved in the Hungarian National Museum (Inventory No. 4/1940–17). It is identical with coin 204/a described by Reifenberg.⁵⁴

The medal does not prove there was a Jewish settlement here, but it is important for Jewish history. It bears out that a detachment of the Legio I Adiatrix stationed in Brigetio took part in the war against Bar Kochba between 132 and 135. One of the legionaries might have brought it from there as a keepsake or amulet.

Forty years ago, B. Kohlbach presented some Jewish coins in the Hungarian National Museum, eight Bar Kochba coins among them.⁵⁵ His catalogue gives no provenance for the individual pieces. It has occurred to me that some of them may have come from Pannonia.

One of my students, I. Kertész, has investigated the accession journal at my request, and states that one of the pieces is certainly of Hungarian origin. The place where the coin bearing the location mark 41/1892–16 was found was Ószőny. The obverse shows a vineleaf, with the inscription: "The 2nd year of Israel's freedom". The reverse has a palm, with two clusters hanging from it, and bearing the inscription: "Simon". It tallies with Item 200 in A. Reifenberg's book.⁵⁶ This means that so far two Bar Kochba coins have been found in Brigetio, which cannot be accidental.

Other information also indicates that the Pannonian legions took part in suppressing Bar Kochba's war of independence.

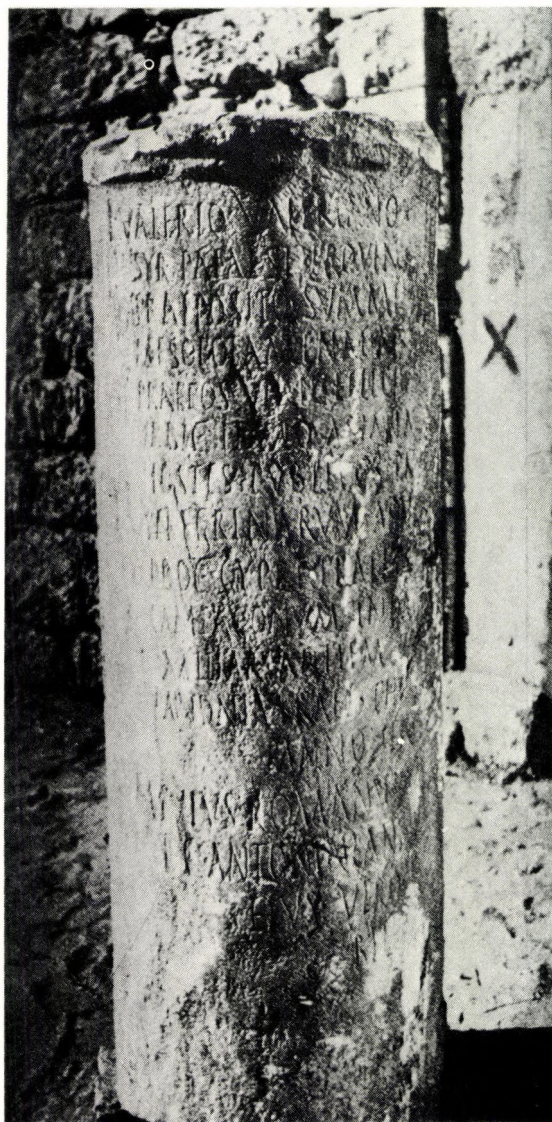
1. A gravestone has been found at Brigetio to the memory of the 34-year-old P. Aelius Mercator of Caesarea: "P. Ael. Mercatori immuni Caeriarensi"⁵⁷ (to be read Caesariensi). Although there were several Caesareas at that time, and there were Syrians in Brigetio (particularly from Emesa), on the basis of the above Bar Kochba coin one can assume the reference is to the Caesarea in Palestine. The person in question, who gained Roman citizenship during the time of Hadrian and therefore took the *gentilicium* Hadrian's, could have come from Palestine to Brigetio with the 1st Auxiliary Legion. Naturally there is nothing to prove he was a Jew.



Bar Kochba coin 41/1892-16



Gravestone of Aelius Silvanus in Aquincum



Stone pillar with the "cursus honorum" of Lucius Valerius Valerianus, Caesarea (Israel)

2. In the same way, a detachment of the Legio II Adiutrix of Aquincum could also have taken part in the campaign against Bar Kochba, as the following gravestone in Aquincum shows:⁵⁸

“D(is) M(anibus) Ael(io) Silvano (centurio) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) domo Syria Palaestina Coloniae Capitolina(e) stip(endiorum) LXI qui vixit an(nos) LXXXVI Ael(ia) Silvana filia et heres patri c[ar]jissi(mo) per Ael(ium) Filoquir[um] ? f. c.]”

The translation is as follows:

“To the death gods of Aelius Silvanus, centurion of the 2nd Auxiliary Legion, who is a native of Syria-Palestine, Colonia Capitolina, served 61 years, and lived for 86 years, Aelia Silvana, his daughter and heiress [had this sepulchral monument made] to her dearest father, by Aelius Filoquir[us?]. . .”

Silvanus originated from Jerusalem (which after 135 was called Aelia Capitolina) and also took his name after Hadrian. He was obviously granted Roman citizenship by Hadrian or during his reign, after the defeat of the Bar Kochba revolt as a reward for having joined the Legio II Adiutrix when it was camping in Palestine. With that legion he went to Aquincum, where he then spent his long military service. Filoquirus was his slave, and later his *libertus* (freedman), whom he might have brought along with him from his own country.

3. Two of Hadrian's Cistophorus coins have been found in Hungary. These too may have been brought to Pannonia by legionaries as souvenirs after the successful conclusion of the hostilities against Bar Kochba,⁵⁹ since the coins only circulated in Asia Minor and neighbouring provinces, and had no purchasing power elsewhere.

4. Recently a sarcophagus has been found in the courtyard of the Óbuda synagogue. The inscription, in Greek and Latin, commemorates a man from Jerusalem. The sarcophagus is now in the Aquincum Museum, and a publication of the text is being prepared by Tibor Nagy. See I. Bilkei: ‘Die griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns’, *Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis*, XVII, Székesfehérvár, 1979. 42.

5. The data listed so far refer to relics found in Hungary. But an inscription found in Samaria bears out that several *vexillationes* from Upper Pannonia were really in Palestine around that time:

“I. o. m. mil(itēs) v[e]xi[l(lationis)] coh(ortium) Pa(nnoniae) sup(erioris) cives Sisc(ii) <et> Varcian(i) et Latobici sacrum fecer(unt).”⁶⁰

These units erected a votive tablet to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, obviously in thanksgiving for a narrow escape during the fighting.

It was known from earlier research that Pannonian units took part in suppressing Bar Kochba's war of independence.⁶¹ The data above tend to magnify the part they played and provide added proof of it. They also indicate that the war of independence had indeed shaken the Roman world if it had been necessary to call in reserves from so distant a province as Pannonia. A march of that length would have involved much trouble and time. If the Emperor's express messenger took the message requesting help to Pannonia at the beginning of the winter, the troops could not have arrived there sooner than the beginning of April.⁶² Of course, the request for help from so distant a province was also made possible by the relative calm in Pannonia, from which forces could safely be withdrawn.

In 1961, A. Negev discovered a fragment from a bluish marble pillar among the ruins of a Byzantine monastery in Caesarea. The pillar had been put to secondary use. It has now been transferred to the Archaeological Department of the Israeli Museum (No. 174).

The fragment has three inscriptions, two in Latin and one in Greek. The one of interest for us is the oldest, containing 17 lines in Latin and is almost completely intact. It was published by M. Avi-Yonah.⁶³

The inscription is a *cursus honorum*, bearing out that the career of Lucius Valerius Valerianus began in Pannonia after 176, and that in the time of Caracalla he appeared as *praepositus* of Syria-Palestine.

It can be claimed that these were the earliest contacts between the inhabitants of Pannonia and Palestine,⁶⁴ long preceding the appearance of Jews in the region.⁶⁵

LITERATURE:

A. Scheiber: *Yitzhak F. Baer Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem, 1960, 99–101; *idem*: *ÚÉ*, XXXIV, 1979, No. 19; *idem*: *The Bar-Kokhva Revolt*, ed. A. Oppenheimer, Jerusalem, 1980, 111–13; *idem*: *Yigael Yadin Jubilee Volume*, Oxford, 1982, 496–497, 499.

*

No Jewish relics have been found in Dacia. Data which have been referred to are not authentic.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, certain names (Barsimsus, Guras, Habib[is], Salmas)⁶⁷ call for thorough research work.⁶⁸

NOTES

¹ E. Ferenczy: *A magyar föld népeinek története a honfoglalásig* (History of the peoples of the land of Hungary up until the Hungarian conquest), Bp., 1958, 65–83; A. Mócsy: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London–Boston, 1974.

² Making use of the present chapter of this book, a comprehensive picture of Pannonia's Jewish relations is given by Z. Kádár: 'Die kleinasiatisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn' in *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, II, Leiden, 1962; A. Scheiber: *REJ*, CXXII, 1963, 441–2; *idem*: *DLZ*, LXXXVI, 1965, 582–4; *idem*: *The World History of the Jewish People. The Dark Ages*, Tel Aviv, 1966, 313–4, 441; G. Radan: 'Comments on the History of Jews in Pannonia', *AAH*, XXV, 1973, 265–278; E. Thomas: '“Eins ist der Gott!” Über jüdische Denkmäler der Römerzeit in Pannonien', *Pannonia*, V, 1977, Nos. 3–4, 21–4; *idem*: 'Das frühe Christentum in Pannonien im Lichte der archäologischen Funde', *Severin: Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung*, Linz, 1982, 255–293.

³ I. Elbogen: *Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1935, 11–6; M. Lowenthal: *The Jews of Germany*, Philadelphia, 1944, 1–10; J.B. Frey: *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, I, Rome–Paris, 1936, 485–6, Nos. 673–674.

⁴ J. Fitz: 'Septimius Severus pannóniai látogatása i.u. 202-ben' (Septimius Severus's visit to Pannonia in 202 A.D.), *AE*, LXXXV, 1958, 169.

⁵ L. Nagy: 'Pannonia Sacra', Szent István-Emlékkönyv (St. Stephen memorial volume), I, Bp., 1938, 139.

⁶ J. Oehler: 'Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums', *MGWJ*, LIII, 1909, 528; E. Condurachi: *REJ*, CI, 1937, 88–90; A. Gráf: *IMIT Évkönyve* (IMIT Yearbook), 1939, 240; Gy. Balázs: מבוא לחקירת עקבותיה החדשים של התישבות היהודים בפנוניה בפרט, *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, Bp., 1947, Hebrew part: 6.

⁷ On the correct form of the name see: B. Kuzsinszky: *Klebensberg-Emlékkönyv* (Jubilee volume for Klebensberg), Bp., 1925, 107–19.

⁸ D. Dercsényi and L. Zolnay: *Esztergom*, Bp., 1956, 6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰ J. Szilágyi: *Aquincum*, Bp., 1956, 90.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹² K. Wolff: *EPhK*, II, 1878, 53.

¹³ R. Fröhlich: *AE*, XI, 1891, 232–3, No. 18.

¹⁴ S. Krausz: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1904, 31.

¹⁵ A. Gráf: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1939, 242.

¹⁶ J. Szilágyi: *op. cit.*, 46, 92.

¹⁷ B. Kanael: *Die Kunst der antiken Synagoge*, Munich–Frankfurt am Main, 1961, 70.

¹⁸ A. Scheiber: *AT*, VIII, 1961, 316.

¹⁹ *CIL*, III, 10611; J. Oehler: *MGWJ*, LIII, 1909, 449, No. 211; J.-B. Frey: *CIJ*, I, Rome–Paris, 1936, 487–8, No. 675; E.R. Goodenough: 'The Menorah among Jews of the Roman World', *HUCA*, XXIII, 2, 1950–51, 456, Note 24.

²⁰ E. Munkácsi: *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, Bp., 1947, Hebrew part: 125–46. Depiction of the Menorah appears at the end of the period of the Maccabean dynasty. See B. Kanael: 'Notes on Jewish Art in the Period of the Second Temple', *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, I, 1958–9, Leiden, 1959, 65.

²¹ The text was published by Frey: *CIJ*, I, 567–8, No. 64*. J. Oehler (*MGWJ*, LIII, 1909, 449, No. 211) erroneously added the original text to the inscription with the Jewish bearing.

²² J. Szilágyi: *Intercisa*, I, Bp., 1954, VIII.

²³ L. Barkóczi: *Intercisa*, I, Bp., 1954, 37.

²⁴ Recent research assumes that the Cohors I Alpinorum equitata was not destroyed, because in 202 it continued to occupy the Kömlőd camp. The Cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum came to Intercisa in 184 as part of the reorganization carried out on the *limes*. See J. Fitz: 'Mikor került a Cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum Intercisába?' (When did the Cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum arrive in Intercisa?), *AÉ*, LXXXVI, 1959, 139–44.

²⁵ S. Klein: *Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vienna–Berlin, 1920, 81, No. 11; Frey: *CIJ*, II, 157–9, No. 972.

²⁶ *בראשית רבתי*, ed. Ch. Albeck, Jerusalem, 1940, 209.

²⁷ S. Lieberman: *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, New York, 1942, 11–2.

²⁸ S. Dubnow: *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III, Berlin, 1926, 145.

²⁹ Frey: *CIJ*, I, 458, No. 640.

³⁰ In 1958, 72 *denari* from the age of Septimius Severus was found in a pot in Felsődobos, in the northwestern corner of Fejér County. Eastern coins were hardly in use in the area, which shows their owner had brought them from the East. The Emesa impressions can be dated to 194–5. See J. Fitz: 'Septimius Severus-kori dénárlelet Mór-Felsődobosról' (A Denarius find from the period of Septimius Severus from Mór-Felsődobos), *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, LVIII–LIX, 1959–60, 16–22.

³¹ M. Schwabe: *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, II, 1935, Nos. 3–4, 24, Note 16.

³² S. Krausz: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1902, 303. Later he changed his opinion (*Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin–Vienna, 1922, 260).

³³ J. Hampel: *AÉ*, XXVI, 1906, 238.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 239. At first Sándor Büchler also doubted whether the inscription was Jewish (*A zsidók története Budapesten* (History of the Jews in Budapest), Bp., 1901, 13), but later he changed his opinion (*MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 207).

³⁵ A. Gráf: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1939, 241.

³⁶ On the meaning of synagogue cf. I. Sonne: *Tarbiz*, XXVII, 1957–8, 557–9.

³⁷ S. Klein: 'Neues zum Fremdenhaus der Synagoge', *MGWJ*, LXXVII, 1933, 81–4; Frey: *CIJ*, I, 504–7, No. 694; A. Marmorstein: 'The Synagogue of Claudius Tiberius Polycharmus in Stobi', *JQR*, NS, XXVII, 1936–7, 373–84. Information on the latest research results can be expected from the continuation of the text publication by Viktor Hoffiller and Balduin Saria (*Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien*, I, Zagreb, 1938). See M. Hengel: 'Die Synagogeinschrift von Stobi', *ZNW*, LVII, 1966, 145–83. Excavation is being continued at present. See D. Mano-Zissi: *Recueil du Musée National*, IX–X, Belgrade, 1979, 73–80; *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. L.I. Levine, Jerusalem, 1981, 167–70; J. Gutmann: *Ancient Synagogues. The State of Research*, Ann Arbor, 1981, 61.

³⁸ D. Pinterović: 'Da li je u rimskoj koloniji Mursi postojala sinagoga?' *Osječki Zbornik*, IX–X, 1965, 61–75; M. Hengel: 'Proseuche und Synagoge'. *Tradition und Glaube. Karl Georg Kuhn-Festschrift*, Göttingen, 1971 (*JJS*, XXVII, 1976, 231); P. Wexler: *REJ*, CXL, 1981, 116–7.

³⁹ A. and J. Šašel: *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963, 61–2, No. 131; R. Egger: 'Von Römern, Juden, Christen und Barbaren', *Öst. Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 247: 3 (Wien, 1965).

- ⁴⁰ P. Oliva: *Pannonia and the Onset of Crisis in the Roman Empire*, Prague, 1962, 342–3.
- ^{40a} See now Inscription 9.
- ⁴¹ The names Abbeus and Barsimia also occur in Intercisa, but they seem Syrian rather than Jewish (*Intercisa*, I, 210; 270, No. 341). On the former see H. Wuthnow: *op. cit.*, 6, on the latter: *ibid.*, 34.
- ⁴² S. Krausz: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1902, 297; so does A. Alföldi: *Budapest az ókorban* (Budapest in antiquity), I, Bp., 1942, 316.
- ⁴³ Gy. Gábor: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1931, 149–50.
- ⁴⁴ D. Dercsényi and F. Pogány: *Pécs*, Bp., 1956, 10. Most recently, see D. Simonyi's excellent study: 'Pécs "Quinque ecclesiae" nevének eredetéről' (On the origin of the name "Quinque ecclesiae" for Pécs), *AT*, VI, 1959, 87–103.
- ⁴⁵ J. Dombay's article in the volume *Baranya*, ed. J. Kolta, Pécs, 1958, 50.
- ⁴⁶ A. Kovács: *A siklósi vár* (Siklós castle), Pécs, 1957, 6.
- ⁴⁷ M. M. Albeker: 'Késő római kori temető Dombóváron' (The late Roman cemetery at Dombóvár), *AÉ*, CV, 1978, 66–77.
- ⁴⁸ Z. Kádár and L. Balla: *Savaria*, Bp., 1958, 5–6; L. Balla and Z. Kádár: 'Adatok Savaria (Szombathely) szíriai kapcsolatainak kérdéséhez' (Data on the matter of Savaria's [Szombathely's] Syrian contacts), *AT*, VI, 1959, 112–6; T. Szentlélek: *A szombathelyi Isis-szentély* (The temple of Isis at Szombathely), Bp., 1960, 26.
- ⁴⁹ Z. Avneri: *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, XXVIII, 1962, 466–8; V. Susmann: **נרות־חרס מעוטרים**, Jerusalem, 1972, 24. We do not consider the lucern found at Leányvár and now preserved in the Bratislava museum to be a Menorah (E. Katz: *Židovská Ročenka*, 1956–7, [Prague 1956] 56–62). In connection with Pozsony (Bratislava) there is a legend that the 14th Roman legion, on returning from Palestine, came into the Pozsony area and that many Jews arrived with them (S. Weingarten: **שבטי ישראל בבית הנשיא**, Tel Aviv, 1959, 74).
- ⁵⁰ The data are given erroneously in A. Gráf's article (*IMIT Évkönyve*, 1939, 246).
- ⁵¹ M. Schwabe: *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, II, 1935, Nos. 3–4, 25.
- ⁵² The Jewish relics from Oescus, including a stone showing a Menorah, are dealt with by V. Beshevliev: *Annual... of the Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria*, III, Sofia, 1968, 125–6, 207–8.
- ⁵³ L. Barkóczi: *NK*, LVI–LVII, 1957–8, 19.
- ⁵⁴ A. Reifenberg: **מטבעות היהודים**, Jerusalem, 1947, 60; E. Damati: *Israel Numismatic Journal*, IV, 1980, 28, No. 4.
- ⁵⁵ B. Kohlbach: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1936, 272–98.
- ⁵⁶ A. Reifenberg: *op. cit.*, 60.
- ⁵⁷ L. Barkóczi: *Brigetio*, Bp., 1951, 56, No. 95. L. Barkóczi and A. Mócsy: *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns (RIU)*, II, Bp., 1976, 164, No. 506: "Weniger wahrscheinlich eine Verschreibung von Caesariensis."
- ⁵⁸ V. Kuzsinszky: *Aquincum. Ausgrabungen und Funde*, Bp., 1934, 176, No. 285; J. Szilágyi: *op. cit.*, 46, 117.
- ⁵⁹ Maria R. Alföldi: 'Beiträge zur Frage der Cistophori Kaisers Hadrian', *Folia Archaeologica*, VIII, 1956, 89–95.
- ⁶⁰ A. Alföldi: *Századok*, LXX, 1936, 27, Note 4; A. Dobó: *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes* (Diss. Pann. Ser. I, No. 1), Bp., 1940, 39, No. 189.
- ⁶¹ E. Ritterling: *PW-RE*, XII, 1925, 1287 sq.; S. Jejwin: **מלחמת בר־כוּכבא**, Jerusalem, 1946, 29–30, 82, 218; L. Kadman: *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina*, Jerusalem, 1956, 20.

⁶² S. Jejwin: *op. cit.*, 82–3.

⁶³ M. Avi-Yonah: *Yediot Bahaqirat Eretz-Israel Weatiqoteha*, XXX, 1966, 128–35; idem: *IEJ*, XVI, 1966, 135–41; A. Scheiber: *AÉ*, XCIV, 1967, 59–61; L. Balla: *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis*, III, 1967, 85–7.

⁶⁴ A soldier from a legion stationed in Palestine (Legio X Fretensis) had a Syrian wife (Publia Surilla) living in Aquincum. See V. Kuzsinszky: *op. cit.*, Bp. 1934, 66; A. Alföldi: *Budapest az ókorban* (Budapest in antiquity), I, Bp., 1942, 316.

⁶⁵ Gy. Balázs reports on questionable Pannonian Jewish inscriptions: *Libanon*, VIII, 1943, 75–7.

⁶⁶ E. Abraham: *History of the Jews of Transylvania* (in Hebrew) I, New York, 1951, 16. Unfortunately, I was unable to get hold of M.A. Halevy's relevant articles (*Curierul Israelit*, 1936; *Annuarul Evreilor din Romania*, 1937/5698, 32–44). In C. Daicoviciu, who is usually referred to in this context, I have found no mention (*Siebenbürgen im Altertum*, Bucharest, 1943; *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, Bucharest, 1960, XV–XIX). See S. Sanie: 'Theos Hypsistos și Iuppiter Exsuperantissimus în Dacia', *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Veche și Arheologie* XXVIII, 1977, 135–42.

⁶⁷ A. Kerényi: *A dáciai személynevek* (Dacian personal names), Bp., 1941, 183–9, Nos. 2131, 2154, 2168. See most recently M. Isidor: *Revista Cultului Mozaic*, XXIII, 1978, No. 420.

⁶⁸ The Temesvár Museum has two Jewish coins. The first was coined during the first Jewish revolt (66–70). The "Samaritan inscription" naturally means an Old Hebrew inscription (*Történelmi és Régészeti Értesítő* (Historical and Archaeological Bulletin), VIII, Temesvár, 1882, 38). Based on the description, one can recognize even without a photograph the type presented by A. Reifenberg (*מטבעות היהודים*, Jerusalem, 1947, Plate X). The other is a Judaea Capta coin (*Történelmi és Régészeti Értesítő*, VIII, Temesvár 1882, 32; A. Reifenberg: *op. cit.*, Plate XI). Both were donated to the Temesvár Museum; they were supposedly found locally, and thus allow one to draw conclusions on the composition and route of the Roman legions in Dacia.

THE MIDDLE AGES

I. HEBREW LETTERS ON A KHAZAR RING

In the cemetery excavated at Ellend, near Pécs, Grave 128 yielded the skeleton of a woman and beside it a ring, which is now in the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs. The ring is ornamented with Hebrew letters.

11.

Square 1:	ג, נ
Square 5:	ט, פ
Square 6:	כ
Square 8:	י, נ, נ
Square 9:	ח, פ
Square 11:	י, ש, נ

The find dates from the second half of the 11th century. The cemetery is near the villages of Nagykozár and Kiskozár. One would obviously conclude that the Hebrew letters became known here through the Khabars, who joined up with the Hungarians after rebelling against the Khazars, whose leaders were Jewish. "Summarizing what has been said so far, we are of the opinion that the Hebrew characters appearing in the archaeological material of Hungary from the 11th century can be traced back through the Khazar peoples who had joined the Magyar tribes before the Hungarian Conquest."¹



*The Khazar ring from the cemetery of Ellend
(Inscription 11)*

II. COINS BEARING HEBREW LETTERS

On his return from the Holy Land, King Endre II found an empty treasury. To replenish it quickly he introduced an emergency war-tax. He had new coinage minted and exchanged several times a year and set up several new mints: at Buda, in the diocese of Csanád, in the Szerémség (Srem) and in Slavonia. These he leased out individually.

Thus capitalist Jewish traders came to head the mints as tenants, which may explain the appearance among the coinage minted during the 13th century of types with Hebrew letters on them. The letters, as deciphered by Gyula Rádóczy, and in the case of the last letter, by the author, are the following, in alphabetic order:²

12.

Ⲡ = Altman (Nos. 14–15)

ⲡ = Henokh (No. 8)

Ⲣ = Theka (Nos. 2, 7, 11)

ⲣ = Fredman (No. 13)

Ⲥ = Samuel (No. 3)

III. SEAL BEARING HEBREW LETTERS

On December 12, 1496, Tamás, Count of Szentgyörgy and Bazin (Pezinok), made a contract in Buda with the Jewish prefect, Jacobus Mendel;³ the original is now in the Hungarian National Archives (*OL*, Dipl. Dep. 24575). It bears several seals, one of which is that of Jacobus Mendel and shows a lion which in form and stance resembles the lions on coats of arms of the time, surmounted by two Hebrew letters.⁴

13.

Ⲛⲓ = J. M.

It was the initials of the prefect. "Es ist dies das älteste Siegel mit hebräischen Buchstaben, welches bisher in Ungarn zum Vorschein kam."⁵



Coins bearing Hebrew letters (Inscription 12)



Inscription 13



Inscription 14

IV. SYNAGOGUES

A privilege granted by King Béla IV gave institutional protection of synagogues as early as 1251: "Item si aliquis iactaverit temerarie super scolas Judeorum Judici Judeorum marcam et dimidiam ut persolvat volumus".⁶ Yet few written documents mention medieval synagogues in Hungary, and even fewer material remains have survived.

Esztergom. At the end of the 11th century, two Jews from Regensburg, Abraham b. Hiyya and his brother Jacob, were returning from Russia with loaded wagons. One Friday evening they were following the left bank of the Danube when a wheel broke. By the time they reached the village, which was obviously Esztergom, the Jews were just coming out of the synagogue (בית הכנסת). Their brethren did not greet them and did not let them enter the synagogue on the following day. On Sunday they gathered together at the same place to pass judgement on them. Since there was no rabbi in Hungary at that time, they asked R. Kalonymos and R. Shabbatai,⁷ who may have been in Hungary only while on their way across the country. This information we know from the collection *Shibbole Halleket* made by Zedekiah b. Abraham Harofe of Rome, which records the severe judgement passed on the breakers of the Sabbath. To clarify satisfactorily the date of the decision and who the rabbis who brought it were, one would have to examine all the available manuscripts, of which there are plenty. The case needs considering in a broader context, since these Jews from Regensburg could have been members of the society of Radanites, which had major trade contacts between the west and the east.⁸

Buda. The Buda Chronicle mentions the Buda synagogue on June 1, 1307: "castrum Budense per portam, que est iuxta synagogam Judeorum feria quinta post festum beate Petronelle virginis noctis in silencio subintravit..."⁹ The same is related by the other chronicles as well.

Their first living quarters began at the Fehérvári or Zsidó kapu, and covered what is today Szent György utca, which at that time was the Jewish street. Their first synagogue was built near the gate, and remains of it should be sought on the site of the former Defence Ministry in Szent György tér (today's Dísz tér).

That settlement was dissolved by King Lajos I whose religious intolerance drove them out of the whole country in 1360, when they refused to be converted. Five years later, however, they were readmitted, as their business skills were

Handwritten Latin text, likely a charter or legal document, starting with a large initial 'N'. The text is written in a medieval script and is mostly illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side. It appears to contain several lines of text, possibly including names, titles, and legal clauses.

The charter of June 10, 1462

required. The Jews who returned could not reoccupy their old quarters in Buda as the king had presented his followers with their houses, and obviously the synagogue as well.

They had to seek accommodation elsewhere, and the new Jewish street (platea Judaeorum) was along the western stretch of today's Táncsics utca (formerly Werbőczy utca) as far as the Bécsi kapu, which was called the Szombat kapu at the time.

From written sources, Fülöp Grünvald has established where the new synagogue stood: "The group of houses in which the meeting house of the 'old, highly respectable and illustrious community' stood' was situated on the northern side of the narrow lane that led from Werbőczy utca to the Bástyásétány."¹⁰

That synagogue was used until 1526. After the Battle of Mohács, Suleiman II had the Jews put on board of a vessel on September 22, the first day of Sukkot, and resettled them in the Ottoman Empire, since they had a great reputation as good traders and artisans.¹¹ The sultan occupied Buda permanently only in 1541. According to a contemporary source, he first took the Szombat kapu next to the synagogue in the Jewish street. Some of the Jews returned with him and were greatly moved at being able to return to their old place of worship.

That synagogue was excavated in September 1964. One of the walls of the southernmost building on the block, 23 Táncsics utca, the one facing the Babits Mihály sétány was part of the synagogue. The synagogue had a double nave and was in three sections, with six Gothic vaults. The three monumental pillars excavated witness to the flamboyant style of Gothic employed by the Buda stonemasons in the time of Matthias Corvinus. The bedding of the southern wall-pier bears Hebrew letters that correspond to the year 1541:

14.

ש
נ = 1541

It was engraved to commemorate the return of the Buda Jews from Turkey.

The date of building was remembered at the same time, on the side face of the pillar to the east:

כ"ט = 80 years old [1461]

So the synagogue was built in 1461. The Hebrew inscriptions have been deciphered by the author.

From the elements found, it has been possible to reconstruct how the synagogue looked.¹² In the foundations a denarius of János Hunyadi has been found, which verifies what the inscription states. The artistically executed keystone has also been found. The wall, pillar and brick floor remained intact because the courtyard was filled in after 1686 and the synagogue covered with earth. In the Buda land-register of 1696, named the Zaiger register, the historian Lajos Nagy has found data on the synagogue, which was still standing, though in ruins, in that year.¹³

There is even a documentary relic of the synagogue dated June 10, 1462, i.e. the year after it was built:¹⁴

“Nos Michael Orzagh de Gwth regni Hungarie palatinus et iudex Comanorum damus pro memoria, quod causam, quam Johannes Capy adversus communitatem Judeorum, super facto domorum Sinagoge et Jacabhaza, in presenti feria quinta coram nobis motam, de partium voluntate ad feriam secundam proximam post octavas festi Penthecostes (VI. 14.) proxime preteriti taliter duximus prorogandam, ut in ipso die ultra et preter literas et literalia instrumenta factum dictarum domorum tangentes et concernentes, et per partes predictas in nostra presentia productas et exhibitas, alias et plures literas et literalia instrumenta, si quas super premissis eodem partes habent confectas et emanata, coram nobis producere et exhibere debeant et teneantur, ut hiis visis iudicium et iustitiam facere valeamus inter partes in premissis, dictante iuris equitate. Ceterum volumus, ut illi, qui ad dictam domum Jacabhaza vocatam ius habere pretendunt, ex Judeis prenominitis, in dicta feria secunda contradictum Johannem de Capy, coram nobis comparere teneantur.

Datum Bude, in dicta feria quinta proxima post festum Penthecostes (VI. 10.) anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo.”

“We, Michael Orzagh, the Palatine and judge of the Cumanians, issue this memorandum that the action brought by Johannes Capy against the Jewish community concerning the house of the Synagogue and Jacabháza is now, on this Thursday, by the wish of the parties, postponed to the Monday following the octave of Pentecost, so that in addition to the documents submitted to us so

far, the parties may present further documents of theirs, that we may pass judgement according to the law between the parties having seen these too, as equity demands. Moreover, we desire that all Jews who lay claim to the Jacobhaza appear on that day against Johannes de Capy.

Dated at Buda the Thursday after Pentecost, in the year of Our Lord 1462."

Other documents show that the houses in question were in the Jewish street, near the Szombat kapu: "in platea Judeorum Budensium versus portam Zombath-kapw."¹⁵

Daniel Estrosa, rabbi of Salonika, quotes in his *Responsa* a will from Buda (February 12, 1647) which disposes of two seats — a man's and a woman's — in the Old Synagogue, and of another one — a man's — in the New Synagogue (J. Z. Kahana: *Mehkarim b'Sifrut ha-Teshuvot*, Jerusalem, 1973, 224–5).

Pozsony (Bratislava). On November 13, 1335, Pope Benedict XII wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Esztergom concerning the Pozsony synagogue. The Jews had built a synagogue beside the Cistercian chapel at Pozsony, and the noise coming from it was disturbing the monks at their prayers: "maligno spiritu concitati de novo synagogam construxerunt iuxta dictum oratorium seu capellam, ita quod pre clamore, quem in dicta synagoga iudei faciunt antedicti, prefati monachi non possunt dicere canonicas horas suas, nec domino reddere vota sua." The pope ordered the archbishop to investigate the matter and if the claim were true to have the synagogue pulled down (*MZsO* I, 62–3, No. 36). The synagogue stood in the Jewish Court in the neighbourhood of the Halász kapu. In 1336, the Jews moved over to houses situated towards the Lőrinc kapu and there built their second synagogue. In 1361 King Lajos I bestowed that synagogue on his physician, Master Franciscus, the Jews having been expelled the previous year: "Ludovicus rex confirmat donationem et collationem propriam, qua mediante scholam Judaeorum in civitate Posoniensi habitam, post Judaeorum e Regno expulsionem in Fiscum Regium devolutam magistro Francisco Physico suo in perpetuam contulerat, anno 1361" (*MZsO*, I, XXXIV; V/1, 16, No. 19). Their third synagogue in the Judengasse is mentioned in the town's land register of 1439, under the title "Schul".¹⁶ Documented traces of it reach back to 1434.¹⁷ On June 16, 1446 (the feast of Corpus Christi) a mob of people from Pozsony and elsewhere broke into the Jewish street and robbed both the Jews' houses and the synagogue ("den hat man iere schül und heuser aufgeprochen mit gewalt, und seu beraubt").¹⁸ In 1526, the Jews were expelled from Pozsony and the synagogue expropriated. The list of houses they abandoned includes the synagogue ("Item domus juden sinagog"). At the time



Cornerstone with the names of the founders in the southwestern corner of the 13th century synagogue in Sopron (Inscription 16)

there was no buyer for it.¹⁹ In its place in the former Hummel utca there is now an Ursuline church built after the expulsion of the Jews. The engineer Jenő Bárkány (of Bratislava) has observed that from the outside the church is strongly reminiscent of a synagogue; at least in part, its walls are those of the old synagogue, which have naturally been remodelled. Further research on the building will reveal more about it. So far no trace of Hebrew inscriptions has emerged.

Sopron

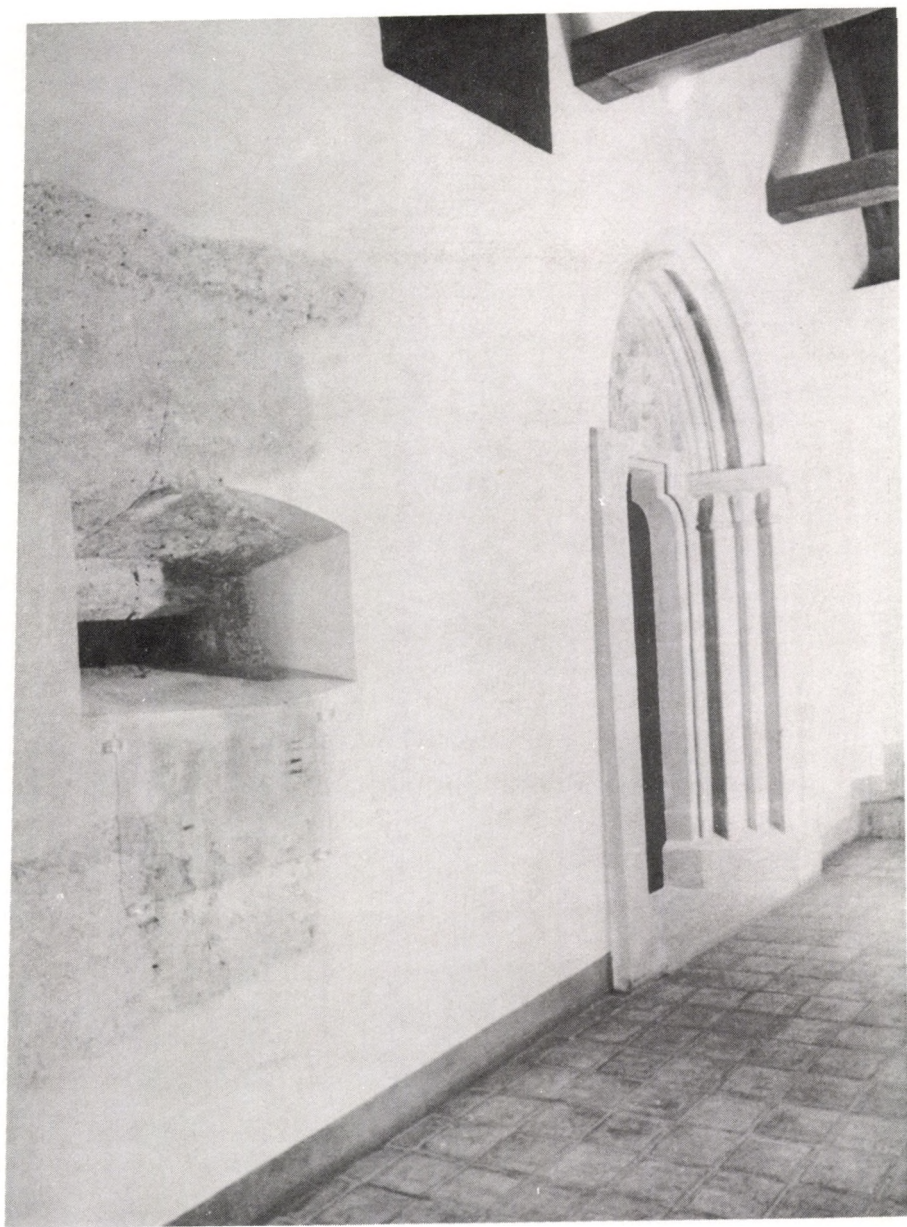
a) In 1441, the Austrian Prince Friedrich, as holder of the lien of Sopron, ordered that the houses and the synagogue of the Jews in the town should not be damaged or expropriated: "oder an irer Judenschül dhainerlay irrung oder besuerung tun wolte, das ir des mit nichte gestattet, Sunder Sÿ von vnsern wegen dabeÿ vestichlich haltet schernet vnd beleiben lasset, als von alter Herkommen ist."²⁰ In 1526, after the expulsion of the Jews, the synagogue was plundered, and in 1553, the town council sold it to Sebastian Mayr, a tailor.²¹ This Mayr or his descendants converted it into two levels by a wooden ceiling and into several smaller rooms by putting up dividing walls.

In 1967, the archaeologist Sándor Tóth and the art historian Ferenc Dávid discovered the old synagogue within the dwelling houses at 22–24 Új utca, which was formerly the Judengasse (or *rehov hayehudim* in Hebrew).²² The synagogue had been built in the early 1300s. In a number of details, principally in the ornaments framing its Ark of the Covenant, it is shown to have followed 13th century classical Gothic art. However, the execution of its arches—the vault itself consisted of three arch sections, and the eastern and the western sections were expanded by two further ribs each—and the tympanum division of its portal show more modern elements. Across the whole width of the synagogue and vestibule and to the west is the *Frauenschul*, a single-storey prayer-hall for women under a separate roof. Of the known medieval synagogues, only the women's synagogue at Worms dates from the 13th century. The building also had a ritual bath and a hospice. The work of reconstruction was led by János Sedlmayr.²³ It was handed over as a historic monument on June 29, 1976.

On the southeastern corner of the building there is the fragment of an inscribed stone, obviously with remains of the names of the founders. The inscriptions have been deciphered by the author.



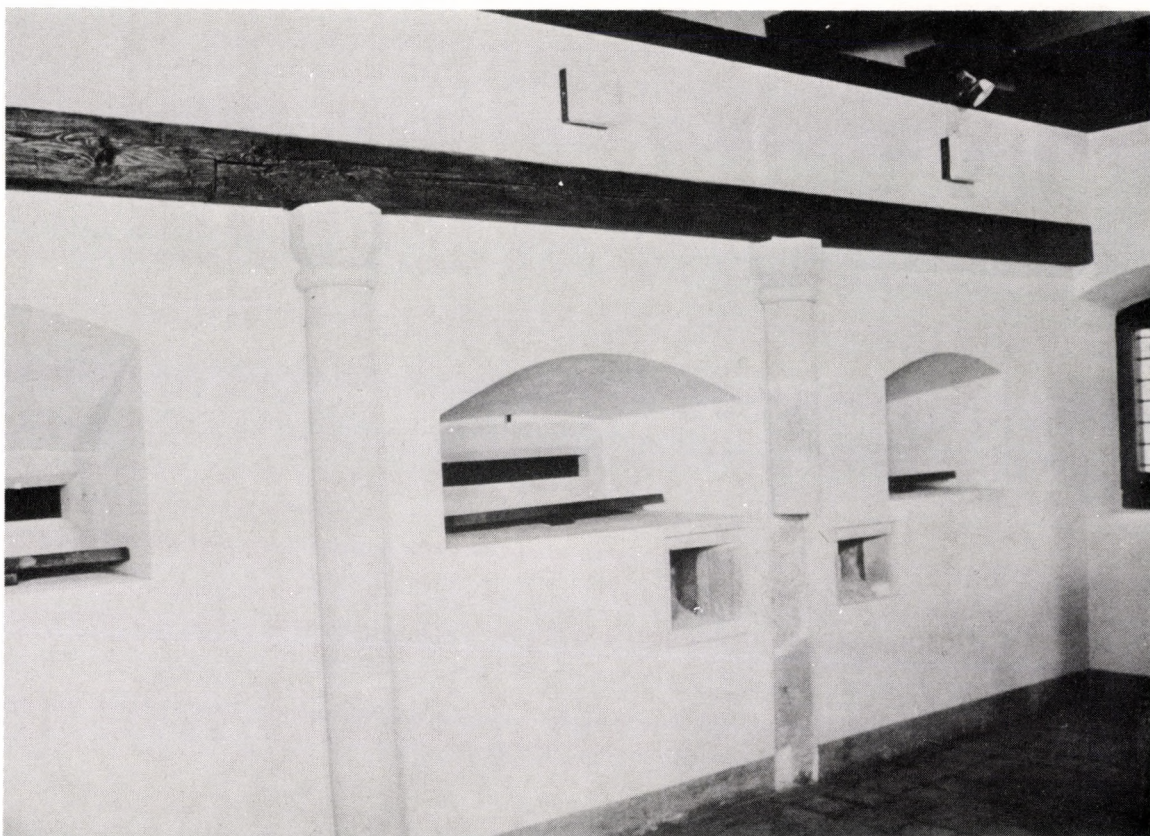
The eastern front of the restored 13th century synagogue in Sopron



The entrance of the 13th century synagogue in Sopron



The eastern wall of the 13th century synagogue in Sopron



The Frauentempel of the 13th century Sopron synagogue, with slits looking on the men's prayer-hall



The southern wall of the vestibule of the 13th century Sopron synagogue (Inscription 18)

16.

... [בָּר] אברהם זָל
... בָּר מאיר

... (the son of) Abraham, his true memory is blessed
... , the son of Meir

The names are missing, having broken off, or having been broken off, and only the names of the fathers have survived.²⁴

17.

In the vestibule, the back wall of the niche opposite the main entrance has the names of medieval visitors scratched on it:

סולימן בָּר יחיאל זָל
קָק טובינאן
גבריאל (?) בָּר צדוק
בָּר יצחק

Sulayman, the son of Yehiel, his memory is blessed,
from the holy community of Tübingen,
Gabriel (?), the son of R. Zadok,
....., the son of Isaac

REMARKS:

Line 1: סולימן (S. D. Goitein: *A Mediterranean Society*, III, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1978, 282)

Same line: יחיאל (Ezra VIII, 9)

Line 2: Jews settled in Tübingen in 1335; cf. the Jewish Street (Judengasse) mentioned in 1342 or 1398 (*Germania Judaica*. Ed. Z. Avneri, II, Tübingen, 1968, 835-7)

Line 3: גבריאל (Dan. VIII, 16)

Same line: צדוק (II. Samuel VIII, 17)



The eastern wall of the 14th century synagogue in Sopron

The southern side of the vestibule consists of the wall of the synagogue. The inscriptions incised on it are obviously the names of visitors to the synagogue:

1490	יהודה משה	
	Yehuda Moses	1490

b) In December 1957, the National Board for Monument Preservation excavated and reconstructed the 14th century Gothic synagogue with its double-groined vault in the building at 11 Új utca; it was festively opened on July 5, 1960.²⁵ Why were two synagogues needed in Sopron in the Middle Ages in the Judengasse? The later building may well have been a private synagogue. Research by F. Grünvald lends credence to the theory that the patron of the synagogue was the first Jew of Sopron to be mentioned by name, Izrael Judeus Soproniensis, who later moved to Vienna.²⁶ He was a person of distinction, as was borne out by the property he held in Sopron. Along with a couple of associates, he can be considered as the banker to Austria's dukes. The synagogue at 11 Új utca was serving as a Christian dwelling house by 1500, which might be connected with the fact that Izrael had left Sopron.

Not a single inscribed stone has been found from the synagogue, but the lancet stone used as an ornament above the niche of the Ark of the Covenant has been discovered built into the wall. It bears a trefoil tracery relief from which a narrow marble or stone strip is missing. This must have been the Hebrew inscription, which was destroyed by those who ravaged the synagogue or by the later owners. Like that in its closest relative, the Miltenberg synagogue, the inscription may have read: **דע לפני מי אתה עומד**—"Learn before whom it is you stand!"²⁷

One hopes inscribed stone remains will still come to light, as there are plans to demolish the houses adjoining the synagogue.

Nagymarton (Mattersdorf, Mattersburg). There are no written records of the synagogue at Nagymarton. The date of erection was inscribed in Hebrew letters over the entrance (the medieval formula of the inscription, which was restored when the synagogue was expanded in 1875, shows the wording to be the original):²⁸



The lancet stone in the 14th century Sopron synagogue



The restored inscription of the medieval synagogue in Nagymarton (Inscription 19)



The synagogue in Nagymarton

[נבנה מתחלה] באלף הששי שנת ק"ד

[First erected] in 154 [1353/54], in the sixth millennium

“According to the architect Manó Pollák, the eastern part of the synagogue, which was covered by barrel vaulting, had three pairs of high windows, and was supported from the outside by ten pillars, indicates that the synagogue probably dates from the Middle Ages.” We understand that the synagogue was destroyed by the Germans in 1938.

Székesfehérvár. A documentary record of the medieval synagogue at Székesfehérvár has been found very recently. After the death of Matthias Corvinus, the Emperor Maximilian I immediately recruited a mercenary army using the money of the Fuggers of Augsburg, and recaptured Vienna and Wiener Neustadt. By September 21, 1490, he was already outside Sopron at Vulkapordány (Wulkaprodersdorf), but he did not take the town, since it swore to stay neutral. Then followed the capture of Szombathely, then of Veszprém, and finally, on November 17, of Székesfehérvár, in which Florian Waldauf played a hero's part. Maximilian was still in Székesfehérvár on December 4, and from there planned to march on Buda, but his mercenaries mutinied when they discovered the Hungarian King Ulászló II had already gathered a strong army there. Maximilian was obliged to withdraw from the country. A Latin document dated November 17, 1490 to be found in the Town Museum of Hall in the Tirol declares, “King Maximilian I of Germany, wishing to reward the bravery and fidelity of the German royal protonotary Florian Waldauf of Waldenstein, confers a knighthood on him, and grants him the house of Moses Buzlay's with the lands pertaining to it, as well as the synagogue and house of the Jew Isaac.”²⁹ Between November 17 and December 4, 1490, Florian Waldauf had time enough to plunder the house and lands of Moses Buzlay, a very rich nobleman, along with the synagogue and the house of Isaac the Jew, to place all the chattels on wagons and send them to Austria, where he sold them. It made him an immensely rich man, who could also afford to make a rich donation to the church.³⁰

Bazin (Pezinok). In 1529, the same year the Jews were charged with ritual murder and burned at the stake in Bazin, a six-page pamphlet was published on the occurrences; it is now among the pamphlet material in the National

Handwritten text in two columns, likely a deed or legal document. The script is dense and appears to be in a historical language, possibly Latin or a medieval script. The text is written on aged, slightly yellowed paper. The first column contains the main body of the text, while the second column at the bottom contains a shorter passage, possibly a signature or a date. The text is difficult to decipher due to its cursive nature and the age of the document.

The two pages of the deed transferring ownership of the Nagyszombat synagogue in 1539

Széchenyi Library (No. 95): "Ain erschrockenlich geschicht vnd Mordt so von den Juden zu Pösing ain Marckht in Hungern gelegen" etc. In the course of the story, the synagogue is also mentioned: "... amm freytag nach gotts auffartstag haben sich die juden all versammelt in die synagog in und Jacob juden des Colman prueder auss der sinagog zu zwayen malen geschafft."³¹

Nagyszombat (Trnava). As early as the 14th century, there was a major Jewish community within the town's walls. The statement repeatedly made that the town's synagogue is mentioned in written sources in connection with the charge of ritual murder made in 1494 leaves room for doubt. Bonfini writes "in proximas edes", which might mean the "nearest building" and not the "nearby temple". Elsewhere Bonfini actually uses the word "synagogue". "The town flourished economically when, as a consequence of Vienna's staple right, the road from the West led through it. The synagogue which was built at that time may have been modelled on the Gothic synagogue in Prague, the Altneuschul, because of the lively trade contacts with that city."³² In 1539, the Jews of Nagyszombat presented the synagogue to Albert Peregi ("templum seu sinagogam eorum").³³

The full text of the document from which the above quotations have been taken became known only 20 years ago. The reason why the Nagyszombat Jews—expelled from the town—presented their synagogue to the provost of Pécs was that he had obtained a charter from the king ensuring them personal and material security:³⁴

"Nos iudex, juratique cives civitatis Tirnaviensis memorie commendamus tenore presencium universis, quibus incumbit, significantes, quod in nostram accedentes presenciam providi Josa Budensis, Orozlan Fodor, Isak Olaz, Jacobus gener predicti Orozlan, Wolfgangus Farkas, Simon gener condam Simonis Glaser, alter Simon de Galgocz, Abraham gener Jacobi, Joseph Fokhagmas et Jacobus filius condam Moyse onera et quelibet gravamina tam ceterorum omnium et singulorum judeorum similiter alias hic Tirnavie comorancium, quam eiam eorundem ac suorum priorum prolium, proximorum et consanguineorum, aliorum denique quorumcunque, quos subsequens concernit aut in futurum respicere videbitur negocium in se ipsos assumentes sponte et uniformiter hanc fecerunt fassionem, quod ex quo decreto sacratissime regie maiestatis, domini nostri clementissimi, omnibus judeis hic residentibus foret iniunctum, ut domibus et hereditatibus in ipsa civitate habitis libere venditis seu quibus maluerint, collatis sese ex eadem civitate transferre et migrare tenerentur, habentes igitur respectum singularis beneficii et patrocinii

reverendi domini Alberti de Pereg prepositi Quinqueecclesiensis, prefecti camere ac consilarii, secretarii dicte regie maiestatis, quod idem dominus Albertus prepositus in causa eorundem judeorum, ob quam presens transmigratio e civitate orta extitit, signanter tamen in expedicione et condonacione litterarum pro tuicione vite et bonorum suorum per ipsam regiam maiestatem eisdem judeis concessarum prestitisset et in huiusmodi patrocini recompensam prenominati judei ex pari voto et consentanea, liberaque ceterorum judeorum huic abeuncium voluntate templum seu sinagogam eorum hic in civitate in platea judeorum vocata versus plagam orientalem in vicinitatibus domorum ab una condam judei Nyssel, ex alia vero partibus judei Isak de Nitria fundatam et adiacentem cum omnibus aliis structuris, edificiisque et utilitatibus ad eandem sinagogam de jure et ab antiquo pertinentibus memorato domino Alberto de Pereg preposito, suisque heredibus et posteritatibus universis donassent, dedissent et jure perpetuo irrevocabiliter contulissent, immo donarunt, dederunt et contulerunt coram nobis nil juris vel proprietatis sibi ipsis seu heredibus et posteritatibus ipsorum in eadem sinagoga et pertinenciis eius reservantes. In cuius rei memoriam et firmitatem ad rationabilem instanciam ipsius domini Alberti prepositi has litteras sub sigillo civitatis nostre eidem duximus concedendas salvo tamen jure et libertate civitatis. Datum.”

“We, the judge and sworn citizens of the town of Tirna (Nagyszombat), give notice on the strength of our present letter as a memorandum to all concerned that the honourable Josa of Buda, Orozlan Fodor, Isak Olaz, Jacobus, the son-in-law of Orozlan mentioned, Farkas Wolfgang, the other Simon of Galgoc, son-in-law of the late Simon Glaser, Abraham, the son-in-law of Jacobus, Joseph Fokhagmas, and Jacobus, the son of the late Moyse, urgently taking all burdens and grievances upon themselves, on behalf both of every single Jew at present living in Tirna and of their sons, relatives and dependants who will only be concerned in the future, voluntarily and unanimously acknowledge that since every Jew, by order of His Royal Majesty, our gracious Lord, is bound to go away from here, yet is free to sell or present his house and inheritance possessed in the town to whomsoever he wishes, in view of the singular beneficence and patronage Provost Albert Peregi of Quinqueecclesiae (Pécs), His Royal Majesty’s Privy Councillor of the crown, has showed in the Jewish law suit which has effected this migration from the town, and more especially because he procured the royal deed permitting the Jews to keep their lives and property, in recompense for the said patronage, the above-mentioned Jews, with the unanimous consent of the other Jews, have donated, given and irrevocably presented with rights in perpetuity the temple, that is the synagogue,

of this town, in the street called Jewish Street to the south in the vicinity of the house of the Jew Nyssel on the one side and of Isak of Nitria (Nyitra) on the other, with all the structures, buildings and usufructs that legally and long have pertained thereto to the above-mentioned Provost Albert Peregi and to his heirs and successors, and do indeed donate, give and confer that synagogue and appurtenances of it without reserving any rights or properties to themselves or their heirs and successors.

As a memorial and confirmation of which transaction we have presented this letter to the said Provost Albert under the seal of our town, keeping thereby the right and liberty of the town.

Given at Tirna in the year 1539."

In 1541, the town of Nagyszombat paid 150 forints in two instalments for the synagogue.³⁵

Városszalónak. On August 18, 1559, Ferenc Batthyány wrote to Tamás Nádasdy that he could not receive the archbishop, as there was in Szalónak no other building like the Jewish synagogue ("quales sint habitationes hic nimirum, uti sinagoga Judaica").³⁶

V. CEMETERIES

The following Hungarian Jewish cemeteries dating from the Middle Ages are known of:

Buda. A charter of 1290 in the private archives of the Veszprém Chapter makes the following mention of the Jewish cemetery in Buda from the age of the Árpáds: "deinde ad sepulturam judeorum concludendo versus vineas inter loca memorata."³⁷ The Turks who died in battle on September 8–10, 1529 were buried in the Jewish cemetery of Buda ("sein die corper all auf der judenfreithof gefuert worden").³⁸ The cemetery is mentioned again in 1541 in connection with the battles with the Turks: "a monte Gerardo ad sepulchra Judaeorum castra movit",³⁹ and in another source: "vntern perg an der Juden freythoff, da wurden sie al nider gehawen vnd getödt wie das viech".⁴⁰ Mention of it was made also in 1593 ("non longe a sepultura judaeorum").⁴¹ Gravestones from it have come to light.

Vasvár. In the vicinity of Vasvár lies Zsidófölde, a village which was incorporated into Vasvár in the second half of the last century. As recently published documents indicate, the village probably gained its name from the Jewish cemetery. The place is first mentioned in 1294.⁴² Later the Provost and Chapter of Vasvár entered into litigation with the royal citizens of Vasvár over rights of ownership to an estate of approximately 400 *holds*. In a document of May 9, 1393 Miklós Kanizsai reported to King Zsigmond that he wished to register the Chapter and Provost of Vasvár as owners of Zsidófölde; however, a dispute arose over the ownership of a part of the area, including the site of a castle, eight *holds* of land and the territory of the Jewish cemetery (“locum sepulture Judeorum ad dictam possessionem Sydofeuilde vocatam”).⁴³ In the 1930s, a Jewish gravestone was reported in Vasvár; however, long and arduous inquiries by the author have revealed no current trace of it. The land owned by József Császár, where the stone had been found, was considered by professor István Paulovics to have been the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery.

Esztergom. A document from 1326 in the domestic archives of the Esztergom Chapter mentions the Jewish cemetery of Esztergom: “pervenit ad locum sepulturae judeorum de Strigonio”.⁴⁴ The site of the cemetery is unknown and no gravestones have come to light.

Leez (Borsod County). On March 5, 1338, the noblemen of Bezzeg divided their estate in Leez among themselves before the Eger Chapter: “ad possessionem eorundem filiorum Ladislai et Johannis filii Petri modo prenotato devolutam wlgo Sydosyr (Jewishgrave) nuncuparetur.”⁴⁵ Here one cannot assume there was a Jewish cemetery, and the name may have come from an isolated Jewish grave.

Sopron. The cemetery is first mentioned in 1427 as “juden freithof”,⁴⁶ and in 1437 as “judenfreithof”.⁴⁷ Recently a most interesting piece of information about what happened to it has come to light. Jenő Házi, a retired director of the Sopron Archives, found a note in the accounts of St. Michael’s Church in Sopron for the year 1539 (for March 20–30, on page 32): Mihály Törtl, the patron of the church, paid the stonemason Hans on three occasions for having sought in the Jewish cemetery suitable building stones for the construction of St. Michael’s Church, for having dressed and delivered them in four wagonloads to the church. The original text reads:⁴⁸

“Vermerckt, was ich zu natarfft auff das pau zu Sant Michels kirichen hab geben des 39. iars.

“Item am pfinstag vor Judica (March 20) hab ich den Hans stainmetzen in den judenfreithoff stain lassen aufgebinnen, hab im geben I sol. X den.

“Item am freitag darnach (March 21) hab ich lassen dÿe stain fieren zu der stieg, so man auf dem freithoff einget, vier füeder dÿe stain aufzufassen vnt abzuleren mitsamt der fur angeschlagen per II. sol. den.

“Item an dem Palbensuntag (March 30) zalt ich den stainmetzen von den stain zu hauen 9 taberich, ÿe eins per X kreitzer, tut I tal. 4 sol. den.”

St. Michael's Church is first heard of in 1278, but it was built onto in several stages. “Around the time of the disaster of Mohács... the church was completed.”⁴⁹ The document quoted above shows that it was still being built in 1539. It is also clear that the majority of the Jewish gravestones are in one place: built into St. Michael's Church.

This was no unique occurrence. When St. Anne's Cathedral in Frankfurt am Main was hit by a bomb in the last year of the war, two Jewish gravestones dating from 1284 became visible in the altar-table.⁵⁰ In 1955, a Jewish gravestone was found in the courtyard of the Catholic seminary of Neuburg; it served as the highest step in the passage leading down into the cellar. The stone dates from 1241 and is to the memory of a proselyte woman called Esther.⁵¹ In 1953, two Jewish gravestones were found at a great depth beneath the Rathaus of Cologne: those of Sarah b. Menahem from 1302 and Rachel b. Shneur from 1323.⁵²

If St. Michael's Church should ever be renovated, the Jewish gravestones would obviously become visible. So far eight medieval Jewish gravestones have come to light in Sopron.

Pozsony (Bratislava). From 1439 onwards, the town's account books mention the Jewish cemetery: “Item als man die püxen beschoss, pey dem Juden freytthof, dy geprach, wenn sy war zu dönn gossen.” In 1442 “von den Judn freytthof” can be read.⁵³ It was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Szénamérő tér (Heuwagplatz).⁵⁴ One gravestone was discovered but has since disappeared. In 1866, Henrik Deutsch wrote: “In Pozsony there also stood a . . . stone on the corner of the post-street, as Korabinszky relates, but last year I could find no trace of it.”⁵⁵

Sárvár. On July 26, 1552, the student István sent some watermelons to György Perneszith, and in his accompanying letter wrote: “en nem szettem, hanem Szabo Janos, harmat talaltam az utan Sydo temetes helen.” (Not I but

Janos Szabo picked them, then I found three on the site of the Jewish cemetery).⁵⁶ Undoubtedly the medieval Jewish cemetery of Sárvár is meant, which shows there must have been a Jewish community, though no earlier references to it are known. No gravestones have been found there.

Torony (near Szombathely). In a letter of January 26, 1554 to Batthyány, István János Bánffy mentions the Torony garden, which formed part of the Batthyány estate. Jewish graves were to be found in the garden which Batthyány had converted into a pasture where the game went to graze: "nunc autem amenitatis illorum Judaicorum tumulorum, quos M. D. V. in orto suo Thoroniensi erexit, herbisque conserere fecit, utilitatem cognoscimus, dum tales feras eius amenitate pasci percipimus" (Batthyány Corresp. *Miss. Magdolna Gutí Ország*).⁵⁷ As he speaks of a pasture, it must have been a larger area; presumably there were not scattered graves there, but a Jewish cemetery. Apart from the above letter, there is no other information on this cemetery.

Although there is documentary proof of the existence of these medieval cemeteries, not all of them, as we have noted, have yielded gravestones. However, gravestones have come to light from cemeteries of which no documentary evidence survives.

VI. GRAVESTONES

Over the years many reports of Jewish gravestones have reached us. It is not worth listing them all; here we present only a few samples. Report had it that during building work on the Fried house at Ungvár (Uzhgorod), gravestones with Hebrew inscriptions were found three metres below street level. "What has so far been established about them is that they found their way underground more than 400 years ago."⁵⁸ In Ungvár there is a mention of a Jew called Salomon in 1493 ("a quodam Judeo Salomone in oppido Wnghwar comorante").⁵⁹

There is, however, no evidence to support the supposition that there was a cemetery at Vár (Gyulavár). The presumption of its existence dates back to around 1890, when the Jewish community of Gyula had the Gyulavár cemetery excavated, and had the dead, along with the gravestones, transferred to their own cemetery. The latter was said to include a granite stone dated 5195 Tammuz, i.e. 1435. The stone is reported to have been relocated in an area that

lay in the flood plain of the river Körös; it has since disappeared.⁶⁰ There is, however, little reason for us to think it to have been a Jewish gravestone since there was no medieval Jewish settlement in that region.

On the other hand, there is reliable information to place the medieval Jewish cemetery of Ilava, which was abandoned in 1662. It was on the site of the Hotel Káčer, and several undated medieval Jewish gravestones were built into the walls of the hotel building.⁶¹ The author was there on August 31, 1967 and learnt that in April and May of the year the stones were immured into the building during the renovation of the hotel.

VÖLKERMARKT

The gravestone stood in the cemetery of Völkermarkt (Carinthia). In the Middle Ages there was a large Jewish community with a synagogue, a Jewish street, a Jewish tower and a cemetery. The "Judenbrunnen", near Völkermarkt, is mentioned in the 13th century. The stone was later taken to St. Stephan by Niedertrixen, and from there to its present site. It is the oldest Jewish gravestone in Austria and is to the memory of Shabbatai. The appellation *ha-parnas* indicates that he was the chairman or elder of the Jewish community. He died a martyr's death in Hungary, but his body was returned to his home. The historical circumstances are unknown, and previous publications of the text have been unsatisfactory.

20.

AUGUST 1, 1130

מצבת ציון הלז הוצג	This memorial has been erected
מראשתי שבת	as a pillow for Shabbatai
הפרנס הנהרג	the elder, who was killed
באונגריא בש	in Hungary



Inscription 20

5	[ת]תצ לבריאת [ע]	in the 890th year of the Creation.
	הוא נתן נפשו [ו]	He gave his soul
	[ל]מען כבוד [הש]	for the veneration of the name [of God]
	[ביום] א ובכד ימי [ם]	on Sunday and on the 24th
	[לחודש]דש מנח [ם]	day of the month of Menahem
10	... [אב נקבר] [ם]	[Ab was buried]...

Dimensions unknown.

Now in the lapidarium of the Landesmuseum für Kärnten in Klagenfurt.
Inventory No. 524

LITERATURE:

Text publications: J. Babad: 'Jüdische Grabsteine in Kärnten', *MGWJ*, LXXX, 1936, 53-4; D. Herzog: *ibid*, 64-5; E.L. Rapp and Ö. Böcher: 'Die ältesten hebräischen Inschriften Mitteleuropas in Mainz, Worms und Speyer', *Jahrbuch der Vereinigung "Freunde der Universität Mainz"*, 1959, 25-6, No. 21a; *idem*: 'Die mittelalterlichen hebräischen Epitaphien des Rheingebiets', *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, LVI/LVII, 1961/62, 181; R. Böhm: 'Zu dem ältesten hebräischen Grabstein Österreichs', *ZDMG*, CXIII, 1964, 515-20. The article is unknown to W. Wadl: *Geschichte der Juden in Kärnten im Mittelalter*, Klagenfurt, 1981, 139.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *The World History of the Jewish People. The Dark Ages*, Tel Aviv, 1966, 316; N. Z. Roth: *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Papers*, II, Jerusalem, 1968, 195; *idem*: *Talpioth*, IX, 1970, 844.

Photographs: J. Babad: *Historia Judaica*, VII, 1945, 18; *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, LVI/LVII, 1961/62, 181; *ZDMG*, CXIII, 1964, appendix between pp. 518 and 519.

REMARKS:

Line 1: ציון הלו: II Kings, xxiii, 17.

Line 2: The name Shabbatai (Ezra X, 15; Neh. VIII, 7, XI, 16) also occurs in the chapter on the Esztergom synagogue.

Line 3: **הפרנס**: On this word in the Middle Ages see: B. Wachstein: *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien, I*. Wien und Leipzig, 1912, 72, No. 85; L. Finkelstein: *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1964, 272; S. Bowman: 'Jewish Epitaphs in Thebes', *REJ*, CXLI, 1982, 325.

Line 4: D. Herzog and Rapp-Böcher (in the second publication) read **אונגראב**, which is the popular abbreviation of Untergraben. It was first deciphered correctly by Babad.

Same line: **באונגריא**: *The Josippon*, II. Ed. D. Flusser, Jerusalem, 1980, 255; N. Golb-O. Pritsak: *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*, Ithaca-London, 1982, 92.

Lines 9–10: The name of the month has been deciphered by the author. The burial took place on the 24th of the month Ab, August 1, 1130, though he died on Sunday, July 27. That was the time it took to bring the body home.

BUDA

The first Jewish cemetery was founded in the age of the Árpáds in the area marked out by Alagút, Pauler, Roham and Attila streets.⁶² This cemetery must still have been known of in 1713, when the Buda Jews referred to 500 to 600 year-old gravestones in a complaint written to King Károly III: "die arme Judenschafft, als derer Vorfahren von denen durchleichtigsten und glohrwürdigsten Königen in Hungaren eine gantze Judengassen und Synagog innehabt, wessen wahrzeichen nebst denen Heussern die Grabschriften in Stein gehauen von 500 bis 600 Jahren vorhanden seyndt."⁶³ In September, 1894, Jewish gravestones came to light on this site when foundations for a new house were dug at a depth of four metres; the stones immediately convinced Dávid Kaufmann that this was the site of the first and oldest cemetery of the Jews settled in Buda castle since 1246, since they were found *in situ*, vertically, just as they were originally erected. Remains of bones were also found, which further reinforced his supposition. At that time three gravestones came to light.⁶⁴ The following year building work began on the site next door, and the foundation work brought another three gravestones to light, indicating that the site still belonged to the cemetery, but was used for burials in a later age as well, as the stones dated from the late 14th and the early 15th centuries.⁶⁵ In 1897, an undated gravestone fragment was dug up on the corner of Roham and Attila

streets, and in 1898, a complete gravestone was found in a standing position, at a depth of four metres, on the site of 56 Attila utca.⁶⁶ Although after 1365 the Jews moved from the neighbourhood of the Fehérvári kapu (later Szent György utca) to Zsidó (later Werbőczy, now Táncsics) utca, the 15th century gravestones show that they continued to use their old cemetery even when it was far from where they lived.

The owner of the two plots, Károly Biermann, donated the stones to the Hungarian National Museum, from where they have been transferred to the Budapest Historical Museum. Today most of them are in the museum's Lapidarium at 26 Táncsics Mihály utca. At the time of the first find, Sámuel Kohn declared: "Let us have excavations carried out in Buda, but soon, before a street is opened over the old Jewish graveyard. It will cost us a financial sacrifice, but it is our moral duty."⁶⁷

Besides the stones mentioned already, another three medieval gravestones have been discovered in various parts of Buda. These had been dragged away from their original positions and used for building work.

During the siege of Budapest in 1944–45, the houses on the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery were hit by bombs. While the removal of the rubble and the rebuilding was going on, I paid frequent visits to the site in the hope of making further finds. The workmen found large numbers of human bones, but not a single gravestone. It was a grave mistake that we did not turn to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and commission excavations. By that omission the last opportunity was lost.

There are also stones which have been lost or lie concealed. Some of them were still to be seen in 1833 on the site of the cemetery, when József Podhradczky wrote: "This cemetery was in the Krisztinaváros district, where Jewish gravestones can still be seen."⁶⁸

A decade later M. Zipser noted:⁶⁹ "Noch sind da und dort Grabsteine aus dem alten jetzt ganz demolierten jüdischen Friedhof als Ecksteine bei manchen Häusern anzutreffen, deren Sammlung und würdigere Aufbewahrung wahrlich nicht bloss die religiöse Pietät gegen unsere verstorbenen Vorfahren, sondern das einfache Menschengefühl gegen Verstorbene überhaupt uns gebieten sollte." A stone mentioned in 1866 has since disappeared: "I have the hope," wrote Henrik Deutsch, "that I shall also acquire the inscription which stood for a long time on the corner of a street in Krisztinaváros, but has been taken to the Israelite cemetery in Óbuda."⁷⁰ Even in 1887, Sámuel Kohn saw stones which could only have come from the medieval Jewish cemetery: "Several such gravestones, whose inscriptions, however, are



Inscription 21

for the most part already faint, are immured in what is called the Fehérvári kapu in Buda."⁷¹

Sándor Büchler also mentions one: "Two years ago gravestones from the Árpád age were dug up in Buda; had the National Museum not taken pity on them, they would still be lying around there, or would have become lost as that old Jewish gravestone in Buda which I published an account of in the papers years ago did."⁷² I have been unable to trace this publication.

The stones described below are marked by the depth and size of their carved letters, their fairly large surface, the fairly broad border and the attempt in the text at originality. Here, too, certain general forms are adhered to, as is pointed out in the remarks. Particularly typical is the use of **אלף הששי** in the date.

21.

AUGUST 21–SEPTEMBER 18, 1278

ציון	This memorial
הלו קמה לראש	is raised at the head
ר' פסח בר פטר	of R. Pesah, son of R. Peter,
שנאסף לעולמו	who returned to eternity
5 בשנת לה לאלף	in the 38th year of the sixth millennium [1278],
שישי בירח אלול	in the month of Elul
.....

Discovered in 1894, at the corner of Alagút and Pauler streets, on the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery of Buda.

Height: 68 cm; width: 72 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 639.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *AÉ*, XV, 1895, 219–20; *idem*: *MGWJ*, XXXIX, 1895, 306–07; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 46.

Photographs: *AÉ*, XV, 1895, 220; *BpR*, V, 1897, 47; F. Grünvald: *A zsidók története Budán*, Bp., 1938, 4; A. Fürst: **בּוּרְדַאפֶּשֶׁט**, Arim Veimmahot Be-Yisrael, II, Jerusalem, 1947, plate between pp. 37 and 38.

References: D. Kaufmann: 'Der älteste jüdische Grabstein Ungarns', *Pester Lloyd*, XLI, 1894, No. 224 (Abendblatt); S. Kohn: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1896, 58; S. Büchler: *A zsidók története Budapestén*, Bp., 1901, 37–8.

REMARKS:

Line 1: **ציון הלז**: see line 1 of Stone 20: a familiar medieval formula. See L. Lewysohn: **נפשות צדיקים**, Frankfurt a/M, 1855, 43, No. 24; 111, No. IX; D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 128; L. Levy: 'Die ältesten Grabsteine in Mähren', *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Brno, 1929, 24.

Line 2: **קמה**: a grammatical error for **קם**. See L. Lewysohn: *op. cit.*, 112, No. XII.

Line 3: **פטס**: cf L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, Berlin, 1876, 25; E. L. Rapp: *Die Mainzer hebräischen Epitaphien aus dem Mittelalter*, Mainz, 1958, 10, No. 23. Pessach Manusch in Sopron in 1497–8 (*MZsO*, VIII, 91–2, No. 81; 93–4, No. 84).

Same line: **פטר**. H.J. Zimmels states: "The name 'Peter' is not found among the Jews in Europe in the Middle Ages, being regarded as the name of a renegade and thus objectionable from the religious point of view" (*JQR*, N.S. XLVIII, 1957–8, 51–2). Instead he reads Pater. This is erroneous, as the transcription of the name in Latin letters also proves. In 1343, in Frankfurt am Main mention is made of a Petrus von Menze (G.L. Kriegk: *Frankfurter Bürgerzwiste und Zustände im Mittelalter*, Frankfurt a/M, 1862, 552; A. Dietz: *Stammbuch der Frankfurter Juden*, Frankfurt a/M, 1907, 192; I. Kracauer: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Juden in Frankfurt a. M. von 1150 bis 1400*, I, Frankfurt a/M, 1914, 368, 377). In 1382 we know of two Jews in Brno, Peter and Mertlin, as owners of the village of Strzizow (E. Carmoly: *Ben Chananja*, II, 1859, 464). This same Peter appears in the same year in a document written in Latin, the abstract of which is known: "Jaroslaw, Abt, und der Convent des Praemonstratenserklusters Zabdrawitz bekennen, dass sie den Brünner Juden

Peter Reuthlin, Jacob von Berge (de Monte) und Cheblin 24 Mark prager Groschen mährischer Währung schuldig sind und verpflichten sich dieses Darlehen in drei Fristen bis Weinachten desselben Jahres zurückzuzahlen. 18. Juli 1382" (G. Bondy und F. Dworsky: *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien von 906 bis 1620*, I, Prague, 1906, 79–80, No. 158). Its form in Hebrew letters is rather frequent. For example in 1300 a gravestone in Rothenburg o. d. Tauber gives **יחיאל בר פטר** (M. Grunwald: *MGWJ*, LXXII, 1928, 206, No. 4). Further examples can be found from the Middle Ages (M. Wiener: *ZDMG*, XIX, 1865, 511; A. Scheiber: *JQR*, N.S. XLVIII, 1957–8, 306–07). It can also be encountered in more recent publications (*Responsa et Decisiones*, ed. E. Kupfer, Jerusalem, 1973, 144, 168; A.M. Habermann: *Hadashim Gam Yeshanim*, Jerusalem, 1975, 232; *New Responsa of Rabbi Yaacov Molin-Maharil*, ed. Y. Satz, Jerusalem, 1977, 338, No. 204). In 1547, during the Turkish occupation, its Hebrew form also occurs among the Buda Jews: Kajfes (*MZsO*, V/1, 189). In 1580 the names Múszí Petri, Jakob Petri and Petre can be encountered (L. Fekete: *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából*, VI, 1938, 132, 133). In the 18th century: Petrus Salamon, Petter Heyam, Peter Elias, Petrus Levko and Moyses Piter (*MZsO*, XVI, 186, 236, 280). László Galambos gives examples of the occurrence of the name Peter in Hungary among non-Jews: *A szentírásí eredetű személynevek a Várad Regestrumban* (Forenames of Biblical origin in the Várad Regestrum), Bp., 1942, 37–9.

Line 6: **שישי** is a grammatical error for **השישי**. The writing of the word as "plene" frequently occurs in the Middle Ages. To cite the millennia is another medieval peculiarity. See, for example, M. Pollák: *A zsidók Bécs-Újhelyen* (Jews in Wiener-Neustadt), Bp., 1891, 41, 42, 52.

22.

1279/80

.....

<p>שנאסף [לעולמו בשנת] חמשת אלפים וארבעים לפרט</p>	<p>who returned [to eternity] in the five thousand and fortieth [year], according to the major era [1279/80].</p>
---	--

אאא ססס Amen, amen, amen. Sela, sela, sela.



Inscription 22

Discovered in 1894, at the corner of Alagút and Pauler streets, on the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery in Buda.

Height: 95 cm; width: 80 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 643.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *AÉ*, XV, 1895, 221–2; *idem*, *MGWJ*, XXXIX, 1895, 307–08; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 47.

Photographs: *AÉ*, XV, 1895, 221; *BpR*, V, 1897, 49.

REMARKS:

Line 3: לפרט, denotes the major era, which includes the millennia.

Line 4: אמן אמן אמן סלה סלה ססה = ססה ססה ססה. This formula can be seen for example in Worms: L. Lewysohn: *נפשות צדיקים*, Frankfurt a/M, 1855, 27, No. 16; 31, No. 17; 32, No. 19; 34, No. 20; 35, No. 21; 40, No. 22; 48, No. 28; 92, No. 59; 111, No. IX. Regarding the three repetitions of אמן cf. F. Cantera and J.M. Millás: *Las Inscripciones Hebraicas de España*, Madrid, 1956, 41, No. 15. The formula סלה אמן continued to be used after the Middle Ages and appears in places even in the 18th century. See Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg: *Der Friedhof auf der Judeninsel im Rhein bei Koblenz*, Zurich, 1956, 32, Nos. 1, 3a, 6; 33, Nos. 9, 10. See G. Scholem: *Tarbiz*, L, 1980–81, 268, 278.

23.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1350

.....
.....
[ל]בת..... daughter [of], his memory [is
blessed],



Inscription 23

<p>..... ר"ה אזיל [תהא נפשה] 5 [צרוה בצרו]ר [נשמת שרו]ל אמן</p>	<p>Departed at New Year..... for life in the garden of [Ede]n. [May her soul be] bound up in the bond of the souls of Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and [Leah]. Amen.</p>
---	--

It has a wide border and a high pedestal, both typical of the Middle Ages. Discovered in 1897, at the corner of Roham and Attila streets. In 1932 it was removed from the Jewish cemetery in the Viziváros district to where it is now.

Height: 70 cm; width: 50 cm; thickness: 36 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

The text is published here for the first time.

Reference: D. Kaufmann: *Pester Lloyd*, XLV, 1898, No. 69.

REMARKS:

Line 2: אזיל, would correctly be אזלת.

Line 3: The words ג' ל'ח"י give the date: 1350. See E.L. Rapp and O. Böcher: *Die ältesten hebräischen Inschriften Mitteleuropas in Mainz, Worms und Speyer*, Mainz, 1959, 37. The phrase also occurs elsewhere: *150 ans de judaïsme belge*, Antwerp-Brussels, 1980, 55.

Line 5: [ל] שרו = שרה רבקה רחל ולא = שרה רבקה רחל ולא. This phrase appears on a gravestone in Cividale del Friuli (Z. Avneri: *Tarbiz*, XXXI, 1961-2, 294).



Inscription 24

NOVEMBER 6–DECEMBER 4, 1393

.....
.....
.....
כסליו שנת קנד	Kislev, in the 154th year [1393],
לפרט לאלף	according to the major era,
השישי תנצבה	in the sixth millennium. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1895, on a plot between Alagút and Roham streets, on the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery of Buda. The lines are scored.

Height: 65 cm; width: 48 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the corridor on the ground floor of the Hungarian National Museum.

Inventory No. 118/1895.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 84–5; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 48.

Reference: D. Kaufmann: *Pester Lloyd*, XLII, 1895, No. 223.

REMARKS:

Line 3: **השישי**: written plene, as on Gravestone No. 21.

Same line: **תנצבה**: phrase from I Samuel xxv. 29. It was used on gravestones as early as Ancient Times. See J.-B. Frey: *CIJ*, I, Rome–Paris, 1936, 474, No. 661; II, Rome, 1952, 442, No. 1534, cf. L. Blau: *Annuario di Studi Ebraici*, II, Rome, 1938, 68–9. From the Middle Ages onwards it appears very frequently. See, for example, L. Lewysohn: **נפשות צדיקים**, Frankfurt a/M, 1855, 45, No. 26; 47, No. 27, etc. The phrase has been identified by O. Eissfeldt: *Der Beutel der Lebendigen*, Berlin, 1960. The history of it was written by M.



Inscription 25

Vogelmann: *Sinai*, XLIX, 1961, No. 9, 176–80. In the Middle Ages it first featured on a gravestone from Venosa, in 822: C. Colafemmina: *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, XLIII, 1977, 261–3; A. Scheiber: *AOH*, XXXII, 1978, 123.

25.

FEBRUARY 14, 1405

האבן הזאת אש	This stone
אשר שמתי	which I have placed
מצבה לראש	as a memorial column over the head
[בעלי] ר' יצחק בר'	of [my husband], R. Isaac, the son of R.
⁵ [שנפטר] ונקבר פה	... [who died] and was buried here,
ביום [פורים] שני	on the 2nd day of [Purim],
שנת... קללה	in the year of the curse [165/1405].
[תנצ] בה	[May his soul be bound up] in the bond of
	life.

The stone shattered while being lifted out. It was put together, but is now in pieces again, and so I was unable to check the reading of every letter.

Discovered in 1895, on a plot between Alagút and Roham streets, on the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery of Buda.

Height: 1.50–1.60 cm; width: 65 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 632.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 86; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 50.

References: D. Kaufmann: *Pester Lloyd*, XLII, 1895, No. 223.



Inscription 26

REMARKS:

Line 1: A phrase from Genesis (xxviii, 22,) which often features on medieval gravestones. See L. Lewysohn: **נפשות צדיקים**, Frankfurt a/M, 1855, 24, No. 13; 31, No. 17; 34, No. 20; L. Levy: 'Die ältesten Grabsteine in Mähren.' *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Brno, 1929, 24, 27, 28.

Same line: **שא**: are the first two letters of the first word in the following line, used by the mason to fill the line out.

Line 6: **פורים**: my addition.

Line 7: The date is given by the dotted word **קללה** (curse): 165 [1405].

26.

1430/31

.....
.....
.....

קצא לפרט 191 [1430/31], according to the minor era.
תנצבה אט May his soul be bound up in the bond
of life. Amen. Sela.

Discovered in 1895, on a plot between Alagút and Roham streets, on the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery in Buda.

Height: 105 cm; width: 79 cm; thickness: 25 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 85–6; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 49.

Reference: D. Kaufmann: *Pester Lloyd*, XLII, 1895, No. 223.



Inscription 27

REMARKS:

Line 1: לפרט: according to the minor era: the millennia are not given.

Line 2: אס. See the last line of Stone 22.

27.

JULY 17, 1492

פה נטמנ האש	Here is concealed the good
החש[וב]ה...	woman
בת ר חיים אל	daughter of R. Hayyim, his memory is blessed.
כב תמוח : רבי	On the 22nd of Tammuz in 252 [1492]
לפרט לאלף	according to the major era, in the sixth
השישי תנצבה	millennium. May her soul be bound up in the bond
	of life
לע : ועד : אמנ :	forever. Amen.

The surface of the stone has been badly chipped.
 Discovered in 1898, on the site of 56 Attila utca.
 Height: 151 cm; width: 61 cm; thickness: 42 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 118.

LITERATURE:

The text is published here for the first time.

Reference: D. Kaufmann: *Pester Lloyd*, XLV, 1898, No. 69.

REMARKS:

Line 4: רבים = many. The numerical value of these letters gives the date: 1492. It conceals a reference to Daniel xii.2, which speaks of resurrection. Kaufmann read it as 1482. From 1492, we have knowledge of the Jewish



Inscription 28

cemetery in Buda. Prince János Corvin had the Turkish prisoners beheaded “vnnnd die kopffe liess er auf der Juden kirchhoff schüden vnnnd die raben fressen” (“he had the heads scattered in the Jewish cemetery to be eaten by the ravens”). See *Erlebnisse eines deutschen Landsknechts (1484–1493) von ihm selbst beschrieben*, ed. W. J. A. Frh. v. Tettan, Erfurt, 1869, 14–5; L. Tardy: *MIOK Évkönyve*, 1979–80, 410.

Line 7: לע ועד = לעולם ועד. Unusual on a gravestone (cf. Ex. XV. 18.).

Same line: on אמן compare Stones 22 and 26.

28.

.....
.....
.....
[בשל]ם תח[ת]	[in pie]ce, under the throne of the
כסא הכבוד	(divine) glory.

Discovered in 1894, at the corner of Alagút and Pauler streets, on the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery of Buda.

Height: 84 cm; width: 72 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 644.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *AÉ*, XV, 1895, 221–2; *idem*: *MGWJ*, XXXIX, 1895, 307; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 47.

Photographs: *AÉ*, XV, 1895, 222; *BpR*, V, 1897, 48.



Inscription 29

REMARKS:

Only two lines of the text of this huge gravestone have survived, and even of these only the last line can be deciphered clearly.

Line 1: [תח]ת: Kaufmann could not read it, although the word is clear.

Line 2: The expression comes from II Samuel ii.8 and Jer xvii.12. It occurs frequently on other gravestones, for example in Worms: נפשות צדיקים תחת כסא הכבוד תהיה נפשו עמודה. See L. Lewysohn: *Frankfurt a/M*, 1855, 42, No. 23. Literary antecedents: *AdRN*, ed. Schechter, 50; *Seder Eliyahu Rabba*, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1904, 18; S. Assaf: *Zlotnik Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem, 1950, 165. Parallels to it: S. Saphraï: *Eretz-Israel*, V, Jerusalem, 1958, 212; E. M. Meyers: *JQR*, LXII, 1971, 104. It features in a letter by Yehosef ha-Nagid: A. M. Habermann: *Tesoro de los Judios Sefardies*, IV, Jerusalem, 1961, 58.

29.

.....
.....
לאל השי	in the sixth millennium.
תנצבה	May his/her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1947 in the house at 38 Űri utca. The medieval dwelling house that formed the core of the building was built in Űri utca in the 14th century. During the siege of 1686 it was partly destroyed and only the gateway and ground-floor vaults remained intact. The house was rebuilt in the 18th century with the medieval remains (M. Horler: *Budapest műemlékei* (The monuments of Budapest), I, Bp., 1955, 554). The Jewish gravestones may have been incorporated into it at that time. D. Kaufmann considers it absurd that stones should be dragged such a distance (*MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 87), but experience shows that far greater distances were covered in the search for proper building stones.

Height: 35 cm; width: 42 cm; thickness: 28.5 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 987.



Inscription 30

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 125, No. 1; *idem*: *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 147, No. 1.

Photographs: *AO*, II, 1952, 132.

REMARKS:

Line 1: **השי לאל**: on this and its plene writing, compare Stones 21 and 24.

30.

.....
.....
..... שכ [ב]	lie[s].....
..... לפד [יון]	in ran[som].....
..... תה [לה]	prai[se].....
..... בצ [לאל בן]	Betsa[llel, son of].....
5 בלו [מא]	Blu[me].....

The border, the carving technique, letter size and the text unrelated to any form point unequivocally to the Middle Ages.

Discovered in 1957 in the house at 32 Úri utca, a site where two medieval dwelling houses once stood. In 1686, the northerly building was destroyed; the gateway of the southerly with its traceried sedilia and a part of the ground floor remained intact. It was rebuilt at the beginning of the 18th century, when the Jewish gravestones were incorporated into it. During the siege of 1944–5, a great part of the building was destroyed (M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 546–8.). When the rubble was cleared, some of these Jewish gravestones were found (e.g. Stone 56).

Height: 49.5 cm; width: 21 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 57.154.



Inscription 31

LITERATURE:

The text is published here for the first time.

REMARKS:

Line 2: [לפד]יין: Psalms xlix. 9.

Line 4: [בצ]לאל: a Biblical name. Exodus xxxi. 2.

Line 5: [בלו]מא: a German translation of the Hebrew name פרח. See J. Nacht: *סמלי אשה*, Tel Aviv, 1959, 202. In 1573 it was found in Prague in the diminutive form בלימל (O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *Starý židovský hřbitov v Praze*, Prague, 1955, 329, No. 96). It also occurred in Hungary during the time of the Turkish occupation, as will be seen on Stone 90 and the remarks on it.

31.

.....
.....
[שנאסף]....[ויש בר]	Feiv[ush, son of R...., who entered]
[לעו]למו בשנת...חמשת	eternity [five-]
.....[אלפי]ם	thousand....
.....[ותש]עה בירח	9th year [in the month of]....
א א א	[Amen, amen,] sela, sela.

Discovered on June 23, 1965 in the building at 38 Úri utca. See remark about Stone 29.

Height: 46 cm; width: 27 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Lapidarium of the Budapest Historical Museum, 26 Táncsics utca.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

The text is published here for the first time.

REMARKS:

Line 1: [פִּיב]וֹשׁ: שְׂרֵגָא in Aramaic. See remark on Inscription 149. On a Prague gravestone from 1587 it occurs as וִיבִשׁ (O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 459–60, No. 163; *SBB*. XIV, 1982, 14).

NAGYSZOMBAT

(Trnava)

No serious monograph has been written on the long history of the Nagyszombat Jewish community,⁷³ even though the town archives have already been fully explored from the point of view of Jewish studies. No written documents concerning the cemetery have survived, but a gravestone from as early as 1340 is known.⁷⁴ In 1539, Emperor Ferdinand ordered the Jews to be expelled at the request of the inhabitants of Nagyszombat.⁷⁵ However, he was later obliged to send an order to Nagyszombat that the Jews who had not been expelled should be left unharmed.⁷⁶ It seems that in accordance with the general practice their graveyard was ravaged after their expulsion and the gravestones used for building material. In 1862, the Szered kapu was reopened and nine gravestones found in it, all dating from the Middle Ages. Those the Jewish community bought from the town council for 10 forints. The brothers-in-law of Lipót Sessler of Nagyszombat, Náthán and Ábrahám Wallach, who were born in Galgóc and living in America, put up the money to place the stones in the wall of the old Jewish cemetery.⁷⁷ When their text was published by Henrik Deutsch in *AK*, the editor added the following comment: “We are publishing these Israelite antiquities particularly because they are all among the oldest such relics in this country, because it seems Hungarian Israelites have so far taken little interest in their own archaeology, because foreign periodicals on archaeology often deal with such subjects, and because they shed valuable if but a little light on the history of an ancient tribe in our own land.”⁷⁸

The stones which had been built into the town gate survived for three and a quarter centuries, but after the Liberation, the sexton broke them up to serve as foundations for overturned gravestones of more recent origin. I was unable to find any trace of them despite a long search in which I was assisted by my friends

Emil Davidovič (of Prague), and Jenő Bárkány (of Bratislava). It is odd that no photographs should have been taken of them in over 70 years, and so I am bound to accept Henrik Deutsch's reading though I have made corrections in some places on the basis of suppositions. It seems that Henrik Deutsch himself had not seen the stones, only a transcription of the texts, since he writes: "Many thanks to dr. Vilmos Frankl [Fraknói], through whose good offices I received these inscriptions from a gentleman in Nagy-Szombat who is unknown to me.—I wish they were immured in a place where they would be protected from deterioration".⁷⁹ The transcription must have been accompanied by a German translation, since Deutsch mentions it on one occasion.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the publication does not even show the lines into which the texts on the gravestone were divided. In style they greatly surpassed those of other inscriptions in Hungary.

We learnt (in 1962) that there were two more medieval gravestones on the site. One serves as the outlet for a spring in the courtyard of the town's primary school, and the other forms a step in a little trellis gate on the promenade.⁸¹ Their texts cannot be deciphered.

32.

JULY 18, 1340

כאן טמון / איש הגון / גביר נאמן /
 כ' ישראל בר' חיים / הנהרג בלילה
 על מטתו / מ[י]תתו תהי כפרתו /
 והשם ינקום דמו / כ'ב ימים
 לירח תמוז ביום ג' שנת ק' לפק

5

Here is concealed the worthy man, the good man,
 Israel, the son of R. Hayyim, who was killed during the night
 in his bed. May his death have its atonement.

May God revenge his blood. On the 22nd day

⁵ of the month of Tammuz, on Tuesday, in the year 100, according to the
 minor era [1340].

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 105, No. 8.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Some attempt at rhyme can be discerned, which is what I wished to indicate by the caesurae. גביר נאמן: J. Heřman: *Jüdische Friedhöfe in Böhmen und Mähren*, Prague, 1980, No. 2.

Line 2: כ = כבוד.

Line 3: The source of מ[י]תתו etc: Sanh. 43b; L. Zunz: *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin, 1845, 333–4.

Line 4: והשם: On this phrase, which can be found on the gravestones of martyrs, see L. Zunz: *op. cit.*, 334–5.

33.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1376

מר לבי על הצרה / שנא אלי שכבה /
נרי מעיני / שקברתי בתי / מ' יהנטא
בת ר' יצחק שנת קל"ו
בט"ב אלול פה דירנא

My heart is bitter over the woe that has befallen me, that the light of
my eye should have been extinguished, since I have buried my daughter, the
lady Yehnte,
the daughter of R. Isaac, in the year 136 [1376]
on the 19th of Elul, here in Dyrnau.

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 105, No. 7.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: An attempt at rhyme can again be observed.

Same line: **שבא**: grammatical error for **שבאה**.

Line 2: **מ** = **מרת** = a lady, woman.

Same line: **יהנטא**: Jeannette, Jetty. The name occurs in Worms in 1296 in the form **יינטא** (L. Lewysohn: **נפשות צדיקים**, Frankfurt a/M, 1855, 32, No. 19), in Prague in 1573, in the form **יענטל** (O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 330, No. 97). See also: B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XL, 1923, 98. According to P. Mendel it originates from the word Gente, Gentile = comely (*REJ*, CX, 1950, 53). In the same way J.F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955–6, 341–2. See also: A. Scheiber: *A Májmuni Kódex* (Codex of Maimonides), Bp., 1980, 17; S. Seror: *REJ*, CXL, 1981, 144 (in 1202).

Line 3: Deutsch reads it as **קלד** and translates it as 1377. Correctly it is **קלו** = were burnt (numerical value 1376), which is a hidden reference, along with the **בטוב** that follows, to Job xxxvi. 11 (a deliberate writing of **ק** instead of **כ**).

Line 4: **בטוב** = in good; numerical value of 19.

Same line: The town is written as Dyrnau instead of Tyrnau (Nagyszombat). That corresponds with Jewish pronunciation (Galanta–Galanda).

34.

1390

הבת שרי (?) שנת ק' לך לפרט האם

The daughter, Sarah, in the year 150 [1390],
according to the minor era, the mother . . .

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 104, No. 4.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: שרי: the oldest form of the name שרה, cf. Genesis xi. 29. It is in any case an uncertain reading. Henrik Deutsch writes שדי and translates it as “rapturous”, which is not justified by the shape of the word. Anyway, the name must come at that point.

35.

1394

קראו למקוננות / וילמדוני קי[נ]ות /
על אשת חיל כבנות / אמינו
מרת ליבל שנפטרה קנ"ד לפרט
תנצ"ב ה'

Call for the wailing women that they should teach me laments
over the good woman who resembled the women of the Bible, our
mother,
the lady Liebel, who died in 154 [1394], according to the minor era.
May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 105, No. 9.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Here, too, rhyme can be noticed.

Same line: קראו: Jeremiah ix. 16; וילמדוני: Jeremiah ix. 19; ק[י]נות: Z. Avneri: *PAAJR*, XXXIII, 1965, Hebrew part: 11, No. 2.

Line 2: חיל אשת: Proverbs xxxi. 10; כבנות: reference to Proverbs xxxi. 29 (M. Richtmann: *AT*, IX, 1962, 139).

Line 3: ליבל = Liebel, a diminutive of Liebe. See L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 49; B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XL, 1923, 98. In Prague the forms ליפט and ליבה occur, cf. O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 267-8, No. 70; 463-4, No. 195.

36.

1396

.....
.....הלכה לעולמה ביום ויו האנֶק לא נעדר
לאלף הששי תִנְצָבֶה

.....
She returned to eternity on Friday, (in the year of) the
unceasing "wailing" [156 = 1396],
in the sixth millennium. May her soul be bound up in the bond
of life.

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 105, No. 5.
No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: the numerical value of ה' א' נ' ק' is 1396. Henrik Deutsch writes 1391, even though he writes out the abbreviation mark after ה' , which is a sign that it should also be counted into the date. Deutsch then adds: "This expression clearly indicates that the year 1391 was a baleful one for the Jews of Nagyszombat as well. In 1391 there were great persecutions of Jews in Bohemia and Moravia." His reading and conclusions were adopted by S. Kohn (*A zsidók története Magyarországon* (History of the Jews in Hungary), 1884, 173) and S. Büchler (*A zsidók története Budapesten* (History of the Jews in Budapest), Bp., 1901, 41). It serves as a warning on how an erroneous reading can find its way into print and then continue to mislead.

37.

אבן הזאת אשר שמתי מצבה
.....

On the other side:

כאן נקבר אסתר בת ר' דוד הנל
.....

This stone which I have placed as a memorial
column
.....

On the other side:

Here is buried Esther, the daughter of R. David
mentioned above

.....

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 104, No. 1.
No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: The first word would correctly be **האבן**. For this opening formula see Stone 25.

Line 2: **נקבר**: the abbreviation mark has to be added, since it would sound in its entirety **נקברת**. Henrik Deutsch erroneously writes and punctuates **נקבר**.

Same line: **הנל** = the abbreviation of **לעיל** **הנוכר**.

The stone is clearly the joint gravestone of David the father and Esther his daughter.

38.

כאן נטמן / גביר נאמן / ר' אברהם

.....

Here is concealed the good man, R. Abraham

.....

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 105, No. 6.
No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: The attempt at rhyme is again obvious.

39.

אוי לי על שבירי / לוקח עצם מבשרי /

.....

Woe is to me for my break, the bone has been
taken away from my body.

.....

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.
Dimensions unknown.
No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 104, No. 3.
No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Rhyme can again be discerned. The first half-line hints at Jeremiah x.19, and the second at Genesis ii.23. It is apparent from the second half-line that the husband is bewailing his wife, and so Henrik Deutsch's supposition that "it presumably refers to a death suffered by violence" is quite unfounded.

40.

אוי ואבוי יללה / צעקתי כי גדלה ומר[ה]

.....
Woe, woe, bewailing, for my lamentation is great and bitter
.....

Discovered in 1862 in the Szered kapu at Nagyszombat.

Dimensions unknown.

No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: H. Deutsch: *AK*, VI, 1866, 104, No. 2.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Rhyming can again be observed.

Same line: [מר]ה: Henrik Deutsch reads this as **ומר**, which is grammatically impossible; in any case it is a direct quotation from Genesis xxvii. 34, where it stands in this form. The rhyming, too, confirms my complement. H. Deutsch's translation is entirely faulty and senseless: "Ah and woe! Grieving I bewail, for it is great and bitter". It is almost incredible that an otherwise good scholar of Hebrew should so utterly misunderstand such a simple sentence.



A view of the Jewish cemetery at Szabolca

SZAKOLCA

(Skalica)

In one of his responsa of 1814, the Pozsony Rabbi Moses Sofer wrote the following in answer to a question from a certain R. Elija: "You wish to know my modest opinion on the case of the Cohen who went into the courtyard of a non-Jew, and there in the paving of the courtyard caught sight of a gravestone. Having turned it over, he found the following inscription on it: פה נטמן איש הגון ר' זכרי' בן ר' ידידי' נפטר בעיהכ קנט לפ'ק. So that stone therefore is more than 415 years old, and the owner of the courtyard states that he knows by oral tradition handed down from his ancestors that in and around the courtyard there was once a Jewish graveyard, against which we (i.e. the Jews) can cite our tradition that Jews only settled in this area in recent times; Jews have been living here for a hundred years at most; so the question is how the Cohens should act in this matter, and whether they are allowed to step into the courtyard in question, seeing that there may be graves there" (חתם סופר, II, Preßburg, 1841, 144a, Yore Dea, No. 337). Moses Sofer's answer shows a sense of history. He replied there had been large Jewish villages in that area from which the Jews had been expelled in the Middle Ages, and that they had only resettled there in recent times. "That village too," he continues, "must certainly be among those where Jews once lived and from which they were expelled."

According to Sándor Büchler, the one who put the question was Elija Rosenthal, the book factor to the Buda University Hebrew press, who was reporting to Pozsony on a find in Buda. "So the responsum of the Hatam Sofer has preserved an epitaph for us from the former Jewish graveyard in Buda."⁸²

Scholars have failed to realize that the problem was solved more than 70 years ago by Samuel Klein, who later became a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.⁸³ He proved that the person who put the question was R. Elija, rabbi of Szakolca. When he enquired, the gravestone was searched for and found in the Jewish graveyard at Szakolca by the Szakolca cantor, Jakob Neumann, who copied the inscription on it. His copy tallies essentially with that quoted in the responsum of Moses Sofer.

The earliest mention of a Jew in Szakolca is from 1406.⁸⁴ The name Szakolca later features in a decision made by Krohmal Menahem Mendel, the rabbi of Nikolsburg, in 1648.⁸⁵ The existence of the old Jewish settlement is also born out by the Hebrew binding boards in the libraries of the Jesuits and the Franciscans in Szakolca.⁸⁶



Inscription 41

Nothing further was heard of the gravestone for 50 years. However, after a lengthy correspondence, I succeeded in locating it. At my request, Robert Neumann of Bratislava visited Szakolca. In his letter of July 17, 1960, he gave a detailed report of how he had found the stone: "There are two Jewish cemeteries in Szakolca. In the newer one only fragments are to be found. The old cemetery is situated in a sheltered location: the back of it runs by the old town wall, while to the right there stands a bastion-like fortress or tower for storing gunpowder. The little ritual house has no gate or walls, and only the cellar bricks have survived . . . After a four-hour search with some helpers, I found the gravestone inside—on the basis of the text you sent. It was 35 centimetres into the ground, but otherwise in good condition." He took an excellent photograph of the stone, from which it can be seen that both the previous publications of the text were inaccurate and faulty, as will be pointed out in our remarks. It has a broad oval border, typical of the Middle Ages. The letters are large but not fine, and uneven. One letter has been engraved into the frame.

41.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1398

פה	Here
טמון איש	has been concealed the worthy
הגון ר' זכרי	man R. Zechariah,
בן הר' ידידיה	the son of R. Yedidyah,
5 ביום ו' בערב	on Friday, at the time of Erev
יום כיפור	Yom Kippur,
ק'נט לפ'	in 159 [1398], according to the minor era.
ת'נצ'ב'ה	May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1814 in the courtyard of a house in Szakolca.

Height: 1 metre; width: 50 cm; thickness: 30 cm.

Now in the old Jewish cemetery at Szakolca.

The first photograph of it appears in this book.



A view of the Jewish cemetery at Szabolca



A view of the Jewish Cemetery at Szakolca

LITERATURE:

Text publications: Moses Sofer: סופר חתם, II, Preßburg, 1841, 144a, Yore Dea, No. 337; S. Klein: *Egyenlőség*, XXIX, 1910, No. 45.

References: W. Bacher: 'Századunk első feléből', *MZsSz*, IX, 1892, 699; S. Büchler: *MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 207.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Abbreviated by Samuel Klein: פֿט.

Line 2: טמון: according to M. Sofer: נטמן.

Line 3: ר: according to Samuel Klein: ה.

Same line: זכרִי: in Samuel Klein's version the abbreviation is written out in full.

Line 4: הר: according to M. Sofer: ר; according to Samuel Klein: ה, as in line 3.

Same line: In the Bible Yedidyah is the surname of Solomon (II Samuel xii. 25). See J. Rosenfeld: *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Fürth*, Sept. 1982. From the Year 1393 in Nürnberg. In M. Sofer's version it is abbreviated.

Line 5: ביום א: in M. Sofer's version this is omitted and נפטר appears arbitrarily; in Samuel Klein's version the א is missing, and as a consequence he arrives at the alien turn: ביום ערב יום כפור.

Same line: בערב: in M. Sofer's version it is contracted with the following words and abbreviated; in Samuel Klein's version: ערב.

Line 6: כיפור: in Samuel Klein's version: כפור.

Line 7: Samuel Klein erroneously construes the date as 1399.

Same line: לפ: in both versions it is expanded: לפֿק.

Line 8: Missing in M. Sofer's version.

SOPRON

The Jewish cemetery at Sopron “was situated outside the castle walls, in the neighbourhood of the plots before Szent Mihály kapu, within a triangle between today’s Jewish and the old Catholic graveyards, bounded by Tégla, Temető and Tómalom streets; part of it was between what today are the Bástyakert and the old St. Michael’s Catholic graveyard.”⁸⁷ After the expulsion of the Jews in 1526, the parish representatives submitted a motion: “According to the unanimous resolution of the representative body, the graveyard of the Jews, along with its appurtenances, must be rased and rendered completely empty and free; and should the matter proceed towards purchase, there would undoubtedly be buyers. The representatives hope the honoured council will effectuate this undoubtedly needful proposal without opposition so as to forestall the Jews from selling severally.”⁸⁸ It seems that the council agreed to the proposal of the village representatives and had the graveyard made “empty and free”. As we have already seen, the stonemason János was searching in the cemetery in 1539 for stones suitable for the building of St. Michael’s Church, and he dressed and delivered four wagonloads of them to the church. This now becomes more understandable, as the church is in the vicinity of the Jewish cemetery. Obviously the other stones were also dragged away and incorporated into buildings, as was done at Buda, Nagyszombat and other places in the Middle Ages and even later, both in Hungary and abroad. In 1350, Jewish gravestones were immured into the Neubrücken-Tor in Münster.⁸⁹ After the expulsion of the Jews in 1420, the gravestones in Vienna were used for the foundations of new buildings.⁹⁰ For that reason, not a single gravestone has come to light from ancient and historic Jewish communities in Hungary. Miksa Pollák complained in 1896: “Not a single scrap has remained of the gravestones, which might otherwise have survived for millennia. Although the site of the old Jewish cemetery is known, I have been unable to find even a single gravestone, or indeed a fragment of one.”⁹¹

The location of the cemetery has remained known through history and common knowledge. In 1664 the site was still known as the “Judenfriedhof”. A Sopron citizen called János Csányi mentioned it as the “Judtenfreithoff” in his chronicle of 1684. The vineyards which lay around the Jewish cemetery retained their names: even at the beginning of the 19th century, they were still called “Judenweingärten”. “Any citizen of Sopron can show you where the ‘Jewish vineyards’ are. The name of the area of vineyard is still alive among the people as

'Judengärten' or 'Judenäcker'. Various maps of the town of Sopron also mark it by that name."⁹²

What is known of the gravestones? The Jews who were expelled in 1526 mentioned that the inscriptions in the graveyard had shown the graves to be those of their ancestors of 600 years past ("Cimeterium nostrorum maiorum, quod ante Sexingentos fuisse annos ex Epitaphiis nostris constat").⁹³ That would mean Jews had settled in Sopron around 1000, which is scarcely credible. What one can say, and what suffices from our point of view, is that their oldest gravestones were still in existence at the time of their expulsion.

The British archaeologist, Jeremiah Milles, wrote about the neighbourhood of the Ursuline houses during a visit to Sopron in April, 1737: "In the courtyard of one of the neighbouring houses there stands a fragment, on which the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus is depicted in a relief, with a fragment of writing above it, with which nothing can be done. Above that there are a few, almost obliterated Hebrew letters which I was told could stand for Isaak Bar Benoah."⁹⁴ That means a Roman stone was reused in the Middle Ages by the Jews as a gravestone, an occurrence of which there were two later instances in Óbuda.⁹⁵

The following can be read about the house at 1 Hátsó kapu: "In 1816, the carpenter Márton Hausenauer asked the town to allow him to use the rear gate for the building of his planned great house. The council accepted the proposal. . . . However, despite frequent solicitations, building was not started until 1821, due to the poor economic conditions. In 1821, two stones with Jewish inscriptions were found during the demolition (Tjk. 130). The council's proviso, that the stones be mounted in the wall of Hasenauer's new house, was not fulfilled."⁹⁶ At that time the Jewish cook read the inscriptions and deemed that they were from around 1100.⁹⁷ More exactly, this means around 100 (the thousand is not always marked on Jewish gravestones and so was added to the cook's report, as the number was found to be too small), and adding 240 to that, one gets 1340, which is a highly probable date.

In the spring of 1944, when the Jews of Sopron were already in the ghetto awaiting their tragic end, the first Jewish gravestone found in the city came to light near the old Szent Mihály kapu, the site of the medieval Jewish graveyard, during the excavation of a cellar in Wieden, a suburb. The stone dates from the Middle Ages and was raised to the martyr Isaac b. Hayyim. It was taken to the basement of the Liszt Ferenc Museum in Sopron. Later, Fülöp Grünvald made the following proposal: "The medieval stone should be taken from the basement of the town museum and affixed to the memorial now being built. Let Isaac b.

Hayyim stand at the head of the Jewish martyrs of Sopron!"⁹⁸ His proposal was not taken up. Today the stone is in the lapidarium in the vestibule of 11 Új utca.

As excavation and restoration is constantly in progress in Sopron, one can reasonably expect that further Jewish gravestones will be found.



Inscription 42

1411/12

	האבן הוא	This stone
	אשר [ש]מתי	which I have placed
	מצבה על	as a memorial column
5	ראש ר' יצחק	over the head of R. Isaac
	בן חיים	the son of R. Hayyim,
	הנהרג ז"ל	who has been killed, his memory is blessed.
	הש ינקם	May God revenge him.
	קצב לפק	172 [1411–12], according to the minor era.

Discovered in 1944, in the cellar of House No. 31 in the suburb called Wieden.

Height: 70 cm; width: 31 cm; thickness: 13 cm.

Now in the Lapidarium at 11 Új utca, built onto the 14th century Sopron synagogue.

Inventory No. 59.33.1.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: F. Grünvald: *Darkenu*, 5707 [1947], 15–6; A. Scheiber: *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 156.

Photograph: *Darkenu*, 5707 [1947], 15; A. Scheiber: *A soproni középkori zsinagóga* (The medieval synagogue of Sopron), Sopron, 1963, 9.

References: 'Megoldódott a soproni múzeum zsidó sírkövének rejtélye' (Solution to the mystery of the Jewish gravestone in the Sopron Museum), *Soproni Újság*, 1946, X, 19; A. Scheiber: *SSz*, XII, 1958, 292–3.

REMARKS:

Line 1: **הזא**: **א** is not missing at the end of the line, as Grünvald writes, since the abbreviation mark can be seen above the **א**. Concerning this opening formula, cf. Stones 25 and 37.

Line 2: The mason omitted the letter **ש** from the word **שמתי**, but added it at the edge of the stone.

Line 7: **הש ינקם**: concerning this phrase, which is frequently found on the gravestones of martyrs, see Stone 32.

Line 8: Grünvald reads the last letter as **ק**, but it is actually a contraction of the three letters of **לפק**.

43.

יצחק בר מנוח Isaac, the son of R. Manoah

Known only from the literature.

Dimensions unknown.

No longer in existence.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: W. Kubitschek: *Ältere Berichte über den römischen Limes in Pannonien*, Vienna–Leipzig, 1929, 256–7; E. Csatkai: *Idegenek a régi Sopronról* (Foreigners on old Sopron), Sopron, 1938, 16.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Hebrew text carved onto the upper part of a Roman stone, of which the British archaeologist Jeremiah Milles wrote in 1737: “a Hebrew inscription much worn said to be Isaac Bar Benoah & (?) under it a broken stone” (W. Kubitschek: *op. cit.* 256–7). Benoah was obviously a mishearing of Manoah (**מנוח**), the name of Samson’s father (Judges xiii. 2). It also occurs on a Prague gravestone. See O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 200–1, No. 43. The

Nagymarton (Mattersdorf) Jew, Hisda b. Manoah added a clause in Hebrew to a document in 1438 (*MZsO*, VIII, 59, No. 34). Manoah b. Asher also lived in Hungary for a time (S. Büchler: *A zsidók története Budapesten*, Bp., 1901, 59).

In February 1960, news reached us that during renovation works on the building at 9 Új utca inscribed Jewish stones had come to light. All that had been recorded about that house was: "A one-storey late-baroque dwelling house with a closed courtyard built all round, with a rococo façade."⁹⁹ During the renovation of the 14th century synagogue it turned out that in the northern wall of the gateway of the house at 11, Új utca there was a walled-up medieval doorway leading into the house at No. 9.¹⁰⁰

The reconstruction work has now made it clear that two medieval houses stood on the site. Only the one on the right was connected with the building at No. 11. From the house on the left steps led up to the upper storey directly from the street, beside the gateway. Ornamented sedilia were also found at the same time.

From the dividing wall on the upper storey of the right-hand building fragments of medieval Jewish gravestones have been recovered. These stones were brought here from the cemetery abandoned by the Jews after their expulsion in 1526. They were carved up and turned into Renaissance window-frames. The windows were taken down in the 18th century and the frames used as building stones when the house was remodelled in the Baroque style.

There were press reports that "a fragment of a medieval gravestone with a Hebrew inscription has been found in Sopron in the course of renovation works on the house at 9 Új utca."¹⁰¹ I established on the spot that the fragments come not from one, but from three gravestones. All three were made of soft Fertőrákos limestone. Two of the three came from the workshop of the same mason, who scored in the lines before incising the letters. As the stone found in 1944 (No. 42) is also scored, they can safely be considered as the work of the same craftsman and in the absence of a date, this can serve as a guide to establishing their age. Scoring of the same kind can be seen on the medieval gravestones in Germany (Worms, Mainz, Speyer—E.L. Rapp and O. Böcher: *Die ältesten hebräischen Inschriften Mitteleuropas in Mainz, Worms und Speyer*, Mainz, 1959, Illustrations No. 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14 and 15). The surviving fragments show a formulation typical of the Middle Ages, but unfortunately the names and dates are missing. In June 1960, a fragment of yet another gravestone came to light on the same spot. On this stone there is no scoring.



Inscription 44

	פה [נטמן איש]	Here [is concealed the man],
	הג[ון] [ונפטר]	the go[od],
	בר [ונפטר]	the son of [He died]
	בי[ום]	... on the ... da[y]
5	שנ[ת]	... [in the] year
	תָּו [צָבָה]	May his soul [be bound up in the bond of life].
	א[א אס] ס	Amen, [amen, amen. Sela, sela], sela.

Discovered in February 1960, in three pieces, in the building at 9 Új utca.
The lines are scored in.

Height: 130 cm; width: 19 + 24 cm; thickness: 20 cm.

Now in the Lapidarium at the 14th century Sopron synagogue, at 11 Új utca.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

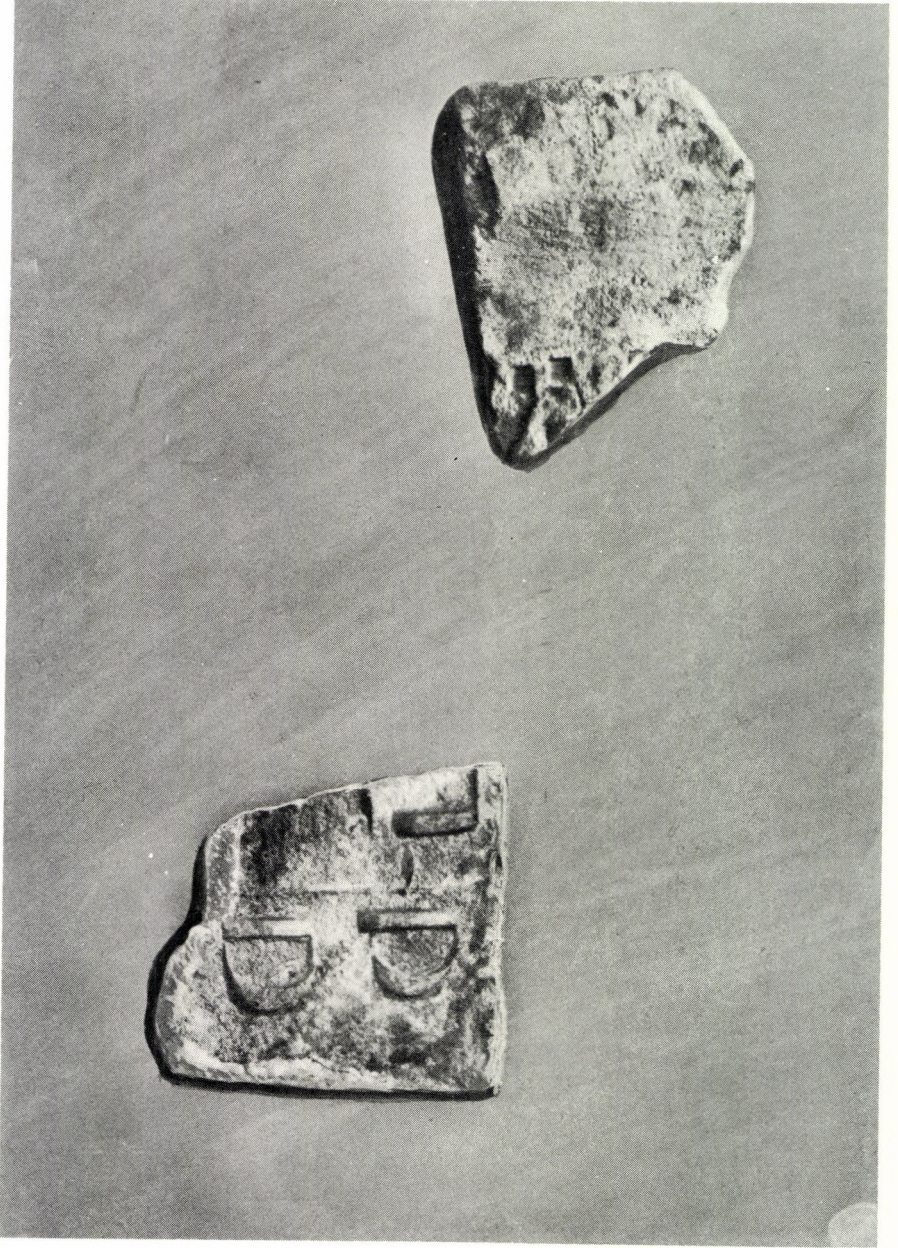
Text publication: A. Scheiber: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 359.

Photograph: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 358.

Reference: A. Scheiber: 'Középkori zsidó sírkő-töredékek kerültek elő Sopronban' (Medieval Jewish gravestone fragments have come to light in Sopron), *ÚÉ*, XVI, 1960, No. 8.

REMARKS:

Line 7: On this phrase see under Stones 22 and 26. In addition to the literature already mentioned, one can also quote similar formulations on medieval gravestones in Eger. See S.H. Lieben: 'Jüdische Grabsteine in den historischen Ländern'. *Die Jüdischen Denkmäler in der Tschechoslowakei*, Prague, 1933, 24, Figure 3.



Inscription 45

...[פה] גט[מן] [Here] is conceal[ed]

.....

ת נ צ [ב ה] [May his soul be bound] up in the bound of life.
 אָאָא [ט] [אָט] [Amen, amen, amen.] [Sela,] sela, sela.

The carving style is the same as on the previous stone. Here again the lines are score 1. Both are undoubtedly the work of the same mason. One might easily take it for another fragment of the previous stone, as even the texts would fit each other well, but the letters are larger than on the previous stone.

Discovered in February 1960, in two pieces, from the building at 9 Új utca.
 Height: 22 + 25 cm; width: 24 + 19 cm; thickness: 20 cm.

Now in the Lapidarium at the 14th century Sopron synagogue, at 11 Új utca.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 361.

Photograph: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 359.

Reference: A. Scheiber: 'Középkori zsidó sírkőtöredékek kerültek elő Sopronban', *ÚÉ*, XVI, 1960, No. 8.

REMARKS:

Line 3: On this medieval formula, see the remark about the previous inscription. On the two gravestones found in 1953 in Cologne (from 1302 and 1323) stand the words אָאָ. See Zvi Asaria: *Die Juden in Köln*, Cologne, 1959, 74.



Inscription 46

46.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

ó ó ó Sela, sela, sela.

Discovered in February 1960, in the building at 9 Új utca.
Height: 35 cm; width: 23 cm; thickness: 16 cm.
Now in the Lapidarium at the 14th century Sopron synagogue, at 11 Új
utca.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 361.

Photograph: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 360.

Reference: A. Scheiber: 'Középkori zsidó sírkőtöredékek kerültek elő Sopronban', *ÚÉ*, XVI, 1960, No. 8.

REMARKS:

Line 1: On this medieval formula, see the remark about Stone 44.



Inscription 47

47.

פה טמ[ון איש] [נא]מ[ן ונחמ]ד	Here is conceal[ed the man], [the faith]ful and lovable
.....
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in June 1960, in one of the partition walls of the building at 9 Új utca. It had been incorporated into a Renaissance window-frame.

Height: 30 cm; width: 22 cm; thickness: 25 cm.

Now in the Lapidarium at the 14th century Sopron synagogue, at 11 Új utca.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 361.

Photograph: *SSz*, XIV, 1960, 360.

REMARKS:

Line 2: **ונחמד**: Biblical expression (Genesis ii.9).



Inscription 48

	פה טמונה	[Here is conceal]ed
בת	.....	....., the daughter
כה	.....	..... on the 25th
.....
.....

Discovered in 1961, at 9 Új utca.

Height: 44 cm; width: 21 cm; thickness: ?

Now in the Lapidarium at the 14th century Sopron synagogue, at 11 Új utca.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Hungarian translation: A. Scheiber: *A soproni középkori zsinagóga* (The medieval synagogue of Sopron), Sopron, 1963, 24.

REMARKS:

The stone has a border, like the oldest to be found in Sopron. See No. 42.



Inscription 49

.....
.....
.....
נשמ[תו] .....	..... [his] soul
דור [מדור]	[from generation] to generation
לא תמו[ש אמן]	[may it not] pass. Amen,
אמן סלה [סלה]	[amen, sela,] sela.

Discovered in 1973, in the wall of the house at 9 Halász utca. It had been used in the building of the house, which is near the suburb of Wieden, i.e. not far from the former Jewish cemetery. The street is first mentioned in 1421.

Height: 10 cm; width: 11 cm; thickness: 19 cm.

Now in the Lapidarium at the 14th century Sopron synagogue, at 11 Új utca.

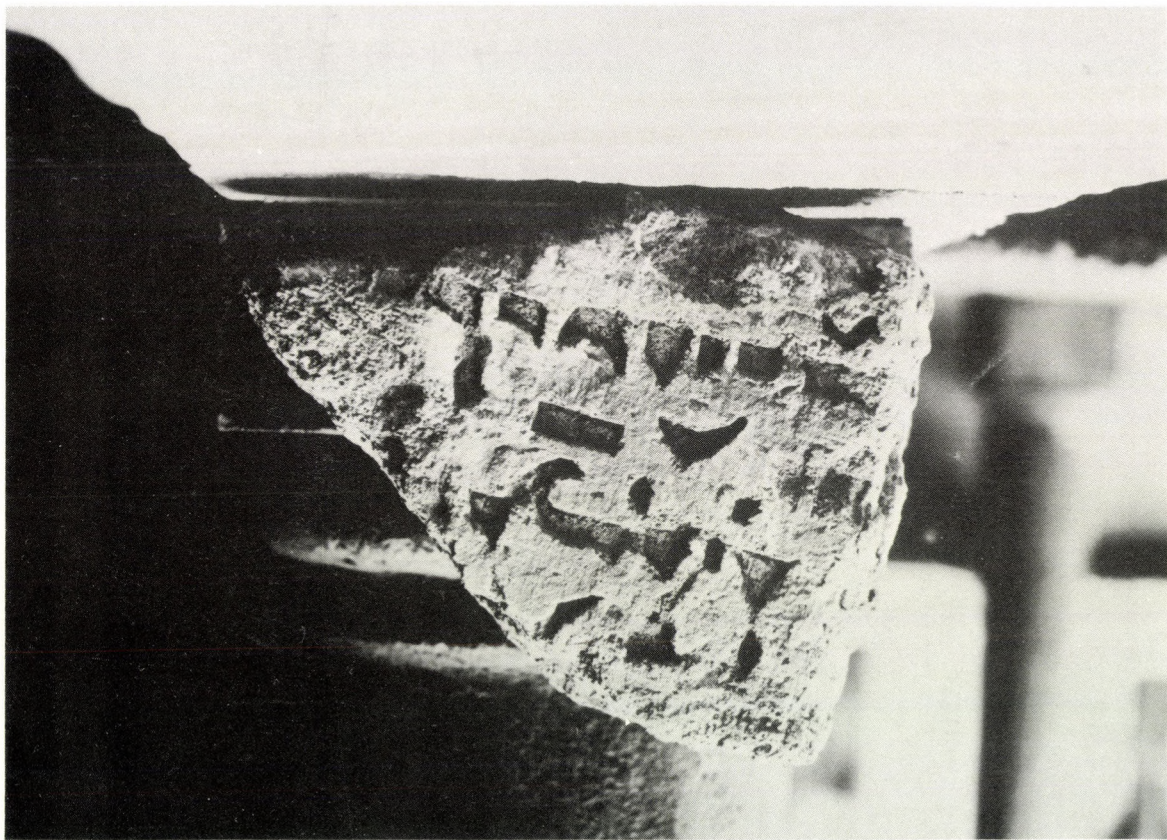
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text first published here.

REMARKS:

Line 2: Psalms x.6.



Inscription 50

50.

.....
.....
[ר' שמואל].....	..... R. Samue[^l]
[בר] ז'צל נק[בר] ... [ב'ר].....	[the son of R.] ... , the memory of the just is blessed, has been bu[ried]
.....
.....
.....

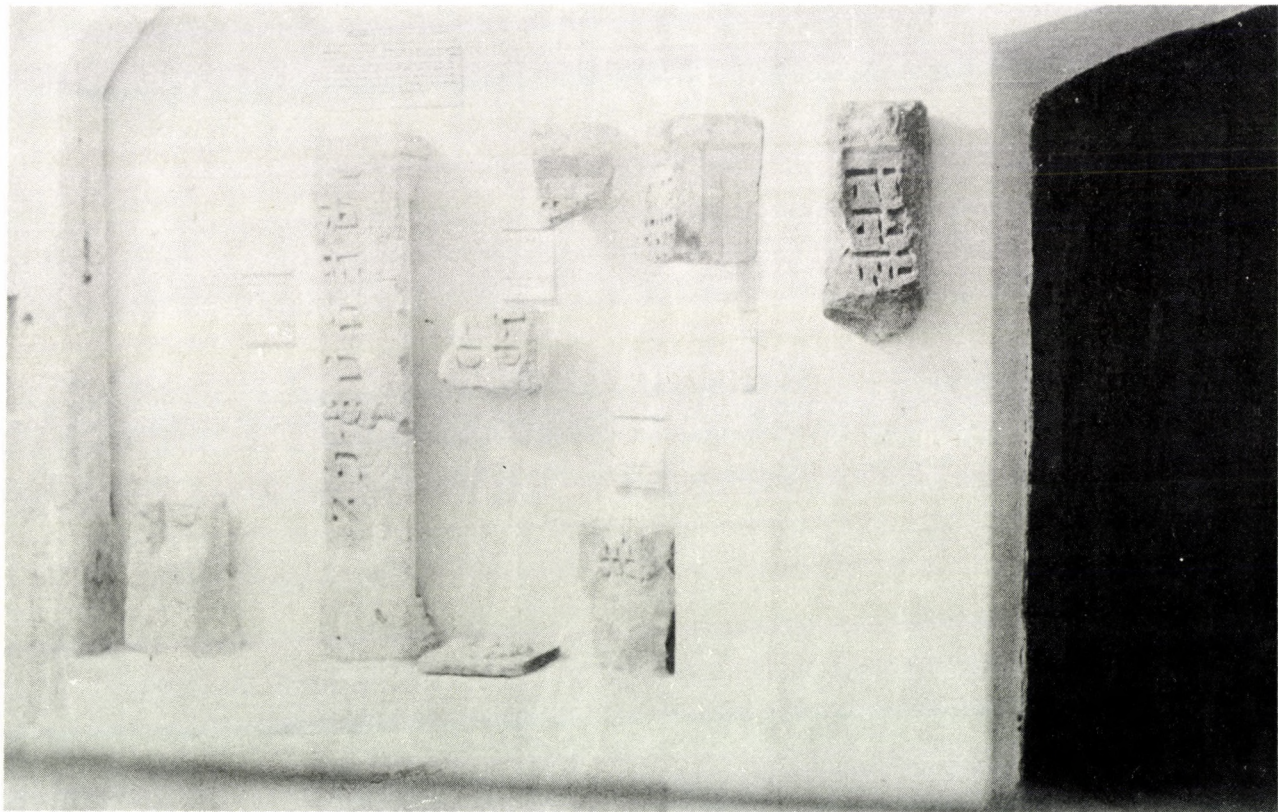
Discovered in 1973, in the wall of the house at 9 Halász utca.
Hight: 8 cm; width: 10 cm; thickness: 11 cm.
Now in the Lapidarium at the 14th century Sopron synagogue, at 11 Új utca.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text first published here.

REMARKS:

Line 2: ז'צל: Biblical phrase (Proverbs x.7). The text is already to be found on ancient gravestones: Frey: *CIJ*, I, Nos. 625, 629, 635; II, Rome, 1952, No. 892.



The Lapidarium at 11 Új utca in Sopron

NOTES

¹ A. Kiss: '11th Century Khazar Rings from Hungary with Hebrew Letters and Signs', *AAH*, XXII, 1970, 341–8, Table LVII; J. Boros and L. Rapcsányi: *Vendégségben őseinknél* (On a visit to our ancestors), Bp., 1975, 384; A. Kiss: *Baranya megye X–XI. századi sírleletei* (Grabfunde aus dem 10. und 11. Jahrhundert im Komitat Baranya), Bp., 1983, 196, 278, 305.

² Gy. Rádóczy: 'Héber betűjeles Árpád-házi pénzek' (Coins of the house of Árpád with Hebrew letters), *NK*, LXX–LXXI, 1971–2, 33–7; A. Scheiber: 'A héber betűjeles Árpád-házi pénzekhez' (On some coins of the house of Árpád with Hebrew letters), *NK*, LXXII–LXXIII, 1973–4, 91.

³ *MZsO*, I, Bp., 1903, 241–3, No. 194.

⁴ B. Mandl: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1904, 287–8.

⁵ Ph. Grünvald: 'Die Porträt-Siegel der Judenpräfekten Ungarns', *N. M. Gelber Jubilee Volume*, Tel Aviv, 1963, 291; D. B. Ruderman: *The World of a Renaissance Jew. The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol*, Cincinnati, 1981, 200.

⁶ A. Büchler: 'Das Judenprivilegium Bélas IV. vom Jahre 1251' in *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. Bernhard Heller* (hereafter *Heller Jubilee Vol.*), Bp., 1941, 143. On old Hungarian synagogues see O. Komlós's compilation: 'Tracce documentarie di antiche sinagoghe ungheresi', *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, XXII, 1956, 163–8.

⁷ **שבלי הלקט**, ed. S. Buber, Vilna, 1886, 47; *Shibolei Haleket Completum*, ed. S.K. Mirsky, Brooklyn, 1966, 276–7; S. Kohn: *A zsidók története Magyarországon* (History of the Jews in Hungary), I, Bp., 1884, 359–67, 405–8; F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki: *Źródla hebrajskie do dziejów słowian in niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy*, Wrocław–Warsaw, 1956, 61–83; cf. A. Scheiber: *AO*, VI, 1956, 294–5; *idem*: *Hebräische Kodexüberreste in ungarländischen Einbandstafeln*, Bp., 1969, 102–5.

⁸ L. Rabinowitz: *Jewish Merchant Adventurers*, London, 1948; A. Scheiber: 'A Radaniták' (The Radanites), *Haladás*, V, 1949, No. 30; cf. J. Brutzkus: *ZGJD*, III, 1931, 102–3; A. Scheiber: *Geniza Studies*, Hildesheim–New York, 1981, 477.

⁹ *MZsO*, V/1, Bp., 1959, 13, No. 12.

¹⁰ Ph. Grünvald: *Heller Jubilee Vol.*, 167.

¹¹ Gy. Káldy–Nagy: *MIOK Évkönyve*, 1979–80, 192–6.

¹² L. Zolnay: 'The Medieval Great Synagogue of Buda', *NHQ*, VII, 1966, No. 3, 156–9; *idem*: *BpR*, XXII, 1971, 271–84; R. Feuer: *MIOK Évkönyve*, 1971–2, 43–61.

¹³ L. Zolnay: *BpR*, XXII, 1971, 282.

¹⁴ *MZsO*, VIII, Bp., 1965, 78, No. 59.

¹⁵ A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XVIII, 1962, No. 23.

¹⁶ T. Ortway: *Pozsony város története* (The history of the city of Pozsony), II/2, Pozsony, 1898, 287; *MZsO*, IV, Bp., 1938, 332–3. The *Schola Judaeorum* and the *Schul* are substitutes for the synagogue. See N. Golb, *PAAJR*, XLVIII, 1981, 155–161.

¹⁷ *MZsO*, IV, XLVII–XLVIII. According to S. Krausz, the third synagogue was built in 1399: **בשראל התפילה בתי קורות**, New York, 1955, 199. He does not back up his statement with any proof. An imaginary picture can be seen on a small print of 1591: S. Krauss: *Preßburger Synagogen. Die Juden und die Judengemeinde Bratislava in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. H. Gold, Brno, 1932, 93.

¹⁸ T. Ortway: *op. cit.*, 322; *MZsO*, IV, XCIII; O. Komlós: *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, XXII, 1956, 164–5.

- ¹⁹ *MZsO*, VIII, 155, No. 169.
- ²⁰ S. Kohn: *op. cit.*, 423; *MZsO*, I, 183, No. 143; J. Házi: *Sopron . . . története* (The history of Sopron . . .), I, 3, Sopron, 1924, 219.
- ²¹ *MZsO*, V/2, 357, No. 6.
- ²² A. Scheiber: *SSz*, XXVIII, 1974, 340.
- ²³ F. Dávid: *A soproni ó-zsinagóga* (The old synagogue of Sopron), Bp., 1978; E. Marosi: *ÚÉ*, XXXIV, 1979, No. 3; K. Mollay: *SSz*, XXXIV, 1980, 85–6.
- ²⁴ A. Scheiber: *Hebräische Kodexüberreste*, 70–71.
- ²⁵ A. Scheiber: *SSz*, XII, 1958, 289–98; *idem*: *REJ*, CXVIII, 1959–60, 79–93; *idem*: *A soproni középkori zsinagóga* (The medieval synagogue of Sopron), Sopron, 1963; M. Sallay and J. Sedlmayr: *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* (Hungarian Monument Preservation), 1959–60, Bp., 1964, 191–205. The repeated assertion that there are also “inscribed stone fragments” does not correspond with the truth. See *Műemlékvédelem* (Monument preservation), II, 1958, 176; L. Thier: *Soproni útikalauz* (Sopron guidebook), Sopron, 1959, 66.
- ²⁶ Ph. Grünvald: *SSz*, XV, 1961, 84–8.
- ²⁷ Ber. 28b; A. Heimann: **אוצר דברי חכמים ופתגמים**, Tel Aviv, 1933, 203; R. Krautheimer: *Mittelalterliche Synagogen*, Berlin, 1927, 191. The pictures of the synagogue published so far do not show the lancet stone over the Ark of the Covenant; cf. I. Genthon: *Magyarország művészeti emlékei* (Artistic relics of Hungary), I, Bp., 1959, 324; Dümmerling, Détsy, Császár and Kuthy: *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* (Hungarian monument preservation), 1949–1959, Bp., 1960, 104, 111. The first publication that presents it: A. Scheiber: ‘Glory of Sopron’, *Jewish Chronicle*, 5, II, 1960; I. Genthon: *Műemlékvédelem*, IV, 1960, 71.
- ²⁸ *Egyenlőség*, XIV, 1895, No. 27; M. Pollák: *A zsidók története Sopronban* (The history of the Jews in Sopron), Bp., 1896, 177, 1; M. Grunwald: ‘Mattersdorf’, *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Volkskunde*, II, Vienna–Berlin, 1925, 405; F. Grünvald and E. Naményi: ‘Budapesti zsinagógák.’ *A 90 éves Dohány-utcai templom* (Budapest synagogues. The 90-year-old Temple in Dohány Street), Bp., 1949, 22; F. P. Hodik: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mattersdorfer Judengemeinde im 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Eisenstadt, 1975, 7.
- ²⁹ *MZsO*, XVIII, Bp., 1980, 451–3, No. 802.
- ³⁰ E. Verdross-Drossberg: ‘Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein.’ *Festschrift zur 450-Jahr-Feier der Haller Stubengesellschaft*, Innsbruck, 1958, 19–21 (Schlern-Schriften, 184).
- ³¹ *MZsO*, I, 408; Hungarian translation published by A. Ballagi in *Vasárnapi Újság*, XXIX, 1882, 637–40; cf. I. Hubay: *Magyar és magyar vonatkozású röplapok, újságlapok, röpiratok az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban. 1480–1718* (Hungarian and Hungary-related leaflets, newspapers, and pamphlets in the National Széchényi Library, 1480–1718), Bp., 1948, 26, No. 95; A. Scheiber: *Nyr.*, LXXVI, 1952, 394–5; *idem*: *Aresheth*, VI, Jerusalem, 1980, 227–230; A. David: *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Division B*, Jerusalem, 1982, 64–65.
- ³² S. Kohn: *op. cit.*, 242; F. Grünvald and E. Naményi: *op. cit.*, 21; *MZsO*, V/1, 87, No. 195.
- ³³ S. Büchler: *A zsidók története Budapesten* (History of the Jews in Budapest), Bp., 1901, 95; *idem*: *Bloch-Emlékkönyv* (Bloch jubilee volume), Bp., 1905, 175.
- ³⁴ *MZsO*, VIII, 203–4, No. 227.
- ³⁵ *MZsO*, VIII, 206, No. 232.
- ³⁶ *MZsO*, VIII, 222, No. 253.
- ³⁷ L. B. Szabó: *Pest megye történetének okleveles emlékei* (1002–1599) (Documental relics of the history of Pest County), Bp., 1938, 24, No. 128; F. Grünvald: in *Heller Jubilee Vol.*, 168; *MZsO*, V/1, Bp., 1959, 11, No. 8.

- ³⁸ *MZsO*, VIII, 168–9, No. 188.
- ³⁹ *MZsO*, V/1, 184, No. 371.
- ⁴⁰ *MZsO*, V/1, 184, No. 372.
- ⁴¹ *MZsO*, XI, 59, No. 32.
- ⁴² *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* (Archives of the age of King Zsigmond—hereafter *ZsO*), ed. E. Mályusz, II, Bp., 1956, 522–3, No. 4252; *MZsO*, V/1, 12, No. 10.
- ⁴³ *ZsO*, Bp., I, 1951, 321, No. 2923; F. Grünvald: *ÚÉ*, VIII, 1952, No. 33; *MZsO*, V/1, 22, No. 40.
- ⁴⁴ L. Crescens Dedek: *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, III, Strigonii, 1924, 96; *MZsO*, II, Bp., 1937, 511, No. 6.
- ⁴⁵ *MZsO*, V/1, 14, No. 14.
- ⁴⁶ K. Mollay: *SSz*, XVI, 1962, 91.
- ⁴⁷ J. Házi: *op. cit.*, II, 3, Sopron, 1933, 72; *MZsO*, V/1, 39, No. 93.
- ⁴⁸ *MZsO*, V/2, Bp., 1960, 408–9, No. 15; cf. A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XV, 1959, No. 12.
- ⁴⁹ E. Csatkai: *Sopron és környéke műemlékei* (Monuments in Sopron and its environs), Bp., 1956, 402.
- ⁵⁰ D.J. Cohen: *Zion*, XX, 1955, 103–6.
- ⁵¹ Idem: *Zion*, XXII, 1957, 68–9, 243.
- ⁵² Z. Asaria: *Die Juden in Köln*, Cologne, 1959, 74.
- ⁵³ T. Ortway: *op. cit.*, II/2, Pozsony, 1898, 289.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 290.
- ⁵⁵ *AK*, VI, 1866, 105.
- ⁵⁶ *MZsO*, V/1, 193, No. 391.
- ⁵⁷ *MZsO*, VIII, 215, No. 246.
- ⁵⁸ *Egyenlőség*, XXIX, 1910, No. 5.
- ⁵⁹ *MZsO*, VIII, 86–7, No. 194.
- ⁶⁰ D. Kohn: *Egyenlőség*, L. 1930, Jubilee Number, 81; *idem*: *Hatvan év múltán* (Sixty years on), Gyula, 1936, 207–12. Credit is given him by S. Krausz: *קורות בתי התפילה בישראל*, New York, 1955, 203.
- ⁶¹ J. Nathan Káčer: in *300 Jahre Chewra-Kadischa Ilava*, Ilava, 1929, 9; M. Lewin: *ibid*, 30–1.
- ⁶² Ph. Grünvald: in *Heller Jubilee Vol.*, Bp., 1941, 168.
- ⁶³ D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 87; S. Büchler: *A zsidók története Budapesten*, 10–11; *MZsO*, III, Bp., 1937, 31, No. 22.
- ⁶⁴ D. Kaufmann: *AÉ*, XV, 1895, 219–23; *MGWJ*, XXXIX, 1895, 305–9. See *Zsidó Híradó*, IV, 1894, No. 39.
- ⁶⁵ D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 84–6.
- ⁶⁶ D. Kaufmann: *Pester Lloyd*, XLV, 1898, No. 69.
- ⁶⁷ S. Kohn: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1896, 62.
- ⁶⁸ *Eredeti két magyar krónika* (Two genuine Hungarian chronicles) Pest, 1833, 79.
- ⁶⁹ M. Zipser: *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1847, 36.
- ⁷⁰ *AK*, VI, 1866, 105.
- ⁷¹ S. Kohn: *MZsSz*, IV, 1887, 377.
- ⁷² S. Büchler: 'Az alapítandó zsidó múzeum dolgában' (Concerning the projected Jewish Museum), *Egyenlőség*, XV, 1896, No. 40.
- ⁷³ S. Kaiser: *Tyrnau einst und jetzt, in Bezug auf die israelitischen Einwohner*, Tyrnau, 1885, 48 pages, quoted by Z. I. Tóth in *Magyar Történeti Bibliográfia* (Hungarian historical bibliography),

III, Bp., 1950, 393, No. 24601; *Trnava*. Ed. J. Šimončič, Bratislava, 1980, 77–8; Y. Y. Cohen: *Sources and History*, Jerusalem, 1982, 213, 221.

⁷⁴ S. Kohn still considered this the oldest Jewish gravestone in Hungary: *op. cit.*, I, 151.

⁷⁵ *MZsO*, I, Bp., 1903, 434–7, Nos. 352–3.

⁷⁶ L. Venetianer: *A magyar zsidóság története* (History of the Hungarian Jews), Bp., 1922, 53.

⁷⁷ I. Geró: 'Vývoj žid. školstva st. quo' (The development of the status quo Jewish school) in *Trnava*, 1238–1938, *Trnava*, 1938, 296.

⁷⁸ *AK*, VI, 1866, 104.

⁷⁹ *AK*, 105.

⁸⁰ *AK*, 104, Note b.

⁸¹ S. Kaiser: *op. cit.*, 42–43. I have published a photograph of the first (*Hebräische Kodexüberreste*, 52).

⁸² S. Büchler: *MZsSz*, X, 1893, 122; *idem*: 'Magyarországi zsidó régiségek' (Jewish antiquities in Hungary), *MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 207. I myself took over this error of his: *AO*, II, 1952, 123, Note 2.

⁸³ S. Klein: 'Magyar-zsidó múzeumi tárgyak—Egy szenzációs sírkő felfedezése' (Hungarian-Jewish museum pieces—The discovery of a remarkable gravestone), *Egyenlőség*, XXIX, 1910, No. 45.

⁸⁴ *MZsO*, IV, 50–1, No. 35.

⁸⁵ S. Kohn: *Héber kútforrások és adatok Magyarország történetéhez* (Hebrew sources and data on the history of Hungary), Bp., 1881, 114.

⁸⁶ A. Scheiber: *Hebräische Kodexüberreste*, 28–32.

⁸⁷ M. Pollák: *op. cit.*, 187.

⁸⁸ M. Pollák: *op. cit.*, 187.

⁸⁹ B. Brillring and H. Richter: *Westfalia Judaica*, I, Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln–Mainz, 1967, 208–9, No. 212.

⁹⁰ S. Krauss: *Die Wiener Geserah vom Jahre 1421*, Vienna–Leipzig, 1920, 130. Further examples: S. Eidelberg: *Jewish Life in Austria*, Philadelphia, 1962, 75; M. Markbreiter: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde Eisenstadt*, Vienna, 1908, 13.

⁹¹ M. Pollák: *op. cit.*, 187–8.

⁹² M. Pollák: *op. cit.*, 188.

⁹³ M. Pollák: *op. cit.*, 11.

⁹⁴ The manuscript of his travelogue in English is preserved in the British Museum. See W. Kubitschek: *Ältere Berichte über den römischen Limes in Pannonien* (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 209. Band, 1. Abhandlung), Vienna–Leipzig, 1929, 256–7; E. Csatkai: *Idegenek a régi Sopronról* (Foreigners on ancient Sopron), (*Scarbantia*, No. 2), Sopron, 1938, 16.

⁹⁵ L. Nagy: *AÉ*, V–VI, 1944–5, 118–34.

⁹⁶ E. Csatkai and D. Dercsényi: *Sopron és környéke műemlékei* (Monuments in Sopron and its environs), 2nd ed., Bp., 1956, 206.

⁹⁷ E. Csatkai: 'Szerkesztőségünk házának múltja' (Our editorial office's past) *Újsopron Vármegye*, 1941, May 10.

⁹⁸ F. Grünvald: 'Zsidó mártír sírköve a középkori Sopronból' (Gravestone of a Jewish martyr from medieval Sopron), *Darkenu*, 5707 [1947], 15–6.

⁹⁹ E. Csatkai and D. Dercsényi: *op. cit.*, 295.

¹⁰⁰ A. Scheiber: 'A feltárt középkori soproni zsinagóga' (The excavated medieval synagogue of Sopron), *SSz*, XII, 1958, 295.

¹⁰¹ *Népszabadság*, XVIII, 1960, No. 58.

**THE PERIOD OF TURKISH
OCCUPATION**

I. SYNAGOGUES

Apart from the synagogues that date back to the Middle Ages, there are records of some more from the time of the Turkish occupation.

1. *Kismarton* (Eisenstadt). In 1569, mention was made of eight houses belonging to the Jews of Kismarton, one of which, at 5 Kloostergasse, was the synagogue.¹

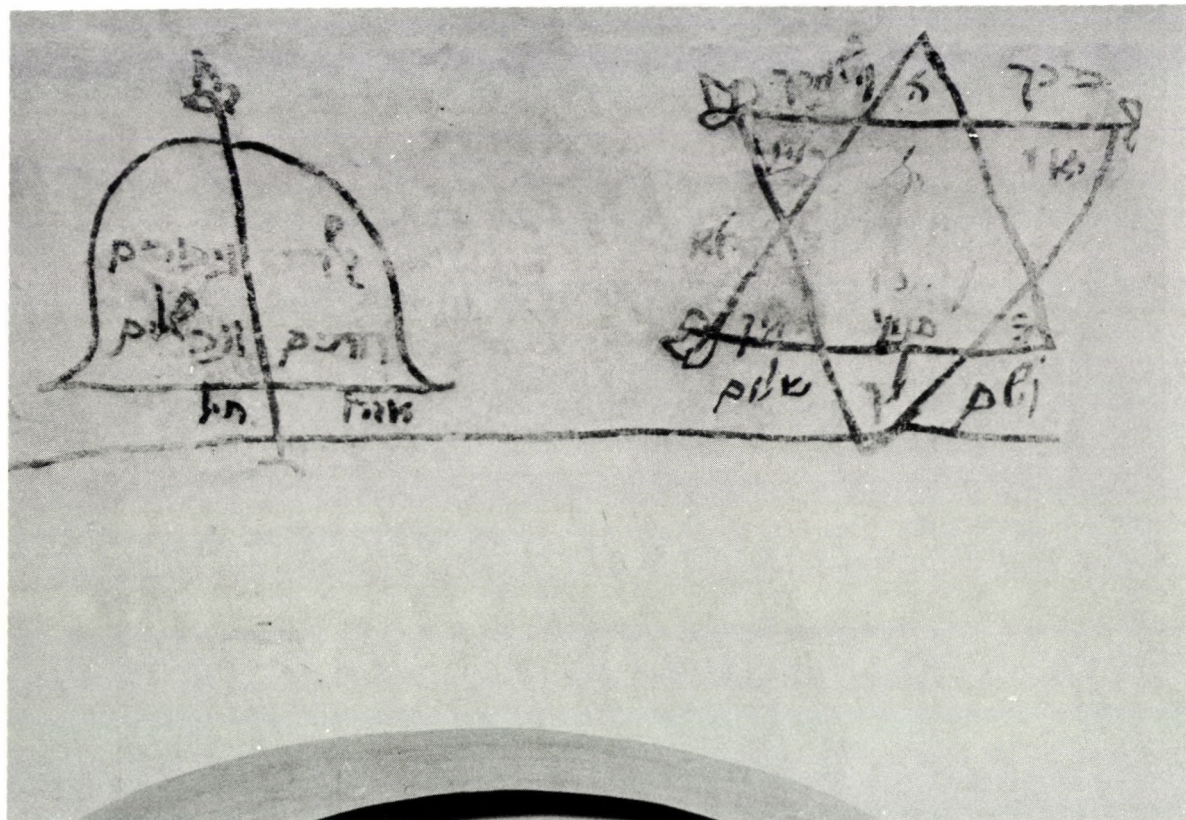
2. *Nándorfehérvár* (Belgrade). In 1663 Henrik Ottendorff records in his travelogue that the Jews of Nándorfehérvár possessed an unusually large two-storey building which also housed the synagogue (“undt in der mitten ihre Schuelen hatt”).²

3. *Sopron*. In the 17th century, the Jews went into Sopron from the surrounding area to trade. They put up at the house of the hatter Kristóf Poltzer, which they also used as a synagogue (“hielten sie im hauss ihren vermeinte gottesdienst und ihre synagog”). Both uses were banned by the town council in 1659.³

4. *Győr*. The land register for the year 1567 mentions a Jewish street.⁴ In 1669, Montecuccoli banned the Jews from town, allowing them in only at fair times.

The Győr cathedral chapter's account book No. V. for the years 1673–82, refers to a house in their possession as the synagogue. This may have been the synagogue set up by the Jews banished from the inner part of the city.⁵

5. *Buda*. Some of the Jews who had been resettled in the Ottoman Empire in 1526 ended up in quite distant places. For example, in the state archives in Constantinople a register for 1555–6, written in Turkish, records that 12 Hungarian-Jewish families were living in Safed at that time.⁶ In 1567, the



Inscriptions 51 and 52

presence of 15 "Hungarian" families was recorded in the same town.⁷ According to the Turkish registers, quite a few Jews left Buda; some of them returned later from Istanbul, Salonica and Vidin. The Turks resettled Balkan Jews in Buda, probably including some from Edirne⁸ and certainly some from Salonica (see Gravestone 148). These Sephardic Jews sought a separate place of worship, since their ritual differed from that of the Ashkenazis.

In 1663, Evlia Chelebi mentions that there were two synagogues near the Bécsi kapu.⁹ The site of a third, in the Viziváros district, also called Zsidóváros, is, for the time being unknown.¹⁰ The *defter* (Turkish tax roll) recording the income from the poll tax in the *sanjak* of Buda lists three rabbis in the year 1580–81 (Moses, David and Abraham).¹¹

Their synagogue was in a single-storey house (today 26 Táncsics utca) belonging to the Mendel family, members of which held the post of *Praefectus judaeorum* from the time of Matthias Corvinus, from about 1467 until 1539. The remnants of a synagogue's Gothic pillars were discovered in the walled-up gateway by Melinda Papp in the spring of 1964. The style of the pillars points to the turn of the 15th century. It is possible that the first fairly modest synagogue was built on the site by those who settled in the new Jewish street in 1365. The Mendels acquired the building later, leaving Buda after 1539, presumably for Nuremberg.¹² The Sephardic Jews who came to Buda used the ground floor for their synagogue, thereby returning it to what might well have been its original use. It is known for certain that a hall in the house measuring approximately ten metres by five and oriented eastwards was rebuilt in the 15th century, and an upper storey added to it.¹³

51.

In the ceiling secco paintings in red paint featuring Hebrew inscriptions have come to light.¹⁴ These were fixed *in situ* by the restorer Loránd Sárdy.

The first picture shows a bow directed upwards, with a verse from the prayer of Hannah (I. Samuel ii. 4):

קשת גיבורים
חתים ונכשלים
אזרו חיל

The bows of the mighty men
are broken, and they that stumbled
are girded with strength.

The Hebrew letters reflect the influence of the cursive Turkish writing of the 16th and 17th centuries. The inscription, which has been deciphered by the author, refers to battles in which it is hoped the Turks will triumph.

52.

The second picture is a Magen David, David's shield, with the text of the priest's blessing distributed over it (Numbers vi. 24-26):

יברכך ה' וישמרך
יאר ה' פניו
[אלי]ך [וייה]נך ישא
ה' פניו אליך
וישם לך שלום

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee;
The Lord make his face shine
upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:
The Lord lift up
his countenance upon thee,
and give thee peace.

This text was also deciphered by the author.

The depiction of the shield of David first occurred in Hungary in 1476, on the banner of the Jewish delegation that received Matthias Corvinus and his queen, Beatrix, when they entered Buda. The Latin text of the time describes it as having, "pes bubonis, quinque aculeis",¹⁵ while the German description calls it "truttenfuess, Dauid wappen".¹⁶

II. GRAVESTONES

BUDA

Sándor Büchler could find traces of the next Jewish settlement in Buda only from 1538.¹⁷ This is all the more surprising as the Turkish register of Buda for 1547, now in Vienna, lists 75 native-born Buda Jews and 25 immigrants (obviously those who had settled there since 1541).¹⁸ The earliest gravestone from the period of Turkish occupation dates from 1539–40 (No. 53) and shows that there may have been quite a number of Jews even before 1541 since they had to open a new graveyard at that time.¹⁹

Where was that second graveyard of the Jews of Buda? According to research by Fülöp Grünvald, "it was near the Jewish street, at the foot of the castle wall, on the eastern slope of Castle Hill between today's Hunfalvy and Batthyány Streets. The Ortelius and Rabatta maps show a cemetery there."²⁰

In 1686 the Turks were driven out of Buda, and their expulsion meant the end of the Jewish community. Half of the around one thousand Buda Jews lost their lives and the other half were taken away from Buda in chains by the imperial forces. The inhabitants soon destroyed the abandoned graveyard, ripping out the gravestones and using them for building. Most of the stones seem to have been used for buildings in the neighbourhood of the Matthias Church, and some for St. Stephen's Chapel in the Matthias Church itself.

Ever since the last decades of the 19th century, Jewish gravestones have repeatedly come to light in buildings during repair and rebuilding work. A number were revealed in buildings damaged by bombs during the Second World War.²¹ Further stones can be expected to appear as the houses in the Castle district are being successively explored and renovated.

Some of these stones were taken to the Hungarian National Museum, some to the Lapidarium of the Budapest Historical Museum,²² and others to the Jewish cemetery in Víziváros, from where they were transferred in 1932 to the



The Lapidarium at 26 Táncsics utca

Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.²³ In the late 1960s, the hall opening to the left of the gateway to 26 Táncsics utca was converted into a Lapidarium, and 23 gravestones from the Middle Ages and the period of the Turkish occupation were placed there.

Naturally many stones may have been lost once and for all. Here are a few examples:

In a letter of August 30, 1900, Marcel Neuschlosz briefed Samuel Kohn about three Jewish gravestones that had come to light during the building of the Royal Palace of Buda. The letter, now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection, reads:

Right Reverend Sir,

During the building works on the Royal Palace of Buda, three tablets bearing Hebrew inscriptions were found; they had been set into the wall of one of the buildings now being demolished. The content of the tablets cannot, I think, be without interest, nor can the question of how and when they came to be in the castle. If your reverence should be interested in the matter, you may view the tablets at any time on the staircase of the contractors' office (directly beside the funicular railway); if your reverence should wish me to speak on your behalf to Professor Hauszmann, which I am sure is superfluous, naturally, I should gladly be of service to you; the stones are lying amongst other rubble from the demolition, and the professor would certainly be glad to hand them over.

Your most obedient servant,

Marcel Neuschlosz

Samuel Kohn wrote the text of all three gravestones on the back of the letter, and even that of a fourth, yet only three have come down to us (see Stones 85, 86 and 100); the fourth has been lost. According to Kohn's note, it bore the text: שנת שצ"ג, i.e. it dated from 1633.

In 1959 a number of Jewish gravestones were taken out of the ground-floor walls of the western and the northern wings of the buildings at 2 Hess András tér, from where somebody carted one away in order to build it into a house under construction in a village near Budapest. I have been unable to track it down. Preserved for 270 years by the building into which it had been incorporated, it then disappeared before our very eyes. Several similar cases have certainly occurred in the course of time.²⁴

In 1877, the following could be read on the house at 7 Dísz tér: "During rebuilding, there were found intact in a corner of the cellar several earthenware vessels that looked new but were Turkish in form; these the masons divided

among themselves, which was not so bad, but they also found carved stones with Turkish and Hebrew inscriptions and these they alas built into the walls, turning the writing inwards, and did so indeed out of religious contrition. By the time the clerk of the works notified the owner, Dr. Antal Jankovics, the valuable stones could no longer be prized from the wall."²⁵

In 1700, Frantz W. Banowsky, asked the Executive of the Buda Chamber for the site of the Buda Jewish cemetery. At the end of the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th century, the Víziváros cemetery was behind the gardens beside the main road, where the Rózsadomb Café now stands, and it was used by the Jews until 1746. In the 1720s, the phrase Jewish cemetery even featured as the name of a baulk.²⁶

From the memoirs of Mrs. Sándor Hegedüs, *née* Jolán Jókai,²⁷ we learn that in 1858, when the villa of the writer Mór Jókai was being built on Svábhegy, part of the wall was erected out of gravestones from the Jewish cemetery. The stones either came from the Víziváros cemetery or from the cemetery of the period of the Turkish occupation on the Várhegy.

Around Veszprém, "when the western railway was being built, a gravestone with a Hebrew epitaph was found near Jutas station; a Jewish cemetery may once have been there, indicating that Jews may have been living in the area around the castle, perhaps during the time of the Turkish occupation."²⁸

All these stones have disappeared.

S.A. Rosanes, the historian of the Balkan Jews, writes that the Hungarian Jews who arrived in the Balkans from Buda had unusually large gravestones near Sofia, Plevna and Nicopolis.²⁹ It is fruitless to look for them today: "Unfortunately not one of the tombstones mentioned by Rosanes has been preserved."³⁰ The Jewish gravestones of Istanbul were described by a traveller as "underschidliche Begrebnussen".³¹

With a few exceptions, the inscriptions follow a unified formula that differs markedly from the medieval one, and so an inscription can be ascribed with absolute certainty to the period of the Turkish occupation even where the part of the stone bearing the date has broken off. The Hebrew they used is very simple and there are occasional orthographic errors.

From these inscriptions some conclusions about settlement history can be drawn. Besides the Hebrew names, mostly German names can be found, which indicates that the Jews who settled in Hungary after the Battle of Mohács were predominantly of German and not of Spanish origin.³²

In 1895, Dávid Kaufmann wrote resignedly, "The crescent came down from the ramparts of Buda on September 2, 1686, and with it the flourishing

Jewish community there, with its wealth of memories and splendid past, perished and became a heap of ruins. It is rare in time of siege that the flames of a town's historic existence should be stamped out by the feet of the victors. . . . The storm first smothered the lesser torches of the Jewish community. It blew the abodes of public worship from their places, and they disappeared without a trace along with the graves; not a single stone survived to tell the tale or render an account of what perished."³³

Had he lived, Kaufmann would have been the gladdest to learn that chance and research work have belied his pessimism, and that 89 gravestones of the Buda community in the period of the Turkish occupation are now known, each adding a little to our knowledge of the Jewish history of the time.

The gravestones from the time of the Turkish occupation were generally made of sandstone (but sometimes of limestone); they are smaller in size and the letters are engraved less deeply. The texts reveal the recurrent use of a particular phrase throughout a period of years, as if the author or mason were conforming to a particular model; undated stones, thus, can be dated approximately. For instance, the opening formula **פה נטמנת פה נטמן** and **פה נטמנת פה** occurs between 1664 and 1671, while the attribute **ירא אלהים** appears in 1678, etc. Another aid to dating fragments is that a particular building usually yields stones of much the same age, which is understandable, since the builder will usually have chosen stones from a *particular* part of the graveyard. For instance the stones found at 4 Hess András tér date from the years 1622–3 up to 1633, whilst those in St. Stephen's chapel in Mátyás-templom are from 1676–8. One could continue to list examples.

Since many beautiful medieval buildings were destroyed during the Turkish occupation, it is small wonder that Jewish gravestones should also have been made from their fragments. Some stones were made of door and window-frame stones from demolished Gothic buildings (Nos 53 and 69), while another was hewn from part of a Gothic gate, with two Gothic blind traceries still visible on the reverse (No. 117).

The stones bring the community to life. The name of the rabbi of Buda, Simha b. Hayyim, who was active around 1570, features on the gravestone of his son (No. 61). We learn of a cantor with a voice like a bell, the son of David, who was presumably of the same calling (No. 109); and of Samuel, the *shammash* (i.e. verger), who buried his young son Isaac (No. 81). We also become acquainted with three elders of the community. The first is Leb, who came to Buda either from Lichtenstadt or from Nikolsburg, and married Freudel, the daughter of David from Aussee. The widowed husband pays rare tribute to her virtues.



Inscription 53

Judging from the fine large gravestone, he was the most well-to-do of the three (No. 87). The second elder was a scholar as well—the “well-reputed” Raphael Benedict b. Reuben, who was certainly related to the Benedict family that is referred to in Vienna in 1670 (No. 136). Of the third, we only know his name: Asher (No. 138). Besides these three elders, we read about other learned members of the community (Nos 68, 112, 120, 123).

The shades of the Middle Ages seem to return as the stones tell of the Jews murdered. Eleazar was a murder victim before 1628–9 (No. 66), and so was “the saint” Hayyim, the date of whose martyr’s death cannot be established. His son Moses lived to a great age (No. 104). Naturally Cohenites (Nos. 85, 98, 139) and Levites (Nos. 55, 133, 137) were not absent from the populous community. One of them, called David, had the attribute “modest” inscribed on his grave by his assimilated relatives who used the Turkish word **חאקיר** (No. 126). There appear good wives (Nos. 60, 105, 123, 139), young girls (Nos. 66, 69, 106) and boys (No. 115). Unfortunately, the inscriptions give no information on occupations or economic positions, and such references are rare on stones abroad as well. The only piece of information divulged is that the woman Pserli was a midwife (No. 80). From 1627, we have a father and his daughter, perhaps the victims of an epidemic (Nos. 64–65). An epidemic raged in Buda in 1678, which may explain the death of a married couple who rest together (No. 94). The Buda *defter* for the years 1550–80 offers some relevant information on some of the names.³⁴

Now let us examine the inscriptions themselves:

53.

1539/40

שמואל בן	Samuel, son of R.
יקותיאל	Yekutiel,
אל ש לפק	his memory is blessed. 300 [1539/40], according to the minor era.

The stone is made from the frame of an aperture in a demolished Gothic building.



Inscription 54

It was discovered in 1959 in the house at 2 Hess András tér, built in the years following the siege of 1686 on the site of the destroyed Dominican monastery as a food store and bakery. By 1696 it was already completed [Miklós Horler: *Budapest műemlékei* (The monuments of Budapest), I, Bp., 1955, 358–9]. During the rebuilding, several Jewish gravestones were built into its walls. After 1784 the building served as a school, and until 1944 housed the Szilágyi Erzsébet Girls' Grammar School. Most of the building was destroyed in 1944–5; only the ground-floor walls of the western and eastern wings remaining. These were pulled down in 1959, at which time there came to light a great many of the Jewish gravestones which had been built into the building after 1686.

Height: 84 cm; width: 36 cm; thickness: 30 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.9.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 110, No. 1; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 470, No. 1.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 120; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 470.

REMARKS:

Line 2: יקותיאל: A biblical name (I Chronicles, iv. 18) which also occurs in the Middle Ages, e.g. in Worms (see L. Lewysohn: *נפשות צדיקים*, Frankfurt a/M., 1855, 26, No. 14).

54.

156?

.....
.....
... [בר] [ל] הרש[ל]	Hersh[l], son [of R.].....
..... [זל נפ[טר]	his memory is blessed, he di[ed]
..... [יט גי[סן]	on the 19th of Ni[san]
..... [שכ. [לפ[ק]	in 32? [156?] [according to the minor era.]

Handwritten Ottoman Turkish text in Rika script, organized into columns and rows. The text is separated by horizontal lines and includes various annotations and flourishes.

Conscription of the Buda Jews in Istanbul (1603)

It was discovered in the building at 11 Szentháromság utca. Before 1944, the building had been a single-storey dwelling house, with an altered Baroque façade and some medieval remains, the form it had gained at the beginning of the 18th century. During the siege of Budapest the house was destroyed except for its ground-floor walls and cellar. (M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 592.) In 1969, it was rebuilt as the Fehér Galamb restaurant. In the course of the rebuilding, three finely carved gravestones were found in the cellar. They were taken there from the Jewish cemetery which was abandoned after the recapture of Buda from the Turks in 1686, and were built into the house.

During reconstruction, it also emerged that red marble gravestones had been used for the ten cellar steps. The Hebrew text on the 4th, 8th and 10th steps is still discernible, and a few letters are visible on the 6th. For reasons of statics, the stones have to remain *in situ*, but since the stairway is not being used (it is closed off with an iron chain) no further harm can befall the inscriptions.

The above inscription is on the 10th cellar step.

Height: 155 cm; width: 43 cm; thickness: 27 cm.

Now in the Fehér Galamb restaurant (11 Szentháromság utca).

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

The text is published here for the first time.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XXV, 1970, No. 9.

REMARKS:

Line 1: [ל]הירש: Hirsch. It is more frequently found in the form הירש (O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 414, No. 141).



Inscription 55

1575/6

חיים לוי	Hayyim Levi,
אָל בָּר נַתָּן	his memory is blessed, son of R. Nathan
הַלְוִי אָל	Hallevi, his memory is blessed.
שְׁלוֹ לַפֶּקֶ	336 [1575–6], according to the minor era.

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Disz tér. In the Middle Ages, there were seven smaller dwellings on this site. These were for the most part destroyed in 1686; the sites and remains of the buildings were purchased by the abbey of Kremsmünster, which soon after built a new house there (M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 321) into which Jewish gravestones were incorporated. Later the building housed the papal nuncio. It was severely damaged in 1944–5, and the Jewish gravestones came to light when the rubble was being removed.

Height: 62 cm; width: 48.5 cm; thickness: 17 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 977.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 125, No. 2; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 148, No. 2.

Photographs: *AO*, II, 1952, 133.

REMARKS:

Line 2: **נתן**: Biblical name (II Samuel, v. 14, etc.). The man on the gravestone is the same person as Hayyim Nasan, who features in the 1559 register of the Buda sanjak (Gy. Káldy-Nagy: *MZsO*, XVI, Bp., 1974, 7). This is quite clear from the register itself, which reads, “Hayim, son of Nasan, married” [L. Fekete: *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* (Studies from Budapest’s past), VI, 1938, 130].



Inscription 56

OCTOBER 9, 1576

[ונפטר] ה ביום [ד] י ימ' בחש שלז לפק	[Die]d [on Wednesday], the 10th of Heshvan, 337 [1576], according to the minor era.
--	---

Discovered in 1947 in the house at 32 Úri utca. See Stone 30.

Height: 80 cm; width: 53 cm; thickness: 13 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 774.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 125, No. 3; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 148, No. 3.

REMARKS:

Line 2: בחש = בחשון.



Inscription 57

FEBRUARY 6, 1586

<p>פה נקבר היקר הר מאיר בר יעקב זל יח ימי לחודש שבט שום [לפק תנצב ה]</p>	<p>Here was buried the beloved R. Meir, son of R. Jacob, his memory is blessed. On the 18th day of the month of Shevat in 346 [1586], [according to the minor era. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life].</p>
--	--

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 42 cm; width: 33 cm; thickness: 17 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.38.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 111, No. 2; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 471, No. 2.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 121; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 471.

REMARKS:

Line 6: שבט: The text has שפט, which is a spelling error.



Inscription 58

1586/7

.....
[בֵּר].	[son of R.]
יעקב זל	Jacob, his memory is blessed.
שנת שם	In the year 347 [1586–
א לפק	7], according to the minor era.

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 43.5 cm; width: 35 cm; thickness: 18 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.50.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 111, No. 3; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 471, No. 3.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 122; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 471.

REMARKS:

Line 3: The date is divided over two lines.



Inscription 59

MAY 14, 1589

.....
גו. [בי]ום כֶּחַ אייר שמט	on the 28th [day] of Iyyar 349 [1589].
[וב]תה הנדיל בת צב[י]	[And her daught]er Hindil, daughter of Zev[i].
.....

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
Height: 25 cm; width: 50.5 cm; thickness: 20.5 cm.
Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
Inventory No. 991.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 126, No. 4; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 148, No. 4.

Photographs: *AO*, II, 1952, 132.

REMARKS:

Line 3: הנדיל: A German Jewish name derived from Hinde or Hindin (a hind calf). See L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 58 (Hindel). In medieval Pozsony it occurs as follows: "Hendlin jüdin von galicz" [T. Ortway: *Pozsony város története* (History of the city of Pozsony), II/2, Pozsony, 1898, 280]. Cf. D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 90, No. 4. הנדל; B. Klar: *מחקרים ועיונים*, Tel Aviv, 1954, 70. P. Mendel gives an erroneous derivation from Hannah (*REJ*, CX, 1950, 53).

Same line: צב[י] = deer. It occurs most often as the attribute of Naphtali, who is described as a hind in the Bible by his father (Genesis xlix. 21). For its occurrence see: B. Wachstein: *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, I, Vienna-Leipzig, 1912, 586. In medieval Hebrew poetry it is the attribute of a beloved boy, after the biblical example (II Samuel i. 19). Cf. J. Schirmann: 'The ephebe in medieval Hebrew poetry', *Sefarad*, XV, 1955, 55-68.



Jewish gravestones in the former Lapidarium at the Budapest Historical Museum in the Halászbástya

SEPTEMBER 23, 1599

.....
.....
.....
ד' [לחודש] תשרי שס'	On the 4th of [the month] Tishri, 360 [1599],
ואשתו חסידה	And his wife, the pious,
אשת חיל עטר'	virtuous woman, crown
בעלה מרת	of her husband, the lady
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1908 in the building at 4-5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.

Height: 45 cm; width: 55 cm; thickness: 22 cm.

Present whereabouts unknown.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: M. Weisz: *MZsSz*, XXV, 1908, 289.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: The addition in square brackets is by the author.

Line 2: חסידה would correctly be החסידה.

Lines 3 and 4: Quotation from Proverbs xii. 4.



Inscription 61

SEPTEMBER 16, 1605

	ה[פ]	[He]re
	ר[נקב] ר ה ח ר	[was buried] the learned R.
	חיים בן [הגאון]	Hayyim, son [of the Gaon]
	ר שמה זל	R. Simha, his memory is blessed,
5	ד תשרי	on the 4th of Tishri
	שסו ל [פֶּק]	in 366 [1605], according to [the minor era].
	[ת נ צ ב ה]	[May his soul be bound up in the bond of life].

There is a Gothic arch on the stone.

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 44 cm; width: 38 cm; thickness: 29 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.25.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 111–12, No. 4; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 471, No. 4.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 123; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 471.

REMARKS:

Line 3: **הגאון**: The addition follows S. Büchler [*A zsidók története Budapesten* (History of the Jews in Budapest), Bp., 1901, 108].

Lines 3 and 4: The person commemorated was the son of the Buda rabbinical councillor Simha b. Hayyim. His name features in a Turkish tax roll for Buda from 1580–81 (*MZsO*, II, 39; L. Fekete: *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* (Studies from Budapest's past), VI, 1938, 132; *MZsO*, XVIII, 29). The father was active in Buda around 1570, and some directives regarding bills of divorce have survived of his writings (S. Büchler: *op. cit.*, 108; *MZsO*, II, 35). In 1579 he is mentioned in a letter by a Buda pasha as “the priest Symha” (*MZsO*, V/1, 215, No. 435).



Inscription 62

SEPTEMBER 15, 1620

	פה	Here
	נקברת מרת	was buried the lady
	רבקה בת ר	Rebecca, daughter of R.
5	יוסף זל יז ימי	Joseph, his memory is blessed, on the 17th day
	בחודש אלול	of the month of Elul,
	שנת שף לפק	in the year 380 [1620], according to the minor era.
	ת נ צ ב ה	May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1913 in the block of buildings at 5, 7 and 9 Színház utca, which at the time was the headquarters of the 4th Buda Army Corps. King Béla IV founded a Franciscan friary there in 1270. Next to it, on the same site, stood the house of István Werbőczy, which was linked to the friary by a closed wooden bridge at upper-storey level. During the Turkish occupation Werbőczy's house was the dwelling of the Pasha of Buda. In 1686 both the pasha's palace and the former friary were destroyed. After the recapture of Buda the ruins were granted first to the Jesuits, and then in 1693 to the Carmelites, who slowly built a new monastery completed by 1734 (M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 483–7). It was that time that the gravestones from the nearby Jewish cemetery were incorporated into it. In 1944–5 the building was severely damaged. When the rubble was cleared away and reconstruction work carried out on the building in 1949–50, further Jewish gravestones came to light.

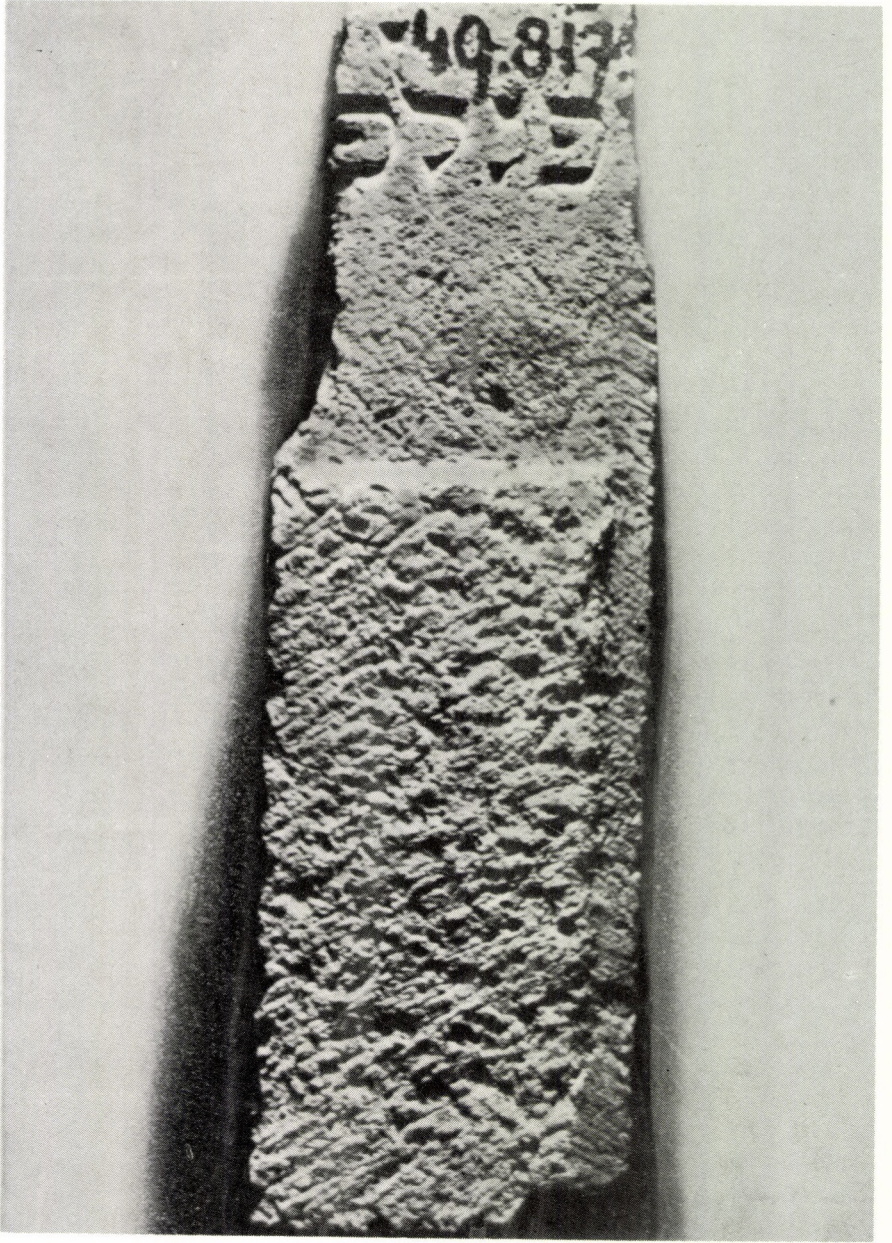
Height: 138 cm; width: 45 cm; thickness: 30 cm.

Now in the corridor on the ground floor of the Hungarian National Museum.

Inventory No. 1913/1 (number in Accessions Register).

LITERATURE:

Text publications: E. Mahler: 'Ein alter jüdischer Grabstein im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum', *ZDMG*, LXVIII, 1914, 326–8. Contributions: E. Baneth (*ibid.*, 720) and S. Poznański (*ibid.*, 721). As the reading was erroneous, the text was republished by A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 270, No. 1; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 501, No. 1.



Inscription 63

Photographs: *ZDMG*, LXVIII, 1914, between pp. 326 and 327; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 501.

References: G. Supka: 'Interessante Funde. Ein jüdischer Grabstein im Korpskommandogebäude in Ofen', *NPJ*, XXIV, 1913, No. 304; *Egyenlőség*, XXXIII, 1914, No. 1.

REMARKS:

Line 4: Mahler read it as יִימֵי, which he wrote out in full as יוֹם וַיּוֹם יוֹם. Accordingly he had to explain why the ו is missing from יִימֵי, and why the medial י appears at the end of the word. To his erroneous reading he adds chronological and paleographical combinations with amazing subtlety. The same mistakes appear in the German translation published by Supka, which is based on Mahler. E. Baneth and S. Poznański corrected the error.

Line 6: Mahler read שִׁד and so arrived at the date 1544. The photograph attached is certainly misleading, but after cleaning, the stone clearly shows שִׁף. Accordingly the correct date is 1620. Neither Baneth nor Poznański noticed Mahler's error in reading the date.

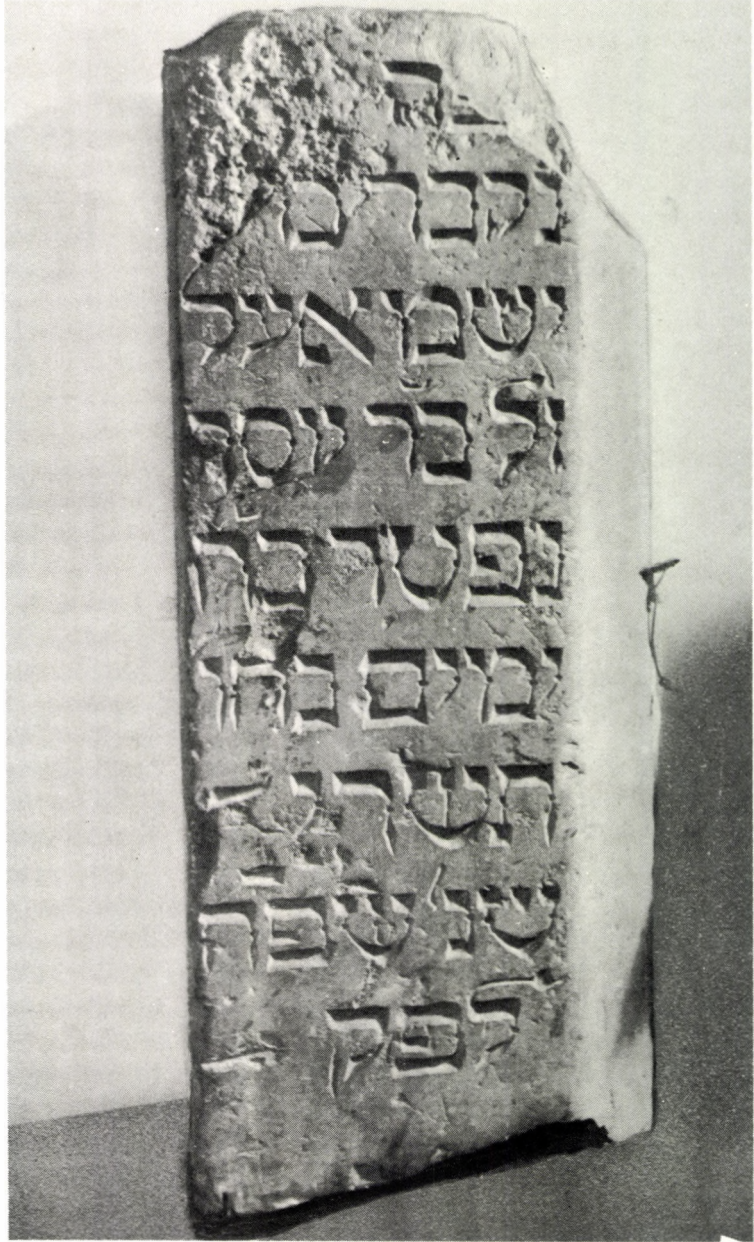
63.

1622/3

.....
.....
.....
.....

[ש]פג לפ[ק] [3]83 [1622-3], according to the [minor] era

Discovered between 1951 and 1953 in the building at 4 Hess András tér. In the Middle Ages three small dwelling houses stood on the site. In 1686, the upper storeys were destroyed, but most of the gateways and walls on the ground floor survived. Soon after the recapture of Buda, the three ruined houses were turned



Inscription 64

into a single building and a wing on the southern side of the courtyard was added. During the rebuilding, Jewish gravestones were incorporated. In the 18th century the building became a military hospital, and at the end of that century it was handed over to the university, which had been transferred to Buda from Nagyszombat (Trnava). Between 1810 and 1927, the building was owned by the University Press, after that by the Ministry of Finance. Following severe damage in the Second World War, the building was restored in 1951–3 (M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 362–5), when the Jewish gravestones came to light again.

Height: 70 cm; width: 20 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 49.817.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 271, No. 2; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 502, No. 2.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 502.

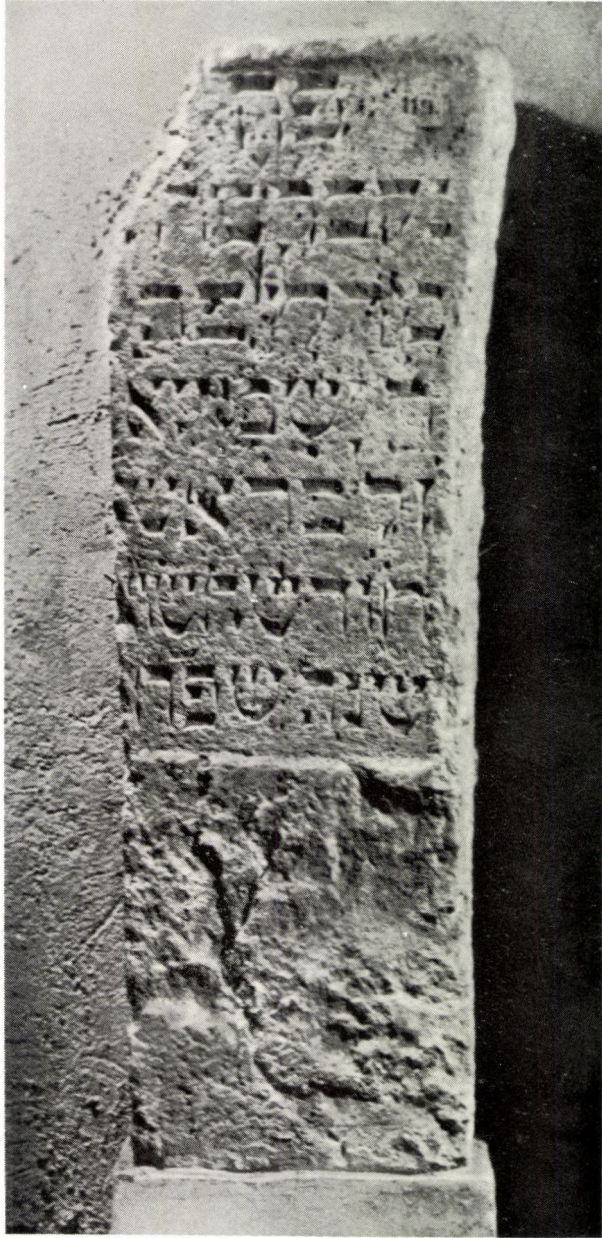
REMARKS:

Line 1: Traces of one or two letters in the previous line can be discerned, but not clearly deciphered.

64.

OCTOBER 8, 1627

פה	Here
נקבר כ[ר]	is buried [R.]
ישמעאל	Ishmael,
זל בר יוסף	his memory is blessed, son of R. Joseph.
נפטר כח	He died on the 28th
ימים בחו	day of the month
~ תשרי	of Tishri,
שנ שפח	in the year 388 [1627],
לפק	according to the minor era.



Inscription 65

Discovered in 1932 in the Viziváros Jewish cemetery, to which it had been temporarily transferred in the latter half of the 19th century.

Height: 64 cm; width: 28 cm; thickness: 10.5 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 271, No. 3; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 502, No. 2.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 503.

Reference: F. Grünvald: *ZsSz*, XXIX, 1934, Nos 12–13.

REMARKS:

Line 3: **ישמעאל**: A biblical name (Genesis xvi. 11, etc.), erroneously written as **ישמאעל** on the stone.

65.

OCTOBER 11, 1627

פה	Here
נקבר מרת	was buried the lady
מרלי בת	Merli, daughter of
ר' ישמעאל	R. Ishmael,
⁵ זל ב ראש	his memory is blessed, on the 2nd day of the New
חודש חשון	Moon of Heshvan,
שנת שפ"ח	in the year 388 [1627].

The place and date of discovery are unknown.

Height: 109 cm; width: 33 cm; thickness: 22 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 119.



Inscription 66

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 272, No. 4; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 503, No. 4.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 503.

REMARKS:

Line 3: מרלי: was a common name in Germany. See L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 66; B. Wachstein: *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, I, Vienna–Leipzig, 1912, 472, No. 621. מעריל; *idem*: *Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt*, Vienna, 1922, 300, No. 1094. מירל; M. Grunwald: 'Le Cimetière de Worms', *REJ*, CIV, 1938, 82 (Merle). According to B. Klar it was derived from the name מרים (מחקרים ועיונים), Tel Aviv, 1954, 70). J.F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955–6, 343, agrees.

Line 5: ב ראש חודש: for this reading I am indebted to the late Prof. Dr. M.A. Halevy of Bucharest, who sent me a letter.

Merli may have been the daughter of the Ishmael who features on Stone 64, in which case she died within three days of her father, perhaps in an epidemic.

66.

1628/9

	[פה]	[Here]
	[נ]קברת	[was] buried
	בת[ו]לת ישראל	[a vir]gin of Israel,
	[הנערה] יוכבד	[the maid]en Yochebed,
5	[בת] ר אלעזר	[daughter] of R. Eleazar,
	[ה]יד זל ברה	[may God] revenge his blood,
		his memory is blessed, on the
		new moon of
	שפט.....	..... 389 [1628–9]



Inscription 67

Discovered in 1948 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
Height: 76 cm; width: 30.5 cm; thickness: 21 cm.
Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
Inventory No. 989.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 126, No. 5; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 148-9, No. 5.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 134.

REMARKS:

Line 3: Quotation from Deuteronomy xxii. 19.

Line 4: **יִוֹכַבֵּד**: A biblical name, borne by Moses's mother (Exodus vi. 20, etc.).

Line 6: **הַיֵּד**: On this abbreviation as an indication of a martyr, see Stone 32.

Same line: **בְּרָחָה = בְּרֵאשׁ חוֹדֶשׁ**.

67.

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1631

.....
.....
.....
.....

**כְּסֵלִיּוֹ שְׁצַב
לְפָק**

Kislev, 392 [1631],
according to the minor era.



Inscription 68

Discovered in 1932, in the Víziváros Jewish cemetery.
Height: 46 cm; width: 40 cm; thickness: 29 cm.
Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 272, No. 5; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 504, No. 5.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 504.

68.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1633

	פה	Here
	נקבר היקר	was buried the dear
	כר יעקב זל	R. Jacob, his memory is blessed,
	בן מוהרר	son of our teacher and rabbi R.
5	יהודא זלה	Jehuda, may his memory live on through eternal life.
	כ תשרי שצד	On the 20th of Tishri, 394 [1633].

.....

Discovered c. 1940, in the entrance to the former University Press at 4 Hess
András tér. See Stone 63.

Height: 86 cm; width: 39.5 cm; thickness: 19.5 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 126, No. 6; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 149, No. 6.



Inscription 69

REMARKS:

Line 4: מוהרר is an abbreviation of רבי הרב מורנו.

Line 5: זכרו לחיי העולמים: אלה. On this phrase see L. Zunz: *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, 329–30.

69.

OCTOBER 1, 1634

פה	Here
נקבר בתולת	is buried the virgin
ישראל נחמה	of Israel, Nehama,
בת ר' יעקב זל	daughter of R. Jacob, his memory is
	blessed.

5 ונפטר בערב	Died at Erev
יום כיפור שנת	Yom Kippur, in the year
שצ"ה לפ"ק	395 [1634], according to the minor
	era.

The stone was made from a fragment of the frame of an aperture.
 Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 68 cm; width: 43 cm; thickness: 28 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.6.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 112, No. 5; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 472, No. 5.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 124; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 472.

REMARKS:

Lines 2 and 3: בתולת ישראל. On this phrase see Stone No. 66.

Line 3: נחמה means solace. It is a frequent woman's name. See B. Wachstein: *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, I, Vienna–Leipzig, 1912, 572.



Inscription 71

70.

1635/6

.....
.....
.....
.....
שצו	396 [1635-6]

The stone has a square face in a wide frame, but only one line of script is legible.

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 34 cm; width: 36 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.51.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 112, No. 6; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 472, No. 6.

The stone has not been photographed, since the three legible letters are hardly visible on a picture.

71.

FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1640

.....
.....
.... [זל] ונפט[ר?]	[his/her memory is blessed.] Died
[ימים באדר]	day of A[dar],
שנת ת לפק	in the year 400 [1640], according to the
	minor era.



Inscription 72

Discovered in 1932, in the Víziváros Jewish cemetery.
Height: 46 cm; width: 40 cm; thickness: 29 cm.
Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 272, No. 6; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 504, No. 6.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 504.

REMARKS:

Line 1: [ונפט] might equally be [ונפטרת].

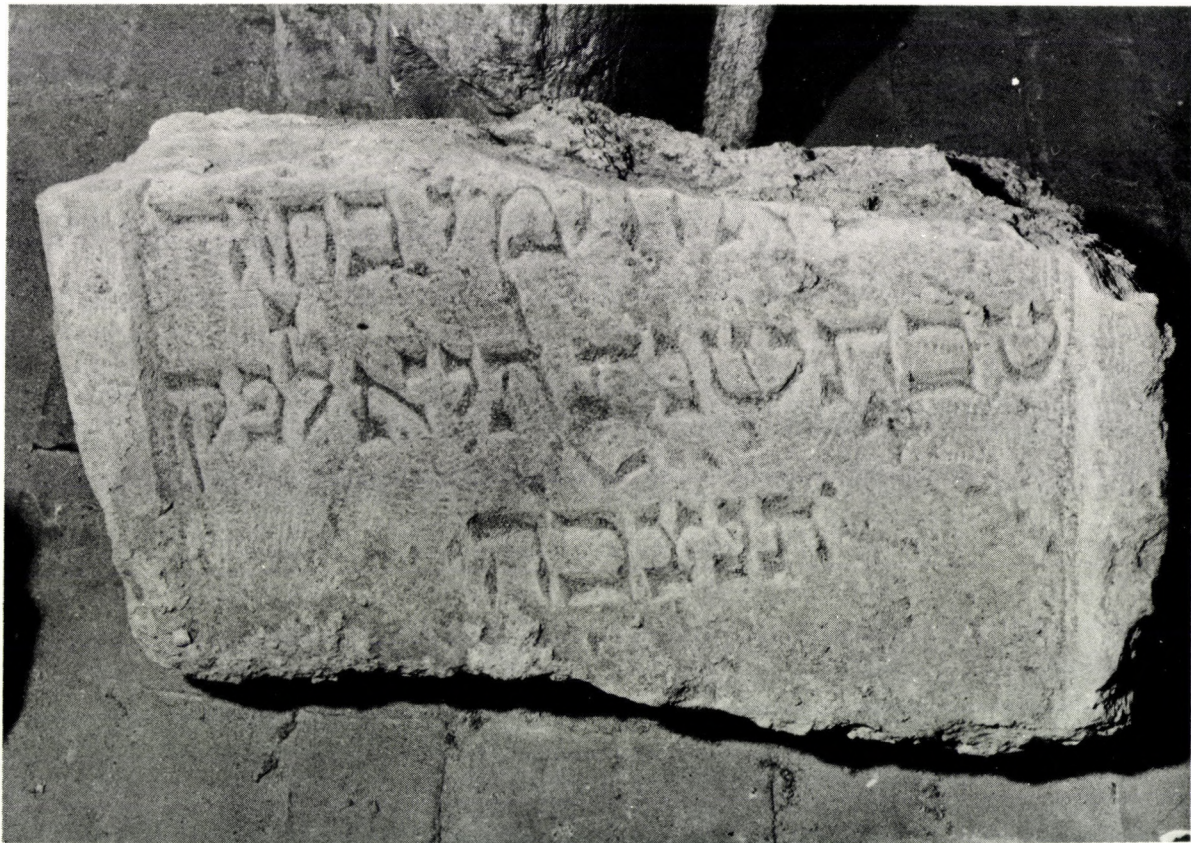
72.

1646/7

.....
.....
.....
.....

[תז לפק] 407 [1646-7], according to the [minor] era.

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4-5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.
Height: 39 cm; width: 33 cm; thickness: 12.5 cm.
Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
Inventory No. 983.



Inscription 73

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 126, No. 7; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 149, No. 7.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 135.

73.

JANUARY 1, 1651

[ונפטר?]	.....	[Died]
[ביום] א' ה' ימי' בחוד'	.....	on Sunday, the 8th of the month
טבת שנת תיא לפק	.....	of Tebet, in the year 411 [1651], accord-
		ing to the minor era.
תנצבה		May his/her soul be bound up in the
		bond of life.

Discovered in autumn 1973, in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 26.5 cm; width: 43.5 cm; thickness: 14 cm.

Now in the Hilton Hotel on the Várhegy.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, Bp., 1976, 321–4.

Photograph: *ibid.*, 322.

REMARKS:

Line 2: January 1 did indeed fall on a Sunday in 1651.



Inscription 74

NOVEMBER, 1652

.....
..... [שר]ה	Sar[ah]
..... [שנפט]רה	who die[d]
..... [כס]ליו תיג	in [Kis]lev, in 413 [1652]
..... [ת] נ צ ב ה	[May] her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1969 in the building at 11 Szentháromság utca. See Stone 54.

This stone forms the 4th step.

Height: 155 cm; width: 43 cm; thickness: 27 cm.

Now in the Fehér Galamb restaurant (11 Szentháromság utca).

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

The text is published here for the first time.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XXV, 1970, No. 9.



Inscription 75

1652/3

.....

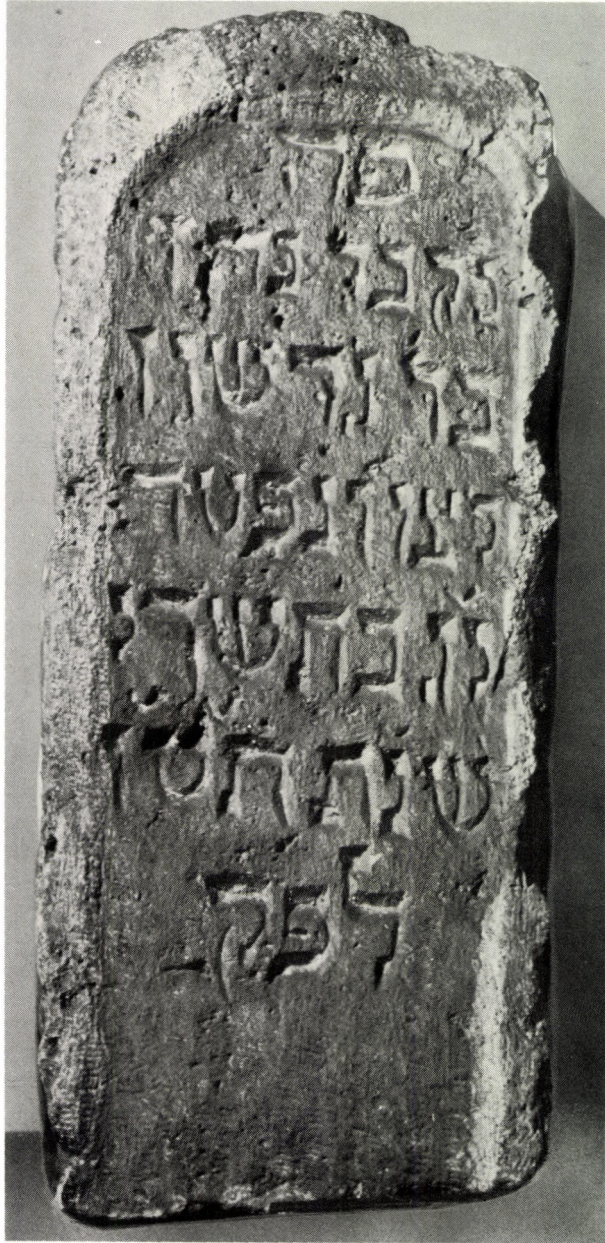
 ונפטר Died
 בח' ימי' on the ... day of the month
 לפ' [שנת] תיג' לפ' in the [ye]ar 413 [1652–3], according
 to the minor era.
 ה' נצ' ב' ה' [ת' נצ' ב' ה'] [May his soul be bound up] in the bond of
 life.

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 34 cm; width: 27 cm; thickness: 20 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.44.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 113, No. 7; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 472, No. 7.

Photographs: *AO*, XX, 1961, 125; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 472.



Inscription 76

SEPTEMBER 24, 1654

	פה	Here
	נקבר נתן	is buried Nathan,
	בר גרשון	son of R. Gershon,
	יצו ונפטר	may his Rock and Redeemer
		guard him. Died
5	יג בתשרי	on the 13th of Tishri,
	שנת תטו	in the year 415 [1654],
	לפק	according to the minor era.

Discovered c. 1910 in the building at 4–5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.

Height: 70 cm; width: 29 cm; thickness: 17 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

Inventory No. 2248.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: M. Weisz: *MZsSz*, XXVIII, 1911, 37 (according to whom the stone was taken to the Capital Museum).

Reference: E. Munkácsi: *Egyenlőség*, LIII, 1933, No. 20 (who wrote that the stone was black granite, although it is in fact limestone).

REMARKS:

Line 4: יצו is an abbreviation of ישמרהו צורו וגואלו, an eulogy usually added to the name of a living person. See L. Zunz: *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, 455. M. Weisz erroneously reads זצל.

Same line: M. Weisz writes נפטר instead of ונפטר.

Line 5: יג: M. Weisz gives the incomprehensible reading ג.



Inscription 77

OCTOBER 2, 1655

.....
.....
.....
בת ר' יהודא	daughter of R. Jehuda.
ונפטרת ברה	Died in the New Year
שנת תמוז לפק	of the year 416 [1655], according to the
	minor era.
תנצבנה	May her soul be bound up in the bond of
	life.

Discovered c. 1910 in the building at 4-5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.
 Height: 66 cm; width: 27 cm; thickness: 18 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 Inventory No. 2249.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: M. Weisz: *MZsSz*, XXVIII, 1911, 37 (according to whom the stone was taken to the Capital Museum).

Reference: E. Munkácsi: *Egyenlőség*, LIII, 1933, No. 20 (who writes that the stone is black granite instead of limestone).

REMARKS:

Line 1: יהודא: M. Weisz writes יהודה.

Line 2: נפטרת: M. Weisz writes פטרת.

Same line: Instead of ברה M. Weisz erroneously reads בר"ח, which would mean בראש חודש (new moon), but it does not say in which month.



Inscription 78

AUGUST 12, 1656

	פה	Here
	נקברת מרת	is buried the lady
	שרה בת ר' שמשון	Sarah, daughter of R. Simson,
	אל ונפטרת	his memory is blessed. She died
5	ביום ה' כ"ב ימים	on Saturday, the 22nd day
	לחדש אב	of the month of Ab,
	שנת תט"ז לפ	in the year 416 [1656], according
		to the minor era.

Discovered in 1955 in the ground floor corridor of the eastern wing of the block of buildings at 5, 7 and 9 Színház utca, where it had been immured sideways. See Stone 62.

Height: 128 cm; width: 42 cm; thickness: unmeasurable.

Still in its place of discovery. Although it has not been removed, the text can be read.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 273, No. 7; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 505, No. 7.

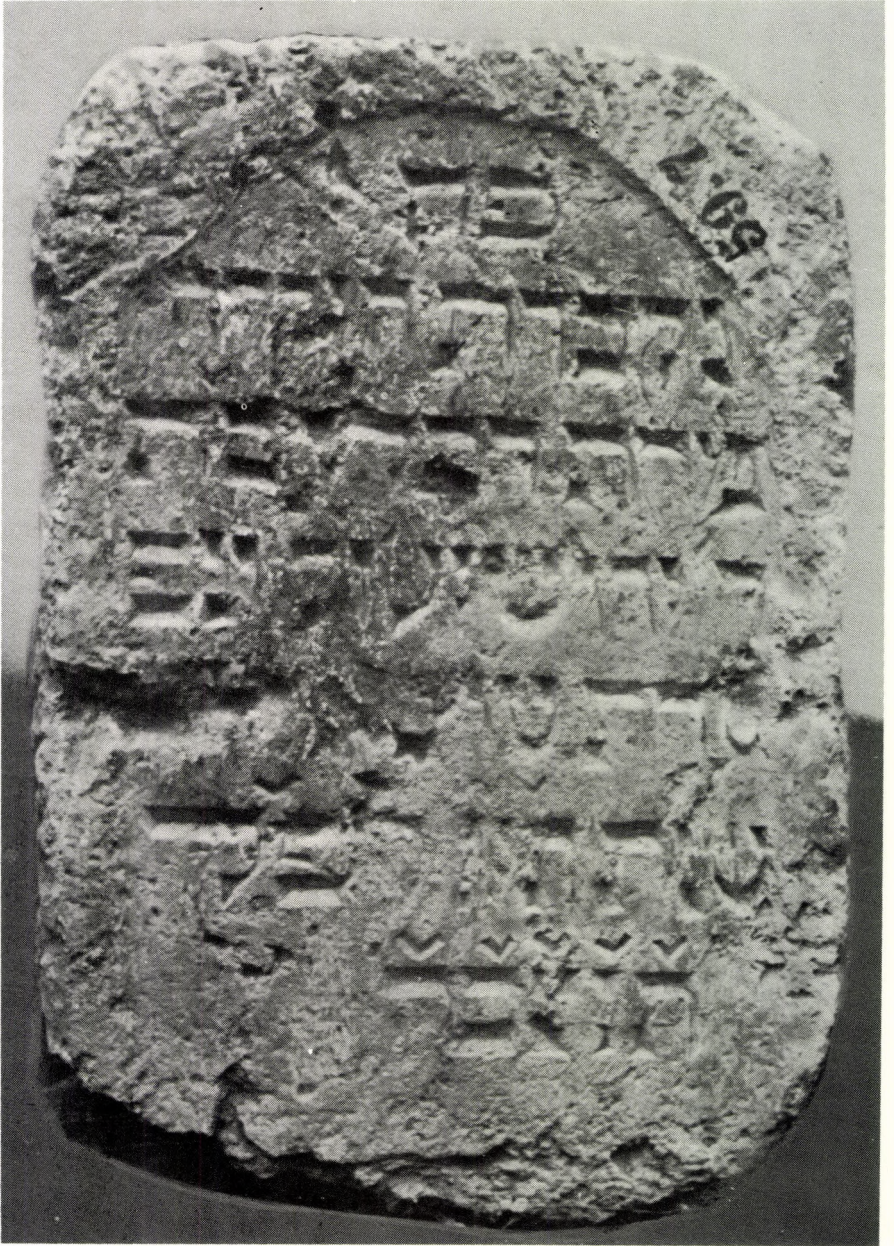
Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 505.

Reference: A. Scheiber: 'Háromszázéves zsidó sírkő Budán' (A 300-year-old Jewish gravestone in Buda), *ÚÉ*, XII, 1956, No. 1.

REMARKS:

Line 5: ה' השבת: on Saturday.

Line 7: תט"ז: Lacking a photograph, the author earlier read this as תט"ו (*JSS*, I, 1956, 273, No. 7), but the second time it was published the correct date was given (*BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 505, No. 7).



Inscription 79

FEBRUARY 28, 1657

פה	Here
נקברת היקרה	is buried the dear
מרת רכלי בת	lady Rechli, daughter of
ר יהושוע זל ונפ	R. Joshua, his memory is blessed. She
5 טרת טו באד[ר]	died on the 15th of Ada[r]
שנת תיז לפק	in the year 417 [1657], according to the
	minor era.
ת נ צ ב ה	May her soul be bound up in the bond
	of life.

Discovered in 1959, in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 75 cm; width: 51 cm; thickness: 17 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.7.

LITERATURE:

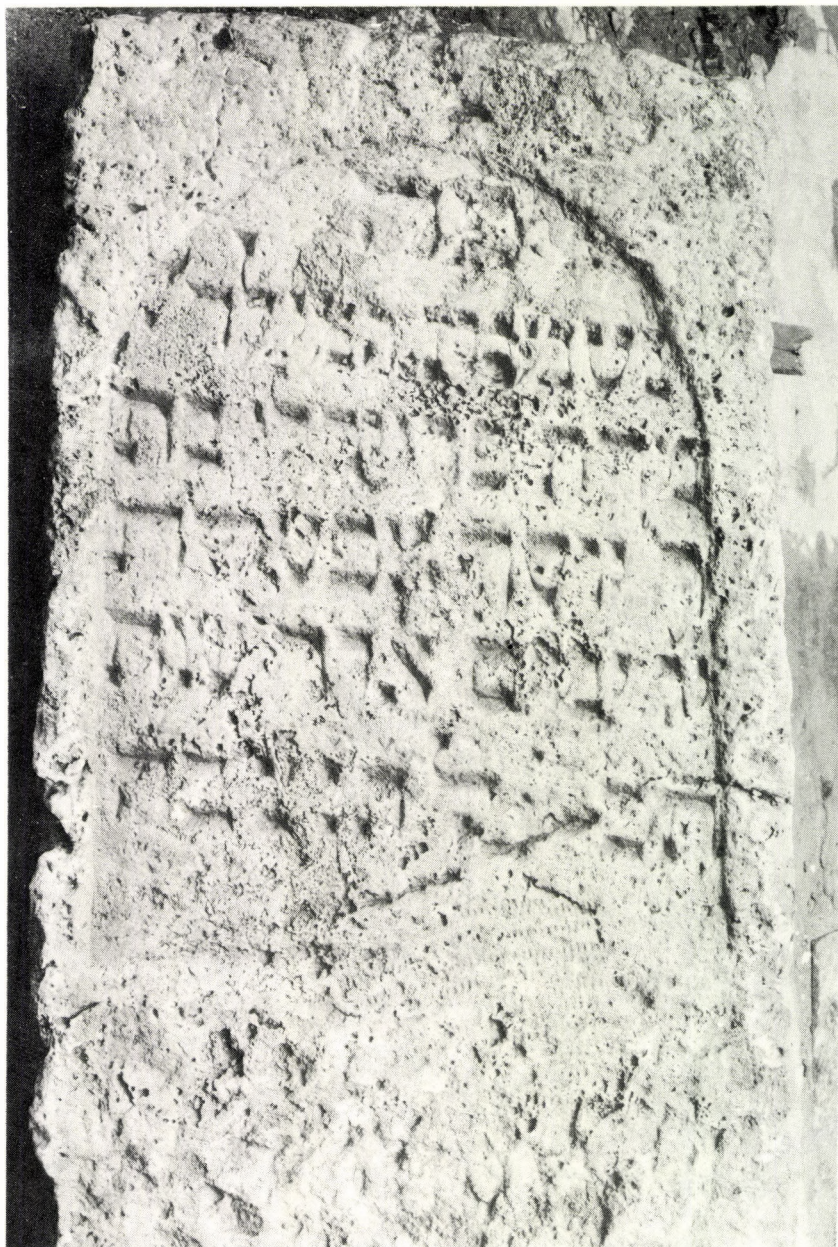
Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 113, No. 8; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 473, No. 8.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 126; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 472.

REMARKS:

Line 3: רכלי: Rechli, Rechlin and Riklin were medieval German variants of the name Rachel. Its forms were also influenced by the names Richilde and Rick (Reich). See L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 50. The form Rechel occurs in Kismarton (Eisenstadt) in 1416 (*MZsO*, IV, 61, No. 44), and often features on gravestones in Prague. See O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 193–4, No. 40. (רעכליין); 390–91, No. 128. (ריקל); 408, No. 138 (in the same form). See also J.F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955–6, 343.

Line 6: תיז might perhaps also be read as תיז from the photograph, but less so from the original stone.



Inscription 80

FEBRUARY 25, 1660

	פה	Here
	נטמנת המילד	is hidden the midwife
	מרת פסערלי בת	Madam Pserli, daughter of
	ר' יוסף ונפטר	R. Joseph. Died
5	יג ימים אדר שנת	on 13th of Adar,
	תכ ~ לפק תנצב	in the year 420 [1660], accord- ing to the minor era. May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in July 1970, in the building at 1–2 Szent György tér. See Stone 81. It was discovered by the archaeologist Julia Altmann in a Baroque drain. It is a dolomite stone in an oval frame.

Height: 111 cm; width: 58 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 83.510.1.

LITERATURE:

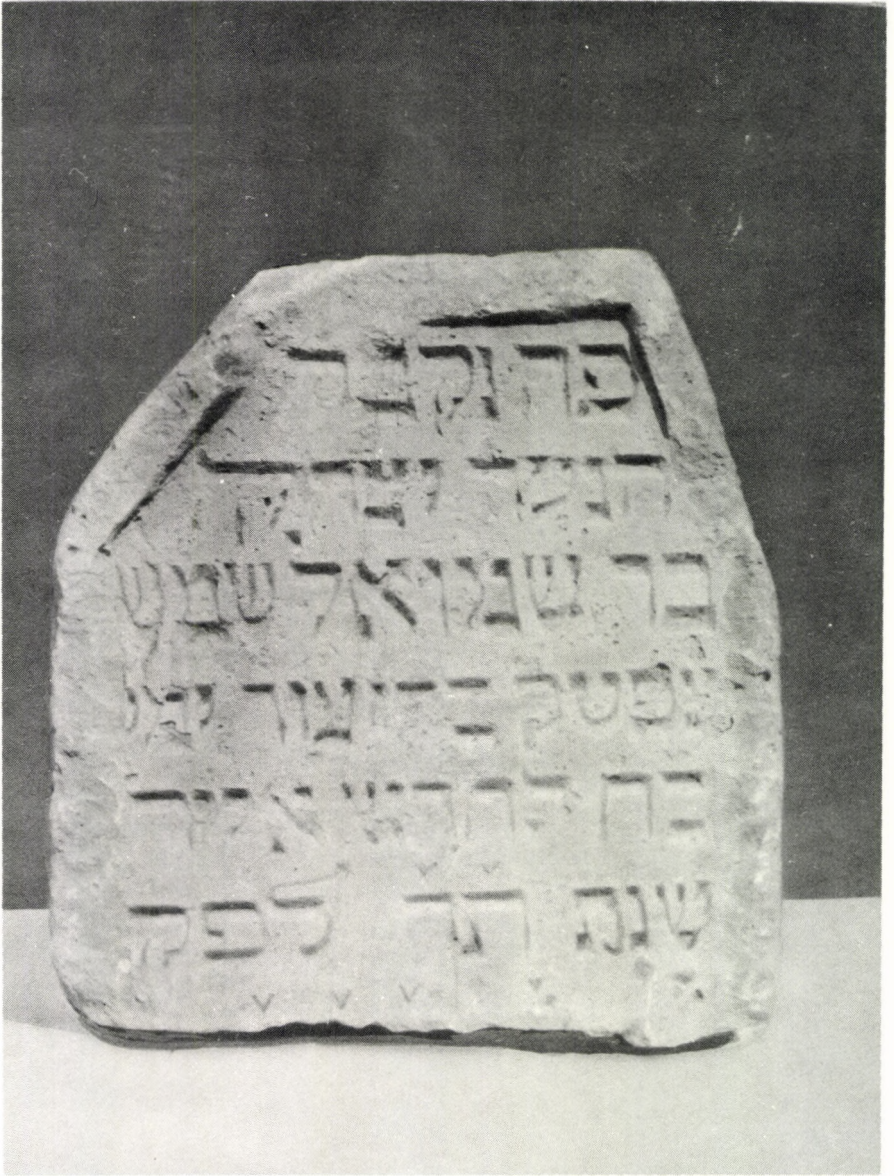
Text publication: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 467–8.

Photograph: *ÚÉ*, XXV, 1970, No. 17.

Reference: A. Scheiber: 'Zsidó sírkő a Sándor-palotában' (A Jewish gravestone in the Sándor Palace), *ÚÉ*, XXV, 1970, No. 17.

REMARKS:

Line 3: פסערלי: Pserli is presumably a popular form of Serlein, which is a derivative of Sarah. In Hungary it is first mentioned in 1390 in a Pozsony document, where the name was borne by the wife of the Pozsony Jew Sadya (*MZsO*, IV, 22–4, No. 14). Pserli was a midwife and perhaps the daughter of the surgeon Joseph, who was staying in Buda in 1676. Joseph was the son-in-law of the famous Belgrade physician Asher (I. Csillag: *MZsO*, XIII, 39; L. Glesinger: 'O bolesti Ivaniša Korvina', *Liječnički Vjesnik*, XCI, 1969, 1109–12). The 1686 siege of Buda also claimed the life of a 87-year-old Jewish midwife (A. Fürst: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1936, 179).



Inscription 81

MAY 9, 1660

פה נקבר	Here is buried
הנער יצחק	the young Isaac,
בר שמואל שמש	son of R. Samuel, the shamash.
ונפטר בקיצור ימי	He died in his youth,
5 כֶּחַ לחדש אייר	on the 28th of Iyyar,
שנת ת"ך לפק	in the year 420 [1660], according
	to the minor era.
[תנצבֿה]	[May his soul be bound up in the
	bond of life].

Discovered in 1947, in the building at 1–2 Szent György tér, the site of three barracks on medieval foundations in the 18th century. The Jewish gravestone was obviously incorporated during construction work after 1686. In 1803, Count Vince Sándor purchased the buildings and built a palace in their place. In the latter half of the 19th century it was purchased by the state for the Prime Minister's Office. In 1944–45 it suffered severe war damage and most of the upper storey collapsed (M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 426–9). The stone was discovered while the rubble was being cleared.

Height: 48 cm; width: 45 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 986.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 127, No. 8; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 149, No. 8.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 136.

REMARKS:

Line 3: שמש: On this position cf. S. Krauss: *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin–Vienna, 1922, 141, 181. In medieval Hungary they were called “Meister”, and the Latin term was “Judices ordinarii”. Even at the end of the 16th century



Inscription 82

they acted in Buda as the official witnesses when documents were drawn up [S. Büchler: *A zsidók története Budapesten* (History of the Jews in Budapest), Bp., 1901, 47].

Line 4: ימיו = ימיו.

Line 7: The abbreviation marks above the letters can still be discerned.

82.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1660

פה נקבר כר	Here is buried R.
שלומה בר מרדכי	Shelomo, son of R. Mordecai.
ונפטר כז ימים	Died on the 27th day
באלול שנת תכ	of Elul, in the year 420 [1660],
5 לפק ה[נצבה]	according to the minor era. May [his soul be bound up in the bond of life].

Discovered before 1944 in the house at 13 Szentháromság utca (6 Úri utca). Two medieval dwelling houses stood on the site, part of the southern one stretching over onto the site of the house at 4 Úri utca, not yet standing in the 14th century. The house to the north was built only in the early 15th century. During the siege of 1686 both houses were destroyed, the cellar and walls of the southern house surviving, along with the gateway and an adjacent room in the northern house. At the beginning of the 18th century, the wing looking onto Úri utca was rebuilt, while the wing on the Bástyasétány was only built in the second half of the 18th century, at which time the Jewish gravestone was obviously incorporated. In 1944 the northern room facing Úri utca caved in (M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 528–9).

Height: 47 cm; width: 47.5 cm; thickness: 18 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 127, No. 9; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 149–50, No. 9.



Inscription 83

REMARKS:

Line 2: שלומה: The plene writing is unusual and points to a lack of skill on the part of the author of the text or the stonemason.

Same line: מרדכי: A biblical name (Esther ii. 5, etc.).

83.

OCTOBER 10, 1663

פה	Here
נקבר משה	is buried Moses,
בר עזר ונפטר	son of R. Ozer. Died
ערב י"כ שנת ת	at Erev Yom Kippur, in the year 424 [16
⁵ כ"ד לפק תנצב"ה	63], according to the minor era.
	May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.

The place and date of discovery are unknown. Miksa Weisz only informs us: "In the National Museum there is only one stone from this age, the engraving of which bears a striking resemblance to the stones of the Mátyás-templom" (*BpR*, V, 1897, 50).

Height: 60 cm; width: 51 cm; thickness: 17 cm.

Now in the ground-floor corridor of the Hungarian National Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 50.



Inscription 84

REMARKS:

Line 3: **עוזר** means helper. The name also occurs on graves in Prague. See O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 162–3, No. 25; 263–4, No. 68. The father was killed in 1686, during the recapture of Buda. One of his sons, David, arrived in Jerusalem (N. Katzburg: *Mahanayim*, XXXVIII, 1959, 79–81; M. Benayahu: *Sefunot*, III–IV, 1960, 172).

Same line: **ונפטר**: M. Weisz writes **נפטר**.

Line 5: M. Weisz writes the date erroneously as 1664. Incidentally, the stonemason divided the date over two lines.

84.

OCTOBER 15, 1664

פה נטמן כר	Here is hidden R.
חיים בר יוסף	Hayyim, son of R. Joseph.
ונפטר כו ימים	Died on the 26th day
בתשרי שנת	of Tishri, in the year
5 תכה לפק תנצ בה	425 [1664], according to the
	minor era. May his soul be
	bound up
	in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Díz tér. See Stone 55.
Height: 54 cm; width: 41 cm; thickness: 14 cm.
Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
Inventory No. 976.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 127, No. 10; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 150, No. 10.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 137.



Inscription 85

FEBRUARY 27, 1668

	פה	Here
	נטמנת הצנועה	is hidden the chaste
	שרה בת חיים כץ	Sarah, daughter of Hayyim Kohen.
	ונפטרת ב דפורים	Died on the second day of Purim,
5	בשנת תכח לפק	in the year 428 [1668], according to the minor era.
	תנצבֿה	May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1900, during building work on Buda Castle. In a letter of August 30, 1900, quoted above, Marcel Neuschlosz notified Samuel Kohn of the find, and Kohn noted down the texts of the four stones in pencil on the back of the letter. One stone (dating from 1633) has disappeared; this is one of the three survivors, the other two being Nos 86 and 100.

Height: 59 cm; width: 51.5 cm; thickness: 3 cm.

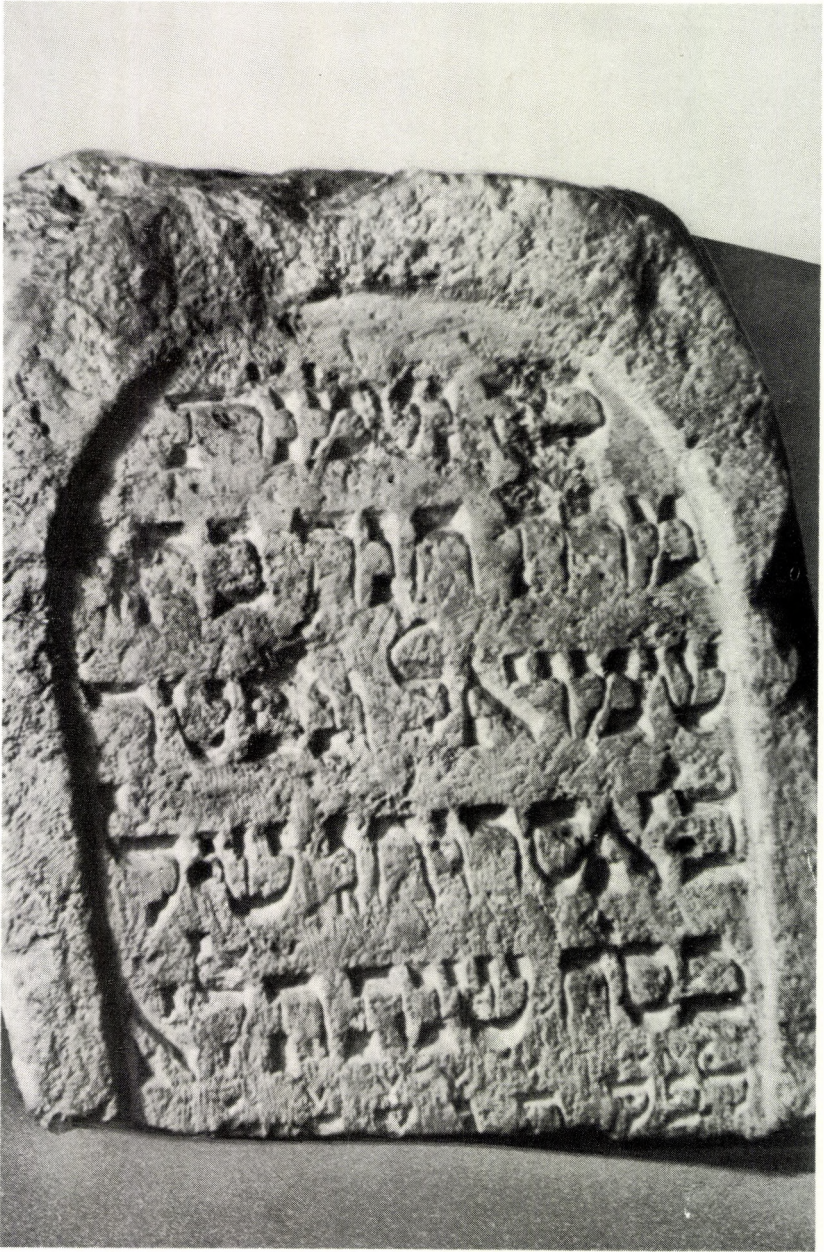
Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 114.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 273, No. 8; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 505, No. 8.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 506.



Inscription 86

REMARKS:

Line 2: **הצנועה**: an attribute of praise for Jewish women (Ben Jehuda, XI, 5544–5).

Line 3: **כֶּץ** = **כהן צדק** means true priest, and denotes a member of a Cohenite or priestly family. The name Katz derives from it. See Scheiberné L. Bernáth, *A magyarországi zsidóság személy- és családnevei II. József névadó rendeletéig*, Bp., 1981, 31. The tombstone of the aged Aaron, Hayyim's son, erected 1755, was still standing at the beginning of this century at Hotzenplotz, bearing the following inscription: **הישיש ה' אהרן ב"ה חיים כ"ץ ז"ל מגרושי אובן** (A. Marmorstein: *Magyar Rabbik* (Hungarian Rabbis), III, 1907, 54–5).

86.

APRIL 3, 1671

פה נטמנת	Here is hidden
מרת חנה בת ר	the lady Hannah, daughter of R.
שמואל ונפט	Samuel. Died
באסרו חג של	on the day following
⁵ פסח שנת תל"א	Passover, in the year 431 [1671],
לפק תנצלה	according to the minor era. May her soul be bound up [in the bond of life].

Discovered in 1900, during building work on Buda Castle. See Stone 85. It was first removed to the Víziváros Jewish cemetery, then in 1932 to its present position.

Height: 55 cm; width: 53 cm; thickness: 25 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

Inventory No. 2106.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 273, No. 9; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 507, No. 9.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 507.



Inscription 87

REMARKS:

Line 2: חנה: A biblical name (I Samuel i. 2, etc.).

Line 4: אסרו חג: This is the name of the weekday that follows the three pilgrim holidays, and has its source in the Bible (Psalms cxviii. 27): "Bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar". According to the *Aggada* (Sukka 45b and Rashi ad l.) it refers to the fact that the day after the holiday should also be a merry one with feasting and drinking (M. Zobel: *Das Jahr des Juden in Brauch und Liturgie*, Berlin, 1936, 129, 184; F. Thieberger: *Jüdisches Fest, Jüdischer Brauch*, Berlin, 1936, 287; H. Schauss: *The Jewish Festivals*, Cincinnati, 1938, 278, 313). During the period of the Second Temple, the pilgrims started back from Jerusalem on that day (Cecil Roth: *The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York, 1959, 999). Nowadays on that day the penitential Psalm vi usually sung on weekdays is omitted. The day on the gravestone fell on the 23rd of Nisan.

87.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1672

<p>ג' כח אלול</p> <p>מרת פריידל² ב[ת מ]ה דוד זצל מק³ אויס⁴</p> <p>לפק</p>	<p>פה טמונה אשה חשובה [ו]הגונה</p> <p>על</p> <p>אלה אני בוכיה⁸ מאין</p> <p>הפוגה⁹ על פטירת¹⁰ האש</p> <p>הרכה והענוגה¹¹ היקרה</p> <p>והישרה מגורה טהורה</p> <p>המפוארה המהוללה עטר</p> <p>בעלה¹² פיה פתחה [בחכמה]¹³</p> <p>ל[ות]¹⁴.....</p> <p>מעלותיה מי מנה כפה</p> <p>פרשה לעני¹⁵ בכל עת</p> <p>[וכל]¹⁶ עונה הנמצא דוגמתה¹⁷</p> <p>ת ז צ ב ה</p>	<p>אור ליום</p> <p>אשת האלוף הגביר כהרר ליב⁵ . . שש יצו⁷</p> <p>תלב</p>
--	--	---

17*

The text of the two upper lines:

On the eve of Tuesday, on the 28th of Elul, in 432 [1672], according to the
minor era.

The text of the frame:

In the centre: Here is hidden the valuable and distinguished woman,

On the left: the lady Freudel, daughter of R. David, the memory of the just is
blessed, from Aussee,

On the right: the wife of the illustrious master R. Leb of Lichtenstadt (or
Nikolsburg), may his Rock and Redeemer guard him.

Text on the face of the stone:

For these things

I weep without

intermission, because the wife has died,

the tender and delicate, dear

and right, pure lamp,

virtuous and laudable, a crown to

her husband, she opened her mouth [with wisdom].

.....
Who could recount her good qualities? She stretched
out her hand to the poor always

[and at every] time. Can one find her equal?

May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in 1887, in two pieces, in the building at 1 Hess András tér,
along with some fragments "large and small" (S. Kohn: *MZsSz*, IV, 1887, 376).
Between 1686 and 1702, a Jesuit house was built on the site, into which the
Jewish gravestones were incorporated. Between 1867 and 1944 it housed the
Ministry of Finance. In 1944–5 the building was entirely consumed by fire (M.
Horler: *op. cit.*, 356–8). Miksa Weisz erroneously declares the stone was found in
the St. Stephen's chapel in the Mátyás-templom (*BpR*, V, 1897, 46).

Height: 163 cm; width: 67 cm; thickness: 17.5 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 120.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: S. Kohn: *MZsSz*, IV, 1887, 376–7 (in collaboration with I. Goldziher); D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 88–9; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 51.

Reference: *Egyenlőség*, VI, 1887, No. 21.

REMARKS:

A single rhyme runs through the text.

1. Kaufmann read ו and corrected it to ג; Kohn read it as ג (which is what can clearly be seen); but instead of כח he read בח, thus arriving at the 3rd of Elul. The 28th of Elul did indeed fall on a Tuesday in that year.

2. פריידל: from the German Freude. See B. Klar: *מחקרים ועיונים*, Tel Aviv, 1954, 69.

3. מקהלת: from the community. Kohn inaccurately read it as מקק.

4. Aussee in Moravia. Kohn read it wrongly as אויס.

5. ליב: Löw. See B. Klar: *op. cit.*, 69. Kohn inaccurately read it as לעב.

6. If ל"ש were written, then it is Lichtenstadt, if ג"ש, then it is Nikolsburg. S. Krauss accepts the first and considers the person who erected the gravestone to have been a member of the Lasch family ('Die böhmische Familie Lichtenstadt-Lasch', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*, II, 1931–2, 148–9).

7. See Stone 76.

8. Lamentations i. 16.

9. Lamentations iii. 49; the biblical text has הפוגות, which is how Kohn read it, but it is contradicted by the rhyme, and the text on the stone can be clearly read in the way given here.

10. According to Kaufmann: פטירה, which is a printer's error.

11. Isaiah xlvii. 1.

12. Proverbs xii. 4.

13. Proverbs xxxi. 26. Kohn added the correct complement, but Kaufmann did not follow him.

14. Kohn adds the complement גבור[רות], but the letters לות are clear.

15. Proverbs xxxi. 20.

16. The completion does not feature in Kohn, only in Kaufmann. Kohn read it as ועונה.

17. On a gravestone from Hamelin: מי ימצא כמוה. See M. Grunwald: *Mitteilungen zur Jüdischen Volkskunde*, XVIII, 1915, 69, No. 1.



Inscription 88

1674/5

.....

תלה לפק 435 [1674–5], according to the minor era.
 תנצ צה May his/her soul be bound up in the bond of
 life.

Discovered in 1950, in the building at 32 Úri utca. See Stone 30.
 Height: 66 cm; width: 64.5 cm; thickness: 9 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 52. 1288.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 274, No. 10; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 507, No. 10.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 507.



Inscription 89

JUNE 6, 1675

	פה	Here
	נקברת מרת	is buried the lady
	לאה בת ר' יוסף	Leah, daughter of R. Joseph,
	ז"ל נפטרת ביום יב	his memory is blessed. Died on the
		12th day
5	בסיון שנת תלה ל	of Sivan, in the year 435 [1675],
		according to the minor era.
	תנצב"ה	May her soul be bound up in the
		bond of life.

Discovered c. 1887, during the restoration of the St. Stephen's chapel in the Mátyás-templom.

Height: 110 cm; width: 41 cm; thickness: 15.5 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 121.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 89, No. 3; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 52.

REMARKS:

Line 4: נפטרת: M. Weisz inaccurately reads נפטרה.

Line 5: ל is an abbreviation of לפק.



Inscription 90

AUGUST 17, 1675

	[פה נקברת]	[Here is buried]
	מרת פלימלי	the lady Plimli,
	בת ר בנימן ונפטר	daughter of R. Benjamin. Died
	כה אב שנת תלה	on the 25th of Ab in the year 435
		[1675],
5	לפך ת נצ ב ה	according to the minor era. May
		her soul be bound up in the bond of
		life.

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.
 Height: 51 cm; width: 45 cm; thickness: 15.5 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 978.

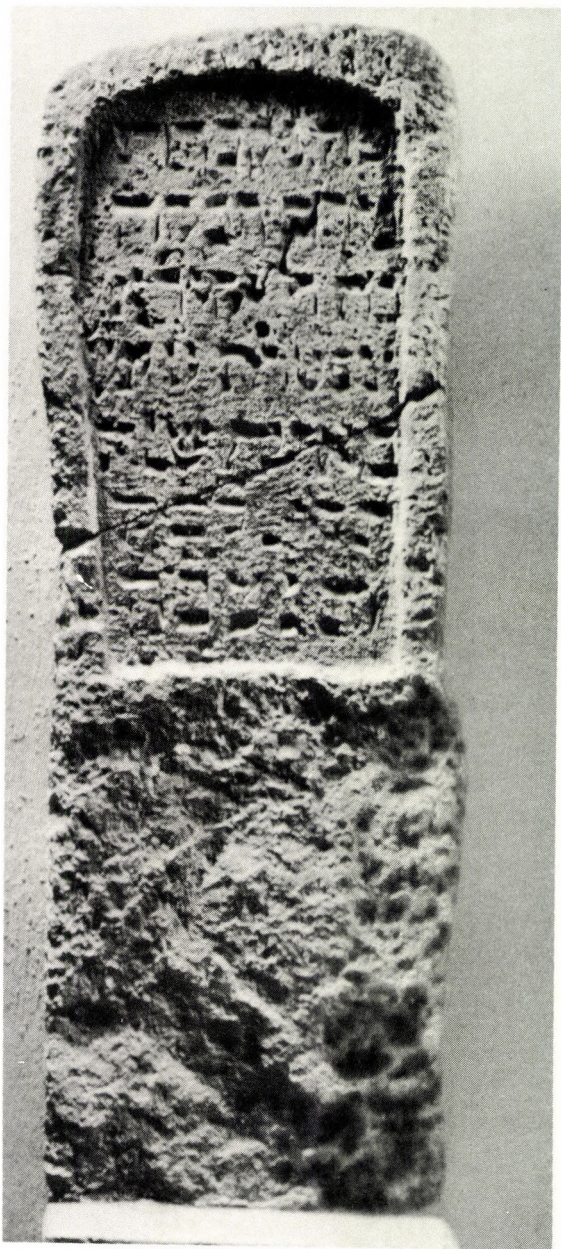
LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 127, No. 11; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 150, No. 11.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 138.

REMARKS:

Line 2: פלימלי: Blumele. The German translation of פרח. See B. Klar: *מחקרים ועיונים*, Tel Aviv, 1954, 69; J. Nacht: *סמלי אשה*, Tel Aviv, 1959, 202. There are several ways of spelling it: L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 47. פלומא; O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 329, No. 96. בלימל.



Inscription 91

APRIL 22, 1676

פה נקברת	Here is buried
מרת רבקה	the lady Rebecca,
בת ר' יהודא	daughter of R. Jehuda.
ונפטרת ט ימ'	Died on the 9th day
⁵ באייר שנת	of Iyyar, in the year
תל"ו לפק	436 [1676], according to the minor era.
תנצ"ב	May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered c. 1887, during the restoration of St. Stephen's chapel in the Mátyás-templom.

Height: 118 cm; width: 41 cm; thickness: 15 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 117

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 89, No. 2; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 52.

REMARKS:

Line 4: ונפטרת is read as ונפטררה by Kaufmann, which Weisz follows.

Same line: ט ימ': Kaufmann and Weisz failed to decipher these words.

Line 5: באייר: Kaufmann and Weisz read this as ב' אייר, having failed to discern the date before it.



Inscription 92

1676/7

.....

 [לפֿק] תֿלֿז 437 [1676-7], [according to the
 minor era].
 [תֿנצבֿה] May his/her soul be bound up in
 the bond [of life].

Discovered in 1932 in the Víziváros Jewish cemetery.
 Height: 26 cm; width: 33 cm; thickness: 12 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 274, No. 11; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 507, No. 11.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 507.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Part of the letter ל is still discernible.

Line 2: The upper part of the letter כ can be seen.



Inscription 93

FEBRUARY 14, 1678

פה נקבר איש ירא אלהים כר יהודא בר חיים 5 סוסי ונפטר ב ימים באדר שנת תלה לפק תנצ בה	Here is buried the God-fearing man R. Jehuda, son of R. Hayyim Susi. Died on the 2nd day of Adar, in the year 438 [1678], according to the minor era. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.
--	---

Discovered c. 1910, in the building at 4-5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.

Height: 120 cm; width: 49 cm; thickness: 21 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

Inventory No. 2247.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: M. Weisz: *MZsSz*, XXVIII, 1911, 36-7.

Photograph: I. Schulhof: *Budai krónika* (Buda chronicle), Bp., 1979.

Reference: E. Munkácsi: *Egyenlőség*, LIII, 1933, No. 20 (who mistakenly says the stone is black granite instead of limestone).

REMARKS:

Line 3: A quotation from Job i. 1.

Line 4: יהודא: M. Weisz writes יהודה.

Line 5: סוסי: A biblical name (Numbers xiii. 11). See I. S. Emmanuel, *מצבות שאלוניקי*, II, Jerusalem, 1968, 613, No. 1331. The author has seen a note in the Goldziher bequest in which, referring to the work ספר דבר אליהו (Alexandria, 1908), it is noted that סוסי is a variant of the name Joseph. It might indicate that the family was of Turkish origin.



Inscription 94

JULY 6 and 10, 1678

.....

 [הוא נפטר] [he died]
 ב' כ תמוז והיא נפ[טרת] on the 20th day of Tammuz.
 She di[ed]
 בט' שנת תל"ח on the 16th, in the year 438
 [1678].

Discovered in 1932 in the Viziváros Jewish cemetery.

Height: 63 cm; width: 53 cm; thickness: 18 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 274, No. 12; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 508, No. 12.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 508.

REMARKS:

Lines 2 and 3: In 1678, the epidemic which raged in Buda claimed several Jewish victims as well. Three dated gravestones have survived from that time. On June 3, Ephraim Kohen, the renowned rabbi of the Buda Jewish community, died, and before him his elder son, Jehizkiyahu. His younger son, Jehuda, wrote in the foreword to his father's work (*Shaar Efrayim*, Sulzbach, 1689): "In 1678 we lived through days fraught with suffering. At that time of pestilence and the wrath of God, several disasters and sufferings befell us in succession" [S. Kohn: *Héber kútforrások és adatok Magyarország történetéhez* (Hebrew sources and data on the history of Hungary), Bp., 1881, 137]. The inscription on this gravestone can be interpreted in the light of those events. During the epidemic a male and a female member of the same family, presumably husband and wife, died, and the stone was raised over their double grave.



Inscription 95

JULY 27, 1678

פה	Here
נקברת מרת	is buried the lady
הנדלי בת	Hindli, daughter
ר' ידדיה	of R. Yedidyah.
נפטרת ה'	Died on the 8th
5 ימים באב	day of Ab
שנת תלח לפק	in the year 438 [1678], according to the minor era.
ת נ צ ב ה	May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered c. 1887, during the restoration of the St. Stephen's chapel in the Mátyás-templom.

Height: 65 cm; width: 35 cm; thickness: 17 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 116.

LITERATURE:

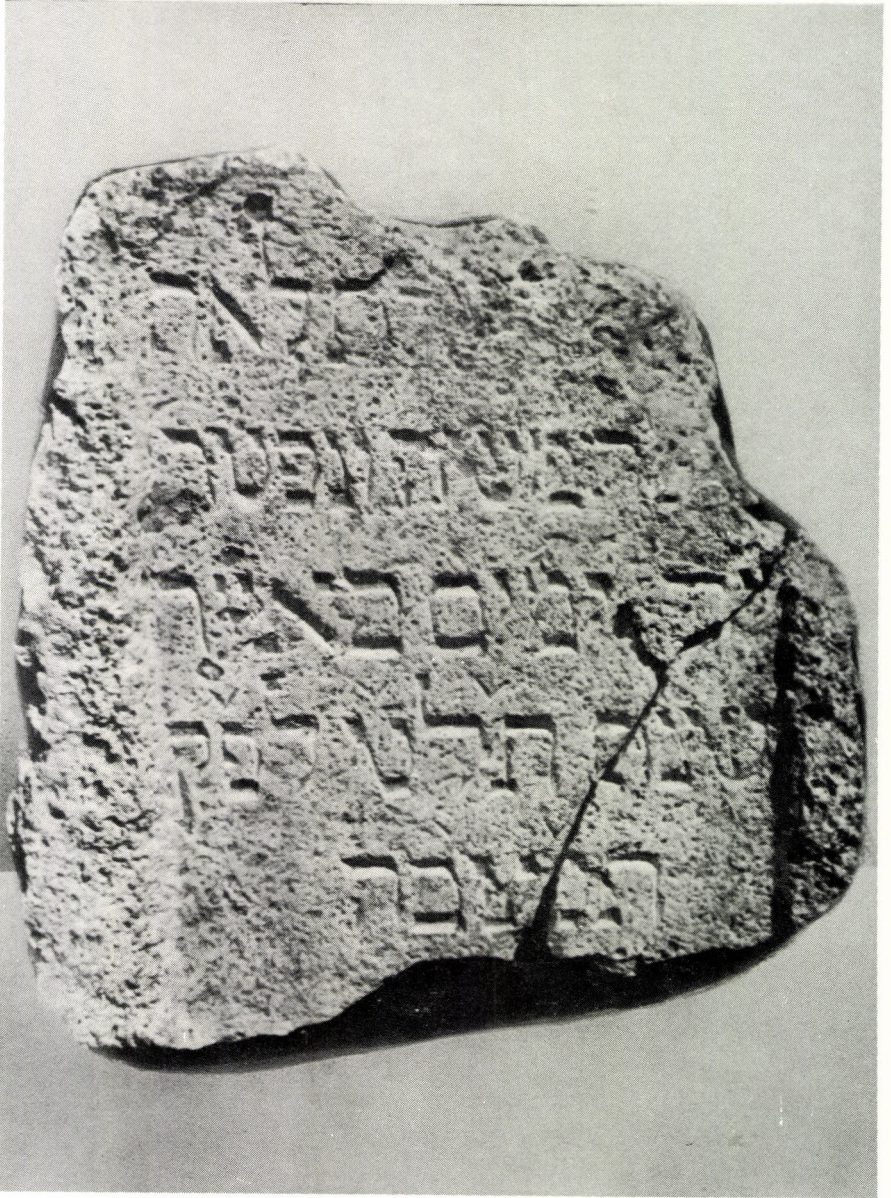
Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 90, No. 4; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 52.

REMARKS:

Line 3: הנדלי: See Stone 59.

Line 4: ידדיה: A biblical name (II Samuel xii. 25), one of Solomon's names. According to Azarja de Rossi it is the Hebrew name of Philon. See also another grave inscription: Z. Avneri: *REJ*, CXXI, 1962, 193, No. 18. See Stone 41.

Line 5: נפטרת: Weisz erroneously writes נפטרה.



Inscription 96

APRIL 26, 1679

	[פה]	[Here]
	[נקברת מ]רת לאה	[was buried] the lady Leah,
	[בת] ר' משה ונפטר	[daughter of] R. Moses. Died
	יד ימים באייר	on the 14th day of Iyyar,
5	שנת תל"ט לפ"ק	in the year 439 [1679], according
		to the minor era.
	תנצ"בה	May her soul be bound up in
		the bond of life.

Discovered in three pieces in 1947 in the building at 4-5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.

Height: 65 cm; width: 50 cm; thickness: 12 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 985/2-3.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 128, No. 12, 130, No. 21; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 150, No. 12, 152, No. 21. (The author subsequently realized that the two pieces belong together.)

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 139.

REMARKS:

Lines 1-3: As the inventory number shows, the parts added in square brackets were also found, but have since been lost.



Inscription 97

MAY 7, 1679

<p>פה נקברת מרת גיטלי בת ר' חיים ונפטרת 5 כה ל' אייר שנת תל"ט ל'פ' תנצבה</p>	<p>Here is buried the lady Gitli, daughter of R. Hayyim. Died on the 25th of the month of Iyyar, in the year 439 [1679], according to the minor era. May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.</p>
--	--

Discovered in 1956 in the block of houses at 5, 7 and 9 Színház utca. See Stone 62.

Height: 94 cm; width: 36 cm; thickness: 25 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

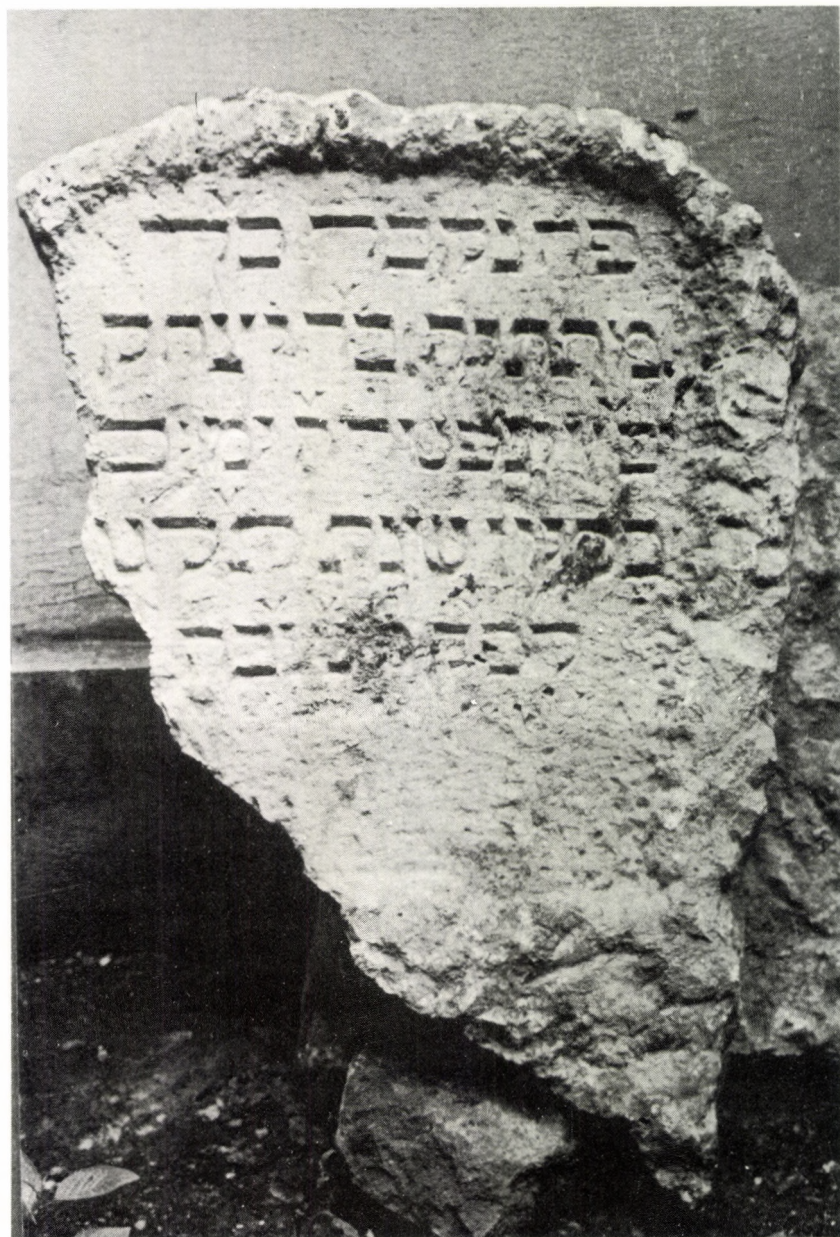
LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, No. 13.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 508.

REMARKS:

Line 3: גיטלי: from the German Gute. See B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XL, 1923, 98; P. Mendel: *REJ*, CX, 1950, 29; B. Klar: *מחקרים ועיונים*, Tel Aviv, 1954, 69; O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 359–60, No. 112.



Inscription 98

MAY 16, 1679

<p> פה נקבר כר מתתיה בר יצחק כץ ונפטר ה' ימים בסיון שנת תל"ט לפק תנצבה </p>	<p> Here is buried R. Mattithiah, son of R. Isaac Kohen. Died on the 5th day of Sivan, in the year 439 [1679], according to the minor era. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life. </p>
---	---

Discovered in the spring of 1966 at 9–11 Szentháromság utca, when the ruined buildings were being rebuilt. At the same time three beautifully carved gravestones serving as cellar steps were found intact in the cellar (cf. Stones 99 and 101). See Stone 54.

Height: 120 cm; width: 56 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 468, No. 2.

Photograph: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 471.

Reference: A. Scheiber: 'Újonnan felszínre került zsidó sírkövek a törökkori Budáról' (Newly unearthed Jewish gravestones from the Buda of the Turkish occupation), *ÚÉ*, XXII, 1967, No. 3.

REMARKS:

Line 2: **מתתיה**: A biblical name (Ezra x. 43; Nehemiah viii. 4) perhaps already in the time of Jehoiakim (N. Avigad, *IEJ*, XXX, 1980, 170–3); the name of the father of the Maccabeans, which explains its popularity.

Line 3: **כץ**: see Stone 85.



Inscription 99

JUNE 26, 1682

פה נקברת מרת שרה בת ר' שאול יוסף זל	Here is buried the lady Sarah, daughter of R. Saul Joseph, his memory is blessed.
ונפטרת כ' ימים בסיון שנת תמ"ב לפק	Died on the 20th day of Sivan in the year 442 [1682], according to the minor era.
תנצב"ה	May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Discovered in spring of 1966, in the building at 9–11 Szentháromság utca.
 See Stone 98.

Height: 127 cm; width: 68 cm; thickness: 13 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

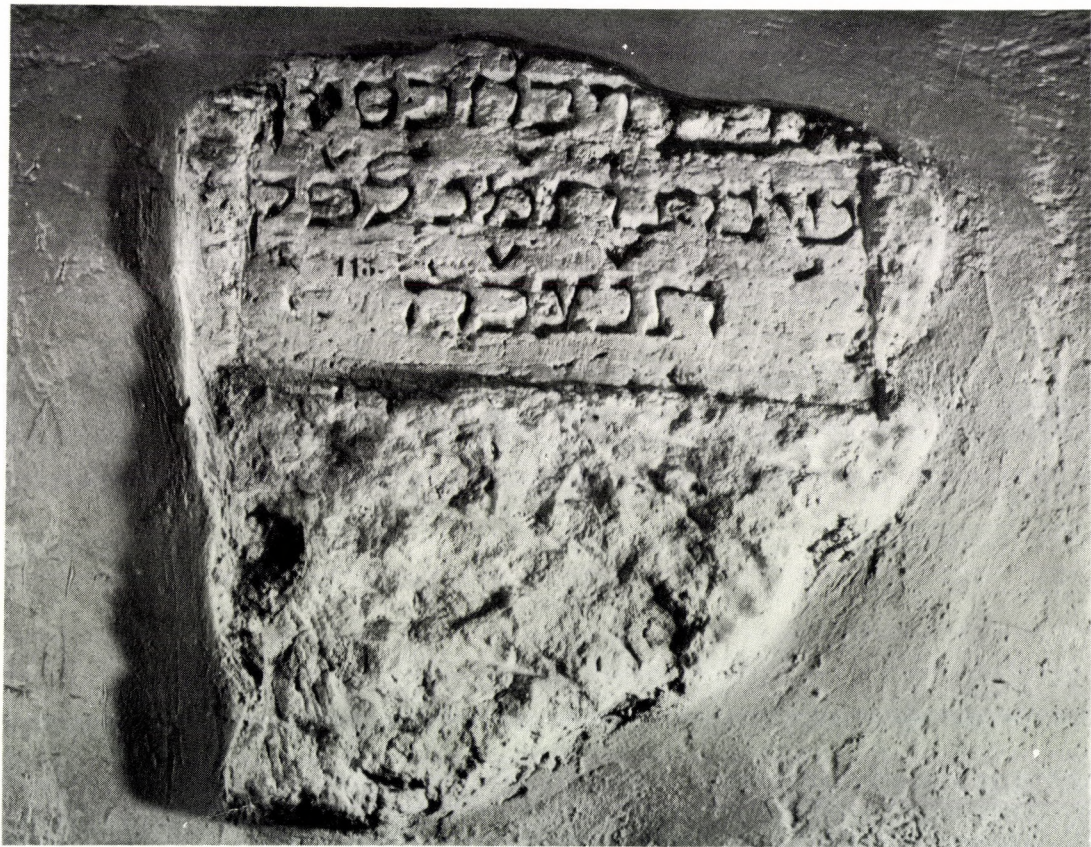
Text publication: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 468–9, No. 3.

Photograph: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 472.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XXII, 1967, No. 3.

REMARKS:

Line 2: **שאול**: A biblical name, of the first king of Israel (I Samuel ix. 2). It also occurred in Buda as the name of the president of the Jewish community (Saul Kiaya), who was rewarded in 1580–81 for his services by being struck off the Turkish poll tax roll of the Buda administrative district (*MZsO*, XVIII, 29).



Inscription 100

JUNE 22, 1683

.....
.....
.....
ונפטר כח בסיון	Died on the 28th of Sivan
שנת תמ"ג לפ"ק	in the year 443 [1683], according to the
	minor era.
תנצ"ה	May his soul be bound up in the
	bond of life.

Discovered in 1900, during building work on Buda Castle. See Stone 85.
 Height: 54 cm; width: 50 cm; thickness: 3 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 113.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 273-4, No. 13; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 509, No. 14.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 509.

REMARKS:

Line 2: Samuel Kohn only noted down the date, but the stone could be identified from that.



Inscription 101

NOVEMBER 4, 1683

פה נקבר כר שמואל בן החר יצחק ונפטר טו ימים בחשון שנת 5 תמד לפק תנצבה	Here is buried R. Samuel, son of the learned R. Isaac. Died on the 15th day of Heshvan, in the year 444 [1683], according to the minor era. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.
--	---

Discovered in the spring of 1966, in the building at 9–11 Szentháromság utca. See Stone 98.

Height: 142 cm; width: 62 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 469, No. 4.

Photograph: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 473.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XXII, 1967, No. 3.

REMARKS:

Lines 2 and 3: Both Samuel and Isaac are frequent names among the Buda Jews during the time of the Turkish occupation (*MZsO*, XVIII, 29).



Inscription 102

פה	Here
נקבר כר	was buried R.
צני בר משה	Zevi, son of R. Moses,
ול יה ימים	his memory is blessed, on the
	18th day
^s בַּח אל[ול]	of the month of El[ul] . . .
.....
.....

Discovered c. 1887, during the restoration of St. Stephen's chapel in the Mátyás-templom.

Height: 36 cm; width: 34 cm; thickness: 26 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 122.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 90, No. 5; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 52.

REMARKS:

Line 2: כר: An abbreviation of כבוד רבנו. The earlier publications erroneously read כר, which they wrote out in full as פרנס ומנהיג.

Line 5: בַּח: Kaufmann erroneously writes רח, which has no sense in this case, as the date was given in the previous line. M. Weisz avoids the problem by omitting the two critical letters.

Same line: אל[ול]: This does not feature in the earlier publications.



Inscription 103

פה	Here
נטמן כר	is hidden R.
דוד בכר	David, son of R.
יעקב א[ל]	Jacob, his memory [is blessed]
.....
.....
.....

Discovered c. 1887, during the restoration of St. Stephen's chapel in the Mátyás-templom.

Height: 43 cm; width: 45 cm; thickness: 3 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 115.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XL, 1896, 90, No. 6; M. Weisz: *BpR*, V, 1897, 52.

REMARKS:

Line 3: בכר: An abbreviation of בן כבוד רבנו.

Line 4: א[ל]: This does not feature in the earlier publications.



Inscription 104

	פה	Here
	נטמן איש	is hidden the faithful
	נאמן הישיש	man, the greybearded
	ר משה בן	R. Moses, son
5	הקדוש ר	of the holy R.
	חיים זל הי"ד	Hayyim, his memory is blessed.
		May God revenge his blood.
	כ"א אב [ונפ"ט]	[Died] on the 21st of Ab,

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Disz tér. See Stone 55.
 Height: 69 cm; width: 48 cm; thickness: 13.5 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 981.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 128, No. 13; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 150–1, No. 13.

REMARKS:

Line 4: משה features in the text erroneously with the letter ח.

Line 5: הקדוש: The attribute “holy” is always applied to martyrs. See L. Zunz: *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, 325–8.

Line 6: הי"ד: This abbreviation also occurs beside the name of martyrs. See Stone No. 32.



Inscription 105

פה	Here
נקברת אשת	is buried the virtuous
חיל מרת יטלי	woman, the lady Jitli,
בת ר' יוסף זל	daughter of R. Joseph, his memory is blessed.
⁵ ונפטרת ביום ד'	Died on Wednesday,
בחוד.....	..... of the month
[לפ]ק.....	.... according to the [minor] era.
.....

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.

Height: 49 cm; width: 46 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 982.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 128, No. 14; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 151, No. 14.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 140.

REMARKS:

Lines 2 and 3: אשת חיל: On this attribute, see Stone 35.

Line 3: יטלי is a variant of גיטלי. See Stone 97. This is a frequent way of spelling it. Cf. L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 49; B. Wachstein: *Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt*, Vienna, 1922, 379; B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XL, 1923, 98; P. Mendel: *REJ*, CX, 1950, 29.



Inscription 106

פה נקברת	Here is buried
בתולת ישראל	the virgin of Israel,
אל שינדיל	Shindil,
בת ר' יצחק	daughter of R. Isaac,
זל נפטרת	his memory is blessed. Died
כא באדר [ר]	on the 21st in the first
ראשון שנת [ר]	Ada[r], in the yea[r]
ה לפ"ק	...5, according to the minor era.
.....

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.
 Height: 65 cm; width: 24 cm; thickness: 11.5 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 980.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 128–9, No. 15; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 151, No. 15.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 141.

REMARKS:

Line 2: On this phrase see Stone 66.

Line 3: שינדיל: the German Schöne, Schöndl. See L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 50 (Shönel, Schönlín); B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XL, 1923, 99; S. Krauss: *Festschrift Armand Kaminka*, Vienna, 1937, 143; B. Klar: *מחקרים ועיונים*, Tel Aviv, 1954, 69; O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 233–4, No. 56. (שוינדל); S. Eidelberg: *op. cit.*, 40 (Scheindlein).



Inscription 107

פה	Here
נקברת מרת	was buried the lady
הדס בת ר דוד	Hadas, daughter of R. David,
[ז]ל כ ימים בחוד	[his memory] is blessed, on the
	20th day of the month

.....

.....

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.

Height: 37 cm; width: 45 cm; thickness: 12 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 979.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 129, No. 18; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 152, No. 18.

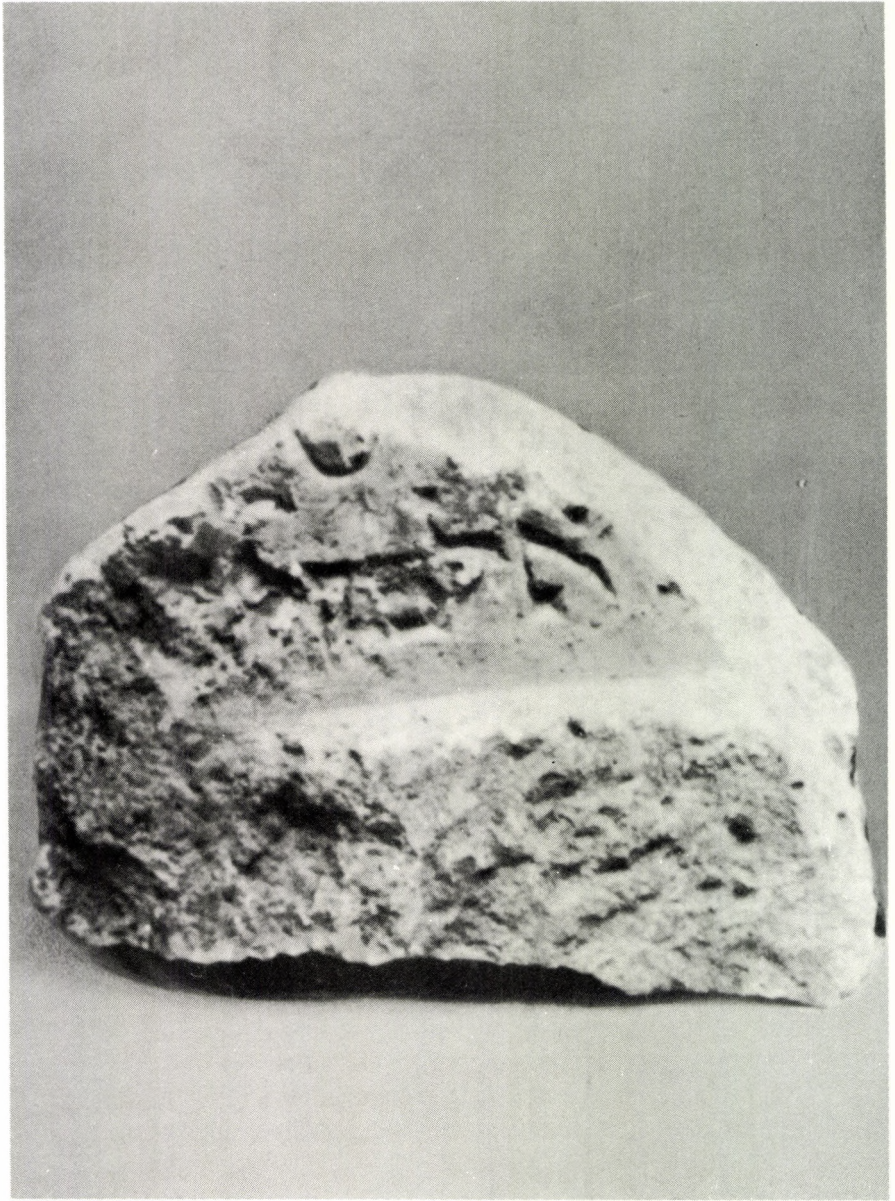
Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 142.

REMARKS:

Line 3: הדס = myrtle. See Isaiah xli. 19; lv. 13. In the form הדסה it occurs in the Bible as a personal name (Esther ii. 7). See B. D. Weinryb, 'Texts and Studies in the Communal History of Polish Jewry', *PAAJR*, XIX, 1950, Hebrew Part: 123.

Line 4: כ can also be read as כ.

This stone was carved by the same mason as carved Stone 106.



Inscription 108

.....

 [שנ]ת..... in the yea[r]
 נא לפק... 51 [... 91], according to the minor era.

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 4–5 Dísz tér. See Stone 55.
 Height: 23 cm; width: 36 cm; thickness: 18 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 984.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 130, No. 20; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 152, No. 20.

REMARKS:

Line 2: נא: In the author's earlier publications, he had been unable to decipher the letter נ.



Inscription 109

[פ]ה נטמ[ן איש]	[He]re is hidd[en]
[... ונא]מן	the [up]right and faith[ful man],
[פ]עמן נעי[ם]	the pleasant[ly ring]ing one,
[בן] ... הלא הוא	who is [son of]
⁵ ר' דוד ח[זן]	R. David, the can[tor],
זל המ[כ]	his memory is blessed, whom they
	call[ed]
[נפ]טר ביו[ם]	[Di]ed day
[לחוד]ש סיו[ן]	of the [mon]th of Siva[n]
.....
.....

Discovered c. 1920 in the building at 1 Táncsics utca. "The present-day property encompasses the ruins of two medieval dwelling houses destroyed in 1686 and incorporated at the beginning of the 18th century." The gravestone may have been built in at that time. In 1920, the house became the property of the Baron Hatvany family, who made some major interior and exterior alterations [M. Horler: *op. cit.*, 487–9], at which time the immured gravestone was removed.

Height: 64 cm; width: 19 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 275, No. 14; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 510, No. 15.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 510.

REMARKS:

Line 5: חזן = cantor. On the subject of that position, see S. Krauss: *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin–Vienna, 1922, 121 ff. It is likely that both father and son were cantors.

Line 6: המכ: An abbreviation of המכונה. The abbreviation mark can still be discerned.



Inscription 110

	[פה]	[Here]
	נִקְבַּר כֹּר מְשָׁלָם	[is buried R. Me]shullam,
	ז' [בֶּרֶךְ]	[son of R.] , his memory is blessed.
	וּנְפַטֵּר בִּי[וֹם אֶ]	[Died] on Saturday,
5	שְׁמֵי אֱלֹהִים [בְּיָמֵי חֹדֶשׁ]	[on the . . . day of the mo]nth of Elul,

Discovered in 1955 in the second-floor outside wall facing the courtyard in the east wing of 5, 7 and 9 Színház utca, where it had been inserted turned on its side. See Stone 62.

Height: 46 cm; width: 21 cm; thickness: unascertainable.

Still in its original place, since it has not been removed; the text can nonetheless be read.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 516, No. 27.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 516.

REMARKS:

Line 2: מְשָׁלָם: A biblical name (II Kings xxii. 3, etc.). See O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 149–50, No. 20. The word (“payed for”) may refer to the redemption of the child in illness (J.F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955–6, 352). See A. Scheiber: *MIOK Évkönyve*, 1979/80, 317–8.



Inscription 111

	פה	Here
	נקבר איש נאמן	was buried the faithful man,
	היקר כר שלום	the beloved R. Shalom,
	בר יונה זל היום	son of R. Jonah, his memory is blessed, today,
5	[יום א' אחרון]	on Sunday, the last day of
	[של פסח] שנת	[Pesah], in year

Discovered in 1925 in the building at 2 Hess András tér, under the stone floor of the janitor's flat in the Szilágyi Erzsébet Girls' Grammar School. See Stone 53.

Height: 49 cm; width: 47 cm; thickness: 16 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: M. Weisz: 'Új sírköletek Budavárában' (New grave-stone finds in Buda Castle), *Egyenlőség*, XLIV, 1925, No. 37; re-published: *Egyenlőség*, LII, 1931, No. 1.

REMARKS:

Line 3: שלום = peace. A name that may yet prove to be of biblical origin (Isaiah ix. 5). Later it was very frequently used. See O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 206, No. 45; 254, No. 63; 353-4, No. 109.

Line 4: יונה: A name of biblical origin; one of the minor prophets.

Line 5: [יום א' אחרון]: M. Weisz takes this in one and translates it as "the day after Sunday", which this author considers has no sense whatever, although Weisz was on the right track when he wrote: "It is possible that the feast of Pesah should be added."



Inscription 112

פה	Here
נטמן איש נאמן	is hidden the faithful
ירא אלהים החבר	God-fearing man, the learned
יצחק זל בן מהור[ר]	Isaac, his memory is blessed, son of our teacher and rabbi,
.....
.....
.....

Discovered, like Stone 111, in 1925 in the building at 2 Hess András tér, under the stone floor of the janitor's flat in the Szilágyi Erzsébet Girls' Grammar School. See Stone 53.

Height: 30 cm; width: 43 cm; thickness: 22 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: M. Weisz: *Egyenlőség*, XLIV, 1925, No. 37; re-published: *Egyenlőség*, LII, 1931, No. 1.

REMARKS:

Line 3: ירא אלהים: On this biblical phrase see Stone 93.

Same line: החבר: M. Weisz copied it down as הח.

Line 4: מהור[ר]: M. Weisz inaccurately writes מהר.



Inscription 113

כֹּר	[פה נק]ב	[Here is bu]ried R.
אברה	.....	..... Abraham,
שמשון	[בֹר]	[son of R.] Simson,
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 31 cm; width: 20 cm; thickness: 11 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 990.

LITERATURE:

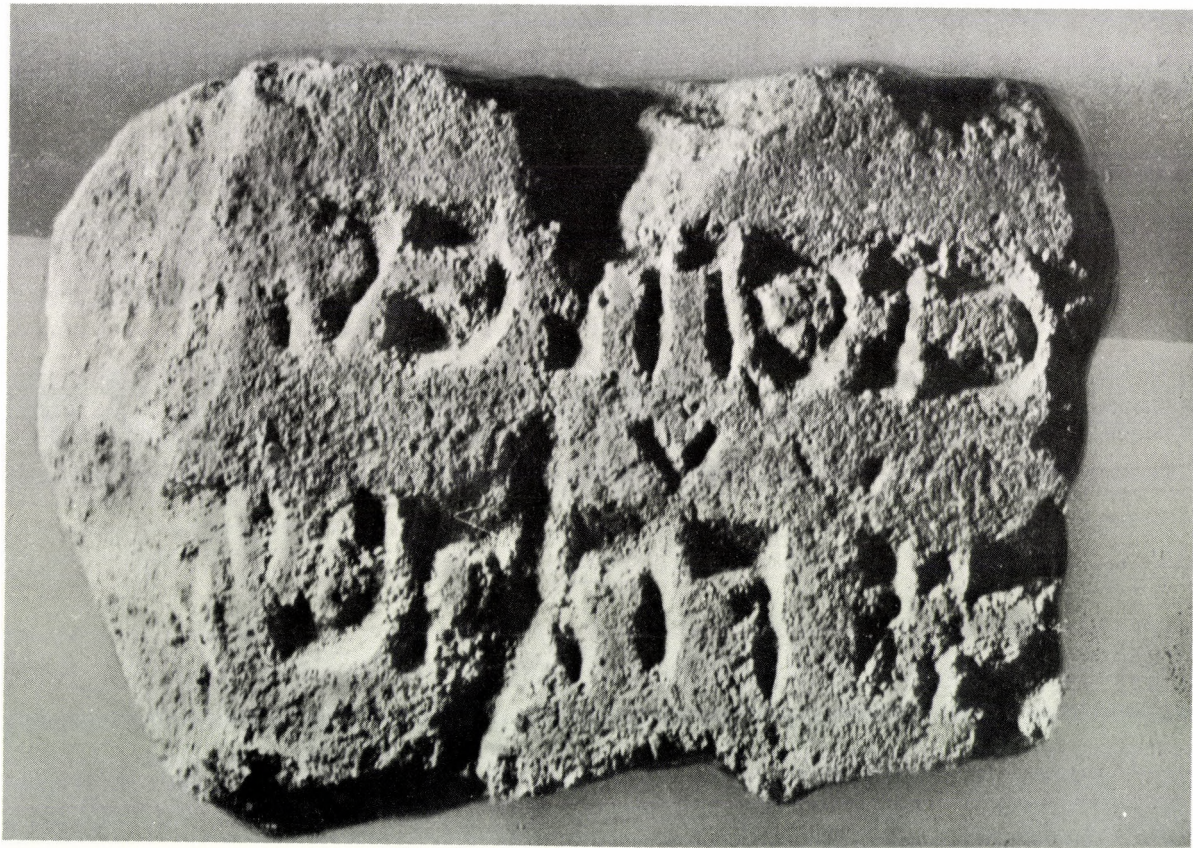
Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 129, No. 17; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 152, No. 17.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 135.

REMARKS:

Line 1: A different solution or completion from previous publications has been used in two places.

Line 3: שמשון: Simson was a common name among the Buda Jews during the Turkish occupation (*MZsO*, XVIII, 29).



Inscription 114

.....

 [ה]כנסות כלה Friday evening,
 [ב]י רח חשו[ן] on the day of the New Moon of
 Heshva[n]

Discovered in 1948 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 22 cm; width: 32 cm; thickness: 26 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 988.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 129, No. 19; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 152, No. 19.

REMARKS:

Line 1: [ה]כנסות כלה: would more correctly be הכנסת כלה. Word for word it means "the reception/endowment of the bride", and denotes Friday or Friday evening. See L. Lewysohn: *נפשות צדיקים*, Frankfurt a/M, 1855, 32, No. 20. Earlier the author had surmised that the person who featured on the gravestone might have been engaged in providing orphaned brides with dowries, which was considered a very worthy deed (Meg. 3b; E. E. Urbach: *The Sages*, Jerusalem, 1978, 545). This is how it has to be supplemented on a grave inscription (Z. Avneri: *REJ*, CXXI, 1962, 193, No. 18): [בהכנסת [כלה].

Line 2: [ב]י: An abbreviation of ביום.

Same line: [חשו[ן]: We earlier read it as [תשר[י].



Inscription 115

פה	Here
נקבר הב	is buried the youth-
חור ישראל	ful Israel,
זל בר פרץ	his memory is blessed,
	son of R. Perez,

.....

.....

.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 34 cm; width: 34 cm; thickness: 22 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.8.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 114, No. 9; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 473, No. 9.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 127; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 473.

REMARKS:

Line 4: פרץ: The name of several biblical characters. See, for instance, Genesis xxxviii. 29.



Inscription 116

ה[פ]	[He]re
נְקַבֵּר אִישׁ נֶאֱמַר	[is buried] the faithful [ma]n
[שש]ת [בֶּרֶךְ] . . . . .	. . . . . [son of R.] Sheshe[t],
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 33 cm; width: 25 cm; thickness: 24 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.15.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 114, No. 10; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 473, No. 10.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 128; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 473.

REMARKS:

Line 3: ששׁת: A man's name from the period of the Talmud. See J. Levy: *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, IV, 616. It was in frequent use among oriental Jews. See I. Epstein: *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon b. Zemah Duran*, Oxford-London, 1930, 5; A. Hershman: רבי יצחק בר ששׁת (הריב"ש), Jerusalem, 1956, 11.



Inscription 117

	פה	Here
	נקבר	is buried
	סאר	Sor[^l],
	בת ר	daughter of R.
5	יצחק	Isaac,

The stone has been carved from a Gothic gateway. On the reverse two Gothic blind traceries can be seen.

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 50 cm; width: 32 cm; thickness: 32 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.18.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 114–5, No. 11; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 474, No. 11.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 129; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 473.

REMARKS:

Line 3: [סאר^ל]: A diminutive of Sarah, also occurring in the form סעריל. See B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XL, 1923, 98. In Prague the form שארייל can be encountered (O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 375–6, No. 120); D. Kaufmann: *Die Memoiren der Glückel von Hameln*, Frankfurt a/M., 1896, LVIII.



Inscription 118

.....
.....
זל בן כ[ר]	his memory is blessed, son of [R.]
מנחם ז[ל]	Menahem, his memory [is blessed].
ונפטר	Died
ב' ה' ל[חודש]	the 8th day of the [month]
.....
.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 32 cm; width: 23 cm; thickness: 15 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.21.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 115, No. 12; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 474, No. 12.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 130; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 474.

REMARKS:

Line 2: **מנחם** means "consoling". A biblical name, it was borne by one of the kings of Israel. See II Kings xv. 14 ff. From the Turkish period: A. Scheiber: *REJ* CXXIII, 1964, 235.

The stone is the work of the same mason as Nos. 106 and 107.



Inscription 119

פה נקבר	Here is buried
[כ]ר יהושוע בן	R. Joshua, son of
[כ]ר יוס[ף] זל	[R. Jose]ph, his memory is blessed
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 32 cm; width: 50 cm; thickness: 14 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.24.

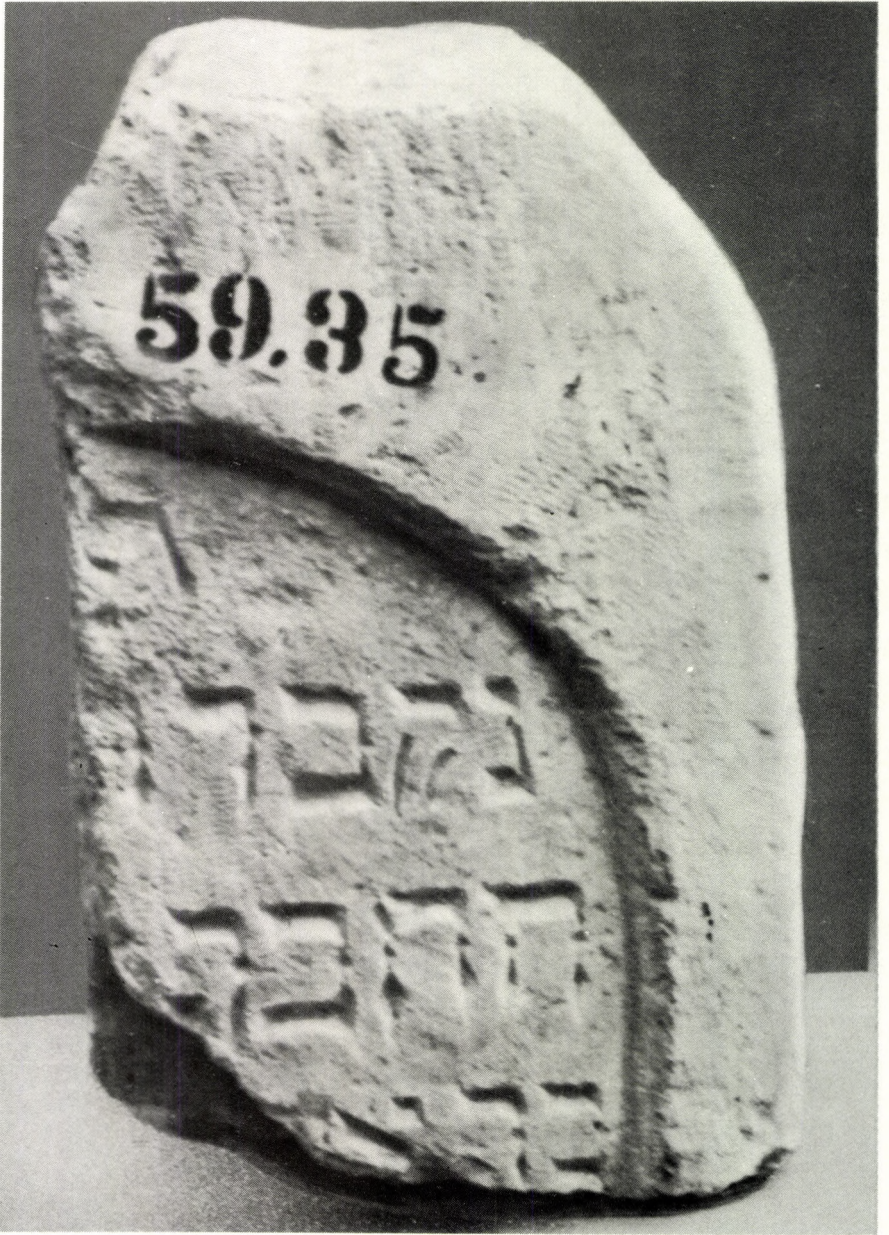
LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 115, No. 13; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 474, No. 13.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 131; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 474.

REMARKS:

Line 2: יהושוע: On the stone there is יהושיע, like on Stone 79. The name was also common among Jews who visited Buda (*MZsO*, XVIII, 27).



Inscription 120

[פ]ה	He[re]
נקבר ה[יקר]	is buried the [beloved],
..... החבר	the learned
[אב]רהם	son of R. Ab[raham] ...
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 42 cm; width: 27 cm; thickness: 24 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.35.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 115–6, No. 14; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 475, No. 14.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 14; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 474.

REMARKS:

Line 4: א: The upper stroke of the following letter is also discernible, which would point to ב, i.e. the word was אברהם.



Inscription 121

.....
.....
ם .....	..... m
ימים.....	..... day of
אב [לחודש]	[the month of] Ab
ט לפ [שנת...]	in the [year] ...9, according to the
	minor era.
תנצ"ב	[May his/her soul be bound up] in
	the bond of life.

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 39 cm; width: 27 cm; thickness: 25 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.36.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 116, No. 15; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 475, No. 15.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 133; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 475.

REMARKS:

Line 1: ם: This is the last letter of the father's name, which would point to מנחם, אברהם, or something similar.



Inscription 122

פה נק[ברת]	Here is bur[ied]
[בת ר] דבור	Deborah, [daughter of R.]
גרשו[ם]	Gersho[m],
..... א .....	.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.

Height: 39 cm; width: 18 cm; thickness: 23 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.37.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 116, No. 16; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 475, No. 16.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 134; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 475.

REMARKS:

Line 2: דבורה: means "bee". The name was borne by two female characters in the Bible: Rebecca's nurse (Genesis xxxv. 8) and a prophetess (Judges iv. 4).

Line 3: גרשו[ם]: A biblical name, for instance of one of Moses' sons (Exodus ii. 22). It also occurs in the form גרשון, as can be seen on Stone 76, which in the Bible was the name of one of Levi's sons (Genesis xlvi. 11).



Inscription 123

פּה נקב] רת אשת	[Here is buri]ed the virtuous
חיל היקרה מרת	woman, the beloved lady
רבקה בת הַחַרִי	Rebecca, daughter of the erudite R.
יהודא זל [ונפט]ר	Jehuda, his memory is blessed.
	[Die]d
ביום ג' ל[חודש]	on the 3rd day of the [month]
[לפק]... שנ[ת].....	...in the yea[r].... [according to
	the minor era].
[תָּנָן] צָ [בָּהֵ]	[May her soul be] bound up [in the
	bond of life].

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. That the two pieces of this broken stone belong together can be established both from the text and from the line of fracture. See Stone 53.

Height: 73 cm; width: 58 cm; thickness: 18 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.23; 59.43.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 117, No. 17; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 476, No. 17.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 135; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 475.

REMARKS:

Lines 1 and 2: אשת חיל: Concerning this attribute, see Stone 35.

Line 3: הַחַרִי: An abbreviation of רבי החכם.

Same line: ץ: This final letter is a line-filler. The practice was to use the opening letter of the first word of the following line for the purpose.



Inscription 124

.....
פרומי	Frumi,
בת הרר	daughter of R.
.....
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 2 Hess András tér. See Stone 53.
 Height: 29 cm; width: 33 cm; thickness: 17 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 59.45.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 117, No. 18; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 476, No. 18.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 136; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 476.

REMARKS:

Line 1: פרומי: Fromme, meaning "devout"; better known in the form פרומט. See B. Wachstein: *Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt*, Vienna, 1922, 100, No. 191; B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XL, 1923, 98. According to J.F. Gumpertz (*Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955-6, 343-4) it derives from the word Frohmut (joy).



Inscription 125



Inscription 126

126.

ר' דוד R. David,
החאקיר the humble.

The face of the gravestone forms a Gothic arch.
Discovered 1951–3, in the building at 4 Hess András tér. See Stone 63.
Height: 35 cm; width: 34 cm; thickness: 18 cm.
Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
Inventory No. 49.797.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 278, No. 24; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 515, No. 25.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 514.

REMARKS:

Line 2: *حَقِير* (*haqîr*) is the Turkish and Arabic for humble or modest. Turkish authors often applied this attribute to themselves. (Information kindly supplied by Professor Dr. László Rásonyi.) Its Hebrew equivalent is *עָנִי*, which appears on Stone 131. In the author's earlier publications no reading for this word could be given. In the Bible it is the attribute of David: "the youngest" (I Samuel xvii. 14). That may be why the Turkish word was used next to the name David (M. Richtmann: *AT*, IX, 1962, 137).



Inscription 127

	[פה]	[Here]
	נקבר [כר]	is buri[ed R.]
	שמעון [בר]	Sim[on, son of R.]
.....	יצחק [ק]	Isaa[c]
.....	
.....	
.....	
.....	

Discovered in 1932 in the Víziváros Jewish cemetery.
 Height: 23 cm; width: 20 cm; thickness: 9 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 275, No. 15; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 510, No. 16.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 510.

REMARKS:

Line 4: The upper part of the letter ק is still discernible.



Inscription 128

פה נק[בר]	Here is bur[ied]
כר שמ[עון?]	R. Sim[on?],
בר עמ[רם]	son of R. Am[ram],
.....
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1932 in the Viziváros Jewish cemetery.
 Height: 23 cm; width: 20 cm; thickness: 10 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 275, No. 16; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 511, No. 17.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 511.

REMARKS:

Line 2: שמ[עון]: However this might also be שמשון or שמואל.

Line 3: עמ[רם]: A biblical name, the father of Moses (Exodus vi. 18, etc.).



Inscription 129

[פה] נטמנת	[Here] is hidden
[מרת] מרים	[the lady] Miriam,
[בת] ישר[אל זל]	[daughter of] Isra[el, his memory is blessed].

.....

.....

.....

.....

Discovered in 1932 in the Víziváros Jewish cemetery.
 Height: 29 cm; width: 26 cm; thickness: 11 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 276, No. 17; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 511, No. 18.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 511.

REMARKS:

Line 2: מרים: A biblical name, Moses's sister (Exodus xv. 20, etc.).

Line 3: זל has been added to the author's earlier text publications, since the stem of the letter ל, or the abbreviation mark, is clearly discernible.



Inscription 130

פה	Here
נקבר מרת	is buried the lady
נחמה בת ר	Nehama, daughter of R.
שועל	Shual,
.....
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1932 in the Víziváros Jewish cemetery.
 Height: 41.5 cm; width: 33 cm; thickness: 31 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 276, No. 18; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 512, No. 19.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 512.

REMARKS:

Line 4: שועל means "fox". A biblical name (I Chronicles vii. 36), it occurs in later periods too, but only rarely. See J.F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955-6, 458.



Inscription 131

[פה נקבר]	[Here was buried]
האיש [הענו הר]	the meek [man], R.
[מש]ה בר חיים	[Mos]es (?), son of R. Hayyim,
[ב]י' א י' ט[בת]	[on] Sunday, the 17th of Te[bet].
.....
.....

Discovered in 1932 in the Viziváros Jewish cemetery.
 Height: 31 cm; width: 38 cm; thickness: 15 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 276, No. 19; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 512, No. 20.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 512.

REMARKS:

Line 2: הענו: the attribute “meek” may also refer to the name of Moses. Cf. Numbers xii. 3.

Line 4: י' א י': This was earlier read as י' and taken for an abbreviation of יום, but the letter following ט is discernible, if with difficulty, and is the first letter of טבת. Thus the two letters before it obviously denote a number.



Inscription 132

פה	Here
נקבר מֵ	is buried R.
[ר] חביב בר	Chabib, son of R., [our Master]
.....
.....
.....
.....

Discovered in 1932 in the Viziváros Jewish cemetery.
 Height: 33 cm; width: 34 cm; thickness: 32.5 cm.
 Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
 No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 277, No. 22; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 515, No. 23.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 514.

REMARKS:

Line 3: חביב means "amiable", and also occurs as a family name. See *Enc. Jud.*, V, 130. Cf. I. S. Emmanuel, *מצבות שאלוניקי* II, Jerusalem, 1968, 932. The author earlier deciphered it as ברוך, but traces of certain letters point to the reading given here.



Inscription 133

133.

	פה	Here
	[נקב] ר' מרים	[is bu]ried Miriam,
	[בת] ... הלוי	[daughter of] Halevi.
5	[ונפטר] ה י"ב	[Die]d on the 12th
	[ימים לחודש א]ב	[day of the month A]b,

Discovered in 1947 in the building at 32 Úri utca. See Stone 30.
 Height: 46 cm; width: 33 cm; thickness: 11 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 775.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 129, No. 16; *HJ*, XIV, 1952, 151-2, No. 16.

Photograph: *AO*, II, 1952, 135.

REMARKS:

Line 5: The earlier text publications have been supplemented.

134.

.....
.....
.....
.....
..... [לפ]ק	[according to the] minor [era].



Inscription 135

Discovered in 1950 in the building at 32 Úri utca. See Stone 30.
 Height: 64 cm; width: 27 cm; thickness: 12 cm.
 Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
 Inventory No. 53.2382.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 278, No. 25; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 515, No. 26.

No photograph in existence.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Despite all efforts, nothing more could be deciphered on the surface of this large stone.

135.

	[פה]	[Here]
	נטמן כר	is hidd[en R.]
	אלחנן	Elha[nan],
	בן חיים	son of Ha[yyim],
5	זל ונפטר לחיי	his memory is blessed. [He departed]
	עולם ביום	into everlasting [life]
	י בטבת	on the 10th [day] of Tebe[t],
	שנת... לפק	in the yea[r] ... [according to the minor era].
	[ת נ צ ב ה]	[May his soul be bound up in the bond of life].



Inscription 136

Discovered in 1957 in the building at 32 Úri utca. See Stone 30.

Height: 63 cm; width: 18 cm; thickness: 20 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 57.132.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 117–8, No. 19; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 477, No. 19.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 137; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 476.

REMARKS:

Line 3: אלה[נן]: A biblical name (II Samuel xxi. 19, etc.).

Lines 5–6: עולם [לחיי]: A biblical expression. See Daniel xii. 2. In its original context it also refers to resurrection.

136.

	פה	Here
	[נ]טמן הח[כם]	is [hid]den the eru[dite],
	[הא]לוף ה[ר]	[the chi]ef, the learned Ra-
	[פ]אל ב[נ]דק[ט] ב[נ]	[pha]el Be[ne]dic[t, son of]
5	[ראו]בן זל ונפ[טר]	[Reu]ben, his memory is blessed.
		Di[ed]
	[... ביום טוב ב[שם]]	of good [name], on ... [day],
	[כ]ב לחודש[...]	the [2]2nd of the [mo]nth.....

Discovered in 1959 in the building at 32 Úri utca, in two pieces. The fracture and the text show the two pieces belong together. See Stone 30.

Height: 70 cm; width: 24 cm; thickness: 12 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory No. 59.84–85.



Inscription 137

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XII, 1961, 118, No. 20; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 478, No. 20.

Photographs: *AO*, XII, 1961, 138; *BpR*, XX, 1963, 477.

REMARKS:

Line 3: **הא[לוף]** means “chief” or “notability”. See Stones 87 and 138. The word comes from the Bible (Genesis xxxvi. 15, etc.). Concerning this title see A. Orenstein: **אנציקלופדיה לתארי-כבוד בישראל**. Tel Aviv, 1958, 307–10; V. Hamáčková—J. Šedinová: *Judaica Bohemiae*, XVIII, 1982, 48.

Line 4: **ר[פ]אל**: A biblical name (I Chronicles xxvi. 7). Later this angel’s name was given to safeguard a child or cure him of an illness. See J.F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955–6, 454–5.

Line 4: **ב[נ]דק[ט]**: The name Benedict occurs as early as 1670 in Vienna. See I. Schwarz: *Das Wiener Ghetto*, Vienna–Leipzig, 1909, 250, Nos 77–8; B. Wachstein: *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, I, Vienna–Leipzig, 1912, 274–5, No. 364; A.F. Pribram: *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, I, Vienna–Leipzig, 1918, 252, Nos 75, 77 and 78.

Line 6: **טוב [בשם]**: A biblical expression. Cf. Ecclesiastes vii. 1; E. L. Rapp and O. Böcher: *Die ältesten hebräischen Inschriften Mitteleuropas in Mainz, Worms und Speyer*, Mainz, 1959, 18, No. 14.

The stone is the work of the same mason as No. 106.

137.

פה	Here
..... נקברת	is buried
..... נחמה ב[ת]	Nehama, daught[er of]
..... הלוי זל ו[נפטר]	the Levite, his memory is blessed.
	[Died]
⁵ ע יכי	at Erev Yom Kippur
.....



Inscription 138

Discovered in 1892 during extension of the Buda royal palace.
Height: 39 cm; width: 25 cm; thickness: 11 cm.
Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text first published faultily in *Egyenlőség*, XI, 1892, No. 53, in the news section; then: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 276–7, No. 20; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 513, No. 21.

Photograph: *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 513.

REMARKS:

Line 3: נחמה means “consolation” and was another name chosen to safeguard a child. See J.F. Gumpertz: *Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955–6, 456. See Stone 69.

138.

.....
.....
הא[לויף כר]	the chi[ef R.]
..... אשר	Asher.....
..... ביר[ח]	in the mo[nth]
.....
.....

Discovered in 1952 around the Mátyás-templom.
Height: 13 cm; width: 13 cm; thickness: 6.5 cm.
Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.
No inventory number.



Inscription 139

LITERATURE:

Text publications: A. Scheiber: *JSS*, I, 1956, 277, No. 23; *BpR*, XVIII, 1958, 515, No. 24.

REMARKS:

Line 1: **הא[לוף]**: The second letter **א** was not deciphered earlier by the author. It now provides the present reading of the word. Concerning this attribute, see Stones 87 and 136.

Line 2: **אשר**: The biblical name of one of Jacob's sons (Genesis xxx. 13, etc.). It occurs among the Buda Jews during the period of the Turkish occupation (*MZsO*, XVIII, 29).

139.

	פה	Here
	נקברת	is buried
	אשת חיל	the virtuous woman,
	מרת רבקה	the lady Rebecca,
5	בת ר' ישראל	daughter of R. Israel
	הכהן ז'ל ברח	Kohen, his memory is blessed.
		At the new moon

.....

Discovered in December, 1970, in the building at 4-5 Disz tér, during reconstruction work carried out prior to occupation by the National Board for Monument Preservation. In the gateway, beautiful 13th century sedilia came to light, the earliest to be found so far in a secular building. One could see how elements of ecclesiastical art passed over into secular architecture. From the side wall of one of the halls this Jewish gravestone was removed.

Only the lower part, with the date, is missing from this hard limestone gravestone. A stone of this size was required for the building and the rest just broken off. The text is carved in an oval frame. See Stone 55.



Inscription 140

21. take

Height: 62 cm; width: 39 cm; thickness: 18 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: A. Scheiber: *AO*, XXV, 1972, 469–70, No. 5.

Photographs: *ÚÉ*, XXVI, 1971, No. 3; *AO*, XXV, 1972, 474.

Reference: A. Scheiber: 'Zsidó sírkő a török hódoltság korából a Dísz-téren' (Jewish gravestone in Dísz tér from the period of Turkish occupation), *ÚÉ*, XXVI, 1971, No. 3.

REMARKS:

Line 3: אשת חיל: See Stone 35.

Line 5: The father may have belonged to the family of Ephraim Kohen.

140.

.....
.....
.....[י]שר[אל]	[I]sr[ael]
.. כד [ימים לחדש]	on the 24th [day of the month]
.....
.....

Discovered in 1969 in the building at 11 Szentháromság utca. See Stone 54.

This stone forms the sixth step.

Height: 155 cm; width: 43 cm; thickness: 27 cm.

Now in the Fehér Galamb restaurant (11 Szentháromság utca).

No inventory number.



Inscription 141

LITERATURE:

The text is first published here.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XXV, 1970, No. 9.

141.

	פה [נטמן]	Here [is hidden]
	כר אבר[הם בר]	R. Abra[ham, son of R.]
	[ה]רשל	[H]ershl.....
	כה [ימים לחדש]	[on the] 25th [day]
5	אלול	[of the month of] Elul
	לפק	according to the minor era

Discovered in 1969 in the building at 11 Szentháromság utca. See Stone 54.

It forms the eighth step.

Height: 155 cm; width: 43 cm; thickness: 27 cm.

Now in the Fehér Galamb restaurant (11 Szentháromság utca).

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

The text is first published here.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XXV, 1970, No. 9.

REMARKS:

Line 3: [ה]רשל: See Stone 54.



Inscription 142

STOMFA
(Stupava)

An organized Jewish religious community came into being in Stomfa only in the last quarter of the 17th century, under the patronage of the Pálffys. The Jews' livelihood was ensured by the old trading route towards Olmütz (Olomouc) and Brünn (Brno). After the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670, some well-to-do Jewish families settled here. Documents of the synagogue and cemetery have survived only from 1760 on (*MZsO*, XV, 212-3, No. 197), but that, of course, has no special significance. The first Jewish gravestone dates back to 1643. According to information from Jenő Bárkány, the stone is still to be found in the Stomfa cemetery; it is to him that we are indebted for the photographs as well.

142.

MARCH 25, 1643

ביום ד' ה' ניסן ת"ג לפ"ק On Wednesday, in 403 [1643]—
according to the minor era—on 5th of
Nisan

הי' דבר ד' אל אברם במחזה the word of the Lord came unto
Abram in a vision:

מחזה שדי יחזה "See the vision of the Almighty!"

חכם עדיף מנביא Scholar who is before the prophet.

5 וחזה אשר יאמר The seer of whom it is written:

עליו כי הוא זה "That is he."

ה"ה המופל' והמשוב' He is indeed our wonderful and praise-
worthy

מור' אברהם ב"ה teacher, R. Abraham, son of R.

אנשיל ז"ל ויסע Anshel, his memory is blessed. And

10 משם אברהם Abraham journeyed from thence

ארצה ביום הנ"ל toward the country on the day men-
tioned above.

Dimensions unknown.
Now in the Stomfa (Stupava) Jewish cemetery.
No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: M.S. Herzog: **קרות בתינו**, Stomfa, 5678 [1918], 6; corrected text with its German translation published by him: 'Geschichte der Juden in Stupava (Stampfen)', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*, II, 1931–2, 56. This reading has been adopted here.

REMARKS:

- Line 1: **ת"ז**: In Herzog's first publication **ת"ג**.
Line 2: Quotation from Genesis xv. 1. In the text and on the gravestone stands **אברם**.
Line 3: Quotation from Numbers xxiv. 4.
Line 4: Phrase from the Talmud. See Baba b. 12a.
Line 6: Quotation from Exodus xxii. 8.
Line 7: **ה"ה**: This did not feature in Herzog's first publication.
Line 9: **אנשיל**: A German name, mostly accompanying **אשר**. See L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 36; B. Wachstein: *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, I, Vienna–Leipzig, 1912, 142, No. 185; 250, No. 327; O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 342–3, No. 103; A. Scheiber: *Journal of Jewish Art*, VII, 1980, 44. According to J.F. Gumpertz the versions **ענולין** and **ענויל** may indicate that the word "agnel" (lamb), by metathesis, became the name **אנויל** in France (*Tarbiz*, XXV, 1955–6, 458). **אנשיל** comes from here.
Line 10: Quotation from Genesis xx. 1.

ROHONC

(Rechnitz)

The Jewish community of Rohonc may have come into being at the beginning of the 17th century, when the town was still Austrian. The Jewish community began to develop when Emperor Ferdinand III returned the Hungarian lands which had been annexed to Austria, and Rohonc, along with a large part of Vas County, became the property of the Batthyány family.³⁵ In 1687 there were 36 Jewish families, who were listed by name in Count Ádám Batthyány's safe-conduct. A document of 1702 makes mention of the synagogue (*MZsO*, XV, 34, No. 35). For quite some time, the Jewish community was one of the most distinguished in the country. Until the beginning of the 19th century, it acted as the centre for the Jews of three counties: Vas, Zala and Somogy. Its intellectual life also commenced quite early.³⁶

By the latter half of the 17th century, the cemetery was already well ordered and Jews from far afield were being buried there. The site was purchased from the Batthyánys, and the cemetery remained in the same place although it was enlarged five times (the last time being in 1827). The oldest gravestones had already sunk into the ground by the mid-19th century, and Mayer Zipser, who was rabbi at that time and the community's first chronicler, was unable to decipher them. The oldest stone he was able to read dated from 1682, but, unfortunately, even of that he did not give the full text, only the name and date. At that time there was as yet no interest in epigraphy. Béla Bernstein followed Zipser's version, presumably without examining the stone personally.

143.

1681/2

משה ב"כ יחל כ"ץ
תמ"ב

Moses, son of R. Josel Kohen.
442 [1681-2]

Dimensions unknown.

Before the Second World War, the stone was in the Jewish cemetery at Rohonc.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: M. Zipser: 'Die Schicksale und Bestrebungen der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Rechnitz', *Ben Chananja*, VII, 1864, 349, 404; B. Bernstein: 'A zsidók története Vasmegyében' (The history of the Jews in Vas County), *MZsSz*, XXX, 1913, 164.

No photograph has survived.

Reference: B. Bernstein: 'Egy régi hitközség emlékeiből' (From the mementoes of an old Jewish community), *MéJ*, IV, 1914, 86.

REMARKS:

Line 1: יוזל: One version of the name יוסף in Germany, along with יוסרל and יופא. See B. Klar: *מחקרים ועיונים*, Tel Aviv, 1954, 70; A. Scheiber: *Aresheth*, II, Jerusalem, 1960, 408. The author was unable to obtain the two works on Jewish names in Germany (G. Kessler: *Die Familiennamen der Juden in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1932; K. Krause: *Die jüdische Namenwelt*, Essen, 1943), and only knows them from Ch. Szmeruk's reference (*Tarbiz*, XXIX, 1959–60, 83). The sister of the Moses remembered on the gravestone seems to have been the donor of a silver Torah ornament dating from 1718 (M. Zipser: *Ben Chananja*, VII, 1864, 404).

Same line: כ"ץ: See Stone 85.

SOPRON

Hungarian Jewry had several links with the village of Ungarisch-Brod. For example, Israel Fränkel, a relative of the Buda rabbi Ephraim Kohen, was active there.³⁷ In 1683, the village was destroyed by the *kuruc* soldiers.³⁸ The earliest graveyard there was described as follows by an eye-witness: "The old cemetery,

which is extremely extensive and at least 500 years old, makes a very sad sight: fallen, broken, eroded and illegible gravestones—more than a thousand neglected gravestones can be seen here. On ‘Rabbis’ Knoll’, where some 60 to 90 eminent men of Israel slumber in eternal dream, one can find, with the exception of a few epitaphs, only utterly illegible inscriptions on the gravestones, even though just a trifling quantity of goodwill and effort might save almost all of them for posterity. At a high and isolated spot in the graveyard I discovered a group of gravestones with legible inscriptions commemorating noted rabbis and scholars from other villages; however, they were covered with thorns and thistles, and tall trees had grown together over them, so that it was almost dangerous to approach.”³⁹

One of the gravestones concerns us closely, since it is to the memory of Rabbi Nathan, the son of Isaac, the Sopron rabbi. Isaac Ödenburg may have been the son of the Sopron rabbi, Jacob, and the grandson of Isaac, the Prague rabbi.⁴⁰ He obviously settled in Ungarisch-Brod after the expulsion of 1526, and died there. His father may have been the person who Jehiel Ashkenazi remembers in a letter from Jerusalem, dated 1565: “I call Heaven to witness that when I was in Austria some 36 years ago, the scholars of Austria and Moravia, including the pious R.J. Ödenburg (אודין בורגו), of blessed memory, relied on this decision (of Joseph Colon).”⁴¹

The son’s gravestone, which is obviously 16th century although it has no date on it, bears the name of the father, the rabbi of Sopron.

144.

LATTER HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY

על אלה חשכו עינינו על עטרת שנפלה מראשנו	For these things our eyes are dim, for the crown that is fallen from our head.
גאון עחינו מוֹה נטע שעשועים מופלג בנגלה ובנסתר חסידא ופרושא	The pride of our power, our teacher- rabbi, the pleasant plant, eminent in the revealed and esoteric matters alike, pious and ascetic,

5	לא הניח כלום מתרת משה	he omitted nothing from the Torah of Moses.
	עוף הפורח נשרף בהבל פיו כבמדורה	The flying bird burned in the breath of his lips as if in a pyre.
	נשמתו בגן עדן ועל ראשו כתר התורה לעטרה	His soul is in the Garden of Eden and upon his head is the crown of the Torah as an ornament.
	ושמו הרב ר' נתן בן הגאון מ' יצחק עדינבורג זצ"ל	His name is R. Nathan, son of the Gaon, our teacher, Isaac Ödenburg, the memory of the just is blessed.
10	תָּנָצַבְהָ	May his soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Dimensions unknown.

Before the Second World War the stone was in the Jewish cemetery at Ungarisch-Brod.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text publications: M. Stein: *Magyar Rabbik* (Hungarian rabbis), II, 1906, 56; *idem*: *A Hagymány Könyvtára. I. Naptár az 5682. évre* (Library of tradition, I. Calendar for the year 5682), Bp., 1921, 63–4; A. Scheiber: *Kirjath Sepher*, XXIX, 1953–4, 430.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Quotation from Lamentations v. 17. Stein erroneously writes חשכה.

Line 2: Quotation from Lamentations v. 16.

Line 3: גאון עזוינו: Cf. Leviticus xxvi. 19, etc.

Same line: נטע שעשועים: Cf. Isaiah v. 7.

Line 5: This is said of R. Jeshebab. See the elegy beginning ארזי הלבנון. Cf. I. Davidson: *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, I, New York, 1924,

343, No. 7564; סדר הקינות לתשעה באב. Ed. D. Goldschmidt, Jerusalem, 1968, 84, line 39.

Line 6: This is related of R. Huzpit in legend. See the elegy cited above. *Bet ha-Midrash*, VI, ed. A. Jellinek, Jerusalem, 1938, 30; A. Scheiber: *AA*, XX, 1972, 424.

Same line: כבמדורה: Stein writes כמדורה, which is certainly an error.

Line 7: נשמחו: cf. L. Zunz: *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin, 1845, 457.

Same line: ועל ראשו: cf. Ber. 17a. The same phrase can be found later on the gravestone of the rabbi of Ungarisch-Brod, R. Natha, in 1683 (D. Kaufmann: *MGWJ*, XXXVII, 1893, 327).

CSEPREG

There is information about an early settlement of Jews in Csepreg. Mention is made in 1492 of the Zsidó utca (*MZsO*, V/1, 86, No. 193), but in 1327 there is no mention of a ritual bath or "Tuckhaus" (A. A. Löwinger: *A vasi zsidóság emlékkönyve* (Memorial volume of the Jews of Vas), Tel Aviv—Jaffa, 1974, 34, 66). In 1662 Count Ferenc Nádasdy leased to György Szily the Csepreg customs and butcher's shop, which had formerly belonged to Daniel Sido,⁴² who may have been a Jew. In 1676, the Csepreg noblemen, Mihály and Miklós Szily, and their associates attacked four Jews, who had been trading in Csepreg and set out from the town for some other place; they killed three of them and robbed them of their possessions and wares.⁴³

Of greater importance in this context is the gravestone from 1600 in the old Jewish graveyard of Vienna, which commemorates the son of the Csepreg Jew Alexander, who died a martyr's death. So the father counts as a Hungarian Jew. Obviously, the few Jews who did appear in Csepreg would have come from Sopron or from one of the later "seven communities".

MAY 1, 1600

.....
.....
..... בן הר	son of R.
..... אלכסנדר	Alexander
..... טשיפרך ז"ל	from Csepreg, his memory is blessed,
..... ה"ד יום ב	May God revenge his blood! On Mon-
	day,
5	
..... י"ז אייר	the 17th of Iyyar,
..... ש"ס לפ"ק	in 360 [1600], according to the minor era.
..... תנצבה	May his soul be bound up in the bond of
	life.

Height: 114 cm; width: 37 cm; thickness: 14 cm.

Before the Second World War, the stone was in the old Vienna Jewish cemetery.

Inventory No. 548.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: B. Wachstein: *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, I, Vienna-Leipzig, 1912, 20, No. 20.

No photograph available.

REMARKS:

Line 2: The name Alexander became popular among the Jews through the person of Alexander the Great. A century after his death, the name already appeared in Jewish history (L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 5; N. Avigad: *IEJ*, XII, 1962, 10).

Line 4: ה"ד: On this abbreviation beside the names of martyrs, see Stones 66 and 104.⁴⁴

TEMESVÁR

(Timișoara)

The Turks capitulated at Temesvár on October 13, 1716, having held the city since July 30, 1552. According to a provision in the capitulation agreement, Serbs, Armenians, Jews and other aliens who had settled there, could either remain or depart. Twelve families of Turkish or Spanish Jews, i.e. Sephardic Jews, were living there at the time.

The first Jew known by name is Azriel Asael from Salonica, whose grave is still extant in the old Jewish cemetery.

According to M. Lőwy, the historian of the Temesvár Jews: "Zugleich ergibt sich aus diesem letzteren Datum . . . , dass dieser Mann überhaupt der erste hier verstorbene Jude gewesen, oder auch nur, dass der Friedhof eigens für ihn angelegt worden sein müsse."⁴⁵ The gravestones of many members of his family can be found in Salonica.⁴⁶ The most recent item of information about Azriel is that he was a rabbi and a surgeon: "His gravestone is presumably the earliest known tombstone of a physician in the country."⁴⁷ The author of the sentence quoted took it from the work of Jakab Singer, where, however, it reads: "The ancestor of the Assaels was a surgeon or miraculous healer, who performed miracles of healing, and from that comes the Hebrew name: 'Assa El', God performed it."⁴⁸ This conclusion cannot be drawn from the name, which already occurs in the Bible (II Samuel ii. 18). On first publishing the text of the stone, M. Lőwy wrote: "Die Aufschrift des erst vor einigen Jahren auf der Schriftseite liegend aufgefunden, doch noch ganz vollkommen erhaltenen (jetzt wieder aufgerichteten), grossen und massiven Steines lautet wörtlich . . ."⁴⁹



Inscription 146

MAY 13, 1636

	אוי נוטל	Alas, there has been taken away
	שברו של	the fragments
	האיש חשוב הח	of the worthy man, the erudite
	עזריאל עשאל	Azriel Asael,
5	נַע תושב שלונק	may he have peace in Eden, an
		inhabitant of Salonica,
	יעֵה נפטר לבית	may [the town] become ever strong-
		er. He died for the house
	עולמו יום ששי	of eternal life, on Friday,
	שמונה] לחדש	the 8th day of the month
	אייר שצו לפק	Iyyar, in 396 [1636], according to the
		minor era,
10	ליצירה	after the Creation.

Height: 156 cm; width: 67 cm; thickness: 32 cm.

Now in the old Jewish cemetery in Temesvár.

Inventory No. Row 31, left, No. 31.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: M. Löwy: *Skizzen zur Geschichte der Juden in Temesvár*, Szeged, 1890, 2.

Photograph: J. Singer: *Temesvári rabbik a XVIII. és XIX-ik században* (Temesvár rabbis in the 18th and 19th centuries), Seini (Szinérváralja), 1928, 60; M. Carmilly-Weinberger: 'Sephardic Jews in the Development of Transylvania', *The American Sephardi*, I, 1967, No. 2, 44; L. Erdélyi: *Régi zsidó temetők művészete* (The art of old Jewish cemeteries), Bucharest, 1980, No. 82.

Reference: A. Scheiber: *MN*, XXXVI, 1980, No. 193.

REMARKS:

Line 2: שברו: A reference to the tradition that “the stone tablets and the fragments of the stone tablets were also included in the Ark of the Covenant” (Ber. 8b; Baba b. 14b; Men. 99a).

Line 4: עזריאל: A biblical name (I Chronicles v. 24; xxvii. 19). Both on the stone and in Lőwy it is written as two words. See also O. Muneles and M. Vilímková: *op. cit.*, 296–7, No. 82. — עשאל: In the Bible עשהאל (II Samuel ii. 18). See M. Black: *JJS*, XXXIII, 1982, 231–2.

Line 5: נוען ערן: L. Zunz: *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin, 1845, 457.

Line 6: יע"ה: An abbreviation of יכוננה עד העולם.

Lines 6–7: נפטר לבית עולמו: This occurs frequently on gravestones in Salonica. See I. S. Emmanuel: *מצבות שאלוניקי*, I, Jerusalem, 1963, Nos. 2, 8, 17, etc.

NOTES

- ¹ M. Markbreiter: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde Eisenstadt*, Vienna, 1908, 13.
- ² E. Hermann: *Budáról Belgrádba 1663-ban. Ottendorff Henrik képes útleírása* (From Buda to Belgrade in 1663. Henrik Ottendorff's illustrated travelogue), Pécs, 1943, 98–9; *MZsO*, VIII, 280, No. 354.
- ³ *MZsO*, VI, 62, No. 77.
- ⁴ V. Bedy: *Kunz Jenő Emlékkönyv* (Jubilee volume for Jenő Kunz), Győr, 1934, 58–9.
- ⁵ *MZsO*, VIII, 282–3, No. 359; A. Scheiber: *Hebräische Kodexüberreste*, 97–8.
- ⁶ B. Lewis: *Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives*, Jerusalem, 1952, 6; *Eretz-Israel*, IV, Jerusalem, 1956, 174.
- ⁷ A. Cohen and B. Lewis: *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century*, Princeton, 1978, 159–61; Gy. Káldy-Nagy: *MIOK Évkönyve*, 1979–80, 194–5. After 1617, the Ashkenazi community of Jerusalem kept up correspondence with nine communities, including the one at Buda (M. Kosover: *Arabic Elements in Palestinian Yiddish*, Jerusalem, 1966, 381).
- ⁸ E. Vass: 'Zsidók a hódoltsági török forrásokban' (Jews in the Turkish sources on the occupation), *MZsO*, XVIII, Bp., 1980, 11.
- ⁹ *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai. 1660–1664* (The Turkish globetrotter Evlia Chelebi's travels in Hungary), transl. I. Karácson, Bp., 1904, 250.
- ¹⁰ F. Szakály in Izsák Schulhof: *Budai krónika* (Buda chronicle), Bp., 1979, 81.
- ¹¹ E. Vass: *op. cit.*, 29.
- ¹² A. Scheiber: *TBM*, XIX, 1972, 79–86; *idem*: *JJS*, XXIII, 1972, 191–5.
- ¹³ I. Feuer: *MIOK Évkönyve*, 1971–2, 61.
- ¹⁴ M. T. Papp: 'Baudenkmäler im mittelalterlichen Judenviertel der Budaer (Ofner) Burg', *ATE*, LXVII, 1970, 205–25; L. Zolnay: *BpR*, XXII, 1971, 276; *idem*: *Az elátkozott Buda — Buda aranykora*, Bp., 1982, 109–111; *idem*: *Fény és árnyék a középkori Magyarországon*, Bp., 1983, 73. See the inscriptions on the walls of Tykocin great Synagogue: A. Pakentreger: *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce*, 1982, Nos. 3–4, 99–108.
- ¹⁵ *MZsO*, II, 529, No. 31.
- ¹⁶ *MZsO*, V/1, 70–71, No. 167.
- ¹⁷ S. Büchler: *A zsidók története Budapesten* (History of the Jews in Budapest), Bp., 1901, 99.
- ¹⁸ L. Fekete: *TBM*, VI, 1938, 118, 130.
- ¹⁹ A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, XV, 1959, No. 9.
- ²⁰ F. Grünvald: *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. B. Heller*, Bp., 1941, 167.
- ²¹ A. Scheiber: *ÚÉ*, VII, 1951, No. 15; X, 1954, No. 12; XII, 1956, No. 1.
- ²² H. Horváth: *A Fővárosi Múzeum Kőemléktárának leíró lajstroma* (Descriptive list of the stone collection of the capital city museum), Bp., 1932, 18–19.
- ²³ A. Scheiber: *AO*, II, 1952, 124.
- ²⁴ The gravestone of Kohen Ephraim, the noted Buda rabbi who died in 1678, has also disappeared. "It is related by Rabbi Samuel Löw Brill that his late father knew a man called Jakob Berlin, who died at the beginning of this century. This man alleged he knew from tradition the place

of the grave of Ephraim beside the castle wall, and that on days of penance he would go and pray at the grave of Ephraim." [M. Schwarcz: *Kohen Efrájim ó-budai rabbi élete és responsumai* (The life and responsa of the Óbuda rabbi, Kohen Ephraim), Bp., 1887, 35].

²⁵ M. Horler: *Budapest műemlékei* (Art monuments of Budapest), I, Bp., 1955, 322.

²⁶ *MZsO*, IX, Bp., 1966, 247, No. 359.

²⁷ *UI*, 1930, I, 432–6.

²⁸ L. Kun: *A veszprémi zsidóság múltja és jelene* (The past and present of the Veszprém Jewry), Karcag, 1932, 10.

²⁹ S. Krausz: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1932, 155.

³⁰ N. Kochev: *Annual*, IX, Sofia, 1974, 121–2.

³¹ Jakob von Betzek: *Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ungarn und in die Türkei im Jahre 1564/65*, ed. K. Nehring, Munich, 1979, 22.

³² S. Büchler: *op. cit.*, 106. L. Fekete emphasizes the Jews of Polish origin in *Budapest a török korban* (Budapest in the Turkish period), Bp., 1944, 162–3, 243.

³³ D. Kaufmann: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1895, 63–4; A. Fürst: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1936, 168.

³⁴ See L. Fekete's study: 'Ofener Kaufleute zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft', *Die Welt des Islam. Sonderband*, 1941, 98–108; L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy: *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen). 1550–1580*, Bp., 1962; A. Scheiber: *REJ*, CXXIII, 1964, 233–7; M. A. Epstein: *The Ottoman Jewish Communities and their Role in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Freiburg, 1981, Index entry under Buda.

³⁵ B. Bernstein: 'A zsidók története Vasmegyében' (History of the Jews in Vas County), *MZsSz*, XXX, 1913, 163.

³⁶ A. Scheiber: 'An illustrated Mohel Book from Rohonc', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, III, 1957, 3–8. It is not known who illustrated the Rohonc Haftorah scroll. Meshullam Zimel has been suggested (*Biblos*, VIII, 1959, 88), but he cannot be accepted if one compares surviving photographs of the scroll with known works by that illustrator (A. Scheiber: 'An Illuminated Birkat Ha-Mazon Manuscript and Its Copyist', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, III, 1958, 115–21; *idem*: *Biblos*, XVIII, 1969, 180–1). On the Hevra Book of Rohonc see: *Burgenländisches Landesarchiv. 1000 Jahre Österreichisches Judentum*, Eisenstadt, 1982, 385–6, No. 222.

³⁷ S. Büchler: *op. cit.*, 149.

³⁸ D. Kaufmann: 'Die Verheerung von Ungarisch Brod durch den Kuruzzenüberfall vom 14. Juli 1683', *MGWJ*, XXXVII, 1893, 270–82, 319–31.

³⁹ M.M. Stein: 'Két magyar sírkő Ung.-Brodban' (Two Hungarian gravestones in Ung.-Brod), *Magyar Rabbik* (Hungarian rabbis) II, 1906, 55; reprinted in: *A Hagymány Könyvtára. I. Naptár az 5682. évre* (Library of the tradition, I. Calendar for the year 5682), Bp., 1921, 63–4; *Szombati Ért.*, IV, 1930, No. 201.

⁴⁰ M. Pollák: *A zsidók története Sopronban* (History of the Jews in Sopron), Bp., 1896, 93.

⁴¹ S. Assaf: *מנחה לדוד. David Yellin Jubilee Volume* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1935, 233; *idem*: *מקורות ומחקרים בתולדות ישראל*, Jerusalem, 1946, 225–6. S. Klein identified the place-name with Ödenburg, i.e. Sopron (*MéJ*, XXV, 1935, 266; *ידעות החברה העברית. ידעות והתיקויה*, III, 1935, 108).

⁴² *MZsO*, V/1, 373–4, No. 684.

⁴³ *MZsO*, II, 130–31, No. 144.

⁴⁴ The oldest stone of the graveyard at Ilava is said to date from 1659, within the period in question, but we do not know its text. See J. Nathan Káčer: *300 Jahre Chewra-Kadischa Ilava*, Ilava,

1929, 9. Appendix No. I presents 17th century gravestones, but their texts are illegible. There were two old gravestones in Köpcvény (Kittsee): that of Abraham Hakohen from 1661, and that of the cantor Michael b. Moses Simon from 1674 (*Magyar Rabbik*, II, 1906, 126).

⁴⁵ M. Löwy: *Skizzen zur Geschichte der Juden in Temesvár bis zum Jahre 1865*, Szeged, 1890, 1.

⁴⁶ I. S. Emmanuel: *מצבות שאלוניקי* II, Jerusalem, 1968, 946.

⁴⁷ L. Erdélyi: *Régi zsidó temetők művészete* (The art of old Jewish cemeteries), Bucharest, 1980, 9.

⁴⁸ J. Singer: *Temesvári rabbik a XVIII. és XIX.-ik században* (Temesvár rabbis in the 18th and 19th Centuries), Seini (Szinérváralja), 1928, 1.

⁴⁹ M. Löwy: *op. cit.*, 2. See now S. Andreev: *Levéltári Közlemények*, XLVIII/XLIX, 1978, 195–214.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

Apart from the inscriptions carved in stone, only eight inscribed objects have survived from the past of the Hungarian Jewry. In this connection there have again been false reports. Let me quote an example or two. A coin dug up at Sátoraljaújhely, showing a Hungarian helmeted warrior on one side and the Hebrew text of Exodus xx. 3 on the other, was said to be of Khazar origin.¹ According to another report: "In Nagyvárad castle . . . there has been found a goblet of which the Hebrew inscription reads: Moses ben Sopher to the Nagyvárad Jewish community 1450."² The falsity of these two assertions brooks no denial.

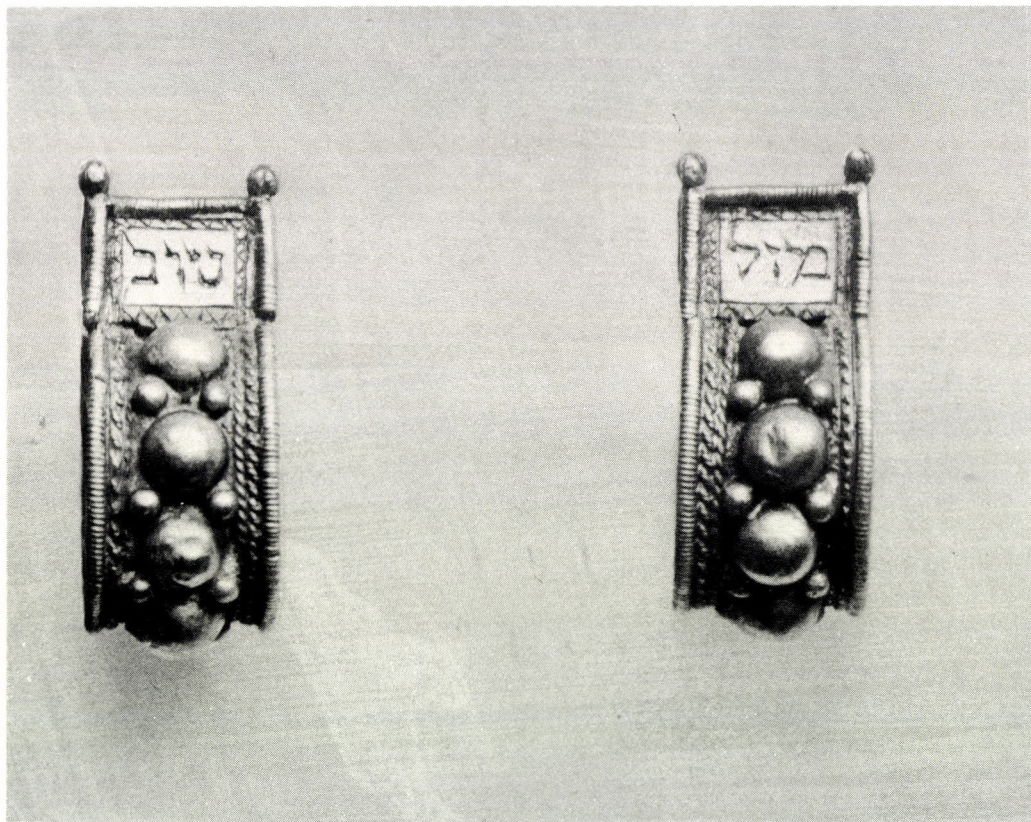
The eight surviving objects introduced here date from the period of the Turkish occupation.

I. BRIDAL RING

16th–17th century

"One of the most splendid relics of our cultural history is the Jewish bridal ring of pure gold which was found in Iskola utca. The broad, solid golden band has nine main bosses, with smaller granulated orbs wedged between. Two sides of the frame have lines of filigree work. The head is in the shape of a roof; as an engagement ring it symbolizes the family home. The roof is adorned with the wish for a lucky star in Hebrew letters: 'much luck'".³

More accurately the inscription reads:



Bridal Ring (Inscription 147)

מזל טוב Good luck!

Discovered in 1861 in Pest during the digging of some foundations in Iskola utca downtown.

Thickness: 17 mm; circumference: 9 cm; the triangular projection: 3 cm.

Now in the Hungarian National Museum.

Inventory No. 9/1861.

LITERATURE:

References: M. Oberschall in: L. Fekete: *Budapest a törökök korában* (Budapest under the Turks), Bp., 1944, 367.

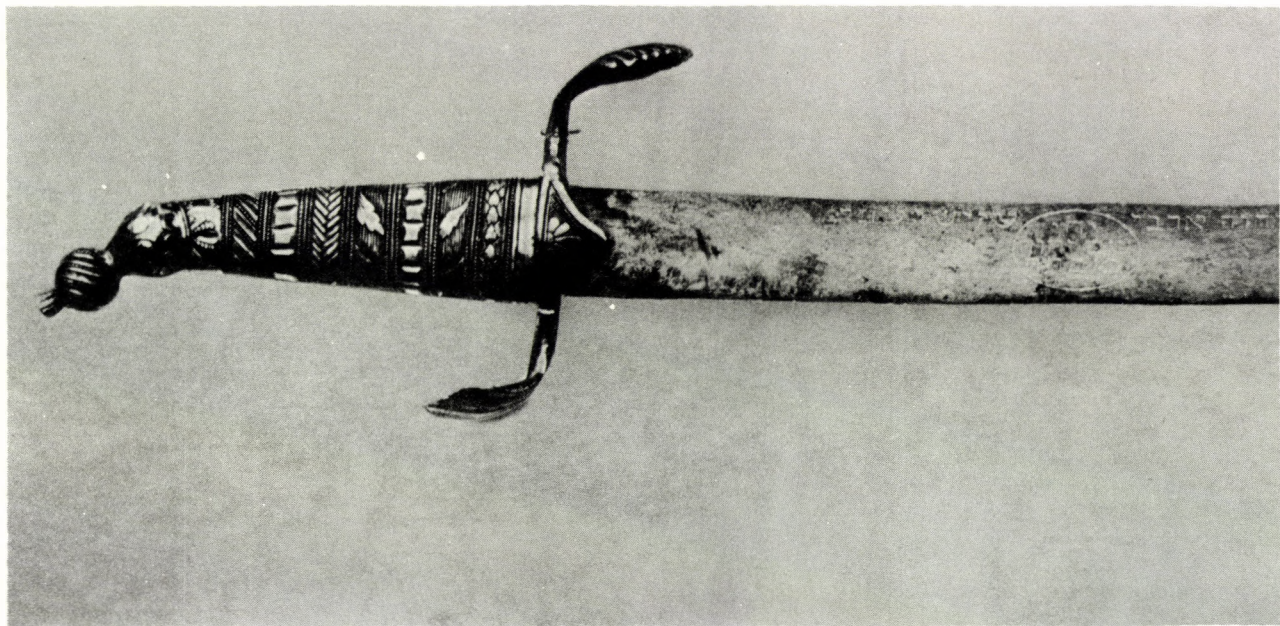
Photographs: *Ararat*, Bp., 1942, in the appendix between pp. 40 and 41; L. Fekete: *Budapest a törökök korában*, Bp., 1944, Table LXXXVI, Picture 12.

REMARKS:

מזל טוב can first be found in Aramaic language in Targum Jerushalmi I ad Genesis xxx. 11: אתא מזלא טבא. In Hebrew it appears first in *Otiyot di R. Akiba*: ואם יש אדם שנולד במזל טוב (*Ozar Midrashim*, ed. J. D. Eisenstein, New York, 1928, 412; L. Löw: *Ges. Schr.*, II, Szeged, 1890, 115–31).

Quite a few similar rings with the same inscription are to be found in collections abroad, with the top of the ring showing a house, synagogue or castle. See Hana Volavková: *The Jewish Museum of Prague*, Prague, 1948, Fig. 8; Stephen S. Kayser and Guido Schoenberger: *Jewish Ceremonial Art*, Philadelphia, 1955, 152–3, Nos 164–166; Z. Efron and C. Roth: *האמנות היהודית*, Tel Aviv, 1957, 394, Fig. 169; Cecil Roth: *The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York, 1959, 1906; *Synagoga, Kultgeräte und Kunstwerke*, Recklinghausen, 1960–61, C 271–94; J. Gutmann: *Jüdische Zeremonialkunst*, Frankfurt a/M, 1963, 63a, 63b; Ph. H. Goodman: *The Jewish Marriage Anthology*, Philadelphia, 1965, 108–09; *Judaica, Kölnisches Stadtmuseum*, ed. Liesel Franzheim, Cologne, 1980, 258, No. 100; G. Seidmann: 'Marriage Rings Jewish Style', *The Connoisseur*, January 1981, 48–51; V. Klagsbald: *Catalogue raisonné de la collection juive du musée de Cluny*, Paris, 1981, 44–45, Nos. 35–38. There are some others to be found in Hungary as well: *IMIT Évkönyve*, 1916, 395; B. Kohlbach: *MéJ*, XXVI, 1936, 230.

According to the Mishnah (Yoma 1: 1): "His wife is his house" (A. Scheiber: *MIOK Évkönyve* 1979/80, 315).



Ceremonial sword (Inscription 148)

II. CEREMONIAL SWORD WITH HEBREW INSCRIPTION

17th century

A Hebrew inscription in silver letters can be read on the blade, in a straight line along the back:

148.

יהוה אדני עז ישועתי

O God the Lord, the strength of my salvation

The other Hebrew inscription is framed in a medallion:

יהי
שם יהוה
מבורך

Blessed
be the name of
the Lord

Discovered in 1867 at an exhibition of the Pest Fine Arts Society. By that time it was already in the possession of Count Manó Andrassy.

Length: 84 cm; breadth: 3 cm; it has a 17° curve.

Damascus steel.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

Inventory No. 4414.

LITERATURE:

References: *Ben Chananja*, X, 1867, 241; *Egyenlőség*, XXXI, 1912, No. 3; *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* (Hungarian Jewish Encyclopedia), Bp., 1929, 352; A. Scheiber: *Yad La-Kore*, III, 1952, 87; F. Grünvald: 'A héber feliratú díszkard (A Praefectus Judaeorum kardja?)' [The ceremonial sword with the Hebrew inscription (The sword of the Praefectus Judaeorum?)], *ÚÉ*, IX, 1953, No. 12.

REMARKS:

Line 1: Quotation from Psalms cxl. 8.

Lines 2–4: Quotation from Psalm cxiii. 2.

The sword has long inspired much speculation.

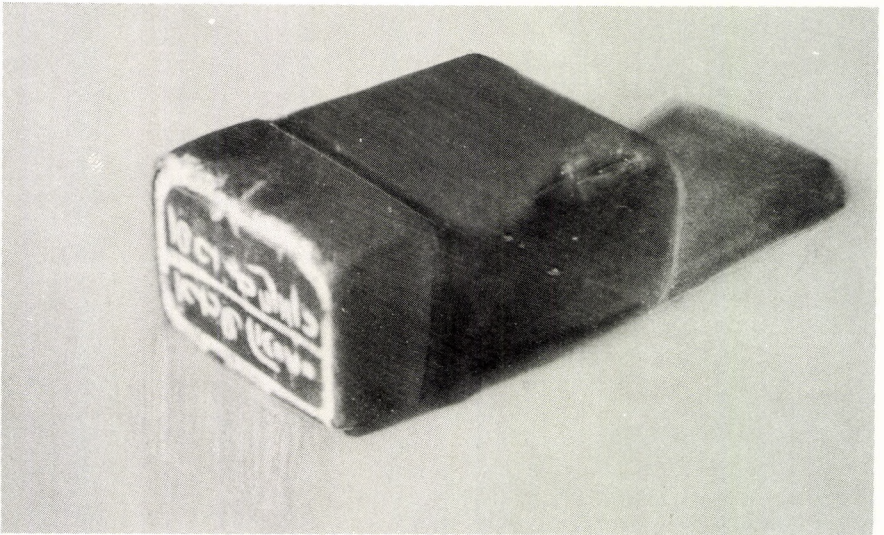
The columnist in *Egyenlőség* (XXXI, 1912, No. 3), gave a faulty text and surmised that the sword might have belonged to Teka, the count of the chamber (at the beginning of the 13th century). According to László Újváry, "it dates from the second half of the 14th century" (*Magyar Zsidó Lexikon*, Bp., 1929, 352). Samuel Kohn examined it in Count Manó Andrassy's home and expressed the opinion that presumably "the sword originally belonged to the Jewish praefectus, Mendel, who was in the habit of appearing in Hungarian ceremonial dress" [*A zsidók története Magyarországon* (History of the Jews in Hungary), I, Bp., 1884, 46]. Even later he adhered to this view: "What an interesting illustration of the historical fact that the 'national Jewish prefect' (praefectus omnium Judaeorum), who represented all the Hungarian Jews from the time of King Mátyás until the disaster of Mohács, used to appear at the royal court in Hungarian ceremonial dress" (*IMIT Évkönyve*, 1896, 58–9). Lajos Venetianer imagined the sword in the hand of Mendel on the occasion of Matthias Corvinus' entry into Buda [*A magyar zsidóság története* (History of the Hungarian Jewry), Bp., 1922, 42]. When it was exhibited after discovery, it was marked as dating from the time of King Ulászló II (*Ben Chananja*, X, 1867, 241).

Expert examination has established that the sword dates from the 17th century. The Hebrew inscription, which is inlaid, is of the same age as the blade, as the silver letters could only have been set in before the blade had completely hardened. The hilt and sheath are silver. The sheath dates from the end of the 18th century. One cannot say for certain that it is the work of a Jewish craftsman, but it is to be taken for granted that it was made to the order of a Jew.

"It is generally known that in the 17th and 18th centuries, ordinary Jews (among whom were the craftsmen) were only familiar with the extracts from the

Bible and with psalms that featured in the liturgy. The quotation on the ceremonial sword in question (Psalm cxi. 8) does not come from a liturgical psalm. At first sight it is not even easy to recognize that the quotation is appropriate for the sword. The sentence must have been selected by someone familiar with the Bible, who knew how the quotation ended: 'thou hast covered my head in the day of battle'. The tetragrammaton J.H.V.H. is written out on the sword in four letters, which is out of keeping with Jewish tradition. So the quotation must come from an expert who had no inhibitions about writing the tetragrammaton out in full. Since the period in question is the 17th or 18th century, it is possible that a non-Jewish swordsmith asked a non-Jewish scholar for a Hebrew text as an amulet, and the Hebraist drew the text for the craftsman, who copied it automatically" (M. Richtmann: *AT*, IX, 1962, 139).

It was purchased by the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection in 1951.



The Seal of Rakamaz (Inscription 149)

III. THE SEAL OF RAKAMAZ

17th century

The inscription in cursive script reads:

149.

יחיאל שרגא בן מנחם גרשן

Yehiel Shraga, son of Menahem Gershon

Discovered in 1888, after the abatement of a Tisza flood, when a caving-in of the bank revealed a cultural layer 1–2 metres thick over a distance of 600 paces, between Rakamaz and Tímár.

Height: 1.5 cm; width: 2.4 cm; thickness: 3 cm.

It is made of serpentine.

Now in the András Jósa Museum at Nyíregyháza.

Inventory No. I. 1694.

LITERATURE:

References: A. Jósa: *AÉ*, XII, 1892, 205–07; *idem*: *Adalékok Zemplén-Vármegye Történetéhez*, VIII, 1902, 125–6; A. Fischer: *ibid.* 157–9; L. Szabolcsi: *Délibáb*, Bp., 1927, 5–6; A. Neumann: *Szabolcsi zsidók* (Szabolcs Jews), [Nyíregyháza, 1940,] 4; L. Szilágyi-Windt: *A kállói cádik. A nagykállói zsidóság története*, Tel Aviv, (1960), 10; A. Jósa: *Régészeti és múzeumi vonatkozású hírlapi cikkei* (1901–1907) (Articles on archaeology and museums in newspapers, 1901–7), Nyíregyháza, 1968, 45–7.

REMARKS:

Line 1: יחיאל: A biblical name (Ezra viii. 9, etc.).

Same line: שרגא: Aramaic word from the Talmud, meaning “torch” (J. Levy: *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, IV, 609). It often features

as a given name as well. It is usually accompanied by the name פִּיבוֹשׁ, which is generally considered to be Phoebus (L. Zunz: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 26). But J.F. Gumpertz has provided evidence that it derived from the transcription into Hebrew letters of the French “vives” i.e. חיים (Tarbiz, XXV, 1955–6, 347). See also A. Linksz: *Visszanézek . . .* (I Look Back . . .), New York, 1977, 88–9.

Published material so far has drawn some romantic conclusions about this seal. In the layer where it was found “objects from the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages occur together”. Despite the opinion of Ármin Vámbéry that “judging from the form of the letters it cannot be very old”, its discoverer, András Jósa, still stuck by his theory that it dated from ancient times: “However, I cannot rest satisfied with that last statement, since I have found no object that would be more recent than the period of the migration on that large prehistoric site” (A. Jósa: *Adalékok Zemplén-Vármegye Történetéhez*, VIII, 1902, 125–6). Emil Hofmann accepted Jósa’s romantic conclusion: “It is known that in Salonica there lives an old Jewish patrician family called *Sheraga*; according to tradition, they fled from Palestine in the reign of Vespasian. It is possible that as early as the first centuries this same family came to our region, too, and along with them perhaps several other Jews who had been expelled from Palestine” [‘A zsidó hitközségek Szabolcs vármegyében’ (Jewish communities in Szabolcs County) in S. Borovszky: *Szabolcs vármegye* (Szabolcs county), Bp., 1900, 366].

From the cursive lettering, it is clear that the seal should be dated to the end of the Turkish occupation at the earliest.

IV. ARK CURTAIN FROM ROHONC

Mention has already been made of the Rohonc Jewish religious community (see No. 143). In the first half of the 17th century the community only had a prayer house. A splendid, spacious synagogue was built only in 1718 with the support of Samson Wertheimer. In 1864 the site of the earlier prayer house was still known.⁴ Among the earliest possessions of the prayer house was a curtain of the Ark of the Covenant dating from 1649; much worn, it remained in the possession of the community until the devastations of fascism. Nothing is known of its whereabouts today.

זאת נדברו נשים צדקניות This was donated by pious
women.
תָּט לִפְאֵק 409 [1649], according to the
minor era.

Dimensions unknown.

Before the Second World War, it was in the possession of the Rohonc Jewish community.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

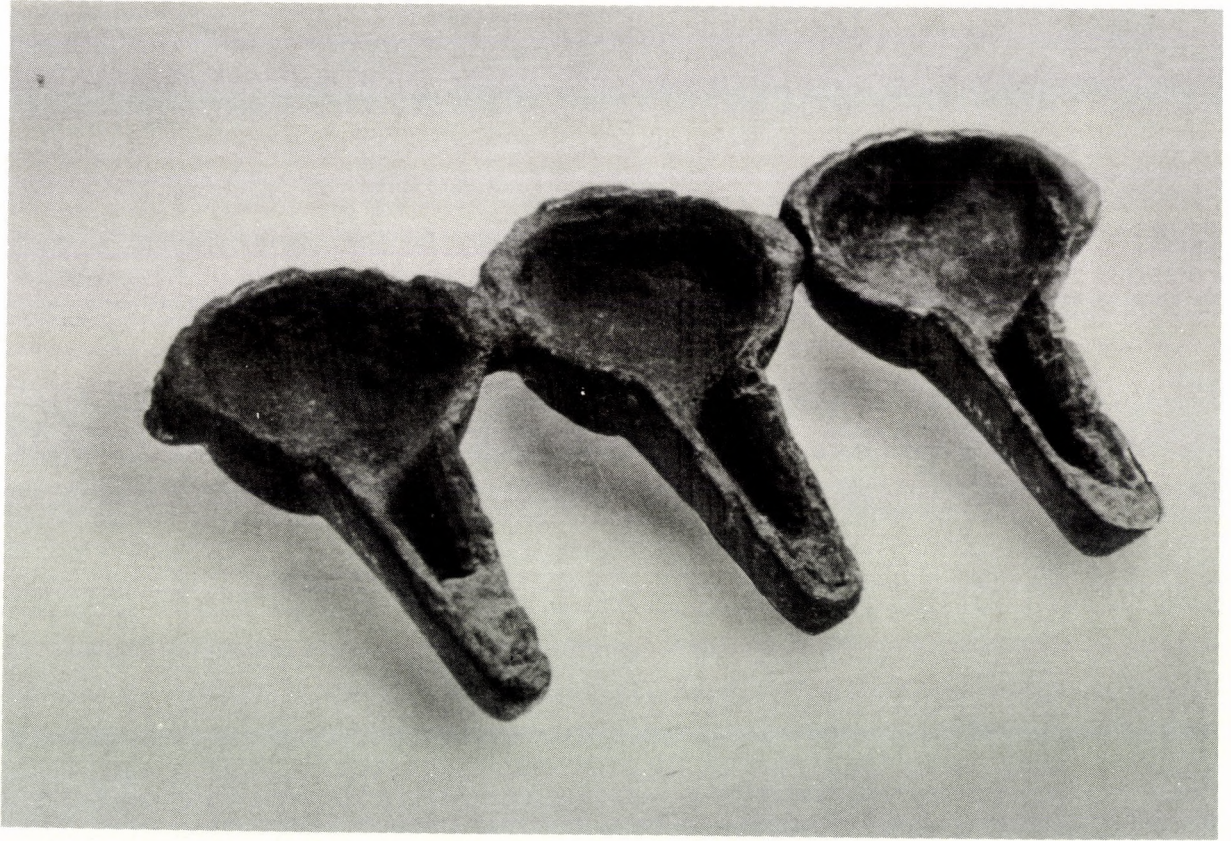
Text publications: M. Zipser: 'Die Schicksale und Bestrebungen der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Rechnitz', *Ben Chananja*, VII, 1864, 405, 407; E. Bernstein: 'A zsidók története Vas megyében', *MZsSz*, XXX, 1913, 163.

No photograph has survived.

Reference: B. Bernstein: 'Egy régi hitközség emlékeiből' (From the mementos of an old community), *MéJ*, IV, 1914, 86.

REMARKS:

Line 1: נשים צדקניות: A Talmudic phrase (Sanh. 112a). See also Z. Avneri: *REJ*, CXXI, 1962, 193, No. 18.



Fragments of the Hanukkah Menorah

V. HANUKAH MENORAH

17th century

In 1936, excavations were going on in the Tabán district of Buda when an object came to light in two pieces from the No. II building. Today it bears the numbers 2905/A and 2905/B. In the inventory book (pp. 126–8) the same object features as 1063–1064, with the following text: “1063. . . one half of a bullet-founding mould. Bronze. 17th century. Size: 6.8 × 7.7 × 2.0 cm; 1064. . . bullet-founding mould. Bronze. 17th century. Size: 6.7 × 8.6 × 2.1 cm. Of the same size and material as No. 1063. From the fracture on one side, one would conclude it probably broke off from it.” Sándor Garády is alone in having published a few words about it: “The lower part of a double bullet-mould, from which a third has presumably broken off. It may date from the 17th century.”⁵ Garády also published a picture of one of the pieces.⁶ He was correct in taking the two fragments to be parts of one objects, but he did not recognize its original function. The dating is correct, as most of the material found along with it is Turkish, and from the time of the Turkish occupation.

The museologist Győző Gerő kindly drew my attention to the object. It is undoubtedly a Hanukah Menorah, with its back missing, and the three pieces broken off the oil-font that had ended in eight narrow protruding mouths. It is easy to identify the type, as M. Narkiss, the late director of the Bezalel Museum wrote an excellent monograph in Hebrew on the Hanukah Menorah.⁷ His ornate work also includes pictures of the Menorahs of various ages. Menorahs similar to this one were made from the 16th century onwards in Italy (IX. 27), Holland (XIII. 37) and Turkey (XIV. 40), and from the 18th century onwards in Eastern Europe (XXVII. 76), Bohemia (XXXIII. 93), and Germany (LI). From Hungary, no such Menorah was known till then. Unfortunately, we can draw conclusions only from the shape of the oil-font, as the back, which was usually decorated in the way typical of the area, is missing.

With its discovery, a new spot can be marked on the map showing where Menorahs have been found, and a new type of object has been added to the corpus of Jewish material relics in Hungary. The object has been mentioned here even though the surviving pieces do not bear an inscription, nor could they have.

Discovered in 1936 in building No. II in the Tabán.

Length: 11 cm; height: 1.5 cm; width: 6.5 cm.

Now in the Budapest Historical Museum.

Inventory Nos 2905 A; 2905 B.

LITERATURE:

References: S. Garády: *BpR*, XIV, 1945, 418; A. Scheiber: 'Chanukka-mécses a törökkori Budáról' (A Hanukah Menorah from Buda from the Turkish period), *ÚÉ*, XV, 1959, No. 24.

Photograph: *BpR*, XIV, 1945, 492, Picture 27.

VI. BRACELET

17th century

Of this object, which comes from Ung County, the following can be read: "In 1886, two . . . bronze bracelets came into my possession, which are not filed around the edges, weigh forty-four decagrammes, and have Jewish letters . . . carved on them."

151.

ווי העמוד the hooks of the pillars.

Discovered in Ung County.

Diameter: 11.5 cm; thickness: 4 cm in the middle.

Formerly in the possession of Tivadar Lehoczky.

LITERATURE:

Text publication: T. Lehoczky: *Adatok hazánk archaeológiájához, különös tekintettel Bereg megyére és környékére* (Data on Hungary's archaeology, with special attention to Bereg County and its environs), I, Munkács (Mukachevo), 1892, 151.

No photograph extant.

REMARKS:

ווי העמוד: Exodus xxvii. 10.

VII. TRENDERLI

17th century

Discovered in Zamárdi in 1982 by the archeologist Edith Bárdos during the excavation of Avar graves, at a depth of 30 cm. According to László Költő, it was made of pure lead, no trace of any other metal was found.

The trenderli (or dreydel) was already used as a toy by Greek and Roman children, the latter called it *turbo*. It is a kind of spinning-top.

The Jews became acquainted with this toy in the Middle Ages, and played with it on the eight days of Chanukah. The four sides of the one in question bear the Hebrew letters: *Nun, Gimmel, He, Shin*, alliterating the German words N-ichts, G-anz, H-alb, S-tell ein, as the game was originally played by the neighbouring Germans on New Year's Day.⁸ The stake was nuts, beans or maize.

The shape of the letters indicate that it was made in the 17th century.⁹

My attention was called on the toy by Professor R. Dan.

The inscription runs as follows:

152.

נ	=	Nun
ג	=	Gimmel
ה	=	He
ש	=	Shin

Discovered in Zamárdi in 1982.

Height: 3 cm; width: 1 cm.

Now in the Kaposvár county museum.

No inventory number.

LITERATURE:

Text and photograph first published here.



Trenderli (Inscription 152)



Trenderli (Inscription 152)

153.

VIII. PAIR OF RIMMONIM

1602

A pair of red copper embossed and engraved Rimmonim. There are two balls with sarmentous leaves engraved on its cylindrical stem. Its top is of a pomegranate shape ornamented with pomegranate engravings. It is a Turkish work, or the work of Turks of Hungary.

On the upper rim of both we find the same Hebrew script engraved:

צְבִי הַרְשׁ בֵּי דוֹד יִצְוֹ שֶׁשֶׁבֶ

Zevi Hersh, son of David, may his Rock and Redeemer guard him, 362 [1602].

On the bottom rim of both we find again an identical text:

דִּקְקֹ סִפְרָדִים פֶּעֶסֶט

Of the Holy Community of the Pest Sephardim.

Height: 34 cm; circumference: 35 cm (above); 12 cm (below).

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

Inventory No. 64.386.



Inscription 153



Detail of Inscription 153/1



Detail of Inscription 153/2



Inscription 154/1
(The right-hand side)



*Inscription 154/2
(The left-hand side)*

IX. COVER FOR PASSOVER DISH

17th Century

Linen cover with silk-threaded coloured embroidery and linen trim with lace. Assembled from two parts. Tulips on its lower hem.

In the middle of the right-hand side of the cover an embroidered festive board, with two candles. On the left part we see the lady of the house raising her hands for grace towards the candles. On the right side the host is seated in an armchair, with a chalice in his hand. There is a Passover Dish, above a Sabbath lamp, along with two mazzot and the cutlery.

Above embroidered Hebrew script goes as follows:

האלוף זה קניין כהרר יואל שמ ואשתו
יאכט תי בת כהרר אברהם זל

This precious piece is the property of R. Joel Sam[uel] and his wife Yachet — may she live long —, the daughter of Abraham of blessed memory.

On the left-hand piece there is also a Sabbath lamp, together with tankards, a glass, flowers in a vase, a stylized tree, knife, fork and two mazzot.

A sentence from the Passover Haggadah enframes the four sides of the rectangle:

מצה זו שאנו אוכלים על / שום מה על שום /
שלא הספיק בצקם של / אבותינו להחמיץ

This Unleavened Bread which we eat — because of what is it?
It is because there was no time for the dough
of our fathers to become leavened.

The lace comes from Hungary, the embroidery is Turkish. It was made in the middle of the 17th century, in Hungary.

Height: 58 cm; width: 87 cm.

Now in the Jewish Religious and Historical Collection.

Inventory No. 64.1233.

LITERATURE:

The texts are published here for the first time. For analogy see M.V. Ember:
Úrihimzés (Embroidery). Bp., 1981. No. 130, Fig. 62.

REMARKS:

יאכט: L. Zunz: *Ges. Schr.* II, 49: Jachet and Jachent; *Germania Judaica*,
II, Tübingen, 1968, 733: Jachand.

זל: in the original is לז by mistake.

NOTES

- ¹ M. Szabolcsi: 'Utazás egy érem körül' (Journey around a coin), *Egyenlőség*, XIV, 1895, No. 26.
- ² *Egyenlőség*, XIV, 1895, No. 48; *Zsidó Híradó*, V, 1895, No. 44.
- ³ M. Oberschall's publication in: L. Fekete: *Budapest a törökkorban* (Budapest under the Turks) Bp., 1944, 367.
- ⁴ M. Zipser: *Ben Chananja*, VII, 1864, 354; B. Bernstein: *MZsSz*, XXX, 1913, 163.
- ⁵ S. Garády: *BpR*, XIV, 1945, 418.
- ⁶ S. Garády: *ibid.*, p. 429, Picture 27.
- ⁷ M. Narkiss: *מנורת החנוכה*, Jerusalem, 1939.
- ⁸ Y.-T. Lewinsky: *Enc. Jud.*, VII, Jerusalem, 1971, 306; A. Scheiber: *MIOK Évkönyve* 1981/82, 370–71; Á. Együd: *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei*, IV/5, Kaposvár, 1981, 101.
- ⁹ *אות היא לעולם*. Ed. M. Spitzer, Jerusalem, 1981.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Acta Antiqua
AAH	Acta Archaeologica Hungarica
AdRN	Aboth di Rabbi Nathan
AÉ	Archaeológiai Értesítő
AK	Archaeológiai Közlemények
AO	Acta Orientalia
AOH	Acta Orientalia Hungarica
AT	Antik Tanulmányok
ATE	Acta Technica
Bp	Budapest
BpR	Budapest Régiségei
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
Enc. Jud.	Encyclopaedia Judaica
EPhK	Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny
Évkönyv	Annual
HJ	Historia Judaica
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IMIT	Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
MéJ	Múlt és Jövő
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums

MIOK	Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete
MKÉ	Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő
MM	Magyar Múzeum
MN	Magyar Nemzet
MNy	Magyar Nyelv
MZsO	Magyar Zsidó Oklevéltár
MZsSz	Magyar Zsidó Szemle
NHQ	The New Hungarian Quarterly
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny
NPJ	Neues Pester Journal
Nyr	Magyar Nyelvőr
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
PW-RE	Pauly-Wissowa: Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums- wissenschaft
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
SSz	Soproni Szemle
TBM	Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából
ÚÉ	Új Élet
ÚI	Új Idők
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZGJD	Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland
ZNW	Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZSO	Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár

INDEXES

1. CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

(The numbers refer to the inscriptions)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>2nd century:</i> 8 | <i>16th–17th centuries:</i> 51, 52, 147 |
| <i>3rd century:</i> 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 | <i>1539–40:</i> 53 |
| <i>4th century:</i> 2, 9, 10 | <i>1541:</i> 14 |
| <i>11th century:</i> 11 | <i>156?:</i> 54 |
| <i>1130:</i> 20 | <i>1575–6:</i> 55 |
| <i>13th century:</i> 12 | <i>1576:</i> 56 |
| <i>1278:</i> 21 | <i>1586:</i> 57 |
| <i>1279–80:</i> 22 | <i>1586–7:</i> 58 |
| <i>14th century:</i> 16, 17 | <i>1589:</i> 59 |
| <i>1340:</i> 32 | <i>1599:</i> 60 |
| <i>1350:</i> 23 | <i>17th century:</i> 148, 149, 151, 152, |
| <i>1353–4:</i> 19 | 154 |
| <i>1376:</i> 33 | <i>1600:</i> 145 |
| <i>1390:</i> 34 | <i>1602:</i> 153 |
| <i>1393:</i> 24 | <i>1605:</i> 61 |
| <i>1394:</i> 35 | <i>1620:</i> 62 |
| <i>1396:</i> 36 | <i>1622–3:</i> 63 |
| <i>1398:</i> 41 | <i>1627:</i> 64, 65 |
| <i>1405:</i> 25 | <i>1628–9:</i> 66 |
| <i>1411–2:</i> 42 | <i>1631:</i> 67 |
| <i>1430–31:</i> 26 | <i>1633:</i> 68 |
| <i>1461:</i> 15 | <i>1634:</i> 69 |
| <i>1490:</i> 18 | <i>1635–6:</i> 70 |
| <i>1492:</i> 27 | <i>1636:</i> 146 |
| <i>1496:</i> 13 | <i>1640:</i> 71 |
| <i>16th century:</i> 144 | <i>1643:</i> 142 |

<i>1646-7: 72</i>	<i>1668: 85</i>
<i>1649: 150</i>	<i>1671: 86</i>
<i>1651: 73</i>	<i>1672: 87</i>
<i>1652: 74</i>	<i>1674-5: 88</i>
<i>1652-3: 75</i>	<i>1675: 89, 90</i>
<i>1654: 76</i>	<i>1676: 91</i>
<i>1655: 77</i>	<i>1676-7: 92</i>
<i>1656: 78</i>	<i>1678: 93, 94, 95</i>
<i>1657: 79</i>	<i>1679: 96, 97, 98</i>
<i>1660: 80, 81, 82</i>	<i>1681-2: 143</i>
<i>1663: 83</i>	<i>1682: 99</i>
<i>1664: 84</i>	<i>1683: 100, 101</i>

2. PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

(The numbers refer to the inscriptions)

Budapest

Budapest Historical Museum:

12, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139

Fehér Galamb restaurant:

54, 74, 140, 141

Hilton Hotel

73

Hungarian National Archives:

13

Hungarian National Museum:

2, 3, 5, 6, 24, 62, 83, 147

Jewish Religious and Historical Collection:

1, 23, 64, 67, 71, 76, 77, 86, 92, 93, 94, 109, 111, 112, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131,
132, 137, 148, 153, 154

Színház utca 5, 7 and 9:

78, 110

Eszék (Osijek)

Museum of Slavonia:

8

Kaposvár

County Museum:

152

Klagenfurt

Landesmuseum für Kärnten:

20

Nyíregyháza

Jósa András Museum:

149

Pécs

Janus Pannonius Museum:

11

Rohonc (Rechnitz)

Jewish cemetery:

143

Jewish community:

150

Sofia

Archaeological Museum:

10

Sopron

Lapidarium of the 14th century synagogue:

42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50

Synagogue from the 13th century:

16, 17, 18

Stomfa (Stupava)

Jewish cemetery:

142

Szokolca (Skalica)

Old Jewish cemetery:

41

Temesvár (Timișoara)

Old Jewish cemetery:

146

Újvidék (Novi Sad)

Museum:

9

Ungarisch-Brod

Jewish cemetery:

144

Vienna

Old Jewish cemetery:

145

3. BUILDINGS IN BUDA FROM WHICH GRAVESTONES HAVE COME TO LIGHT

(The numbers refer to the inscriptions)

4-5 Dísz tér:

55, 60, 72, 76, 77, 84, 90, 93, 96, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 139

1 Hess András tér:

87

- 2 Hess András tér:
53, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 69, 70, 73, 75, 79, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118,
119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124
- 4 Hess András tér:
63, 68, 125, 126
- 1–2 Szent György tér:
80, 81
- Szentháromság tér, St. Stephen's chapel in the Mátyás-templom:
89, 91, 95, 102, 103
- 9-11 Szentháromság utca:
54, 74, 98, 99, 101, 140, 141
- 13 Szentháromság utca (6 Úri utca)
82
- Színház utca 5, 7 and 9:
62, 78, 97, 110
- 1 Táncsics utca:
109
- 6 Úri utca (13 Szentháromság utca):
82
- 32 Úri utca:
30, 56, 88, 133, 134, 135, 136
- 38 Úri utca:
29, 31

4. THE NAMES APPEARING IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

(The numbers refer to the inscriptions)

A) ROMAN TIMES

Men's names

Anastāsius = <i>Αναστασιος</i>	2
Aurelius	4, 6
<i>Βηνειαμς</i> = בנימין	2
Cosmius	3
Germanius	5
Ioses = יוסי	10
Iudas = יהודה	1
יהדה	9
Malchias = מלכיה	4
Marcus Aurelius	4, 6
Maximinus	10
Mocur	4
Sallumas = שלום	6
Secundus	8
Valens	5

Women's names

Actia	7
Aurelia	4 (?), 5, 6
Baracha = ברכה	5
Cassia = קציעה	1
<i>Δηκουσσανης</i> = <i>Διακουσσνη</i>	2
Germanila	5
Germanilla	5
Immosta	5
Maria = מרים	7
Pulchra	4
Qyria = <i>Κυρια</i>	10
Sabinilla	7
Septim(i)a	7

B) MIDDLE AGES

Men's names

אברהם	16, 38
בצלאל	30
(?) גבריאל	17
דוד	37
זכריה	41
חיים	27, 32, 42
ידידיה	41
יהודה	18
יחיאל	17
יצחק	17, 25, 33, 42, 43
ישראל	32
מאיר	16
משה	18
מנוח	43
סולימן	17
פטר	21
פיב[וש]	31
פסח	21
צדוק	17
שבתי	20
שמוא[ל]	50

Women's names

אסתר	37
בלומא	30
יהנטא	33
ליבל	35
(?) שרי	34

C) THE PERIOD OF TURKISH OCCUPATION

Men's names

אברהם	113, 120, 141, 142, 154
אלחנן	135
אלכסנדר	145
אלעזר	66
אנשיל	142
אשר	138
בנדקט	136
בנימן	90
גרשון[ם]	122
גרשון	76, 149
דוד	87, 103, 107, 109, 126, 153
הרשל	54, 141, 153
חביב	132
חיים	55, 61, 84, 85, 93, 97, 104, 131, 135
ידדיה	95
יהודא	68, 77, 91, 93, 123
יהושוע	79, 119
יואל	154
יחל	143
יונה	111
יוסף	62, 64, 80, 84, 89, 99, 105, 119
יחיאל	149
יעקב	57, 58, 68, 69, 103
יצחק	81, 98, 101, 106, 112, 117, 127, 144
יקותיאל	53
ישמעאל	64, 65
ישראל	115, 129, 139, 140
לוי	55
ליב	87
מאיר	57
מנחם	118, 149
מרדכי	82
משה	83, 96, 102, 104, 131 (?), 143
משלם	110
מתתיה	98

נתן	55, 76, 144
סוסי	93
עזר	83
עזריאל	146
עמרם	128
עשאל	146
פרץ	115
צבי	59, 102, 153
ראובן	136
רפאל	136
שאו	99
שועל	130
שלום	111, 125
שלומה	82
שמואל	53, 81, 86, 101, 154
שמחה	61
שמעון	127, 128 (?)
שמשון	78, 113
שרגא	149
שש[ת]	116

Women's names

גיטלי	97
דבורה	122
הדס	107
הנדיל	59
הנדלי	95
חנה	86
יאכט	154
יוכבד	66
יטלי	105
לאה	89, 96
מרים	129, 133
מרלי	65
נחמה	69, 130, 137
סאר[ל]	117
פלימלי	90
פסערלי	80

פרומי	124
פריידל	87
רבקה	62, 91, 123, 139
רכלי	79
שינדיל	106
שרה	74, 78, 85, 99

5. THE HEBREW PHRASES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

(The numbers refer to the inscriptions)

A) MIDDLE AGES

אוי ואבוי יללה	40
אוי לי על שברי	39
אזיל	23
איש הגון	32, 41, 44
אלף השישי	21, 24, 27, 29, 36
אמינו	35
אמן	23, 27
אס	26
אא סס	31, 49
אאא ססס	22, 44, 45
אשר שמתי	25, 37, 42
אשת חיל	35
בנות	35
[בעלי]	25
[בשלו]ם	28
גביר	32, 38
האבן הזאת	25, 37, 42
ה'אִנְקָ' לא נעדר	36
האש[ה] החש[וב]ה	27
הוצ[ג]	20
הלכה לעולמה	36
הנ"ל	37
הש[ם] ינקם	42
השם ינקום דמו	32
ז"ל	17, 42

חיי גן [עד]ן	23
ילמדוני ק[י]נות	35
כאן טמון	32
כאן נטמן	38
כאן נקבר[ת]	37
כבה גרי מעיני	33
לבריאת [ע]	20
לוקח עצם מבשרי	39
למען כבוד [הש]	20
לע[ולם] ועד	27
לפד[יון]	30
מ[י]תתו תהי כפרתו	32
מר לבי	33
מצבת	20
מראשתי	20
נאמן	32, 38, 47
נאסף לעולמו	21, 22, 31
נהרג	20, 42
נהרג בלילה על מטתו	32
נחמד	47
נתן נפש[ו]	20
נקבר	25, 50
נשמ[תו] מדור [דור] [לא תמו]ש	49
ערב יום כיפור	41
ססס	46
פד[יון]	30
פה טמון	41, 47
[פה טמו]נה	48
פה נטמן	44 (?), 45
פה נטמנ[ת]	27
פרנס	20
ציון הלז	20, 21
צעקתי כי גדלה ומר[ה]	40
צרה שבא[ה]	33
צרור נשמת שרָרֹל	23
קברתי בתי	33
ק'לו' ב'טו'ב	33
קללה	25

קמה לראש	21
קֶק	17
קראו למקוננות	35
רְבִים	27
שמתי מצבה	25, 37, 42
[תהא נפשה] צרורה	23
תִּצְבֶה	24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 35, 36, 41, 44, 45
תחת כסא הכבוד	28

B) PERIOD OF THE TURKISH OCCUPATION

אור ליום	87
אוי	146
אחרון [של פסח]	111
איש	93, 104, 109 (?), 111, 112, 116, 131 (?), 146
אלוף	87, 136, 138, 154
אסרו חג של פסח	86
אשר יאמר עליו כי הוא זה	142
אשת חיל	60, 105, 123, 139
בחור	115
בית עולמו	146
בכל עת [וכל] עונה	87
בקיצור ימי[ו]	81
בתולת ישראל	66, 69, 106
גאון	61, 144
גאון עחינו	144
גביר	87
הגונה	87
היֵד	66, 104, 145
הי[ה] דבר ד' אל אברם במחזה	142
הכנסות כלה	114
המ[כונה]	109
הנמצא דוגמתה	87
ווי העמוד	151
ויסע	142
זאת נדבו	150

זל	53, 54, 61, 66, 68, 69, 71, 78, 79, 89, 103, 104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 112, 115, 118, 119, 123, 129(?), 135, 136, 137, 139, 142, 145, 154
זֹלָה	68
זצ"ל	87, 144
חאקיר = ענו	126
חבר	112, 120, 136
חחה	142
[חזן]	109
[חיי] עולם	135
[חכם]	136, 146
חכם עדיף מנביא	142
חסידא ופרושא	144
חסידה	60
חשוב	146
חשובה	87
יברכך ה' וישמרך	52
יהוה אדני עז ישועתי	148
יהי שם יהוה מברך	148
יעה	146
יצו	76, 87, 153
יקר	57, 68, 111, 120 (?)
יקרה	79, 87, 123
ירא אלהים	93, 112
ישיש	104
ישר	109
ישרה	87
כהן	139
כפה פרשה לעני	87
כץ	85, 98, 143
לא הניח כלום מתרת משה	144
לוי	55, 133, 137
ליצירה	146
מאין הפוגה	87
מהוללה	87
מופל[א]	142
מופלג בגלה ובנסתר	144

מזל טוב	147
מחזה שדי יחזה	142
מילדת	80
מנורה טהורה	87
מעלותיה מי מנה	87
מפוארה	87
מצה זו	154
משובח	142
נאמן	104, 109, 111, 112, 116
נוטל שברו	146
נטע שעשועים	144
נָל	142
נָע	146
נער	81
[נער]ה	66
נפטר	54, 71 (?), 73 (?), 75, 76, 81, 82, 83, 84, 93, 94 (?), 98, 101, 104, 109, 118, 135, 136, 146
[נפטר]ה	56, 74, 133
נפטרת	69, 77, 78, 79, 80, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 105, 106, 123, 137 (?)
נשים צדקניות	150
נשמתו בגן עדן	144
ספרדים	153
עוף הפורח נשרף בהבל פיו	
כבמדורה	144
עטר[ת] בעלה	60, 87
עטרת שנפלה מראשו	144
על אלה אני בוכיה	87
על אלה חשכו עינינו	144
על ראשו כתר התורה לעטרה	144
ענו	131
ענוגה	87
ערב יום כיפור	69, 83, 137
פה טמונה	87
פה נטמן	84, 103, 104, 109, 112, 135, 136, 141 (?)
פה נטמנת	80, 85, 86, 129

פה נקבר	57, 61, 64, 68, 76, 81, 82, 83, 93, 98, 101, 102, 110 (?), 111, 113, 115, 116 (?), 119, 120, 127, 128, 131 (?), 132
פה נקברת	62, 65, 66, 69, 78, 79, 89, 90 (?), 91, 95, 96, 97, 99, 105, 106, 107, 117, 122, 123, 130, 133, 137, 139
פורים	85
פיה פתחה [בחכמה]	87
פעמן נעים	109
פרושא	144
צנועה	85
קדוש	104
קניין	154
ק ק	153
קשת גיבורים חתים	51
רה	77
ראש חודש	65, 66
רכה	87
[שם] טוב	136
שמו	144
שמש	81
תושב	146
תַּנְצָּבָּה	57 (?), 61 (?), 62, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81 (?), 82 (?), 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 121, 123, 125, 135 (?), 144, 145

6. THE PLACE-NAMES FEATURING IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

(The numbers refer to the inscriptions)

Hungary	=	אונגריא	20
Aussee	=	אויסי	87
Tyrnau (Trnava)	=	דירנויא	33
Tübingen	=	טובינגאן	17
Csepreg	=	טשיפרך	145
Lichtenstadt	=	[ל]ש	87
Nikolsburg	=	[נ]ש	87
Ödenburg (Sopron)	=	עדינבורג	144
Pest	=	פעסט	153
Salonica	=	שלונק	146

LIST OF PLATES

- Inscription 1
- Inscription 2
- Detail of Stone 2
- Inscription 3
- Inscription 4
- Stone 5
- Inscription 5
- Inscription 6
- Ring
- Amulet
- Lucern
- Gem
- Inscription 8
- Brick with Jewish symbols
- Inscription 9
- Inscription 10
- Bar Kochba coin 4/1940–17
- Bar Kochba coin 41/1892–16
- Gravestone of Aelius Silvanus in Aquincum
- Stone pillar with the “cursus honorum” of Lucius Valerius Valerianus. Caesarea (Israel)
- The Khazar ring from the cemetery at Ellend (Inscription 11)
- Coins bearing Hebrew letters (Inscription 12)
- Seal on a contract of Dec. 12, 1496 (Inscription 13)
- Inscription 14
- The charter of June 10, 1462

The eastern front of the restored 13th century synagogue in Sopron
The entrance of the 13th century synagogue in Sopron
The eastern wall of the 13th century synagogue in Sopron
The *Frauenschul* of the 13th century Sopron synagogue, with slits looking on the men's prayer-hall
Cornerstone with the names of the founders in the southwestern corner of the 13th century synagogue (Inscription 16)
The southern wall of the vestibule of the 13th century Sopron synagogue (Inscription 18)
The eastern wall of the 14th century synagogue in Sopron
The lancet stone in the 14th century Sopron synagogue
The restored inscription of the medieval synagogue in Nagymarton (Inscription 19)
The synagogue in Nagymarton
The two pages of the deed transferring ownership of the Nagyszombat synagogue in 1539
Inscription 20
Inscription 21
Inscription 22
Inscription 23
Inscription 24
Inscription 25
Inscription 26
Inscription 27
Inscription 28
Inscription 29
Inscription 30
Inscription 31
A view of the Jewish cemetery at Szakolca
A view of the Jewish cemetery at Szakolca
Inscription 41
A view of the Jewish cemetery at Szakolca
Inscription 42
Inscription 44
Inscription 45
Inscription 46
Inscription 47
Inscription 48

Inscription 49
The Lapidarium at 11 Új utca in Sopron
Inscription 50
Inscriptions 51 and 52
The Lapidarium at 26 Táncsics utca
Inscription 53
Inscription 54
Conscription of the Buda Jews in Istanbul (1603)
Inscription 55
Inscription 56
Inscription 57
Inscription 58
Inscription 59
Jewish gravestones in the former Lapidarium at the Budapest Historical
Museum in the Halászbástya
Inscription 61
Inscription 62
Inscription 63
Inscription 64
Inscription 65
Inscription 66
Inscription 67
Inscription 68
Inscription 69
Inscription 71
Inscription 72
Inscription 73
Inscription 74
Inscription 75
Inscription 76
Inscription 77
Inscription 78
Inscription 79
Inscription 80
Inscription 81
Inscription 82
Inscription 83
Inscription 84

Inscription 85
Inscription 86
Inscription 87
Inscription 88
Inscription 89
Inscription 90
Inscription 91
Inscription 92
Inscription 93
Inscription 94
Inscription 95
Inscription 96
Inscription 97
Inscription 98
Inscription 99
Inscription 100
Inscription 101
Inscription 102
Inscription 103
Inscription 104
Inscription 105
Inscription 106
Inscription 107
Inscription 108
Inscription 109
Inscription 110
Inscription 111
Inscription 112
Inscription 113
Inscription 114
Inscription 115
Inscription 116
Inscription 117
Inscription 118
Inscription 119
Inscription 120
Inscription 121
Inscription 122

Inscription 123
Inscription 124
Inscription 125
Inscription 126
Inscription 127
Inscription 128
Inscription 129
Inscription 130
Inscription 131
Inscription 132
Inscription 133
Inscription 135
Inscription 136
Inscription 137
Inscription 138
Inscription 139
Inscription 140
Inscription 141
Inscription 142
Inscription 146
Bridal ring (Inscription 147)
Ceremonial sword (Inscription 148)
The Seal of Rakamaz (Inscription 149)
Fragments of the Hanukah Menorah
Trenderli (Inscription 152)
Trenderli (Inscription 152)
Inscription 153
Detail of the Inscription 153/1
Detail of the Inscription 153/2
Inscription 154/1
Inscription 154/2



