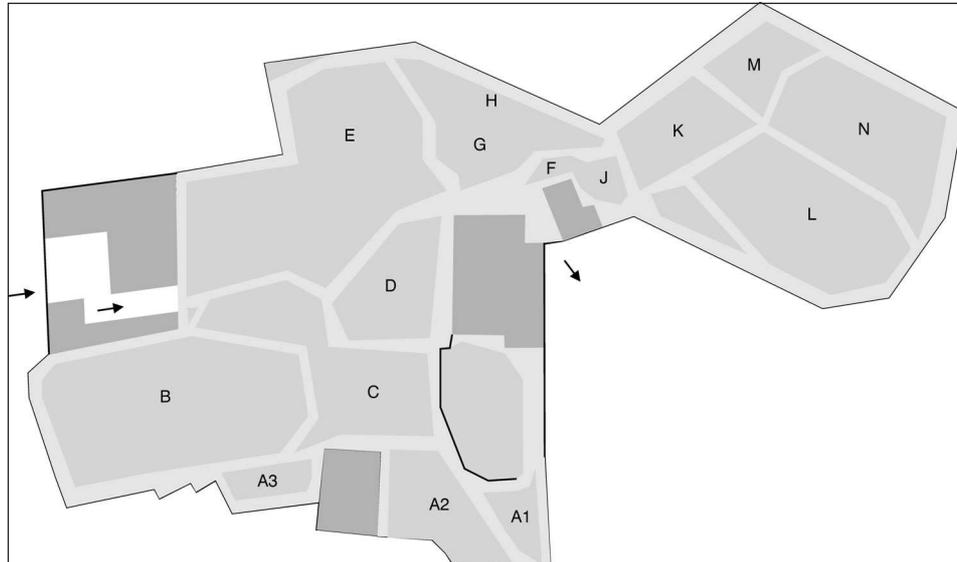


REPORTS

Daniel Polakovič

DOCUMENTATION OF THE OLD JEWISH CEMETERY IN PRAGUE

The Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague¹ is the second oldest Jewish burial place in Prague and one of the most important sites in Prague's Jewish Town. Founded in the first half of the fifteenth century at the western edge of the then ghetto, it served as the Prague Jewish community's main burial site for 350 years. The earli-



General map of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague with its division into sections. Layout by Vladimír Vašek, 2008

est legible tombstones bearing a date are from 1439. Burials took place in the cemetery until 1787 and the area was expanded several times. There are now 12,512 free-standing tombstones here (22 of which are in the shape of a sarcophagus, *ohel*); a further 96 are placed in the cemetery wall and the remaining 807 tomb-

1) For an overview of the basic literature on the cemetery, see Čeněk Zíbrt, *Bibliografie české historie* [Bibliography of Czech History], Vol. II, Praha, Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění 1902, p. 753, Nos. 4501–4510; pp. 1191–1192, Nos. 15360–15366; Vol. III, Praha 1906, p. 550, Nos. 11359–11364; Otto Muneles, *Bibliografický přehled židovské Prahy* [Bibliographical Survey of Jewish Prague], Praha, Státní židovské museum 1952, *passim*; Falk Wiesemann, *Sepulcra judaica. Bibliographie zu jüdischen Friedhöfen und zu Sterben, Begräbnis und Trauer bei den Juden von der Zeit des Hellenismus bis zur Gegenwart*, Essen, Klartext Verlag 2005, pp. 673–678, Nos. 8545–8615 etc.

stones have been preserved only in a fragmentary state. In total, there are more than 13,000 tombstones in the cemetery area (about 11,290 m²); the number of buried, though, is several times that figure, as many tombstones have sunk deep into the ground and others have been destroyed in time.

The Prague Burial Society always saw to the cemetery's maintenance and registration from the earliest period of its existence through to the Second World War. To this end, it kept special burial and grave registration books. At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the cemetery was divided into separate sections to facilitate orientation. Originally with 11 sections (indicated by Roman numerals I–XI), this number was later increased to 13. The cemetery was divided for the last time in the second half of the nineteenth century; although the number of sections was retained, the individual fields were indicated by letters of the alphabet (A–N) for the sake of clarity. The sections were arranged in topographical order and were separated probably by footpaths, the course of which did not entirely correspond to that of the present-day paths.²

During the clearance of the Prague ghetto at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Prague Jewish community was compelled to yield the outlying north-western part of the cemetery for the expansion of Sanytrová Street (now 17. listopadu Street). In 1903 the exhumed remains were ceremoniously buried on the *Nefele* mound in front of the eastern façade of Klausen Synagogue and the tombstones from the part of the cemetery that had been closed down were transferred to the remaining parts of the cemetery or placed in the cemetery walls, in particular under the artificial *Nefele* mound. By moving tombstones from the closed-down part of the cemetery to the older sections (in particular A, C and D), this gave rise to a new 'virtual section' ('S').³ The unprofessional placing of a large number of tombstones in a small area changed the original appearance of the cemetery and worsened the state of the oldest tombstones, which sank deeper into the ground and, in many cases, were completely covered by the new tombstones.⁴

THE OLDEST TRANSCRIPTIONS

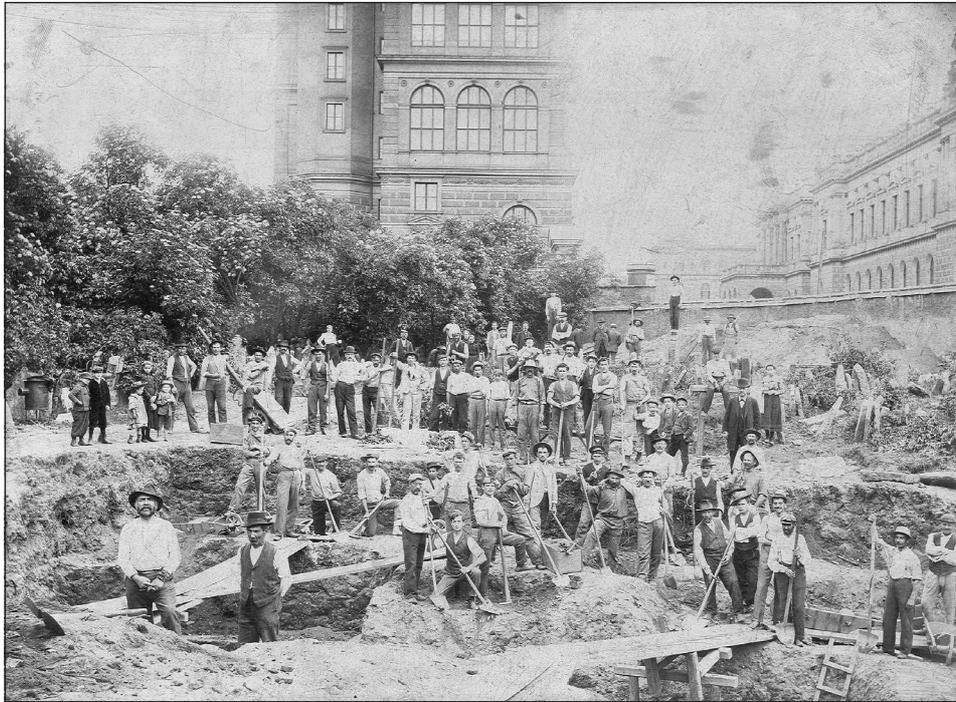
The first mentions of inscriptions on tombstones in the cemetery appear in Hebrew literature from the end of the sixteenth century. The chronicle of David Gans (d. 1613) contains several fleeting references to the tombstones of certain Prague rabbis.⁵ Biographical and genealogical details on tombstones in the cemetery pro-

2) Otto Muneles – Milada Vilímková, *Starý židovský hřbitov v Praze* [The Old Jewish Cemetery of Prague], Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství v Praze 1955, p. 95; Otto Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery of Prague* (כתובות מבית עלמין היהודי העתיק בפראג), Jerusalem, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 1988, p. 39.

3) Arno Pařík – Vlastimila Hamáčková, *Pražské židovské hřbitovy – Prague Jewish Cemeteries – Prager jüdische Friedhöfe*, Praha, Židovské muzeum 2003, p. 69.

4) O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, p. 95; O. Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery*, p. 39.

5) David ben Zeligman Gans, צמח דוד [Zemah David, The Offspring of David], Prague 5352/1592, for example f. 62r (5303/1543).



Clearance work at the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague, undated (turn of 19th and 20th centuries). Private collection of Arno Pařík, Prague

vided a fundamental source of information for the biography of Rabbi Judah Löb ben Bezalel (the Maharal) by Moshe Meir Pereles (d. 1737).⁶ The first known complete published edition of a Hebrew epitaph in the cemetery is by Jaroslaus Schaller (1738–1809) in the third volume of his topographical description of the city of Prague (1796).⁷ This pertains to the tombstone of Sarah, wife of Josef K”Z, dating from 1606, which was given the date 606 (sic) on the basis of an incorrect date conversion to the Gregorian calendar. For a long time, earlier Bohemian historians, in particular Gelasius Dobner, considered this to be one of the oldest records proving the existence of the Jewish community in the period shortly before the le-

6) Moshe Meir ben Eleazar Pereles, מגילת יוחסין [Megillat Yuhasin, A Genealogic Scroll], in: Moshe ben Yeshaya ha-Kohen, מטה משה [Matte Moshe, Mose’s Staff], Zolkiew 5505/1745, ff. 23–26; an overview of other publications is provided by Salomon Hugo Lieben, ‘Megillath Juchassin Mehral [sic] miPrag. Die Deszendenztafel des hohen Rabbi Löw von Rabbi Meir Perels’, *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft*, XX (1929), pp. 315–336, esp. 318f. Cf. Menachem Kraus, ‘ייחוסו של המהר”ל מפראג לדוד המלך, קריאה מחודשת במצבתו של ר’ ליווא הזקן’, *Daat*, 60 (5767/2006), pp. 113–119.

7) Jaroslaus Schaller, *Beschreibung der königl. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Prag sammt allen darinn befindlichen sehenswürdigen Merkwürdigkeiten, Dritter Band: Altstadt, oder das I. Hauptviertel der Stadt Prag*, Prag, Franz Gerzabeck 1796, pp. 748ff. The transcription of the Hebrew text on the tombstone was provided to the author by the Prague rabbi Samuel ha-Levi Landau.

gendary founding of the city of Prague in the seventh century. This hypothesis was rejected by the literary historian and Slavist Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), who dealt with the problem of the correct dating of the tombstone in a minor critical study.⁸

The oldest collection of transcriptions of epitaphs in the cemetery was put together for the needs of the Prague Burial Society, as well as for interested parties, including experts and the general public. It was compiled by the Secretary (*Aktuar*) of the society, Moses Wolf ben Aaron Bär Jeitteles (1775–1847), the author of the three-volume collection of funeral prayers *Zikkaron le-Yom Aharon* [Reminder of the Last Day] (Prague, 1828–1830).⁹ During his activity in the society,¹⁰ Jeitteles transcribed 20 earlier and more important epitaphs, thus preparing the groundwork for the future documentation of the cemetery. Although Jeitteles's hand-written transcriptions have not been preserved,¹¹ they were used – after a thorough revision – by his son-in-law and successor in office, Koppelman Lieben in a collection of selected epitaphs from the cemetery, which was published at a later date. Although a precise list of the persons in question is not known, an approximate and brief overview of their names was provided in Leopold Zunz's treatise on the development of Hebrew eulogies on medieval Jewish tombstones.¹² What Jeitteles's work involved was not only transcriptions of Hebrew texts on tombstones, but also biographical notes pertaining to these, which Moses W. Jeitteles willingly provided to experts for the purposes of study and publication.¹³

8) J. D. [= Josef Dobrovský], 'Ueber Sara's Grabstein vom Jahre 606 auf dem Prager jüdischen Freyhofe, auch eine Stimme', *Hyllos*, 1, No. 15 (15 October 1819), pp. 117f.; reprint: *Hormayr's Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst*, 19 (1828), No. 94/95, pp. 502f. See, also, Karel Beránek – Stanislav Segert, *Orientalistik an der Prager Universität. I. Teil*, Praha, Universita Karlova 1967, pp. 156f.; Karel Krejčí, 'Starý židovský hřbitov pražský v pověsti a legendě' [The Old Jewish Cemetery of Prague in Myths and Legends], *Staletá Praha* [Centuries-Old Prague], 3 (1967), pp. 45ff.

9) For his life and work, see Koppelman Lieben, *Die Eröffnung des neuen zweiten Israel. Wolschaner Friedhofes am 6. Juli 1890, 18. Tamus 5650*, Prag, Verlag der israel. Beerdigungs-Brüderschaft [1890], p. 24, No. 50.

10) According to Koppelman Lieben, M. W. Jeitteles began work on the transcriptions in 1828. Cf. *Gal Ed. Grabsteininschriften des prager isr. Alten Friedhofs mit biographischen Notizen herausgegeben von Koppelman Lieben*, Prag, Buchdruckerei des M. I. Landau 1856, p. IV. K. Lieben probably started out from Jeitteles's own account, as there is no reliable mention of this date in the extant fragmentary records of the Prague Burial Society in the Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague (hereinafter AJMP), Chevra Kadiša Praha [Hevrah Kadisha Prague] (hereinafter HKP).

11) They were probably originally in the written legacy of Koppelman Lieben. A portion of these writings has been preserved in the personal collection in the AJMP, other parts are scattered in other collections of the AJMP (e.g., Chevra Kadiša Praha), while the remainder is in a private collection in Israel. The personal library of Koppelman Lieben, however, has been preserved in an almost complete state and is now part of the Library of the Jewish Museum in Prague.

12) Leopold Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, I, Berlin, Verlag von Veit und Comp. 1845, pp. 402, 417. See, also, Alexander Marx, 'Zunz's Letters to Steinschneider', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 5 (1933–34), pp. 121ff.

GAL ED (1856)

At the beginning of the 1850s, probably under the influence of recent publications on Hebrew tombstones in Toledo,¹⁴ Worms¹⁵ and Vienna,¹⁶ the Secretary of the Prague Burial Society Koppelmann Lieben (1812–1892)¹⁷ set about putting together a publication on the Old Jewish Cemetery.¹⁸ The first preparations took place probably at the end of the 1840s, the basis for the publication being a collection of hand-written transcriptions of tombstones by M. W. Jeitteles.¹⁹ Work on the publication was completed in the autumn of 1855. A private note in the journal *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (hereinafter *AZJ*), dated 10 October 1855 from Prague,²⁰ contained a report on the publication of ‘the first book’ of 150 transcriptions of tombstones by the Secretary of the Prague Burial Society, Kalmann (sic) Lieben, at the expense of A. Cohn from Paris. However, the book was actually printed at least almost a year later, as the German preface by K. Lieben is dated one day after Shavuot 5616 (1856).²¹ The same date is also mentioned in two passages of the Hebrew preface by the Prague Rabbi Salomon Judah Leib Rapoport and also in the book’s Hebrew title page.²² The book²³ contains a brief German and Hebrew introduction by the publisher Koppelmann Lieben,²⁴ a list of printing corrections,²⁵ indexes,²⁶ extensive German biographical and bibliographical notes by Simon Hock on the individual tombstones,²⁷ an edition of epitaphs and an extensive Hebrew study in the form of a letter to the publisher from Rabbi S. J. Rapoport. It focuses on the development of Hebrew sepulchral epigraphy and on

13) For example, he provided M. I. Landau with a complete transcription of the tombstone of Josef Shelomo Del Medigo for his article, ‘Todesjahr Josef Salomo del Medigo’s’, *Der Orient*, 1 (1840), No. 25, Cols. 330–331; also for L. Zunz’s list of tombstones in the Old Jewish Cemetery until 1476, L. Zunz, *op. cit.*, p. 417 (with brief excerpts from the epitaphs). Information on the fragment from 1390 (p. 416) probably comes not from M. W. Jeitteles’s collection, but from his own experience during his brief preaching activity in Prague.

14) Shemuel David Luzzatto, אבני זכרון [Memorial Stones], Prague, M. I. Landau 5601 [=1841].

15) Ludwig Lewysohn, נפשות צדיקים, *Sechzig Epitaphien von Grabsteinen des Israelitischen Friedhofes zu Worms, regressiv bis zum Jahre 905 übl. Beitr. nebst biographischen Skizzen und einem Anhang*, Frankfurt am Main, Joseph Baer 1855.

16) [Stern, Salomon]: נוסחאות המצבות ואבני זכרון, *Inschriften des alten jüdischen Friedhofes in Wien. Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde Oesterreichs von Lud[wig] Aug[ust] Frankl*, Wien, [Aadalbert della Torre] 1855.

17) For his life and work, see *HaAsif*, 6 (5654/1893), p. 149; for further biographical literature on him, see O. Muneles, *Bibliografický přehled*, p. 519.

18) *Gal Ed*, p. III.

19) *Ibidem*, p. IV.

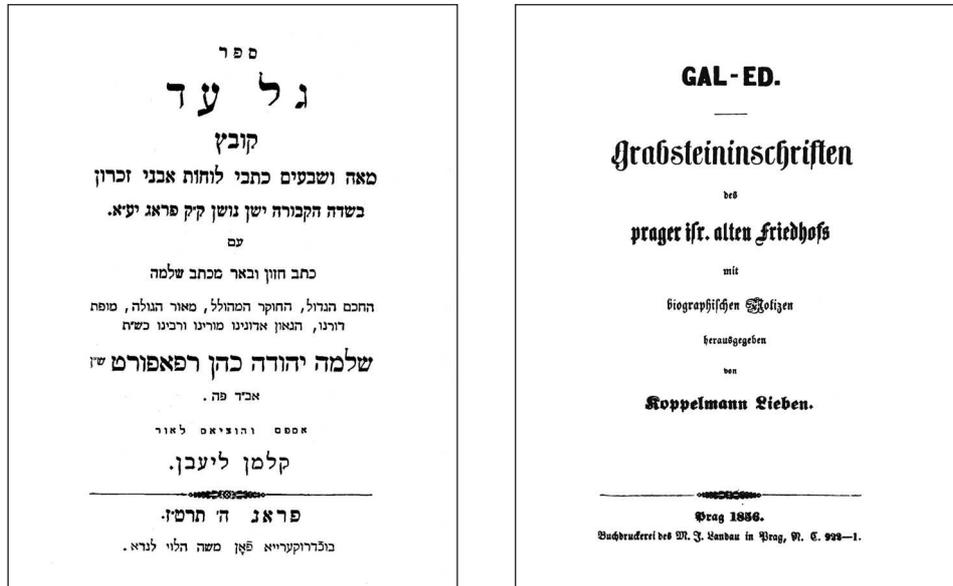
20) *AZJ*, 19, No. 43 (22 October 1855), p. 554.

21) 11 June 1856. The text of K. Lieben’s Hebrew introduction, however, differs considerably from the German original (Hebrew part, pp. III–VI).

22) The Hebrew title of the book is: קובץ מאה ושבעים כתבי לוחות אבני זכרון בשדה הקבורה ... עם כתב חזון ובאר ... [מאת] שלמה יהודה כהן רפאפורט ... אבי”ד פה. אספם והוציאם לאור קלמן ליעבן ... פראג, דפוס משה הלוי לנדא תרט”ז.

23) The title of publication is derived from Genesis 31:47.

24) *Gal Ed*, pp. III–VI (German and Hebrew parts).



German and Hebrew title pages of the book *Gal Ed*, Prague 1856

the age of what were presumed to be the oldest Hebrew tombstones in Prague, wrongly dated back to the tenth century.²⁸ The published collection contains a total of 170 epitaphs from 1439 to 1787 and also include the inscriptions of all the tombs (*ohalim*) in the cemetery.²⁹

The publication contains a diverse selection of tombstones from the various fields of the cemetery, most from the oldest sections – C (14 tombstones), D (40 tombstones) and E (23 tombstones). One exception is a large representative group of tombstones from the more recent section J (27 tombstones); three to seven tombstones from each group in the other fields are featured, but no information on tombstones from section M was published. Nine tombstones were on the cemetery wall at the time the collection was published; six other tombstones in the publication are not recorded in any of the later documentations and some of the tombstones in the cemetery had not yet been identified.³⁰

25) *Ibidem*, p. VII (German and Hebrew parts).

26) Alphabetical index of personal names (German, pp. VIII–XIV) and chronological index (German, pp. XV–XX). The presumed oldest tombstone from 606 (Sarah, wife of Josef K”Z, from 1606) is placed in the chronological index between 1439 and 1444 without specification of the year.

27) ‘Adnotationen, zunächst biographischen Inhalts, zu den hier mitgetheilten Grabschriften, von Simon Hock’, *ibidem*, pp. 1–71.

28) See, also, Moïse Schwab, *Rapport sur les inscriptions hébraïques de la France*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale 1894, p. 156.

29) Reviews: David Oppenheim, *AZJ*, 21 (1857), No. 2, pp. 24f.; No. 3, pp. 37f.; B[ernhard] Beer, *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (hereinafter *MGWJ*), 5 (1857), No. 11, pp. 428–431; Anonymous: ‘Jewish Sepulchral Monuments’, *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, 6 (1858), No. 12, pp. 490–493 (the review is taken from the London newspaper *Jewish Chronicle*; the original source has not been found).

The recording of the Hebrew texts of the tombstones in the publication are structured as follows: serial number in the edition, special features (placement on the wall, tombstone symbols, etc.) and then the entire wording of the tombstone, the lines of which, however, do not correspond to that of the original text. The individual lines are separated by a full stop, but this procedure is not always followed. Large, bold print is used for acrostics or for highlighting the text. For tombstones with several components, such as double tombstones, multiple tombstones and tombs (*ohalim*), these details are clearly marked.³¹

Despite all the period shortcomings (such as dating three late sixteenth and early seventeenth century tombstones to the tenth), this was a careful epigraphic publication for its day which, even after the publication of S. Hock's book *Die Familien Prags* (1892), served for a long time as a key source for the history of the cemetery. It was only superseded by the Israeli publication of Otto Muneles's work *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery of Prague* (1988), which included most of the inscriptions that were published in the *Gal Ed* collection.

DOCUMENTATION WORK IN THE CEMETERY (SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

The success of the publication of *Gal Ed* (1856) prompted the Prague Burial Society to attempt to chart all the legible tombstones in the cemetery. In the 1860s–70s this task was approached by K. Lieben's successor as Secretary of the Burial Society, David J. Podiebrad (1803–1882), co-author of the popular book *Alterthümer der Prager Josefstadt*.³² D. J. Podiebrad initially worked on the first section A, which comprises three related parts (737 epitaphs), and then continued with the sections by the Klausen Synagogue, group F (255 epitaphs) and group G (507 epitaphs); he inscribed a total of 1,499 epitaphs, including several doublets. His handwritten transcriptions remained in the possession of the Prague Burial Society, but the original was lost during the Second World War.³³ Fortunately, their copies were

30) Overview of tombstones from the cemetery's various sections in the *Gal Ed* collection (1856): A (7 tombstones), B (4), C (14), D (40), E (23), F (3), G (8), H (9), J (27), K (7), L (6), N (9), wall (9); tombstones without a location number and not identified (6).

31) No particular mention is made here of technical dimensions, type of stone used and text parallels. Unlike the editors of other contemporary publications of Hebrew tombstones, the editors of this work took note of the way the inscription field was inscribed and of whether the lettering is in relief or bas-relief (*Gal Ed*, Hebrew part, pp. Vff.).

32) *Alterthümer der Prager Josefstadt. Israelitischer Friedhof, Alt-Neu-Schule und andere Synagogen. Mit 12 Abbildungen. Herausgegeben von David J. Podiebrad. Verfasst und zum Theile, nach gesammelten Daten des Herausgebers bearbeitet von Benedikt Foges*, Prag, s. n. [1855]; subsequent expanded editions in 1862, 1870 and 1882. For the work of D. Podiebrad, see Moïse Schwab, *Répertoire des Articles relatifs à l'histoire et à la littérature juives parus dans les Périodiques, de 1665 à 1900*, Paris, P. Geuthner 1914–23, p. 367; O. Muneles, *Bibliografický přehled*, p. 528.

33) The record in the German Catalogue of the Central Jewish Museum in Prague (hereinafter CJMP) provides the following information: "Hebräische Grabinschriften des Alten Friedhofes. Hrsg. in Podiebrad David. Prag, 2. Halb 19. Jh. Buch, ganzleinen, Papier, Handschrift, Hebräisch. Prag, Beerdrungsbrüderschaft, Sg. 45806."

preserved in transcriptions by his successor, Leopold M. Popper, who assumed them “with all the mistakes and obscurities”.³⁴

In 1876 the then Burial Society chairman (*Obmann*) M. A. Wahle charged Leopold M. Popper (1826–1885),³⁵ a member of the Burial Society, with the task of transcribing all the other epitaphs. According to Popper’s notes which were added to the end of his transcriptions, work began sometime around the end of the spring and beginning of the summer of 1876 and was completed at the beginning of 1881.³⁶ While Popper was working on the transcriptions, tombstones that had sunk into the ground were dug out, which enabled the epitaphs to be read and transcribed. Popper’s transcriptions have been preserved in their original notebooks, which were kept in the Prague Burial Society Archive, which is now part of the Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague.³⁷ An alphabetical index based on family names was also drawn up for the transcriptions.³⁸

Popper’s work on the transcriptions was based on the various sections of the cemetery; three groups (A, F and G) are literally transcribed from David J. Podiebrad’s original transcriptions and there is no reference to the epitaphs on the wall. The epitaphs are arranged according to the on-site transcription procedure, for the most part using the boustrophedon method. It is probable that during his work, Popper marked the tombstones that had already been transcribed with chalk or with some other material. Nevertheless, he made duplicate transcriptions in several instances; this occurred either with tombstones at the beginning or end of a row or with tombstones at the border between two sections, in particular D/E and K/M. Unlike his predecessor D. J. Podiebrad, Popper took note of the symbolism carved on the tombstones. The records have a fixed pattern: at the edge of the transcription is stated the number of the tombstone, the name of the deceased, the year of death or the symbolism, followed by a complete transcription of the Hebrew text on the tombstone. For double tombstones, multiple tombstones and tombs

34) “... העתקתי מלה במלה ואות באות ע”פ כתבי התורני ר’ דוד פאדיעבראד שמש דח”ק דג”ח ש, אולם שגיאות !!!” (AJMP, Dokumentace Starého židovského hřbitova v Praze [Documentation of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague] (hereinafter DOJC), Call No. 42799/1, p. 136).

35) Hebrew name: Judah Löb ben Moshe Radisch ha-Levi Popper. He was born in Luže (Lusche) and studied at the yeshivah in Mikulov (Nikolsburg). He was active as a foundation rabbi at the Popper Synagogue and the head teacher at the Talmud Torah school in Prague. For his biography, see also *Prager Tagblatt*, 9 (26 March 1885), No. 84 (‘Beilage’), p. 11; M. L. Silberberg (Lusche), *Neuzeit*, 25 (17 April 1885), No. 16, p. 154; Ch[aim] D[avid] Lippe, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten jüdischen Literatur der Gegenwart und Adress-Anzeiger*, Wien, Verlag von D. Löwy 1881, p. 642.

36) The Prague Burial Society Archive contains extant fragments of the society’s final accounts from the 1870s–80s, which show that 306.60 florins (Fl.) were spent on transcribing tombstone epitaphs in the cemetery in 1876, and that this amount dropped to 247.72 Fl. in the following year. The largest amount spent on transcribing epitaphs was in 1878 (415.40 Fl.); the amount was gradually reduced in 1879 (375 Fl.) and a fixed sum (300 Fl.) was paid in the last two years (1880–1881) (AJMP, HKP, 1878–1881, without Call No., Box 24).

37) *Grabinschriften des alten jüd. Friedhofes im Prag V. Abschriften alter Grabsteine*, 2203 pp. in 11 Vols. AJMP, DOJC, Call No. 42799.

38) *Index zu den Grabinschriften des alten Prager jüd. Friedhofes*, 420 pp. AJMP, DOJC, Call No. 42800.



Documentation by Leopold M. Popper (1875–1881): a specimen page of the epitaph transcriptions. Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague, Call No. 42799

(*ohalim*), all these details are carefully itemized. A single notebook is used for each section, except for F, G and H, which are detailed in a joint notebook as they contained a small number of tombstones.

Popper made at least three copies of all the transcriptions of the tombstones; one copy was given to the Prague Burial Society, the second was owned by the Popper family³⁹ and the third was provided on an ongoing basis to Popper's friend

39) Moritz L. Popper, sought to publish a systematic overview of tombstones in the cemetery based on professions using his father's transcriptions but only managed the first booklet (which lacks only a list of officials of the Jewish community self-government and rabbis). He published this first in a journal, then as a separate edition: 'Aus Inschriften des alten prager Judenfriedhofes. Culturhistorisches und Historisches', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 5 (1892), No. 3, pp. 348–375; *Die Inschriften des alten Prager Judenfriedhofes, zum erstenmal vollständig entziffert*

36

Borjas	Rexel	Leb	E	403
Bostrovitz	Chaneh	Benjamin	L	1210
	Reich	Sebrah	D	301
Brammels	Osterl	Chajim	G	449
Brandeis	Abraham	Jacob	B	444
	Abraham	Wolf	C	129
	Beer	Beck	L	108
	Beer	Beck	L	757
	Belech	Blige	B	450
	Belech	Wolf	A	482
	Benjamin	Josef	L	180
	Bexalel	Simon	N	610
	Bina	Freud	E	440
	Bismels	Abraham	C	833
	Brandl	Moschke	N	194
	Brona	Benche	N	2018
	Bronch	Moschke	K	92
	Chajim	Bexalel	D	474
	Chajim	Beck	L	916
	Chajim	Leb	K	820
	Chajim	Leb	A	600
	Chajim	Benjamin	L	191
	Chajim	Israel	K	84
	Chajim	Jacob	L	598
	Chajim	Naftali	L	75
	Chajim	Simon	N	489
	Chajim	Abraham	C	129
	Chajim	Chajim	D	74
	David	David	M	30
	David	Simon	B	158
	David	Chajim	K	72
	David	Israel	E	479
	David	Josef	K	198

Documentation by Leopold M. Popper (1875–1881): a specimen page of the name index. Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague, Call No. 42800

von Leopold M. Popper. *Culturhistorisch und historisch bearbeitet von Moriz Popper. Erstes Heft.* Braunschweig, Druck von Appelhaus & Pfenningstorff 1893, 42 pp.; 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Prag. Gebeth', *MGWJ*, 38 (1894), No. 10, pp. 471ff. Moritz L. Popper also provided his father's transcriptions to other researchers for their genealogical studies; see Samuel Back, *R. Meir ben Baruch aus Rothenburg. Sein Leben und Wirken, seine Schicksale und Schriften. Gedenkschrift zur sechshundersten Jahreswende seines Todes*, I, Frankfurt a. M., J. Kauffmann 1895, pp. 105ff.; David Kaufmann, *Die Erstürmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte nach dem Berichte Isak Schulhofs (1650–1732) (Megillath Ofen)*, Trier, Sigmund Mayer 1895, pp. 25f.; idem, *Aus Heinrich Heine's Ahnensaal*, Breslau, Schlesische Buchdruckerei, Kunst- und Verlags-Anstalt von S. Schottlaender 1896, pp. 237ff.

Simon Hock, a private historian. The first copy is now kept in the collections of the Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague,⁴⁰ the second is known only from the literature and from studies by Popper's son Moritz L. Popper (1867–1895),⁴¹ fragments of the third copy are in the written legacy of Simon Hock, which is now kept in the Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague.⁴²

L. M. Popper's original transcriptions were administered by the leader or Secretary of the Burial Society and were a frequent source of genealogical information for specialists and for the general public.⁴³ Much use was made, in particular, of the alphabetical index with supplementary notes on missing records. The last leader of the Burial Society, the society Chairman Salomon Hugo Lieben (1881–1942) and Secretary Otto Muneles (1894–1967) made their own transcriptions for their individual research purposes; these have been preserved in the Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague. S. H. Lieben made do only with a literal copy of Popper's transcriptions without any additional notes,⁴⁴ O. Muneles, however, developed his own transcriptions into an extensive documentation, including date conversions for tombstones, types of script (if photographic material was available), corrections to the text and secondary literature on the individual tombstones. He later put together a card index from the transcriptions. The established form of his index cards is as follows: cemetery section and number of tombstone, consecutive number, date by the Gregorian calendar (the day of the week, the day of the month, the month and the year), tombstone symbols, followed by the Hebrew text on the tombstone (without partitioning the text into individual lines based on the original) and a reference to Simon Hock's publication. Otto Muneles

40) AJMP, DOJC, Call No. 42799.

41) Like his father from Luže, he studied at the Arts Faculty of the Prague University and at the Rabbinic Seminary in Wrocław (Breslau). He was active as a teacher of Jewish religion in Prague and a rabbi in his home town of Luže until his untimely death. He was the author of studies and articles on the history of the Jews in Prague and Bohemia; for his work, see Ch. D. Lippe, *op. cit.*, p. 292; M. Schwab, *Répertoire des Articles*, p. 369; O. Muneles, *Bibliografický přehled*, Index.

42) The obituary of the former Secretary of the Prague Burial Society, Koppelman Lieben (*HaAsif*, 6 (5654/1893), p. 149) mentions, among other things, that he left in his written legacy material on the history of the old Jewish cemetery in Olšany (Prague) and transcriptions of 12,000 tombstones in Prague's Old Jewish Cemetery. It is highly probable that K. Lieben made a copy of Popper's transcriptions also for his private genealogical interests. Unfortunately, the manuscript of these transcriptions have not been preserved in the fraction of his written legacy in the AJMP.

43) The then leader of the Burial Society, David Lieben (d. 1931) provided complete transcriptions of the Spira-Fränkels family for publication. Cf. Moritz Brann, 'Die Familie Frankel', *MGWJ*, 45 (1901), pp. 193–213. In particular, the list on pp. 206–213 is still based entirely on the *Gal Ed* publication (1856) and on Hock's book *Die Familien Prags* (1892), while the follow-up study with a published edition of tombstones, 'Die Grabschriften der Familie Fränkel-Spira in Prag' (*MGWJ*, 45 (1901), pp. 450–473, 556–560) completely adopts L. M. Popper's transcriptions, together with modern location numbers (see, in particular, p. 451).

44) *Die Grabschriften des Alten Judenfriedhofes in Prag*, 1930, 13 Vols. AJMP, DOJC, Call No. 60313/1–13. The transcription of the alphabetical index (*Alphabetisches Verzeichnis nach den Familien von den Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Prag*; Call No. 60327) was lost during the Second World War. S. H. Lieben published information on only one tombstone from the cemetery – in the study 'Frumet Meisel, die ebenbürtige Gattin Mordechai Meisels', *MGWJ*, 75 (1931), No. 5, p. 376.

Section	Earlier designation for cemetery sections	Popper (1875–81)	Number of documented tombstones	Oldest tombstones
A	I	I–III	737	(1439) 1597
B	II	IV	607	1555
C	III	V	1408	(1464) 1515
D	IV	VI	1022	1490
E	V	VII	963	(1494) 1546
F	VIa	VIII/1	255	(1600) 1606
G	VIb	VIII/2	507	(1576) 1600
H	VIc	VIII/3	93	(1606) 1609
J	VII	IX	187	(1619) 1623
K	VIII	X	950	(1604) 1630
L	IX	XI	1491	1633
M	X	XII	858	(1607) 1625
N	XI	XIII	2575	(1606) 1628

Overview of the sections in the Old Jewish Cemetery with the number of tombstones documented by Leopold M. Popper and the dates of the oldest tombstones

provided index cards in this form to individual applicants for genealogical research.⁴⁵ Muneles arranged all of L. M. Popper's transcriptions in four large volumes and, before the Second World War, managed to transfer section A, B and partially C (up to No. 215) into card index form.⁴⁶

During the clearance of the ghetto at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, members of the Burial Society again transcribed tombstones from sections that had been closed down (in particular sections M and N);⁴⁷ these were allotted new location numbers (sigla 'S') and an alphabetical index was later put to-

45) Transcriptions of the card indexes on the Kisch family are kept in the written legacy of Bruno Kisch in the Central Archives for History of Jewish People in Jerusalem, Private Archives No. 80, Box 1.

46) O. Muneles's subsequent activities after the Second World War are described in a later, separate chapter.

gether for greater clarity.⁴⁸ In total, 1,947 tombstones and 40 tombstone fragments were transcribed; of these, 337 tombstones were not included in earlier documentations. The original location numbers of the first 200 tombstones (S 1–200) were ascertained when working on the transcriptions; the rest of the tombstones were identified later by Otto Muneles.

SIMON HOCK AND HIS BOOK *DIE FAMILIEN PRAGS* (1892)

Simon (Sinai) Hock (1815–1887),⁴⁹ the author of the biographical and bibliographical notes for the book *Gal Ed* (1856), devoted himself privately to the history of the Jews in Prague and Bohemia, in addition to pursuing a career in commerce. Despite gaining a large amount of historical material on the history of Prague Jews during his research in Prague archives,⁵⁰ he did not make full use of his widespread knowledge for his own publication activity;⁵¹ instead, he provided such information to other researchers.⁵² Hock's main interest remained focused on the cemetery and on the genealogical relations of the deceased. He was in close contact with the Prague Burial Society, in particular with friends from his youth, namely Koppelman Lieben, David J. Podiebrad and Leopold M. Popper. Proba-

47) *Verzeichnis der Grabinschriften am alten jüdischen Friedhofe in Prag die im Jahre 1903–1907 bei Salnitergasse assaniert und in andere Stelle übertragen wurden*, [post 1907], pp. 56 ff. AJMP, DOJC, Call No. 46597. Otto Muneles incorporated a copy of this manuscript into the fourth volume of his transcriptions pertaining to section N. AJMP, DOJC, Muneles/IV, 121, [150] pp.

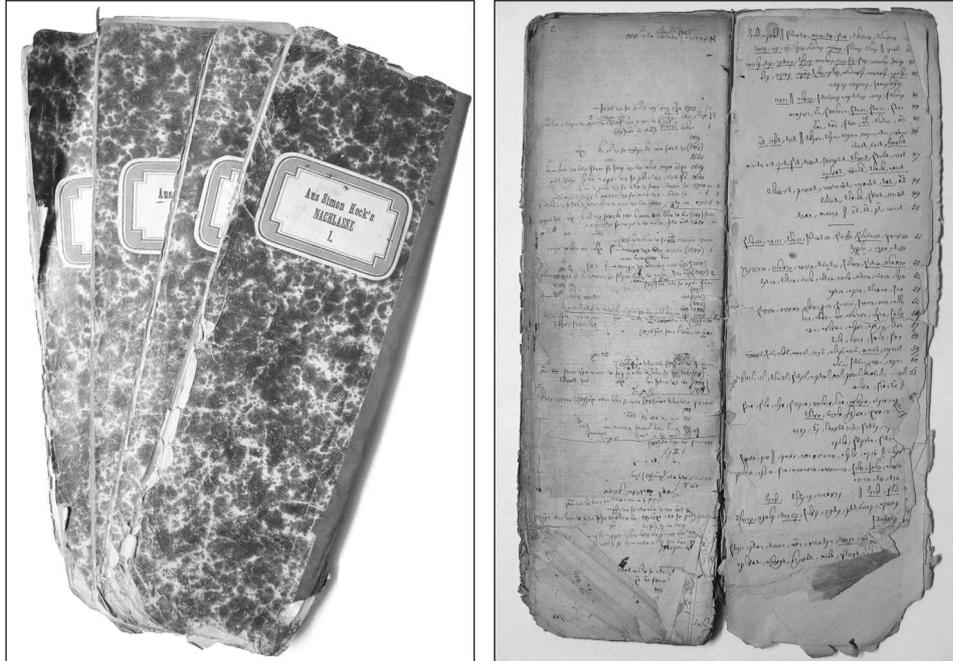
48) The alphabetical index (*Namensverzeichnis von Grabinschriften von den assanierten Steinen des Prager Judenfriedhofes*) was compiled by Senders, a member of the Burial Society, in 1920, but it was lost during the Second World War. It was registered under Call No. 60314 in the German Catalogue of the CJMP.

49) For his life and work, see David Kaufmann's German preface to Simon Hock's book, *Die Familien Prags. Nach den Epitaphien des alten jüdischen Friedhofs in Prag. Zusammengestellt von Simon Hock. Aus dessen Nachlasse herausgegeben, mit Anmerkungen versehen und biographisch eingeleitet von David Kaufmann*, Pressburg, Druck von Adolf Alkalay 1892; *Neuzeit*, 27 (28 October 1887), No. 43, pp. 406f.; for more biographical literature, see O. Muneles, *Bibliografický přehled*, Index.

50) For an interesting recollection of S. Hock as an expert on the cemetery and a frequent researcher in the Prague City Archives, see Antonín Grund, *Karel Jaromír Erben*, Praha, Melantrich 1935, p. 129. The written legacy of S. Hock, which is now deposited in the AJMP, contains a series of extant fragments of excerpts from archive records, such as indexes for *Libri Albi Judaeorum*, abstracts of Czech, Latin and German documents on the history of Prague Jews in the Middle Ages and notes on the history of the Jews in Bohemia in medieval Hebrew literature.

51) He wrote polemical pieces and brief historical studies for German and Hebrew Jewish journals, such as *Der Orient*, *Das Abendland*, *Jüdisches Centralblatt*, *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, *Beth Talmud*. For his publication activity, see M. Schwab, *Répertoire des Articles*, p. 204; Bernhard Wachstein – [Israel] Taglicht – [Alexander] Kristianpoller, *Hebräische Publizistik in Wien*, Wien, Historische Kommission 1930, p. 18 (Teil II.). See, also, Hillel J. Kieval, *Languages of Community. The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands*, Berkeley, University of California Press 2000, p. 92.

52) For example, D. Podiebrad – B. Foges, *op. cit.*, 1882, p. 145; in footnote 77 they thank S. Hock for providing genealogical notes on the family of Judah Löb ben Bezalel (the Maharal). For his correspondence, which is deposited in his written legacy in the AJMP, see Otto Muneles, 'Die Briefsammlung in Simon Hocks Nachlass', *Judaica Bohemiae* (hereinafter *JB*), I (1965), No. 1, pp. 69–73.



Manuscript of Simon Hock's *Die Familien Prags*. Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague, Written Legacy of S. Hock, Box 1

bly on the basis of a private agreement, he frequently received complete transcriptions of tombstones in the cemetery from Podiebrad and Popper, which he then used in his private work on the history of Prague Jewish families.⁵³ After Hock's

53) It should be pointed out that S. Hock did not intend to publish his work, as it served only for his own private genealogical research. He was aware that he was using source material – Podiebrad's and Popper's transcriptions, which were not intended for publication but only for the purposes of the Prague Burial Society. This would also explain why Popper provided him with transcriptions from time to time and why Hock never made use of them in any of his published historical studies. S. Hock's widow probably did not know about this mutual agreement, for she would certainly have brought it to David Kaufmann's attention. D. Kaufmann would certainly then have contacted the Prague Burial Society with a request for permission to use Popper's original transcriptions, which Hock employed in his work. The society's records from the late 1880s and early 1890s contain no correspondence with D. Kaufmann or any reference to the publication under preparation. One exception is the entry in the society's records from June 1892 which, in a dry, terse manner and with a considerably negative standpoint, states that the book had been published. This confirms that there were no prior negotiations between the society and the editor of the posthumous work (AJMP, HKP, 1892, Box 32). Another episode relating to the publication of this work is mentioned by Otto Muneles in his article 'O nápisech Starého židovského hřbitova v Praze' [About the Inscriptions of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague], *Věstník židovských náboženských obcí v Československu* [Bulletin of the Jewish Religious Communities in Czechoslovakia] (hereinafter VŽNO), 11 (1949), No. 24, p. 280. In this article he describes a meeting with the former leader of the Burial Society, David Lieben, who, several decades after the publication of Hock's book, could not hide his anger at the fact that L. M. Popper had provided copies of his transcriptions to S. Hock without the knowledge of the Burial Society Board.

death, his wife, Johanna Hock (1820–1891), handed over her husband's written legacy to the historian David Kaufmann (1852–1899) with the request that he publish the material that was suitable to print.⁵⁴ From this legacy, Kaufmann selected several notebooks,⁵⁵ which contained information from tombstones in the cemetery that had been compiled on the basis of family names and numbers.⁵⁶ Kaufmann left it to his colleague, Adolf (Avraham) Gestetner⁵⁷ (1819–1904),⁵⁸ the librarian of the Rabbinic Seminary in Budapest, to integrate and chronologically arrange the fragmentary material. Gestetner was the author of the *piyyutim* index for Leopold Zunz's⁵⁹ *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* and of a satirical German translation of select Biblical passages.⁶⁰

As has already been pointed out, Hock's work was prepared on the basis of transcriptions that he frequently received from David J. Podiebrad and Leopold M. Popper. This procedure is also adhered to in Hock's manuscript notebooks. His first notebook contains alphabetical information on families from sections (A, F, G) that had already been researched by David J. Podiebrad.⁶¹ The other three note-

54) The fact that this was no easy matter is suggested by the following passage from D. Kaufmann's German preface to S. Hock's book, *op. cit.*, p. 28: "Es war ein nicht zu bewältigender Wust von Blättern, Heften, Büchern in allen Formaten, von den Jahren gebräunt, von der Zeit zerschlissen, hier ohne Anfang, dort ohne Ende, bald oben, bald unten der Ecken verlustig, deren Schriftinhalt zum Theil auf Flecken und Flickern wieder ergänzt war, Entwürfe, Brouillons, Brieffragmente, alte Bekannte aus gedruckten Aufsätzen des Verewigten, alles in Augen angreifenden Minuskeln geschrieben, deren Dichtigkeit zuweilen der Lupe zu ihrer Entwirrung bedurfte, ein athembeklemmender, ungeordneter, durcheinandergeworrener Knäuel von Aufzeichnungen und Arbeiten, was sich da vor mir ausbreitete."

55) These four books are now deposited in the written legacy of Simon Hock, Box 1, AJMP. Each notebook contains a label marked "Aus Simon Hock's Nachlasse" with a serial number.

56) The written legacy of Simon Hock is now deposited in the AJMP. After the death of S. Hock's widow, his survivors probably handed it over to his old friend Koppelman Lieben, who left it with the Prague Jewish Community. As it was not registered in the CJMP's collections during the Second World War, it was 'rediscovered' at the beginning of the 1960s by Otto Muneles, who used it to publish a brief overview of Simon Hock's correspondence (O. Muneles, 'Die Briefsammlung in Simon Hocks Nachlass'). It remains a mystery, however, why O. Muneles – an outstanding expert on the cemetery – completely disregarded the existence of the original manuscript *Die Familien Prags*, which he could have used to correct mistakes in the printed version; not only did he consult the latter version during his research on the cemetery, he also elaborated a concordance of the numbers in the publication with the location numbers in the cemetery. In his work on the cemetery, O. Muneles deals only with the printed version and criticizes its mistakes, which he ascribes to S. Hock without checking them in the original manuscript. See, also, O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–99; O. Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery*, pp. 40–42.

57) S. Hock, *op. cit.*, p. 32 (German).

58) For his life and work, see Ch. D. Lippe, *op. cit.*, p. 128; *Egyenlőség*, 23 (1904), No. 3, p. 13; M. Schwab, *Répertoire des Articles*, p. 154; B. Wachstein – I. Taglicht – A. Kristianpoller, *op. cit.*, p. 68 (Teil I); Pál Gulyás, *Magyar írók élete és munkái. Új sorozat. X. kötet*, Budapest, Argumentum Kiadó – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára 1992, Cols. 845f.

59) מפתח הפיוטים, *Index zu Zunz' Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, Kauffmann 1889.

60) עברי לצחק בנו, *Hebräische Travestien*, Budapest, [A. Gestetner] 1889; 2nd ed. 5657/1897. See, also, Israel Davidson, *Parody in Jewish Literature*, New York, Columbia University Press 1907 (reprint: New York, AMS Press 1966), p. 220.

books retain the alphabetical system on the basis of family names. The order of the individual sections (H, E, D, C, J, K, B, L, M and N) tallies with the order in which they were transcribed by Leopold M. Popper.⁶² This fact was noticed by Otto Muneles, who put together for this purpose a concordance between the transcription numbers in the Burial Society Archive and the numbers in Hock's book.⁶³ The structure of the entries in Simon Hock's manuscript changed over time. At the outset, he provided very brief information – for the most part, only the serial number, year and name, sometimes only the number of the entry, which he probably intended to complete at a later date.⁶⁴ He subsequently expanded his excerpts, adding the month or day of the week and day of the month to the individual entries and the titles of the deceased to the names. In the end, he included the complete date and all the information about the deceased that was contained in the inscriptions.⁶⁵ The numbering of the tombstones in Hock's book on the basis of Popper's secondary transcriptions⁶⁶ was not entirely uniform and, in certain places, probably not entirely complete; otherwise, there would not have been the irregular or inaccurate arrangement of individual tombstones in certain sections. It is possible that, by mistake, S. Hock may not even have obtained the transcriptions of several dozen tombstones.⁶⁷

Unaware of the importance of the numerical arrangement of the entries in Hock's notebooks, the editors of the book,⁶⁸ D. Kaufmann and A. Gestetner retained Hock's numbering of the tombstones in the printed version. While the origi-

61) For the first notebook, Simon Hock also compiled a separate chronological index; this has been preserved in his written legacy. AJMP, *Written Legacy of Simon Hock*, without a number.

62) Towards the end of each notebook, S. Hock included several indexes according to the titles and occupations of the deceased, as well as an index according to their membership of Prague synagogues and a special list of martyrs from 1689 and 1748 (only in the first notebook).

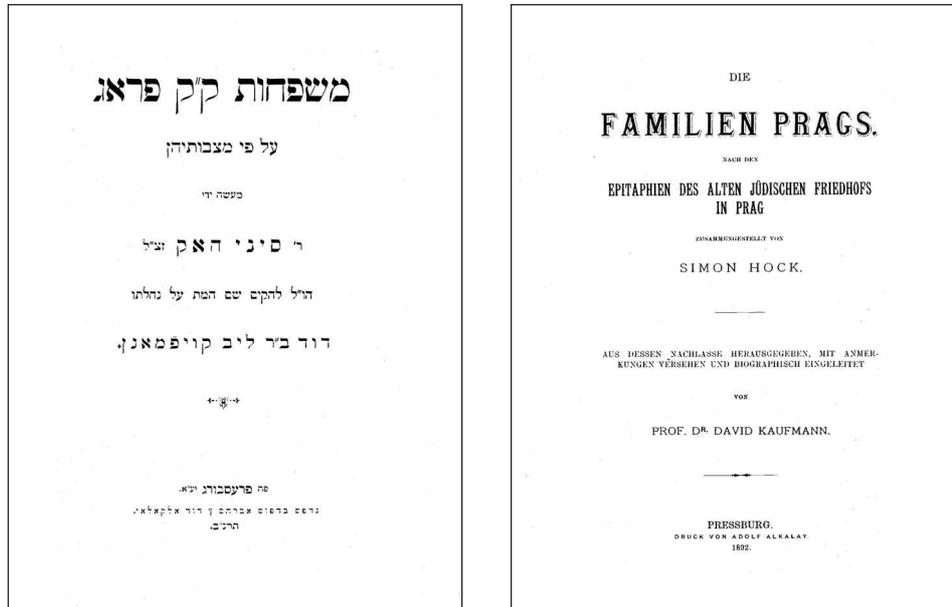
63) The highest number given in S. Hock's manuscript is 11415; the higher numbers stated in the published version of Hock's book are erroneous. A list of higher, erroneous numbers is provided by O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, p. 98; O. Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery*, p. 41. On the basis of this erroneous information, David Kaufmann even assumed that the total number of tombstones in the cemetery was around 22,000 (S. Hock, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 and 31).

64) A comparative data chart regarding Leopold M. Popper's hand-written transcriptions and Simon Hock's book was published by O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, p. 97; O. Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery*, p. 41. With regard to the number of tombstones that were inadvertently transcribed twice as stated by O. Muneles (i.e., 20 doublets), it should be noted that this number is in fact several times higher; in total, 71 doublets were found in Popper's documentation.

65) O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, p. 97; O. Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery*, p. 40.

66) The written legacy of Simon Hock (AJMP) contains fragments of three small volumes of transcriptions of tombstones in the cemetery, which are almost identical with Leopold M. Popper's manuscript. Unlike Popper's original transcripts, the script here is less polished and meticulous. The entries were written in a hurry and do not contain all the tombstone texts, but only select extracts from them; the information includes the number of each tombstone (without placing it in the relevant group), complete date, title, name and patronym, other details identifying the deceased, such as occupation, merits or interesting rhetorical phrases.

67) For example, all the tombstones after number 306 (i.e., a total of 198 tombstones) are completely missing from section G. The difference between the last tombstone from this group to be described and the first in the next group is omitted and the regular numbering continues.



German and Hebrew title pages of Simon Hock's *Die Familien Prags*, Pressburg 1892

nal records in Hock's manuscript were arranged according to numbers within the context of the entries on the individual families, the records in the printed version were arranged chronologically. Disrupting the original numerical system, this procedure affected, in particular, the information from the double and multiple tombstones, which were separated in the context of the editorial work. Another editorial 'lapse' was the inclusion of entries on deceased people who had no tombstone in the cemetery and whose information came from other manuscript sources (for example, Memorbooks of Prague synagogues) and earlier published literature (in this case, rabbinical approbations of books, information based on published editions of tombstones from other localities). After several years of editing, the book *Die Familien Prags* was published in Pressburg in 1892. The text is almost entirely in Hebrew, including Kaufmann's footnotes. Only Kaufmann's preface, which deals with the life and work of S. Hock, and the parallel title page are in German.⁶⁹

68) Before publishing this book, D. Kaufmann had used the information from the manuscript version in his books that were published in 1889–1891, for example *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien und Niederösterreich. Ihre Vorgeschichte (1625–1670) und ihre Opfer*, Wien, Carl Konegen 1889, p. 19, footnote 2 ("S. Hock's handschriftlichen Notizen"); p. 20, footnote 2 ("S. Hock's Prager Familienlisten"); p. 42, footnote 1 ("in S. Hock's Notizen"); p. 79, footnote 1 ("nach S. Hock's Notizen", "nach S. Hock's Register"); p. 83, footnote 2 ("nach S. Hock's Notizen"); p. 188, footnote 1 ("zerstreuten Notizen im Familienregister S. Hocks"); p. 195, footnote 1 ("Familienregister S. Hocks") etc.

69) It is not without interest that although this was and still is a frequently used work on the history and genealogy of Prague Jewry, no reviews were published at the time of its publication; the journals of the day merely announced the publication of the book in the context of other recent publications. See, for example, *MGWJ, Revue des études juives* etc. An exception is Bernhard Wachstein's Hebrew

When preparing his edition of the oldest tombstones in the cemetery, Otto Muneles assumed that S. Hock had given the wrong dates for many of the inscriptions from the sixteenth century. At fault, however, were the editors, who had misdated nearly all the tombstones in question by 200 years. This was due to a misreading of the Hebrew manuscript, specifically confusing the letter ך (200) for ך (400);⁷⁰ one exception is inscription No. 2486 (p. 400), dated 491, which actually dates from the year 300.⁷¹ Despite a detailed comparative overview of data on the various families in the manuscript notebooks, the editors of Hock's manuscript also misread the individual entry numbers; this became apparent when comparing Popper's transcriptions and Hock's entries in the printed publication. This often involved substituting similar numbers from the manuscript version by adding non-existent figures or, for double and multiple tombstones, by replacing sub-numbers with consecutive letters (a, b, c, etc.). Otto Muneles therefore assumed that at issue was Hock's unreliable work; in Hock's defence, however, it should be pointed out that a thoroughgoing comparison of the manuscript material and the printed version shows that most of the mistakes in the numbering were made by the otherwise reliable editors.⁷²

OTTO MUNELES

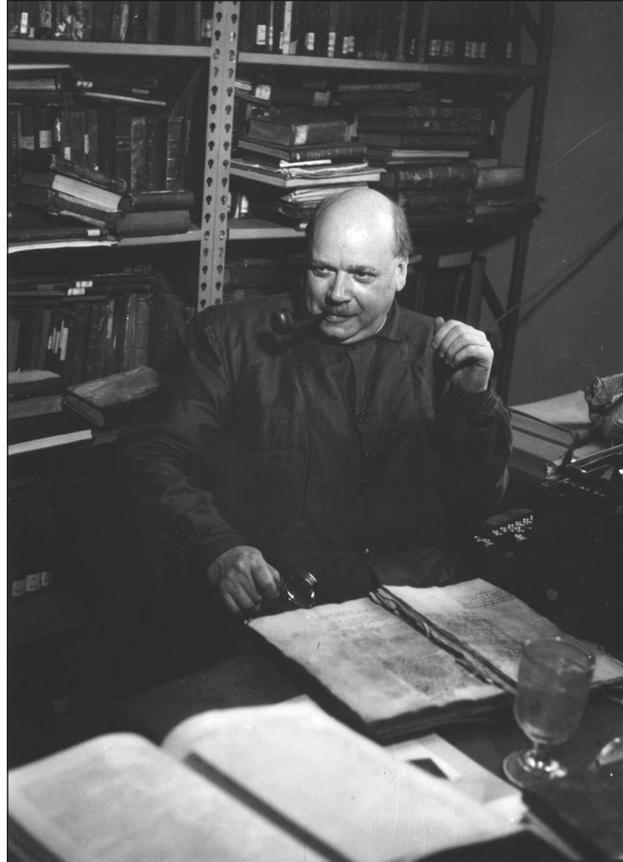
Dr. Otto (Gavriel) Muneles was the last researcher to deal systematically with the documentation of the Old Jewish Cemetery.⁷³ Before the Second World War he was active as the Secretary of the Prague Burial Society and, from 1924, as an official of the society. From the mid-1930s he began to focus on documenting the cemetery and, in connection with this, transcribed all the earlier available documentations for his personal needs.⁷⁴ In 1940, together with Tobias Jakobovits (1887–1944), Muneles took part in a review of section L, which comprised 1,491 tombstones. During this undertaking he ascertained that Leopold M. Popper had omitted a series of entirely legible tombstones and had made a number of difficult to explain mistakes when transcribing the Hebrew texts, notably the misdating of tombstones and the omission of words and even of an entire line from particular

article 'הערות והגהות לסי' משפחות ק"ק פראג' [Notes and Corrections to the book *Die Familien Prags*], in: Salo W. Baron – Alexander Marx, *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut 1874–1933*, New York, The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation 1935, pp. 25–40 (Hebrew section), which was published 43 years after the publication of Hock's book. See, also, O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, pp. 98f.; O. Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery*, pp. 41f.

70) S. Hock, *op. cit.*, No. 2325, p. 183 (225 vs. 425); No. 2481, p. 388 (291 vs. 491); No. 2726, p. 393 (280 vs. 480); No. 3425, p. 93 (299 vs. 499); No. 4345, p. 234 (225 vs. 425); see, also, O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, in particular the inscriptions 5, 12, 19, 26 and 38.

71) See O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, No. 42.

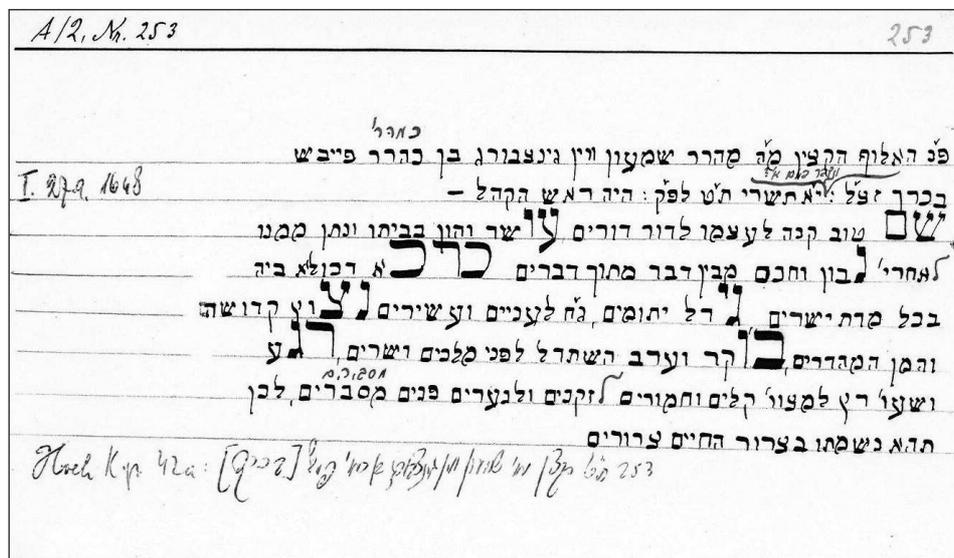
72) For example, in the context of section G, the double tombstone G 283 is given the registration number 1306 on p. 177b but 13055 (instead of 1306b) on p. 357b; similarly, tombstone G 4 is given the correct registration number 1036 on p. 134b, but due to an oversight by the editor, the second part of the double tombstone is given the number 10362 on p. 157b (instead of 1036b or 1036/2). Individual numbers have also been wrongly substituted, for example 1455 for 1485 (G 261 on p. 393b), 7235 for 1235 (G 209 on p. 355a), 1293 for 1233 (G 207 on p. 283b) etc.



Dr. Otto G. Muneles (1894–1967), 1953. Photo Archive of the Jewish Museum in Prague, Neg. No. 14256

73) For his life and work, see *VŽNO*, 16 (1954), No. 1, pp. 4–6 (congratulatory articles by Gustav Sicher, Stanislav Segert and Jiří Weil); Jan Heřman – Vladimír Sadek, ‘Otto Muneles sedmdesátníkem’ [Otto Muneles in his Seventies], *Časopis Národního muzea*, odd. věd společenských [Journal of the National Museum, Social Sciences Section], 133 (1964), No. 1, p. 39; František Kafka, ‘Velký židovský vědec zemřel’ [A Great Jewish Scholar Has Died], *VŽNO*, 29 (1967), No. 4, p. 6; Vladimír Sadek, ‘Dr. Otto Muneles und sein wissenschaftliches Werk (8. 1. 1894 – 4. 3. 1967)’, *JB*, 3 (1967), No. 2, pp. 73–78; idem, ‘PhDr. Otto Muneles and jeho vědecké dílo (8. 1. 1894 – 4. 3. 1967)’ [PhDr. Otto Muneles and His Research Work], *VŽNO*, 49 (1987), No. 3, pp. 4f.; idem, ‘Otto Muneles (1894–1967)’, *Roš Chodeš*, 54 (1992), No. 3, p. 12; idem, ‘Otto Muneles. K třicátému výročí úmrtí (8. 1. 1894 – 4. 3. 1967)’ [Otto Muneles. For the Thirtieth Anniversary of His Death], *Revue pro religionistiku* [Revue for Religion Studies], 5 (1997), No. 2, pp. 161–164; Michal Bušek et al., “*Hope is on the Next Page*”. *100 Years of the Library of the Jewish Museum in Prague*, Prague, The Jewish Museum in Prague 2007, pp. 60–70.

74) All the transcriptions made by Leopold Popper were included in four large volumes. The front of each sheet contains entries on the individual tombstones, arranged according to the sections and numbers established by Popper; the back of each sheet includes date conversions to the Gregorian calendar and references to secondary literature. These transcriptions by O. Muneles are deposited in the AJMP, DOJC, Muneles/I–IV.



Index card from Otto Muneles's documentation. Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague, Documentation of the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague

inscriptions.⁷⁵ As part of the project, the inscriptions on the tombstones⁷⁶ were transcribed anew and topographic maps were drawn up for the tombstones in section L.⁷⁷ In the same year, a general map of the entire cemetery area was prepared by Ing. Josef Štětina; this included a list of the most important tombstones with photographs attached.⁷⁸

After the Second World War, Otto Muneles became involved in the revival of the Jewish Museum in Prague and one of his research priorities that he set was to continue documenting the cemetery. At the end of the 1940s he set about transferring earlier documentation on the cemetery in card form for official purposes and converting the dates on all the entries from the Jewish to the Gregorian calendar.⁷⁹ In the late 1940s and early 1950s, an extensive photo-documentation project was undertaken with a view to completely documenting the cemetery.⁸⁰ The photo-documentation took place between 1949 and 1954 and involved the participation of up to ten photographers (internal and external staff);⁸¹ in total, almost 10,000

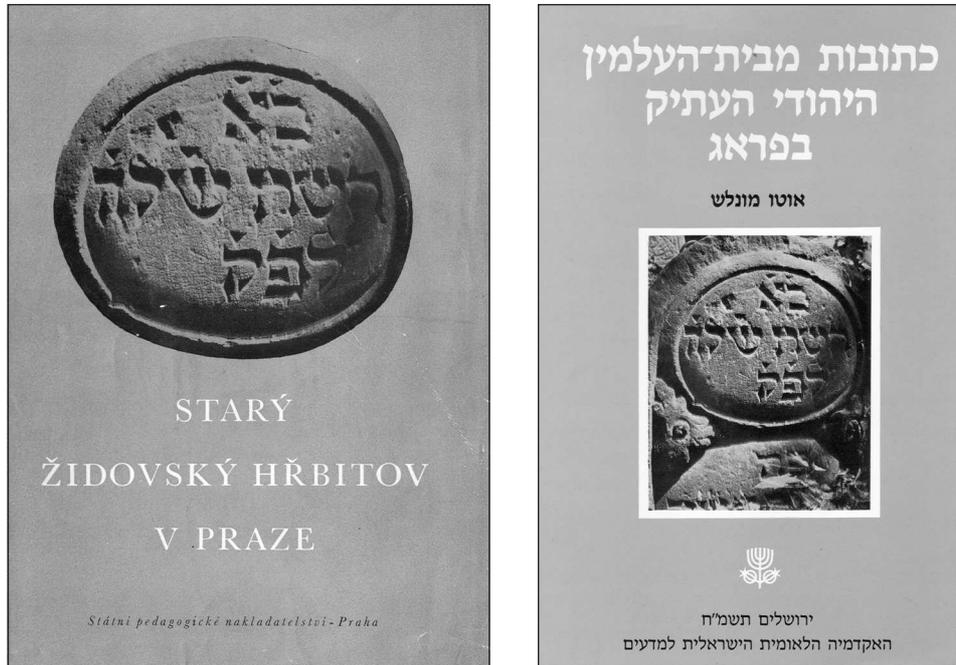
75) O. Muneles, 'O nápisech Starého židovského hřbitova v Praze', pp. 280f.

76) *Abschriften des Grabschriften des alten jüd. Friedhof, Abt. L*, 1941, typescript. AJMP, Written Legacy of Tobias Jakobovits, Call No. 42805.

77) AJMP, DOJC, Call No. 42803/1-5.

78) AJMP, *Sbírka plánů* [Collection of Maps], Call No. 42823. This was published as a supplement to the brochure *Starý židovský hřbitov v Praze. Průvodce hřbitovem a výběr z jeho nejdůležitějších památek ze XIV.–XIX. století* [The Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague. Guide to the Cemetery and a Selection of its Most Important Monuments from the 14th to the 19th Centuries], Praha, Státní židovské museum 1958.

79) O. Muneles, 'O nápisech Starého židovského hřbitova v Praze', p. 280, mentions that he transcribed the dates of 9,500 tombstones out of a total of 11,653.



Czech and Israeli editions of Otto Muneles's *Starý židovský hřbitov v Praze (Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery of Prague)*, Prague 1955, Jerusalem 1988

photographic negatives of 8,674 tombstones were taken. The negatives were concurrently identified by O. Muneles and included in the photographic card index according to the given location numbers. At the end of the project, it was ascertained that 856 photographs were unsubstantiated by the hitherto documentation, thus giving rise to a new series of unidentified tombstones (marked 'P'). Over time, about 25 percent of these photographs were identified on the basis of records from earlier documentation.⁸²

At the time, Otto Muneles was already thinking about publishing a new separate publication on the cemetery; his original idea was to focus on the most important people buried in the cemetery. It was later decided to publish a collection of all

80) A smaller photo-documentation project has already been undertaken in 1942–44, focusing on the most important and most interesting tombstones in the cemetery with photographs by the museum staff members Viktor Schick (Schück, 1896–1943) and Hanuš Frankl (1900–1964) – about 320 negatives.

81) According to the entries in the museum's inventory books and the captions for the positives, the following photographers were involved in this project: Jaroslav Bárta, Soňa Divišová-Čebišová, Josef Ehm, Vladimír Hnízdo, Tibor Honty, Vladimír Hyhlík, V. Pospíšilová, Milan Richter, Ing. Vaníček and Eugen Wiškovský.

82) Moreover, a total of 21 extensive card indexes for the personal and family names of people buried in the cemetery were prepared for the documentation, as well as a list of the main rabbis, *dayyanim* and book authors (now deposited in the AJMP, DOJC).

the earliest inscriptions, dating from up to the end of the sixteenth century, together with a Czech translation. Due to lack of space, however, Muneles opted for an edition of the oldest epitaphs, dating from 1439 to 1588, with the same number of inscriptions as in previous published edition, i.e. 170. Muneles prepared the publication together with his wife, Dr. Milada Vilímková (1921–1992). They sought to outline not only the development of the form and content of epitaphs in the cemetery, but also the general development of Jewish epigraphy from the earliest times to the late Middle Ages. In so doing, they put together an impressive publication – the first of its kind in the Czech language – that is comparable to the editions prepared by Bernhard Wachstein (1868–1935) which focus on the Jewish cemeteries in Vienna and Eisenstadt.⁸³ Each tombstone in the book has its own photograph,⁸⁴ Czech translation,⁸⁵ location number and references to secondary literature (*Gal Ed*, S. Hock), as well as a date conversion, a list of text parallels, biographical notes – if permitted by the archive records – and, finally, information about the kind of script and tombstone size.

The Hebrew epitaphs are included at the end of the book and have their own pagination.⁸⁶ The texts are based on Muneles's original readings; where the tombstone in question was not to be found, account was taken of the original transcription by Leopold M. Popper. Of the 170 published epitaphs, 14 date from the fifteenth century, 154 from the sixteenth, the last two actually from the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸⁷

In his spare time, Otto Muneles continued to prepare material with a view to publishing epitaphs from the cemetery in accordance with his original intention. It is evident from the card index that he proceeded on an ongoing basis with his documentation of tombstones, following it through to the early 1620s. Probably due to a lack of time, he later brought his systematic excerption to an end, opting for a published edition of the most important tombstones from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He expanded the individual entries from his Czech publication by adding genealogical information from other epitaphs in the cemetery and from archive records, and by including additional notes on the inscriptions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During the easing-up of the political situation in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1960s, Muneles even considered publishing a foreign edition, probably in German. Although he managed to complete the manuscript, his sudden death and the change in the political situation dashed all hopes of the revised work being published in the near future.

83) *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, Wien, Wilhelm Braumüller 1912–1917, 2 Vols.; *Die Grabschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Eisenstadt*, Wien, Adolf Holzhausen 1922.

84) Apart from tombstones that had not yet been found (O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, Nos. 33, 39, 40, 67, 106, 110, 116, 122, 130, 135, 137, 138, 153, 167 and 169) or had sunken quite deep into the ground and were partly covered by another tombstone (*Ibidem*, Nos. 45, 55, 74, 90, 93, 96, 104, 114). For unknown reasons, several tombstones that were photographed are not depicted in the publication (*Ibidem*, Nos. 94, 143, 144, 151 and 169).

85) The Czech translation retains the original division of the text into individual lines; in the Hebrew text, however, the lines are separated only by a colon, probably for reasons of space.

86) O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–39 (Hebrew).

87) *Ibidem*, Nos. 61 and 77.

At the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, the Israeli historian Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein (1910–2002) managed to smuggle into Israel a typescript copy of the German version that she had received from Muneles's widow, Milada Vilímková, during a several-month period of study in Prague.⁸⁸ Despite the initial optimistic expectations, work on the publication dragged on for almost twenty years. The Israeli editor and translator Shemuel Reem (b. 1936) set about publishing Muneles's manuscript at the beginning of the 1980s. After several years of editing, it was finally published in Jerusalem in 1988 by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in the book series *Fontes ad res Judaicas spectantes*.⁸⁹

The Jerusalem edition dropped the original's extensive preface on the historical development of the Jewish tombstone,⁹⁰ retaining only the sections relating directly to the cemetery. The other chapters on the development, form and content of the Jewish epitaph were published without change. The final part of the preface, dealing with the Old Jewish Cemetery in Prague in literature, is followed by select reproductions of tombstones from the original Czech edition.⁹¹ 23 tombstones dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which were not included in the Czech edition, were added to the original number of 170 epitaphs.⁹² One of these is taken from the *Gal Ed* edition, two were found during the photo-documentation of the 1950s, while the rest of the tombstones (from sections C, D and E) are recorded in earlier documentation by David J. Podiebrad and Leopold M. Popper. The next part of the book focuses on the tombstones of important people dating from the late sixteenth century until the closure of the cemetery in 1787 (Nos. 171–237), with a total of 90 epitaphs more than the earlier edition. The last part of the book⁹³ comprises extracts from archive sources on select tombstones from the collections of the Prague City Archives and the Archives of the Jewish Museum in Prague.⁹⁴ The rest of the publication contains a list of epitaphs arranged according to numbers, a name index, a selection of famous names and a list of all the localities mentioned in the book, a list of Prague locations, an index of the forms of Czech and

88) See, also, Samuel Hugo Bergmann, *Tagebücher und Briefe, Hrsg. von Miriam Sambursky, Bd. 2: 1948–1975*, Frankfurt a. M., Jüdischer Verlag bei Athenäum 1985, p. 513. The original typescript was found in Otto Muneles's personal library in the middle of the 1990s; this is now part of the museum's library. The manuscript is now deposited in the AJMP – DOJC collection.

89) 508 pp. The book is entirely in Hebrew; the title and contents pages are also in English.

90) O. Muneles, *Epitaphs from the Ancient Jewish Cemetery*, pp. 13–41.

91) *Ibidem*, pp. 45–100. A number of photographs of tombstones from the original Czech edition are missing in the Jerusalem edition. (O. Muneles – M. Vilímková, *op. cit.*, Nos. 5, 10, 12, 19, 22–27, 29–31, 34–37, 42–43, 47, 49, 51, 53–54, 59–61, 63–64, 66, 68–70, 72, 75, 77–80, 82, 85–86, 89, 92, 95, 98–100, 102, 105, 107, 111–113, 115, 117–121, 124, 128–129, 132, 134, 140–141, 146–148, 150, 154–155, 158–161, 168). Considering the quality of the reproductions, it is possible that use was made of the original positives from the AJMP; one exception is inscription 87, which was reprinted from a poor quality copy, probably from the original Czech publication.

92) *Ibidem*, Nos. 4a, 15a, 42a, 52a, 52b, 52c, 52d, 52h, 68a, 72a, 72b, 76a, 76b, 78a, 78b, 102a, 136a, 149a, 150a, 157a, 160a, 169a and 169b.

93) *Ibidem*, pp. 361–478.

94) *Ibidem*, pp. 361 and 479.

German names in the sources and, finally, an overview of coins and their abbreviations, as well as an overview of bibliographic abbreviations.

THE CURRENT STATE OF DOCUMENTATION

Preparatory work

Restoration and conservation work in the cemetery has been carried out under the expert supervision of Vlastimila Hamáčková, the head of the AJMP, from the mid 1970s and, to a greater extent, from the 1990s.⁹⁵ At the end of 2003, the idea was revived to continue with the documentation of the cemetery, which was interrupted by the death of Otto Muneles in 1967. First of all, it was necessary to undertake a complete review of the card indexes of epitaph transcriptions that had been chronologically arranged in the final phase by Otto Muneles. Monika Hanková, a member of the AJMP staff, set about reviewing the transcriptions of epitaphs on double and multiple tombstones which for the most part were included only once in the card index, where they were filed under the earlier of the dates of these tombstones. The author of this paper dealt with the gradual scanning of the cards from the card index⁹⁶ and put together a list of those that were missing. This review confirmed the loss of the first part of the card index, comprising epitaphs from 1439 to 1599. Furthermore, a separate set of cards with transcriptions of undated or fragmentary epitaphs was found. In the course of checking the card index between 2004 and 2007, chronological and name indexes (based on first names and surnames) were prepared for the documentation of tombstones in the cemetery, and the time span of the dates of death of those buried under a double or multiple tombstone were examined. Indexes based on local names, occupations, synagogues, societies and so forth were also drawn up. Finally, a special index of symbols used on tombstones in the cemetery was prepared; this includes almost a hundred different symbols from 1,226 tombstones.⁹⁷

In the course of scanning the index cards, additional heuristic research was undertaken at the AJMP and the German Catalogue of the CJMP was studied. Photo-documentation was gradually carried out on all the nineteenth and twentieth century documentation of the cemetery, in particular Leopold M. Popper's original transcriptions, secondary transcriptions and Otto Muneles's registration aids, etc. On the basis of entries in the earlier documentations, copies were made of cards that were missing from the card index. In addition, a new version of the concordance between Simon Hock's *Die Familien Prags* (1892) and Leopold M. Popper's transcriptions was put together, facilitating quick searches of the individual names of the deceased in the cemetery. The next phase of preparations for the doc-

95) For the restoration of tombstones, see A. Pařík – V. Hamáčková, *op. cit.*, p. 75. Reports on restoration work at the cemetery have regularly been published in *Judaica Bohemiae* since 1974.

96) The scanning of the card index took place in 2004–2005. A total of 11,722 cards without duplicate copies were scanned.

97) For symbolism in the cemetery, see also Vladimír Sadek, 'Grabsteine mit Figurmotiven auf dem Alten jüdischen Friedhof in Prag', *JB*, XIV (1978), No. 2, pp. 75–88.

umentation of the cemetery involved completely checking and scanning the collection of negatives and photographs of tombstones in the cemetery (in total almost 10,000 negatives). A special comparative index based on the current and archive negative numbers together with the location numbers of tombstones in the cemetery was compiled for this photographic collection.

Digital map of the cemetery

A major achievement in the context of the documentation work was the creation of a digital map of the cemetery. This map marks out all the tombstones and other important identifying elements in the cemetery, such as trees, footpaths and courtyards, drainage shafts and inlets, as well as boundary walls and entranceways with details on a scale of 1:50. The overall measurements were taken in the spring of 2006 on the basis of a tender by Geoprogres, a Prague-based geodetic firm. The individual tombstones were processed according to the actual ground plan intersection with the tombstones divided into three groups according to thickness (up to 15 cm, 15–20 cm, above 20 cm). Tombstone fragments are marked with an agreed-upon, centrally positioned symbol, and tombstones in the perimeter wall are depicted with Reality View tilted to the ground projection. The tombstones were automatically given serial numbers; the location numbers from earlier documentation will be added to the surface as an attribute. The outputs of the map documentation were transferred onto digital files using the AutoCad 2002 system in dwg format and control drawings on paper were colour printed to a scale of 1:100 and 1:200. A technical report and a list of drawings were also compiled, and further detailed specification of tombstones and trees was undertaken in separate tables.

The new form of documentation

At the end of this project, standard forms were put together for tombstones in the cemetery, containing the catalogue number of each tombstone (identical with the number on the digital map), location number based on earlier documentation, the name of the deceased (first name or surname, family membership, patronym, the name of other relatives mentioned in the epitaph, such as the husband or father-in-law), the date according to the Jewish and Gregorian calendars, information relating to the tombstone form, such as the kind of material, dimensions (height, width, thickness) and shape, and other information about the characteristic features of the lettering (number of lines, height, type, abbreviation signs, ligature, etc.). To facilitate the registration and identification of tombstones in the cemetery, plastic labels are being introduced with basic identifying elements (e.g., catalogue and location numbers); these are attached to the back of the tombstone and remain out of view of visitors to the cemetery. Using the earlier documentation, individual tombstones in the cemetery are being identified on an ongoing basis with the digital map, and digital images are being prepared for the purpose of recording the current state of the tombstones.

JUDAICA BOHEMIAE

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