

Sabbatianism in the Seventeenth-Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: A Review of the Sources

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Research on the beginnings of Sabbatianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth does not have a long tradition and important studies of the origins of this movement are few. Among the scholars researching Sabbatianism in Poland, Meir Balaban is the most prominent. His article 'Sabbatianism in Poland',¹ has long been considered the most authoritative source of knowledge on Sabbatianism in Poland. Balaban devoted half of the article to analysis of anti-Jewish incidents in Poland prior to the inception of Sabbatianism. The remainder of the article is devoted to sources of the movement. Many subsequent scholars who studied Sabbatianism in Poland based their work on this article and other similar Balaban studies,² in which he repeated much of the same information. Unfortunately, as we will see, these other scholars did not verify the sources presented by Balaban. Gershom Scholem, and Bernard D. Weinryb the author of the well-known work, *The Jews of Poland*,³ both relied on sources presented by Balaban but drew completely different

* I would like to thank the Central European University (RSS/HEST No. 358/1995) for their support of my research related to this topic.

1 M. Balaban, 'Sabataizm w Polsce: ustęp z dziejów mistyki żydowskiej w Polsce', in: *Księga jubileuszowa ku czci prof. dr. Mojżesza Schorra*, Pisma Instytutu Nauk Judaistycznych w Warszawie, Warsaw 1935, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 45-90 [= 'Sabbateanism in Poland'].

2 M. Balaban, *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, I-II, Cracow 1936 [=History of the Jews in Cracow and Kazimierz], pp. 40-50, 487-495; idem, 'Rok zbawienia i lata niedoli (Do dziejów Żydów krakowskich w latach 1666-1670)' [The Year of Salvation and Years of Distress], *Nowy Dziennik*, 190 (16.7.1928), pp. 16-17; idem, *Le-Toledot ha-Tenu'a ha-Frankit*, I, Tel-Aviv 1934, pp. 17-48. See also: I.M. Biderman, *Mayer Balaban: Historian of Polish Jewry*, New York 1978, pp. 190-207.

3 B.D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800*, Philadelphia 1982.

conclusions concerning the reception of Sabbatianism in Poland.

According to Scholem, Sabbatianism had a profound influence in Poland, not only among Jews but also among Christians. In his works on Sabbatianism – also in Poland – he paid close attention to non-Jewish sources. He thought that the numerous letters and pamphlets distributed throughout Europe and Poland at that time were an important source of information on the scope of influence of Sabbatianism. He also thought that this material could have penetrated into Jewish circles.⁴ On the other hand, he mentioned that Christians, no less than Jews, were thirsty for news about Shabbatai Zevi.⁵ It has to be stressed, however, that Scholem derived information about Sabbatianism in Poland during the period of 1665-1666 mainly from Balaban's work. Most sources cited by Scholem came from the Balaban's article, 'Sabbateanism in Poland'.

Weinryb, on the contrary, concluded that Sabbatianism in Poland had few followers.⁶ He strongly criticized Scholem's thesis about the vast spread and interest in Sabbatianism in Poland during Shabbatai Zevi's life. He thought that most sources cited by Scholem were false or misinterpreted. Weinryb rejected not only all of Scholem's Polish sources, but also some of his Jewish sources, as anti-Jewish and therefore unreliable.⁷ He stated that since the names of not more than six of Shabbatai Zevi's followers in Poland were known, one could not speak about the broad spread of the movement.⁸ Weinryb's criticism, however, is unwarranted on a close analysis of all the sources. Perhaps Scholem realized this, as he had never replied in writing to Weinryb's objections.

In recent studies, Scholem and Weinryb's theses continue to clash with each other. A few years ago Professor Michael Stanislawski re-evaluated the positions held by both Scholem and Weinryb in an effort to determine who was correct.⁹ Stanislawski analyzed the sources

4 See specially: G. Scholem, 'Le mouvement sabbatâiste en Pologne', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 143 (1953), pp. 30-90, 209-232 (also published in Hebrew); idem, *Sabbatai Şevi: The Mystical Messiah: 1626-1676*, Princeton, NJ 1973, pp. 591-602.

5 Scholem, 'Le mouvement sabbatâiste en Pologne', *ibid.*, p. 46.

6 Weinryb (above note 3), ch. 10: 'The Sabbatai Şevi Upheaval and Its Impact', pp. 206-235.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231 and note 61 p. 372.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.

9 M. Stanislawski, 'The State of the Debate over Sabbatianism in Poland: A Review of the Sources', *Proceedings of the Conference on Poles and Jews: Myth and Reality in*

on Sabbatianism in Poland in 1665-1666 cited by Scholem with a special emphasis on Jewish sources.¹⁰ This provoked my own analysis of all non-Jewish sources available to Balaban and Scholem, which in my opinion may be important evidence of the spread of Sabbatianism in Poland at the beginnings of the movement. This article presents results of my current research and documents previously unknown.¹¹

I

Polish sources can be divided into two groups: sources dealing directly with Poland and sources dealing with Sabbatianism in general.

The first group, consisting of original source materials dealing directly with Poland, includes an especially interesting book, *The True Messiah*,¹² written by Orthodox monk Joannicjusz Galatowski (died 1688). A paragraph from Galatowski's work was cited by Balaban and Scholem. Unfortunately, Balaban cited an excerpt, given out of context without even providing a page number.¹³ In addition, Balaban made some abridgements in the citation which were not marked. Scholem, in subsequent translations, introduced additional changes which also slightly distorted the character of that source.¹⁴

Galatowski's book is one of the most important sources for the his-

the Historical Context, ed. J. Micgil, R. Scott and H.B. Segel, New York 1986, pp. 58-69.

10 Among sources listed by Stanislawski only two were Polish. Stanislawski based their analysis on Balaban's and Scholem's studies.

11 All sources quoted in this article and others will be published in full versions in my forthcoming book: *Sabataizm w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII wieku* (Sabbatianism in the 17th Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Here I present only excerpts or summaries in English translation.

12 J. Galatowski, *Messiasz prawdziwy, Jezus Chrystus, Syn Boży, od początku świata przez wszystkie wieki ludziom od Boga obiecany i od ludzkiej oczekiwany, i w ostatniej chwili; dla Zbawienia ludzkiego; na świat Posłany, po przyjściu zaś swym za Błogosławieństwem Wysocy w Bogu, Przewielebnego Jego Mości Ojca Innocentego Giziela Archimandryty świętej Wielkiej Cudotwornej Ławry Pieczerskiej, Staupigiji ś. Aecumenici Patriarchae Constantinopolitani. Od Grzesznika Joannicjusza Galatowskie[go], Archimandryty Czernichowskiego. Z Typographiej z Kijowa.- Pieczerskiej, żydowi niewiernemu rozmaitemi znakami, o Messiaszu napisanemi, y na Chrystusie wypełnionemi, Roku 1672 pokazany* (= *The True Messiah*).

13 Balaban, 'Sabbatianism in Poland', pp. 79-81.

14 See: M. Galas, 'Sabbatianism in Polish Historiography', *Proceedings of the EAJIS Copenhagen Congress 1994*, ed. U. Haxen, K. L. Salamon and H. Trauter-Kromann, Copenhagen 1998, pp. 240-246.

tory of Sabbatianism in Poland. It was published in both Polish and Russian and a Latin version was also planned. The book is written in the form of a discussion between an Orthodox Christian and a Jew about the authenticity of the messianic mission of Jesus. The introduction, foreword (a small paragraph is quoted by Balaban and Scholem) and chapter six (where other Polish sources on Sabbatianism are listed) are relevant. Galatowski revealed important information which explains his motivation to write this work. Neither Balaban nor Scholem mentioned that news about the messianic aspiration of Shabbatai Zevi, and doubts felt by some Christians of Jesus as the true messiah, were the immediate causes for writing that book.¹⁵ I believe that those paragraphs from the introduction not cited by Balaban and Scholem are equally important. Galatowski writes:

[...] I wrote this book in Little Russian, Polish and Latin dialect because Jews in Little Russia, Polish Kingdom and in Latin countries, were rejoicing and abusing and laughing at Jesus the true Messiah and at all Christians, hearing that in eastern parts of Smirna their false Messiah appeared called Shabbatai Zevi [...] For that Orthodox Christians living in Little Russia, Poles and all Catholics who read that book; could show Christ, the true Messiah to unbelieving Jews.¹⁶

The Foreword begins:

To all Orthodox Christians, it contains the reasons why this True Messiah has been written and shown to the world.[...] Not long ago, in 1666, in Volhynia, Podolia, in all the provinces of Little Russia, in the Great Duchy of Lithuania, in the Kingdom of Poland and the neighboring countries, Jewish godlessness raised on high its horn and its insolent obstinacy, it hoisted the flag of wontonness and insolence blew the trumpet of victory at the time when an impostor called Shabbatai Zevi appeared in the city of Smyrna and called himself the Messiah of Jews. [...] At that time,

15 About J. Galatowski and his book, see: K. Bartoszewicz, *Antysemitizm w literaturze polskiej XV-XVII w.* [Antisemitism in Polish Literature], Warsaw and Cracow 1914, pp. 138-140; J. Janów, 'Galatowski Joannicjusz', *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], VII, Cracow 1948-1958, pp. 221-222; D. Waugh, 'News of the False Messiah: Reports on the Shabbetai Zevi in Ukraine and Muscovy', *Jewish Social Studies*, 41 (1979), pp. 301-305.

16 Galatowski, *The True Messiah*, fol. 15.

some Christians with small hearts and character, hearing great Jewish impudence[,] started to fear and doubt Christ, that he was a true Messiah and started to incline their thoughts towards a false Messiah, fearing his atrocities. That is why I wrote the book, so that faithful Christians do not fear the false Jewish Messiah and without doubt believe and know that Jesus is the True Messiah. [...] That false Jewish Messiah is a motivation for me to that work, he motivated me to write this book called: *The True Messiah Jesus Christ, son of God*.¹⁷

The quoted paragraphs may testify to a great interest in news about a Messiah – Shabbatai Zevi – in Christian circles, because news about a new messiah caused fear even among some priests. Galatowski continues by describing the spread of Shabbatai Zevi's followers in Poland and their behavior during the peak of this messianic fervor.

According to Galatowski, Sabbatianism had followers throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but most were in Volhynia and Podolia. On the one hand, Galatowski writes that Jews were happy with the coming of a Messiah who would lead them on a cloud to Jerusalem.¹⁸ Believing that the moment was close at hand, they were selling their belongings. On the other hand, he describes acts of penance and asceticism. Additionally, he writes about Jewish-Christian relations and says that Jews were threatening Christians that soon 'we will be your lords and you will be our servants'.

Balaban and Scholem treated the paragraph from Galatowski's book as a very important and trustworthy source for the history of Sabbatianism in Poland.¹⁹ Weinryb questioned the credibility of this source, but his critique has no basis, in the light of Waugh's research,²⁰ as well as my own work. But it seems obvious after an initial analysis that neither Balaban and Scholem nor Weinryb and Stanislawski had seen Galatowski's book, otherwise they would have noted that Galatowski listed other Polish sources in the introduction and foreword and in the sixth chapter.

17 *Ibid.*, fols. 20-21.

18 According to Scholem, the belief that the messiah would lead them by means of a miraculous cloud, was present not only among Jews in Poland, but also in Germany and Turkey (*Sabbatai Sevi*, pp. 594-595).

19 Credibility of Galatowski's work was questioned by Weinryb, but it seems that he also did not see the original source (above note 3, p. 372, note 61).

20 Waugh (above note 15), pp. 301-308.

Balaban writes,²¹ and after him Scholem,²² that many anti-Jewish incidents subsequently took place. Jews overcome with messianic fervor, who marched through the streets with portraits of Shabbatai Zevi and his prophet Nathan of Gaza, prompted a strong reaction from Christians. In response, King Jan Kazimierz issued a proclamation, dated May 4, 1666, which forbade Jews to carry pictures of Shabbatai Zevi and ordered the authorities to stop harassing the Jews. Scholem gives the text of the proclamation citing Balaban.²³ Although it was thought that the proclamation was lost and only a copy made by Balaban existed, during my research in the archives in Lvov I found this proclamation which served as a base for Balaban's copy. The proclamation is written in Polish and Latin and is more extensive than the version provided by Balaban.²⁴ Balaban quoted only a paragraph from the Polish text, a slightly distorted version was cited later by Scholem.²⁵ In the proclamation the King writes that he heard the news about the escalation in persecutions of the Jews due to accounts about 'a messiah', propagated to simple people through printed letters and painted portraits. In response, the King ordered to protect the Jews and to treat as false all information about this so-called Messiah, destroy all prints about him and his portraits. Again, Weinryb's objections about the reliability of the king's decree are baseless. There is no doubt about misinterpreting this part of the proclamation which speaks about Sabbatian propaganda in Poland.

The intent of the proclamation is reinforced by a pastoral letter by bishop Stanisław Sarnowski,²⁶ dated June 22, 1666, in which Jewish processions and distributions of pictures and prints are strictly forbidden.²⁷

21 Balaban, 'Sabbatianism in Poland', pp. 87-88.

22 See: Scholem, 'Le mouvement sabbataïste en Pologne' (above note 4), p. 48; idem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, pp. 596-597.

23 See: Balaban, 'Sabbatianism in Poland', pp. 88-89; idem, *History of the Jews in Cracow and Kazimierz*, II, p. 45. Balaban did not provide the full text of the proclamation and in his various works he gave different sources.

24 The Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lvov, f. 5, op. 1, no. 160, Castr. Haliciensia, fols. 707-712.

25 See: Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, p. 597.

26 Balaban and Scholem erroneously wrote his name as Sarnicki. See: Balaban, 'Sabbatianism in Poland', p. 89; Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, p. 597.

27 The letter was added to the book: Samuel Rabi Marokański, *Prawda Chrześcijańska od nieprzyjaciela swego zeznana: To iest Traktat Rabina Samuela, Pokazujący błędy żydowskie około zachowania Prawa Moyżeszowego, y przyścia Mesyaszowego, ktorego Żydzi czekaią [...]*, tr. J. Radlinski, Lublin 1733, pp. 499-502. Compare: Balaban,

One can assume that this relates to the above mentioned demonstrations despite the fact that there is no specific mention of Shabbatai Zevi or his followers.

Maybe the King's proclamation and the subsequent compliance with it resulted in the situation that only very few documents, pamphlets and other sources to which the proclamation alluded have survived until the present. Scholem, however, assumed the existence of such materials.²⁸ He also thought that the King's proclamation and the pastoral letter of bishop Stanislaw Sarnowski served as good examples of the popular character of the movement in Poland and that processions and pilgrimages of Shabbatai Zevi's followers were characteristic only for Poland.²⁹

Another little known example of interest in Sabbatianism in Polish historiography is documented in the *Chronicle of Joachim Jerlicz* from 1620-1673, which includes a paragraph on Sabbatianism.³⁰ This work is second only after Galatowski's in terms of information written in Polish about Sabbatianism in Poland. The Jerlicz source is not included in the works of Balaban, Scholem and contemporary scholars of Sabbatianism. In the *Chronicle*, under the date May 10, 1665, one can read:

This year [1665] news has spread among Jews in all cities, towns and villages where Jews live in the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania under the rule of Jan Kazimierz: that a Messiah, a new prophet appeared. Born in Egypt, he was raised by Jewish father and mother and at reaching his 30's, began to perform great miracles. [...] Showing various abilities and powers which become only to God, he raised from the dead, cured the blind and ill, destroyed walls around the cities where they were not allowing him in and opposed him [...].

[...] Jews, men and women, old and young, tormented themselves and their bodies, by making a hole in the ice of a pond or river and jumping into the water. At that time they gave alms both to their own people and to Christians. They sold their houses,

'Sabbatianism in Poland', p. 89; idem, *History of the Jews in Cracow and Kazimierz*, p. 45; idem, *The Year of Salvation and Years of Distress* (above note 2), pp. 16-17; Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, p. 597.

28 Scholem, 'Le mouvement sabbatäiste en Pologne' (above note 4), p. 48.

29 Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, p. 598.

30 J. Jerlicz, *Latopisiec albo kroniczka* [A Chronicle], ed. K. Wł. Wojciecki, I, Warsaw 1853, pp. 99-102.

live-stock, various things, as some of them wanted to go from the Polish state to Jerusalem. [...] They placed all their trust in him for their salvation.³¹

The similarity and consistency of information in Jerlicz's *Chronicle* and Galatowski's book seems to confirm the credibility of those sources. Jerlicz devoted much space to Shabbatai Zevi although a lot of the information about his life has quite a legendary nature.

Other less important Polish sources may also testify to a great interest of Christians in Shabbatai Zevi and his movement. The epigram by Polish poet Wacław Potocki (1621-1696), *Nowy Mesjasz Żydowski* (A New Jewish Messiah),³² may serve as a good example of the type of sources.

A similar illustration of interest and knowledge about the messianic movement among Jews in Poland is found in descriptions of events during a Sejm (Diet) session in 1668. 'Member of the Sejm Teodor Łukomski was laughed at by other members when he gave his opinion on relegating foreign residents: "leave me alone, do not confound me, because I have *spiritum propheticum*" [...], everyone started to laugh and pointing at him they called him a new prophet or recent Jewish Messiah'.³³

II

Other very important Polish sources, not related directly to Sabbateanism in Poland mentioned by Balaban, are so-called 'hand written newspapers' that are reports of correspondents kept by wealthy Polish nobility in European capitals.³⁴ Presently the reports are in the collection of Czartoryski's Museum Library in Cracow.³⁵ Unfortunately suspicions arise that Balaban had not seen those reports himself because his quotation was full of revisions and errors. He suggests the

31 *Ibid.*

32 W. Potocki, *Ogród fraszek* [A garden of epigrams], I, Lvov 1907, p. 278. Compare: Balaban, 'Sabbatianism in Poland', p. 81; Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, p. 598.

33 A. Kamierczyk, *Sejmy i sejmiki szlacheckie wobec Żydów w drugiej połowie XVII wieku* [Sejms and Diets of nobility towards Jews in the second half of the 17th century], Warsaw 1994, p. 154.

34 Balaban, 'Sabbatianism in Poland', pp. 81-87; Scholem thought that they came from Amsterdam. Compare: Scholem, 'Le mouvement sabbataïste en Pologne' (above note 4), p. 46; idem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, p. 593.

35 Manuscript no. 1656, fols. 486-501.

same, writing: 'I do not give here the origins of those letters as I do not have adequate sources in Warsaw'.³⁶

The manuscripts include letters and accounts written in Latin and Polish about Shabbatai Zevi and an interest in his mission in various countries of Europe and the Middle East. Their content does not concern Poland directly. Some of them were published by Balaban and later used by Scholem.³⁷ The manuscripts contain the following titles in Latin: *De messia Judeorum falso et Extremo Judicio Pseudoprofeta, Relationes ex Italia huc transmissae 1666, 20 Martii; Extractum ex Epistula Sabbea Barbaria, 6 Aug. 1665; Copia Epistulae ab Augusto Jerosolima in Algier transmissae; Extractum ex Literis ab Urbe Veneta et Livorno, continentibus descriptionem neonati inter Hebraeos Prophetae, ipsius facinora et miracula; Extractum ex Literis Roma Religiosi cuiusdam ad Amicum Contin. Haebreorum aggregationem cum Novo Messia qui in praesenti? plurimos sibi habet adherentes et magna perpetrat Miracula 26 Nov: 1665.*³⁸

The Polish titles include: *Opisanie Nowego króla Żyd. Sabetha Sebi, którego początek, starość, osoba, uczynki i cuda, jako też Chrześcijanów, Żydów, Turków i inszych zadanie, i cokolwiek z różnych pism o tym dotąd wiadomo jest opisano. Przy tym Proroka Natana Levi, i króla Sabeti Sevi własnej osoby contrafect,*³⁹ *Do Obląkanego Żydostwa*⁴⁰ *Continuatio o Messiaszu Żydowskim.*⁴¹ Balaban published in his article large fragments of manuscripts written in Polish but he made many mistakes and the text contains many inaccuracies. Therefore, these fragments cannot serve as a base for scholarly research.

In the above mentioned work by Galatowski, in chapter 6, 'Sixth Prophecy', a Christian arguing with a Jew about the true messianism of Shabbatai Zevi refers to three pamphlets printed in Polish: *Opisanie nowego króla żydowskiego, Obszerna Continuantia Dziwny początek a straszny koniec, tak zwanego żydowskiego Króla: Sabetha Sebi, roku 1666 wydany.* A comparison between the titles of Polish fragments of manuscripts from the Czartoryski's Library and the titles of printed pamphlets quoted by J. Galatowski⁴² provokes the search for parallels and confirms similarities.⁴³

36 Balaban, 'Sabbatianism in Poland', p. 82.

37 See: Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, p. 963 index (Balaban M.).

38 Manuscript no. 1656, fols. 486-490. 39 *Ibid.*, fols. 490-492.

40 It is the name of a poem. 41 Manuscript no. 1656, fols. 498-501.

42 Galatowski, *The True Messiah*, fols. [44-54].

43 The following evidence suggests that Balaban, as well as Scholem, did not know Galatowski's work in its entirety.

During my research I was able to find the three old prints quoted by Galatowski.⁴⁴ They are anonymous, anti-Sabbatian pamphlets. Many scholars doubted their existence, as they were not mentioned by Balaban nor by Scholem. Zalman Rubashov (Shazar),⁴⁵ Daniel C. Waugh⁴⁶ and Kazimierz Bartoszewicz⁴⁷ wrote about their probable existence and origin but they did not have access to them, and Hanna Świdorska, who first wrote about their existence, was not able to classify them correctly.⁴⁸

The first of the pamphlets, *Opisanie nowego króla Żydowskiego...* (Description of a New Jewish King),⁴⁹ was published in 1666. It is probably a translation from a German pamphlet: *Beschreibung des neuen jüdischen Königs Sabetha Sebi...* or its Dutch edition. In the Polish version, however pictures of Shabbatai Zevi and Nathan of Gaza were not included.⁵⁰

The second pamphlet, *Obszerna Continuatia...* (Extended Continuatia),⁵¹ was also published in 1666. It consists of two parts, the first is entitled: *Copia listu przez nie jakiegoś przyjaciela życzliwego o powróceniu żydów do obiecanej Ziemi...* (A copy of a letter by some well-wishing friend about a return of Jews to the Promised Land...)⁵² The second is

44 The three above mentioned pamphlets are from the British Library collection; about other copies see: *Judaika polskie z XVI-XVIII wieku: Materiał do bibliografii, część I: druki w językach nie-żydowskich*, ed., K. Pilarczyk, Cracow 1995, p. 104.

45 Z. Rubashov, *Krystori sabbationetva w Polski "Ewriejskaia Starina"*, 5 (1912), pp. 219-221.

46 Waugh (above note 15), p. 304.

47 Bartoszewicz (above note 15), p. 140.

48 H. Świdorska, 'Three Polish Pamphlets on Pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Sevi', *The British Library Journal*, 15 (1989), pp. 212-216.

49 The title in Polish is: *Opisanie nowego króla żydowskiego Sabetha Sebi, którego początek, starość, osoba, uczynki [...] innych zdanie y cokolwiek z óżnych pism o nim dotąd wiadomo jest opisane. Przy czym y prorok tegoż wtasney osobey prawdziwy contrafect. W roku 1666 dr ukowany.*

50 Waugh considers this pamphlet to be a translation of: *Beschreibung Des Newen Juedischen Koenigs Sabetha Sebi ...* (above note 15, p. 304 and note 17).

51 The full title in Polish is: *Obszerna continuanta, w której się znajduje dalszy progress, tego co się w orientalnych krajach, mianowicie w Jeruzalem, Szmyrnie, i Alkairu: także w inszych różnych miejscach w nadziei żydowskiego do swoiey Ojczyzny powrócenia, jako y przytomne onychże do wiary nawrócenia. Z occasie ich pomazania króla i proroka stato; i co za cuda a dziwny u nich się dzieją z okolicznością mi opisano iest; jako też i proroka Nathana Levi prawdziwy contrafect, dziwny kształt y odzienie w między wyrażone, przytomne są. Dr ukowano w roku 1666.*

52 Waugh considers it to be a translation of: *Umbstaendliche Continuation ...* (above note 15, p. 304 and note 17).

Zebranie z różnych pisaniów (A collection of various writings), containing two letters: one letter from Jerusalem and Smyrna to Amsterdam, dated March 10, and another, dated December 26, year 5426. It seems that it is a translation of a German pamphlet, *Umständliche Continuation...*, published in 1666. In the German version there is a poem at the beginning, 'An die verirrte Judenschafft', which is not published in the Polish printed version but which is placed in Polish manuscript from the Czartoryski's Library in Cracow.⁵³

The third pamphlet was published in 1666. Its origin is the easiest to establish because its title and content are in Polish and German. The Polish title reads: *Dziwny początek a straszny koniec...* (Strange beginning and dreadful end) and German title is: *Wunderlicher Anfang und Schmälicher Ausgang...*⁵⁴ However, the text is longer than the one included by Scholem under the same title.⁵⁵ It also does not contain illustrations, although twelve illustration titles are listed at the end. According to Waugh, the Polish version of this pamphlet was later translated into Russian.⁵⁶

The first two pamphlets described above are not identical to the manuscripts of the same titles, as Świdarska suggested.⁵⁷ The manuscripts are an independent translation from the German printed version of pamphlets by a correspondent. Existence of those pamphlets published in Polish confirms the reliability of Galatowski's book and direct interest in Sabbatianism in Poland among non-Jews.

News about Shabbatai Zevi sent from Poland to Western Europe, especially to Germany, can be treated as a supplement to Polish sources. In 1666, three such incidents were published in German newspapers.⁵⁸

53 Manuscript no. 1656, fols. 497-498.

54 The full title, in German and in Polish, is: *Wunderlicher Anfang und schmählicher Ausgang des jüdischen Königes Sabetha Sebi. Welcher Gestalt derselbige auff Befehl des Türkischen Käysers gerichtet worden. Hat der Leser auss folgender Relation und dem beygefügetem Kupfer mit mehrem zu vernehmen. Anno 1666; Dziwny początek a straszny koniec tak zwanego żydowskiego Króla, Sabetha Sebi, Jakim sposobem tenże na Rozkazanie Tureckiego Cesarza z świata znoszony y stracony. łaskawy czytelnik z najstabuszącego Opisania y przytomnego Obrazu szerzy obaczy. Anno 1666.*

55 Scholem, *Sabbatai Ševi*, picture VI.

56 Waugh (above note 15), p. 304 and note 14. According to Waugh, this pamphlet served as a basis for a Russian translation.

57 Świdarska (above note 48), p. 216.

58 Ch. Ahrens, *Sabbatai Zwi (1626-1676). Untersuchungen zu einer messianischen Bewegung und ihrer Rezeption in deutschsprachigen, zeitgenössischen Quellen, Schriftliche Hausarbeit zur wissenschaftlichen, Pruefung fuer das Lehramt am*

Nordischer Mercurius published news from Łwow from March 26 with information about the imprisonment of the Jewish Messiah by the Emperor of Turkey.⁵⁹ In *Wochentliche Donnerstags* other similar accounts from Warsaw appeared, dated April 4,⁶⁰ and *Nordischer Mercurius* also published news from Kamieniec Podolski from April 12,⁶¹ about the torture of Sabbatai Zevi in prison.

The number of sources related to the origins of Sabbatianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its dissemination throughout this territory is rather small. Because of this, our knowledge about the movement and its reception among Jews and Christians at that time is incomplete. For many years scholars relied on Balaban's studies and trusted their reliability without doing new research or searching for additional sources. But from sources and information which survive to our times, one can draw some general conclusions. The Polish sources which were found recently, and were unknown to Scholem, can prove his thesis about the wide spread news about Sabbatai Sevi and his mission in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth among Jews and Christians alike.

Paramount among the sources is the existence of at least one Polish pamphlet which served as a base for its Russian version and that through this pamphlet, information about Sabbatai Sevi was sent from Poland to Western Europe.

Analyzing all sources – Jewish and Polish – it seems that we have enough evidence to substantiate great interest in Sabbatianism in Poland, at least similar to other countries in Western Europe. The sudden appearance of Sabbatai Sevi as the Messiah and his surprising apostasy, and spontaneity of the movement, could be the reason for the lack of information about names of his followers in the extant sources. In addition to that, documents on Sabbatai Sevi and his followers were ordered destroyed not only by the King and bishops – an unusual case in other countries – but also by rabbis and the Council of the Four Lands. Presented in this article, the anti-Sabbatian pamphlets and other previously unknown sources in Polish confirm the reliability of the sources which were questioned by some scholars. Naturally, a rehabilitation of Polish sources should cause greater interest in them, attract the atten-

Gymnasium, 1979, pp. 137-138, 150. I used a copy from the Gershom Scholem Library.

59 *Nordischer Mercurius*, 1666, pp. 223-224.

60 *Wochentliche Donnerstags*, 15 (1666), p. 3.

61 *Nordischer Mercurius*, 1666, p. 268.

tion of historians of the movement and lead to a new, detailed research on the comprehensive history of Sabbatianism in 17th-century Poland. New study and increased understanding of the origins of Sabbatianism in Poland can be very helpful in the study of the Sabbatianism and Frankism in Poland in later periods, as well as in studies on Polish-Jewish and Jewish-Christian relations during that period.