HISTORIA JUDAICA

A JOURNAL OF STUDIES
IN JEWISH HISTORY, ESPECIALLY IN
THE LEGAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE JEWS

VOLUME XIII

EDITOR
GUIDO KISCH

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Historia Judaica

MOSES HESS

By EDMUND SILBERNER

New York City

MOSES HESS occupies an important place in the history of German Socialism.* "The communist rabbi Moses"—as Arnold Ruge appropriately called him[1]—was indeed the first communist in Germany. He was also one of the most prominent precursors of the founder of modern Zionism. In contrast to all his socialist contemporaries, he saw no contradiction between Socialism and Zionism. As a matter of fact, he even attempted to synthesize the two.

Hess was born on January 21, 1812, in Bonn. Five years later when his parents moved to Cologne, where they established a sugar factory, Moses was left in the care of his grandfather, an orthodox Jew who instructed him in the

* Scholarly literature on Hess's Jewish thought and activities is rather meager. Theodor Zlocisti's pioneer volume, *Moses Hess, der Vorkämpfer des Sozialismus und Zionismus* (2nd improved ed., Berlin, 1921) is based on archival research. However, it lacks order, clarity, and bibliographical precision, and has important biographical gaps. Most articles on Hess, including that by Chaim Zhitlovsky—"Moses Hess, der Sotsialist, der Filozof, der Yid," *Dos naie Lebn*, IV (1912), 118-129, 176-181, 233-244—do not examine all the material available. Martin Buber's short but illuminating study, "Moses Hess," *Jewish Social Studies*, VII (1945), 137-148, is the best on the subject. An extensive bibliography on Hess prepared by the present writer was published recently: E. Silberner, *Moses Hess: An Annotated Bibliography*, "Burt Franklin Bibliographical Series," No. 4 (New York, 1951).

[1] Ruge, *Zwei Jahre in Paris*, I (Leipzig, 1846), 31. According to Hess, Ruge did not invent the term; he heard it from a lady friend of Hess's. See Hess in *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, No. 63, Aug. 8, 1847, p. 2. (This very rare periodical is available at the Institute for Social History, Amsterdam.)

Bible and gave him a Jewish education which the man Hess always remembered with gratitude. At the age of fourteen he was brought to Cologne by his father, who set him to work in his firm, intending to train the boy for a business career. Only with great reluctance did he allow his son to enter the University of Bonn (1830). Moses did not study regularly, however, and never was graduated. In the early eighteen thirties his German still appeared slightly defective.

In 1837 he published his first book, *Die heilige Geschichte der Menschheit, von einem Jünger Spinozas,* a work which is deeply influenced by the philosophy of Spinoza, as the subtitle indicates. In it Hess criticized the contemporary social régime, recommended the abolition of private inheritance, and, without preaching full equalitarianism, envisaged a society based on a community of ownership. His second book, *Die europäische Triarchie* (1841), dealt chiefly with freedom, examining what Germany, France, and England have done and have still to do for the advancement of intellectual, moral, and political liberty. Because of censorship, the author could not be too explicit, but there can be no doubt that the social order he recommended was a socialist one.

After 1841 Hess contributed a great number of articles and studies to many leftist papers and was active in several socialist or communist groups in Germany, Belgium, and France. The story of his participation in the revolution in Baden (1849) and of his being there condemned to death *in contumaciam* seems, however, to have been invented by his widow. Hunted by the police, he left Paris in April, 1849, but returned there in 1854, after several years of wandering in Switzerland,[2] Germany, Belgium, and Holland.

In the fifties he was a keen student of natural science and anthropology. From February, 1861 to December, 1863 he resided in Germany, where he published his *Rom und*

[2] Arriving from Paris, the "Prussian" Moses Hess registered in Geneva on April 27, 1849. His passport was issued in Cologne on May 9, 1848, and visaed in Paris on April 18, 1849. He left Geneva for Basel on May 26, 1849. (Geneva, Archives d'État, Etrangers, H. 23, p. 24.)

Jerusalem (1862). During that period he also coöperated closely with Lassalle, who appointed him representative of the General German Workingmen's Association for Cologne.[3] From December, 1863 on, Hess lived in Paris. There he wrote a number of studies on Jewish subjects, published in the *Archives israélites* and the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.* He also contributed to Schweitzer's *Socialdemokrat* (1865-1867) and several other socialist and radical newspapers. He was a member of the Alliance Israélite Universelle,[4] and of a Masonic lodge.[5] In 1867, he joined the International Workingmen's Association. At its congress in Basel (1869), where he represented the Berlin branch,[6] he fought against the influence of Bakunin and the Proudhonists.[7] At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War (1870), he was expelled from Paris as a German and took refuge in Brussels. By 1873 he returned once more to Paris, working there on his *Dynamische Stofflehre,* a philosophical work, the first (and only) volume of which was posthumously published by his widow. During his last two years he was continuously sick, suffering from a blood disease.[8] He died in Paris on April 6, 1875. In accordance with his wish he was buried in the family tomb, on the Jewish cemetery at Deutz on the Rhine.

Hess is known as a representative of "philosophical socialism." Division of labor and competition, he thought, produce social misery. In an ideal society, man will work, not for compensation, but for the enjoyment of the work itself. The "essence" of man can be developed only in a society based on free labor and communal property. Free labor does not mean anarchy, however; organization of labor is an absolute necessity.[9] Communism is fundamentally an ethical and not an economic or class problem. Communism,

[3] See Lassalle in *Nordstern,* June 28, 1863, p. 2.
[4] *Bulletin de l'Alliance israélite universelle,* Jan. 1865, p. x.
[5] See *Le Monde maçonnique,* VI (1864), 641.
[6] *Compte rendu du IV^e Congrès International,* p. xiv.
[7] See Hess in *Réveil,* Oct. 2 and 4, 1869.
[8] See Sybille Hess to Karl Marx (1875) in *Vorwärts,* Feb. 9, 1930.
[9] Hess in *Neue Anekdota* (1845), p. 121.

he said, is already in theory what it will some day be in reality: "practical ethics."[10] His whole approach to the social problem is highly idealistic and humanitarian. "Socialism," he wrote, "is not only the highest religion, it is also the highest science; and the socialists should, to be sure, be apostles, but must also be philosophers, in order to reach their goal."[11] After Hess wrote these words, he came under the influence of Marx, but he never became a "true" Marxist, not even in the period from 1846 to 1851, when this influence was particularly strong. His friendship with Engels—whom he won over to socialism[12]—and with Karl Marx was, incidentally, not of long duration. His relations with Lassalle, on the other hand, were excellent.

Only in 1862 did Hess begin to deal extensively with the Jewish problem. Before this date, his references to the Jews are significant, but rather short and incidental. They are contained in his first two books as well as in some of his articles and pamphlets: "Philosophie der That" (1843), "Ueber das Geldwesen" (1845), and *Jugement dernier du vieux monde social* (1851). His early correspondence—in so far as it has been published—also contains interesting remarks on the subject. His new views on the Jewish problem are expounded in *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitätsfrage* (1862). Of no less fundamental importance are his "Lettres sur la mission d'Israël dans l'histoire de l'humanité," and some other articles of his in *Archives israélites* (1864-69), which clearly show that Hess was a deeply religious socialist[13] who, it may be added, saw no contradiction between religion and science.[14]

[10] Hess, "Socialismus und Communismus," *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*, ed. by Herwegh, I (1843), 84.

[11] Hess in *Neue Anekdota* (1845), p. 215.

[12] Hess to Auerbach, June 19, 1843, in *Historishe Shriftn*, II (1937), 435; G. Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, I (Berlin, 1920), 108.

[13] See Hess, "Lettres," *Archives israélites* [henceforth cited as *AI*], XXV (1864), particularly at pp. 16, 146, 243. "Ah! s'il était admissible que l'humanité puisse atteindre à son but final par les seuls progrès de l'industrie, des sciences et des arts, sans une foi vigoureuse dans la Providence qui dirige ses hautes destinées sociales, base de toute morale humanitaire qui exige le sacrifice de l'égoisme . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 243. See also *ibid.*, pp. 610-611.

The following pages are based on the published writings of Hess. In spite of his efforts, the author was not permitted to consult the Hess archives, which were acquired, together with other important source material, after 1933, by the Institute for Social History at Amsterdam from the German Social Democratic Party. These archives may contain illuminating items which have not yet been brought to light. It may be recalled, in this connection, that during the first world war, parts of the Hess-Marx correspondence disappeared from the archives of the Social Democratic Party. There is, however, nothing "mysterious" about their disappearance, as a German national-socialist writer would wish his readers to believe.[15] Borrowed by Riazanov in or about 1914, they certainly had not been returned as late as 1919,[16] and perhaps not even later, so that Hess's biographer was unable to use these documents.[17]

To avoid any possible confusion with the writing of homonyms of Hess, a few words must be said about his name. His official first name was Moritz, his Hebrew given name, Moses. Though he was fond of his Hebrew name, to the best of our knowledge he never used it for either his German or his French publications; the former bear the name Moritz Hess, the latter Maurice Hess. Frequently, however, he simply signed "M. Hess," and since other writers used the same signature—among them Landrabbiner Mendel Hess, editor of *Der Israelit des 19. Jahrhunderts*—care must be taken not to confuse them with our Hess.

I. Early Statements

In his very first book (1837), Hess appears still to hold some hope for the Jews. They have, he said, inherited the knowledge of God, although, of course, they have not proved worthy of this knowledge. Hess admired the ancient Jewish state and ancient Judaism, where religion and politics, church

[15] O. Lorenz in *Forschungen zur Judenfrage*, II (1937), 143.

[16] Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, I, 423.

[17] Zlocisti, *Moses Hess*, pp. 423, 426.

and state, were intimately fused. The Jews of biblical times, he pointed out, knew no difference between religious and political injunctions, between duty to God and duty to Caesar. Their legislation provided neither for the body nor for the soul alone, but for both. The old Jewish state fell long ago, but it has continued to live down to the present day in the souls of its dispersed members. Among the Jews, those despised people who have remained faithful to their ancient customs and who "after a long sleep have reawakened to a higher consciousness," their ancient law is coming to life again.[18] This people was predestined to conquer the world, not by physical power, but by the virtue of its spirit. The Jewish people itself "wandered like a spirit through the world which it conquered, and its enemies were not able to destroy it, because a spirit is intangible. Already this spirit has pervaded the world; already the world longs for a constitution which is worthy of the ancient mother. It will appear, this new holy constitution; the ancient law will rise again, transfigured."[19] Hess said nothing explicit about the future of the Jewish people, but neither did he say anything of the necessity of their disappearance. In spite of this silence, he seems to have cherished some hope for their future.

This hope of Hess, if it really existed then, vanished completely within the next few years. Already in his second book (1841) Hess had arrived at the conclusion that the Jewish people should assimilate. Judaism and Christianity are the two earliest manifestations of the divine element in the history of the progressing western world. The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, however, was only a national god, while the God of the Christians is a God of all mankind. Judaism as well as Christiantity must be regarded as the basic principle of the historic movement, and the Jews had to be present as a stimulating element in the body of western humanity. "As the east needed a Chinese wall in order not to be disturbed in its *immobile* existence, in like manner the

[18] Hess, *Die heilige Geschichte der Menschheit* (Stuttgart, 1837), p. 343. See also p. 335.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

Jews are the yeast of western humanity, destined from the beginning to impress upon it the distinguishing mark of *mobility.*"[20] But since they gave up their vision of the future, since they rejected Christ, the Jews remained only lifeless mummies. The curse of stagnation weighs down on the children of Israel; they wander like ghosts in the living world and can neither die nor come back to life. The rejuvenating principle of Judaism, the belief in the Messiah, has been extinguished, and because of their failure to recognize true redemption, the hope of the Jews for redemption has withered to a barren abstraction.[21]

Under these circumstances, Hess saw no future for the Jews. Their emancipation, as he envisaged it, was only a transitional step toward their disappearance. Full political emancipation of the Jews, he pointed out, includes granting them the right to intermarry with Christians. And intermarriage offers them the means of getting out of their social isolation. "What good would emancipation do them, if in daily life they still remained as exposed as ever to that slow torture of hate which is a necessary consequence of their isolation, and which will last as long as this isolation does?"[22] Jew-hatred thus seems eliminable, according to Hess, only through elimination of the Jewish collectivity, or, to use his own terms, "the Jewish 'nationality'."[23]

But "what can the cultivated Jew do to escape from his 'nationality'?"[24] Go over to Christianity for purely opportunistic reasons? This would be inconsistent with "the emancipation of the spirit" and, moreover, would offer no real solution of the problem. The only solution, Hess intimated, is intermarriage with Christians, with the explicit

[20] Hess, *Die europäische Triarchie* (Leipzig, 1841), p. 111; cf. also p. 110.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112. Cf. also Hess, *Jugement dernier du vieux monde social* (Geneva, 1851), pp. 27-28. (This rare pamphlet is available at the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek, Bern.)

[22] Hess, *Die europäische Triarchie*, p. 138.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[24] *Ibid.*

understanding that intermarrying Jews would not educate their children in their faith.[25] The Jews would thus disappear gradually and with dignity. That is why, among other reasons, Hess insisted on the introduction of civil marriage in Prussia. Wherever the Jews are fully emancipated and intermarriage permitted, as in France and the United States, he pointed out, "the 'national' or other exclusive character of the Jews" tends to vanish.[26]

During the next ten years Hess wrote very little about the Jews, but what he did say of them is significant. In his "Philosophie der That," published in Herwegh's *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz,* he called the contemporary era of bourgeois domination "the era of Judaism." Forgetting some of his previous statements about Judaism, he noted in a study, "Ueber das Geldwesen," brought out in 1845 in the *Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform* (I, p. 29): "The *Jews,* who in the natural history of the world of social animals, had the *world-historical* vocation of developing man into a beast of prey, have now at last accomplished their *professional work.* The mystery of Judaism and Christianity has now been revealed in the modern *Jewish-Christian merchant world.*" The language is, as one sees, not unlike that of Marx, although it must be added that on some occasions, when Marx would most probably have alluded to Jews, Hess simply spoke of huckstering, usury, and speculation in general, without specifically referring to Jews.[27]

There seems to be little doubt that in the last two decades preceding the publication of *Rom und Jerusalem,* Hess felt himself thoroughly German. But on a few occasions he may have recalled his Jewishness. He was, for instance,

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Hess in *Rheinische Zeitung,* May 31, 1842, p. 1. The very rare *Rheinische Zeitung* may be consulted at Amsterdam, Holland (Institute for Social History) and Chur, Switzerland (Kantonalbibliothek).

[27] See, for example, Hess in *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,* Aug. 5, 1847; Hess, *Catéchisme rouge.* (Geneva, ca. 1851), p. 4. (The *Catéchisme* is one of the rarest items among Hess's publications. It is available at the Landesbibliothek, Bern.)

profoundly moved by the Jew-baiting at Damascus in 1840.[28] Two years later, referring to an exceptionally well-educated but otherwise unidentifiable Jew, Hess wrote to his friend Auerbach: "I confess to you that, however aloof I stand from Judaism, this intelligent man has nevertheless succeeded in stimulating my 'Jewish vein' again."[29] On the whole, however, he was estranged from the Jews and expressed himself as a full-fledged Rhinelander and German.[30] Yet in 1862 he published a book that was destined to become a classic of Zionist literature.

II. The Origin of "Rom und Jerusalem"

Rom und Jerusalem is a powerfully interesting and significant work, in spite of its somewhat confusing subject matter. Hess was never able to formulate his views in a clear and systematic way, and none of his writings is less methodical in its presentation than his *magnum opus*. It is composed of a Preface (pp. v-xiii), twelve "Letters" (pp. 1-122), an "Epilogue" divided into six sections (pp. 125-193), and ten supplementary notes (pp. 197-239). There is no semblance of logical order in the work, which deals with every conceivable problem in such varied fields as philosophy, history, theology, astronomy, physiology, biology, among others. Digressions are frequent and not always related to the main subject, regeneration of the Jewish people. However, this main subject was presented in such an original way that the book—despite its shortcomings—immediately drew public attention, though, of course, not approval. Because of its engaging style and profound thought it became, within a few decades, one of the basic works of modern Zionism.

[28] Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitätsfrage; Briefe und Noten*, Leipzig, 1862, Letter V, pp. 22-23.—No reference is made to Meyer Waxman's English translation, *Rome and Jerusalem: A Study in Jewish Nationalism [sic!]* (New York, 1918; 2d ed., New York, 1945), because it is incomplete and frequently unreliable. The subtitle has been changed arbitrarily. The translator does not even indicate in the Preface that there are important omissions in his version. The uninitiated English reader may thus get the feeling that he is reading Hess *tout court*, while in fact he is reading Hess as edited by Waxman.

[29] Sept. 21, 1842, in *Historishe Shriftn*, II (1937), 433-434.

[30] Hess, *Die europäische Triarchie*, p. 69.

Hess began his work with a personal statement which, in the eyes of contemporary socialists, must have stamped him in advance as an incurable dreamer, to use a rather mild expression. The transition from cosmopolitanism to Judaism was, for the revolutionary socialist, such a long and painful process that the statement deserves to be reproduced *in extenso.*

> Here I stand once more, after twenty years of estrangement, in the midst of my people; I participate in its holy days of joy and mourning, its memories and hopes, its spiritual struggles in its own house and with the civilized peoples among which it lives, but with which, despite two thousand years of living and striving together, it can not organically coalesce.
>
> A thought, which I believed I had stifled forever within my heart, is again vividly present with me: the thought of my nationality, inseparable from the inheritance of my ancestors, the Holy Land and the eternal city, the birthplace of belief in the divine unity of life and in the future brotherhood of all men.
>
> This thought, buried alive, had for years throbbed in my sealed heart, demanding an outlet. But I lacked the energy necessary for the transition, from a path apparently so remote from Judaism as mine was, to that new path which appeared before me in the hazy distance and only in its general outlines.[31]

What were the reasons for Hess's return to Judaism and for his "conversion" to Zionism? The answer is given, though not fully (and not always explicitly), in *Rom und Jerusalem.* As early as 1840, during the Damascus affair, Hess was deeply affected by the sufferings of his coreligionists, but his compassion was not of long duration.[32] Nineteen years later, however, while he was engaged in the study of natural science and anthropolgy, an important change occurred in him. At the outbreak of the Italian War (1859), he said, he noticed the connection between his anthropological (or rather racial) studies and the liberation movement of the oppressed nationalities, which received such strong impetus from the time of that war.[33] These studies convinced him

[31] *Rom und Jerusalem,* Letter I, p. 1.

[32] *Ibid.,* Letter V, pp. 22-23.

[33] *Ibid.,* p. 24.

that all racial domination would ultimately cease and would be followed by a regeneration of the nations. His own people, the Jews, began to interest and fascinate him more and more, and his long-suppressed feelings could no longer be restrained. His pain, which, at the time of the Damascus affair, was only a transient feeling, became now a dominant and lasting trait of his character. Not only did Hess stop trying to suppress the voice of his Jewish consciousness, he even fervently followed up its traces. He was pleasantly surprised when he found among his papers an old manuscript written in 1840 and anticipating his later Jewish aspirations.[34]

The manuscript is significant because it shows how Hess became responsive to Jewish ideas.[35]

It begins with a blunt statement that the indifference of the European and particularly the German public toward the bloody persecution of the Jews in Damascus must produce a turning-point in Jewish life. This indifference shows that the wall separating the Jews from the European nations is still as high as at the time of the most lamentable religious fanaticism. The Jews who, for purposes of obtaining emancipation, would like to persuade themselves and others that modern Jews no longer have any national feeling really do not know the facts. The whole effort of educated German Jews has been directed in vain toward becoming Germans, i.e., thinking and feeling as Germans. They are therefore surprised that Jew-hatred still exists in civilized Europe and are unable to understand the phenomenon. They do not realize that as long as the Jew disavows his nationality, just because he lacks the courage to declare his solidarity with his unhappy, persecuted, and ridiculed people, his false situation will become more unbearable from day to day. One should not fall victim to an illusion: European peoples have always considered the existence of Jews among them as an anomaly. The Jews will always remain strangers among the nations, who may well emancipate them for reasons of humanity or justice, but will never respect them as long as they [the Jews] profess the maxim, *ubi bene ibi patria,* as their main article of faith and relegate their own great national memories to the background. The modern Jew who denies his nationality fails to realize that naturalization does not free him from it. He will never win the respect of the nations as long as he denies his nationality. The pious Jew of the old stamp, who would rather have his tongue torn out than disavow his nationality, commands respect, but the modern Jew who denies

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-28.

and betrays his nationality because it is being persecuted is despicable. No "geographic or philosophic alibi" justifies his betrayal.[36]

It remains to be seen whether, in his manuscript, Hess was referring to Jewish Teutomaniacs in general, or whether he was also criticizing himself personally. It is also important, for the purpose of discovering the causes of his reorientation, to find out whether or not he personally suffered anti-Semitic humiliation. In both respects, the manuscript is highly instructive.

> Did we not sing, [he avows] only yesterday, with Nikolaus Becker: "Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein"?[37] Did I myself not commit the unpardonable stupidity of sending a musical setting for this "German Marseillaise" to its author?
>
> And yet the same thing happened to me in particular which the German Jews in general had undergone as a result of their patriotic enthusiasm. I too had to experience the humiliating fact that this German not only answered my ardently patriotic letter in an ice-cold tone, but also, as if to fill the cup of bitterness to the brim, added on the reverse side of his letter in a disguised script the words: *You are a Yid.*[38]

Though these words were written by Hess in 1840, one must not conclude therefrom that that year marked the end of his anti-Semitic experience. After the Damascus affair he wanted to give expression to his Jewish patriotic feelings in an outcry of pain, but did not do so because, as he said, the European proletariat awakened in him a still greater pain.[39] Yet his love of the proletariat was not reciprocated by his own party friends, and one can easily imagine how much he had to suffer from them before he, the dean of German socialists, decided in 1862 to make *publicly* the following statement. Speaking of German anti-Semites and recalling how they never forget to call even famous Jews by their original family names,[40] Hess declared: "I have experienced it personally, not only with opponents, but with my own party comrades ("Gesinnungsgenossen"), that in every personal

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[37] Famous patriotic *Lied* written by Becker in Bonn, in 1840.

[38] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Letter V, p. 25.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[40] Jacob Meyer Lippmann Beer for Meyerbeer, Baruch for Börne, etc., *ibid.*, Letter VI, p. 42.

controversy they make use of this [anti-Semitic] 'Hep' weapon, which in Germany seldom fails to have its effect. I have made up my mind to make this convenient weapon even more convenient for them by adopting henceforth my Old Testament name of *Moses,* and I only regret that my name is not *Itzig.*"[41]

One may thus conclude that anti-Semitism in general, and socialist anti-Semitism in particular, kept alive his national consciousness, which, implanted by his early traditional Jewish education,[42] he had tried more than once and for many years to eradicate from his mind. It is necessary to emphasize this fact here, because, though publicized by Hess himself, it is none the less neglected by many commentators including his biographer.[43] Naturally, Zionism meant for Hess the national regeneration of the Jews and not simply a weapon against anti-Semitism. This does not change, however, the fundamental fact that his suffering from anti-Semitism made him more favorable toward Jewish national aspirations. Without this suffering he would most probably have remained estranged from Judaism. His experience is to some extent reminiscent of that of Theodor Herzl and Bernard Lazare.

Anti-Semitism was not the only factor which led to the reorientation of Hess. A keen observer of Jewish life, he was inspired by what he called "a healthy reaction" of Jewry against a false cosmopolitanism.[44] Such inspiration came not only from the renaissance of Hebrew literature in the nineteenth century,[45] but from several other manifestations (or what he believed to be manifestations) of a Jewish revival in literature and historical science. He praised Leopold Kompert, Alexander Weill, and Aaron Bernstein for their faith-

[41] *Ibid.*, Letter VI, p. 42.

[42] About this education, see *ibid.*, Letter IV, pp. 19-20. Letter VI, p. 40; letter VIII, p. 59.

[43] A most casual remark of Zlocisti (*Moses Hess,* 2d ed., p. 313) that anti-Semitism was only the exterior motive of Hess's national reorientation is in every respect inadequate.

[44] *Ibid.*, Letter VI, p. 34.

[45] *Ibid.*, Letter VIII, p. 58.

ful and charming descriptions of Jewish life;[46] Ludwig Wihl ("Westöstliche Schwalben") for his poetry devoted to "the great memories of our immortal nation";[47] and Heinrich Graetz for his epochal *History of the Jews.*[48] Hess was also greatly influenced by Ernest Laharanne's appeal to the world and to the Jews themselves to re-establish their old state in Palestine.[49] In fact, he translated all of the relevant part of Laharanne's pamphlet and incorporated it into *Rom und Jerusalem.*[50]

It would be interesting to know under what immediate impulse Hess decided to write and publish his *Rom und Jerusalem.* Unfortunately, the information given by him is somewhat enigmatic. In this connection, it may be recalled that *Rom und Jerusalem* is written in the form of letters to a lady-friend who—if she is not a literary fiction—seems to have exercised a decisive influence on Hess. In an apostrophe to this lady-friend Hess noted: "It was only when I saw you in your grief that my heart was opened, and the lid was gently raised from the coffin of my slumbering national feeling when I discovered the source from which flows your belief in the enternity of the spirit. What ripened within me the resolve to champion the national rebirth of my people was your infinite soul-sorrow at the loss of one dear to you (*'einer teuren Hingeschiedenen'*). Of such a love, which, like mother-love, is derived from the blood and yet is as pure as the spirit of God—of such a boundless family-love only a Jewish heart is capable."[51]

Unfortunately, nothing is known about this Jewish lady except that she was from Frankfurt-on-the-Main.[52]

[46] *Ibid.*, Letter VI, p. 34.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Laharanne, *La Nouvelle Question d'Orient. Empires d'Egypte et d'Arabie. Reconstitution de la nationalité juive* (Paris, 1860). (Available at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

[50] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Letter XI, pp. 96-103.

[51] *Ibid.*, Letter I, p. 2.

[52] See *ibid.*, Letter VIII, p. 65.

III. Race and Nationality

The Jewish national concept held by Hess was based on his idea of race. And though in his writings it is easy in most cases to replace the word "race" by the term "nation" without thereby changing at all the remainder of his system, one must not forget that Hess himself attached great importance to race.

Social institutions as well as intellectual views, he thought, are typical and original creations of race.[53] So, too, are the languages and religions of the original peoples ("Urvölker").[54] Behind the questions of nationality and of freedom which agitate the world, there lies hidden a far more fundamental race question, which cannot be eliminated by "philanthropic phrases."[55] Hess seems to have accepted Augustin Thierry's idea that the ruling classes of a country are descended from foreign invaders of an alien race who seized power by conquest.[56] "All past history," Hess asserted, "has moved in the sphere of race and class struggle. The race struggle is the primal one, the class struggle secondary."[57]

One looks in vain in the works of Hess for any clear definition of race; nor is there a well-marked distinction between race and nationality. Indeed, so confused is his terminology that the Jews are called interchangeably—and without any explanation—"race" *or* "nationality." However this may be, Hess was convinced that there are "two world-historical races" whose combined cultural efforts have shaped modern society: the Aryans and the Semites.[58] Their members, especially the most talented among them, are moved by "the instinct of their race": they have an obscure but powerful presentiment of what their race must strive after.[59]

[53] *Ibid.*, Epilogue, sec. 5, p. 183. See also Letter VI, p. 37.
[54] *Ibid.*, Epilogue, sec. 1, p. 129.
[55] *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xii.
[56] Cf. *ibid.*, Epilogue, sec. 5, p. 183.
[57] *Ibid.* See also Hess, *Une Nation déchue* (Brussels, 1871), pp. 15-16.
[58] Hess, *Dynamische Stofflehre* (Paris, 1877), pp. 32-33.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

"Aryans and Semites are two factors of social life, complementary and of equal value, which condition historical life."[60] The Aryans aim at explaining and beautifying life, the Semites at moralizing and sanctifying it.[61] In the field of races there is variety but no superiority or inferiority,[62] so that there is no justification for racial oppression or discrimination. Indeed, the final aim of history, as viewed by Hess, is the harmonious co-operation of all nations.[63] This aim, however, will not be achieved until all nations are free from foreign rule. For every oppressed nationality, national independence is the prerequisite for social progress.[64]

The Jews, according to Hess, are one of the primary *("ursprüngliche")* races which, through the ages, has retained its integrity and preserved its type.[65] They are destined to play in the future a still greater role than they have in the past.[66] Hess conferred upon them such world missions as spreading the knowledge of God,[67] practicing and teaching law,[68] emancipating labor from "speculation" (i.e., capitalist exploitation),[69] and even helping France in opening the road to India.[70] "Other historical races" have, of course, "other missions" to accomplish.[71]

It is irrelevant for our purpose to examine whether these views represent anything more than unverifiable assumptions which one accepts or rejects according to one's personal preferences. It is relevant, however, to state that without these assumptions—they were certainties for Hess—

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 38. See also Hess, "Lettres," *AI*, XXV, p. 146.

[62] Hess, "Observations," *Alliance religieuse universelle*, I (1865), 7. (Available at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

[63] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Epilogue, sec. 1, pp. 127-128.

[64] *Ibid.*, Letter XII, p. 110.

[65] *Ibid.*, Letter IV, p. 14.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[67] *Ibid.*, Letter II, p. 4.

[68] Hess, "Lettres," *AI*, XXV, p. 435.

[69] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Epilogue, sec. 4, p. 178.

[70] *Ibid.*, Letter XII, pp. 112-113.

[71] Hess, "La Doctrine mosaïque," *AI*, XXVII (1866), 296.

the dean of German socialists would never have been inspired to write his *Rom und Jerusalem*. Three or four decades later it was not too difficult to claim for the Jews the right to independence simply on the ground that, like others, they, too, are a nationality. But in the early 1860's this claim was, for an educated Jew, especially if he happened to be a socialist, such a revolutionary proposition that to justify it one almost had to resort to loftier arguments. It did not seem sufficient to assert that, like any other nationality, the Jews were entitled to political independence. It seemed more natural to substantiate this right with metaphysical or theological reasoning, and to show that the Jews are a special nationality and as such have a special title to political sovereignty. And, indeed, Hess's effort was directed, not toward proving that a Jewish nationality exists, but that it is a unique nationality with a unique world mission to perform.

The existence of a Jewish nationality was for Hess a self-evident fact. It would have seemed to him preposterous first to give a definition of what nationality is and then to find out whether it fitted the Jews. In Russia, Poland, Prussia, Austria, and Turkey, he simply noted, there live millions of Jews who have preserved the very kernel of Judaism, i.e., the Jewish nationality.[72] "Jewish patriotism" is no less manifest than Jewish nationality: "It is a natural feeling which, in its primitiveness and simplicity, neither needs to be demonstrated nor can be demonstrated away."[73] That the Jew must be, above all, a Jewish patriot needs no proof for those who have received a Jewish education.[74] This specifically Jewish patriotism does not preclude the exiled Jew from being also a patriot of his adopted fatherland if he enjoys there full equality with other citizens.[75] In

[72] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Letter V, p. 29.

[73] *Ibid.*, Letter IV, p. 17: "Ein naturwahres Gefühl, das in seiner Ursprünglichkeit und Einfachkeit weder demonstriert zu werden braucht, noch wegdemonstriert werden kann."

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Ibid.*, Letter VIII, p. 59. See also a manuscript of Hess quoted in Zlocisti, *Moses Hess*, 2d ed., p. 429.

the latter part of his life, Hess himself offered a good example of such a dual patriotism. Enthusiastically pro-French, he wrote such a patriotic appeal[76] that the editor of the periodical which published it on August 1, 1870 prefaced it with a note calling Hess a "Frenchman at heart."[77]

Emancipation of the Jews does not solve the Jewish problem. Emancipation—as long, of course, as it is compatible with the preservation of Jewish nationality[78]—is of great value for the Jews, but it is not the last word for their social, moral, intellectual, and national liberty.[79] In order to develop and to attain their highest ideals, the Jews must preserve their nationality in the exile and strive for its political restoration in Palestine. The Jewish religion is the best means of preserving the nationality of the Jews. It must therefore be left unchanged until the day when the foundations of a Jewish political and social establishment are laid in Palestine, and a Sanhedrin can be elected to modify the Law in agreement with the needs of the new society.[80]

IV. The Jewish State

While Marx, during his whole lifetime, saw in Judaism the incarnation of exploitation and cheating, Hess took a different view of the Jews and their faith. Nothing, he thought, is more foreign to the spirit of Judaism than egoism. "Judaism," he said, "has never drawn any line of separation between the individual and the family, the family and the nation, the nation and mankind, mankind and the organic and cosmic creation, nor between the latter and the Creator."[81] It is not a fossilized and barren belief, not a passive religion, but an active knowledge (*"aktive Erkenntnis"*), coalesced organically with the Jewish nationality. "Jewry is above all a nationality whose history, lasting through

[76] Hess, "L'Armement de la Nation," *Solidarité*, IV (1870), 120-121.

[77] Charles Fauvety, *ibid.*, p. 120.

[78] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Letter V, p. 17.

[79] Hess, "Lettres," *AI*, XXV, p. 476.

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 476-477. See also *Rom und Jerusalem*, Letter VII, p. 50.

[81] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Letter II, p. 5.

thousands of years, goes hand in hand with that of mankind . . ."[82]

While Marx made a distinction between the Sabbath Jew and the everyday Jew, Hess commented in an entirely different spirit on Judaism and its believers. "Religion, philosophy, and politics," he noted, "leave me cold, if they do not help to improve the situation of the working classes by means of institutions which put an end to all caste spirit and all class rule. Judaism, however, knows no caste spirit and no class rule. The spirit of Judaism is from the very beginning a social-democratic spirit. The spirit of Judaism, I repeat, is the spirit of the Jews."[83] Hess insisted on this truly social-democratic character of the Jews. Their "national spirit," he observed, is "the most just, the most equalitarian, and, so to speak, the most modern."[84] Judaism, he added, has never known feudalism or hierarchy.[85]

The roots of the past, present, and future creations of Judaism do not lie in heaven, but in the heart and spirit of the Jewish people. As long as this people had its own land, it realized its own spirit in institutions and in a literature which contained the guarantee of perfection for the whole of mankind.[86] To continue this work interrupted by the destruction of the Jewish state, the Jews require *earth* of their own.[87] "In exile, Jewry cannot be regenerated. Reforms and philanthropical efforts can bring it at most to apostasy. In this, however, no reformer and no tyrant will succeed. The Jewish popular mass will participate in the great movement of modern mankind only when it has its own fatherland."[88]

The Jewish people needs a "center of activity (*centre d'action*),"[89] around which a nucleus of men devoted to the religious mission of Israel can gather in order to pursue their

[82] *Ibid.*
[83] Hess in *Ben Chananja,* V (1862), 305.
[84] Hess, "Lettres," *AI,* XXV, p. 242.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] Hess in *Ben Chananja,* V (1862), 305.
[87] Hess, "Lettres," *AI,* XXV, pp. 435-436.
[88] *Rom und Jerusalem,* Letter XII, p. 112; cf. also pp. 110-111.
[89] Hess, Review of G. d'Eichthal, *AI,* XXVI (1865), 486.

work. One day these men will rediscover one another in the ancient state of Israel. Their number is irrelevant, since Judaism has never been represented by a numerous people.[90]

Hess was aware, of course, of the fact that the restoration of the Jewish state could not be accomplished without a tremendous struggle. The most difficult part would be the awakening of patriotism in the hearts of educated Jews and the liberation of the Jewish masses from a spirit-deadening formalism. Other difficulties would be overcome by actual experience.[91] Naturally, the creation of a Jewish state would be impossible without the help of the great powers. "Today," Hess noted, "the European powers have other affairs to set in order than those of Jewry."[92] The outlook for the future, however, is brighter. In their efforts to regain for themselves a place in the commonwealth of nations, the Jews may count on the sympathy of the powerful civilized nations of the West[93] and on the active aid of France in particular. It is in accordance with the sympathies of the French people and with the interests of French politics that France extend its work of redemption to the Jewish nation also. France must be interested in seeing that the road to India and China is settled by peoples who will be absolutely loyal to her. And what people is better suited for this purpose than the Jews?[94] The prospects are thus good for the Jews, who must do everything in their power to grasp the opportune moment for advancing their own cause. "The march of events is swift in our century, and it would ill become us to say that we are poorly prepared when we are called one day to take our place among modern nations."[95]

When world political events make it possible to take the first steps toward the re-establishment of the Jewish state, Jews will start founding colonies in the land of their

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] *Rom und Jerusalem,* Letter XII, p. 108; cf. also p. 114.

[92] Hess, "Lettres," *AI,* XXV, p. 382.

[93] *Rom und Jerusalem,* Epilogue, sec. 6, p. 192.

[94] *Ibid.,* Letter XII, pp. 112-113. See also Letter XI, pp. 92-93, and note IX, p. 233; and "Lettres," *AI,* XXV, p. 337.

[95] Hess, "Lettres," *AI,* XXV, p. 382.

ancestors.[96] What preparations should be made for this colonization? In this respect Hess explicitly subscribed to the program elaborated by Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer, of Thorn. A society for the colonization of Palestine should be organized with the financial support of such wealthy Jews as Moses Montefiore, Albert Cohn, Rothschild, Fould, and others. This organization should raise as much money as possible with which to buy land in Palestine, and in time rent it out to colonists. It should settle in the Holy Land Jews from Russia, Poland, and Germany, supporting them economically in the beginning. It should establish a police system to protect the colonists from attack by Bedouins and to maintain law and order in the country. It should also establish an agricultural school where young Jews would be trained for agriculture in Palestine.[97]

To this program of Rabbi Kalischer Hess added a few points of his own. There can be no question, he said, of suddenly transplanting to Palestine "population masses [of Jews] with the leaders of obscurantism at their head."[98] Material and moral prosperity would first have to be created in Palestine by works of all kinds, under the protection of the liberal powers of Europe.[99] This, Hess suggested, should be encouraged by a close co-operation of the two existing associations, the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Paris) and the Jewish Society for Colonization of the Holy Land (Frankfurt-on-the-Oder).[100] Hess prepared a memorandum on this subject for Rabbi Joseph Natonek of Stuhlweissenburg (Hungary), who submitted it to the Alliance.[101] At its

[96] *Rom und Jerusalem,* Letter XI, pp. 91-92.

[97] *Ibid.,* Letter XII, pp. 118-119. See also Hess, "Projet de colonisation de la Terre Sainte," *AI,* XXVIII (1867), 278-283. For literature on Kalischer see *Jewish Encyclopedia,* VII, 422; *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* IX, 827; *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* VI, 296.

[98] Hess, "Lettres," *AI,* XXV, p. 339.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] *Ibid.,* p. 382.

[101] On Hess's practical interest in the colonization of Palestine see Zlocisti, *Moses Hess,* 2d ed., pp. 364-369, and Zlocisti's article in *Der Jude,* V (1920-21), 327-339. The present writer has vainly tried to locate the Natonek [or rather Hess] memorandum in the archives of the Alliance. He has not been able to establish whether it disappeared before or after the seizure of these archives by the Nazi invaders, who carried them away to Germany.

meeting of March 20, 1867, however, the Central Committee of the Alliance rejected the memorandum.[102]

Whom did Hess expect to settle Palestine? Those who, by migrating there, would improve their economic conditions,[103] that is, for all practical purposes, only eastern Jews. Palestine, as a homeland, was thus destined for the "unhappy [Jewish] people of Poland and the east."[104] From western Europe Hess expected "no contingent" at all for the new state.[105] Even after the establishment of a modern Jewish state, the majority of the Jews who live in the civilized countries of the Occident will undoubtedly remain where they are. The western Jews, who have only recently and by the greatest efforts acquired culture and achieved an honorable position in society, will not give up these gains. Such a sacrifice does not lie in human nature and cannot be expected even from patriotic Jews, much less from the majority of the "educated" Jewish parvenus, who have succeeded in breaking off all relations with their unfortunate brethren.[106] Hess expressed the hope, however, that by their knowledge, wealth, and influence western Jews would help their eastern coreligionists in settling Palestine.[107] There are no statements by Hess indicating whether he expected the majority of Jews to settle in Palestine eventually. It is known, however, that he conceived of the future Jewish state as a "spritual nerve-center of the nation"[108] rather than as a dense population center. Consequently, he could not have attached any great importance to the demographic aspect of the state to be created.

[102] The relevant passage of the minutes of that meeting reads: "M. le rabbin Natonek, de Stuhlweissenburg, propose à l'Alliance de provoquer une conférence à Paris pour encourager la colonisation de la Terre-Sainte. Il sera répondu que cette proposition, paraissant faite pour favoriser l'émigration en Palestine, n'est pas d'accord avec la décision du Comité Central qui a pour but unique d'aider le développement de l'agriculture parmi les Israélites établis en Palestine." *Bulletin de l'Alliance israélite universelle*, 1er semestre 1867, p. 10.

[103] *Rom und Jerusalem*, note IX, p. 231.

[104] Hess, "Lettres," *AI*, XXV, p. 244.

[105] Hess in *Ben Chananja*, V (1862), 305.

[106] *Ibid.*, note IX, pp. 233-234.

[107] *Ibid.*, Letter VI, p. 41; and "Lettres," *AI*, XXV, p. 336.

[108] *Rom und Jerusalem*, note IX, p. 234.

Nor did Hess attribute any particular importance to the language that would be spoken in this state. He was, it is true, deeply attached to the Hebrew language[109] and was gratified by its revival in his day.[110] The Jews who now speak different languages will, he noted, of course, be bound to use a common language in Palestine. What this language will be, however, he did not intimate. All he had to say about the problem is that "diversity of language, except at the building of the Tower of Babel, has never yet prevented any society from organizing itself."[111] The context suggests that the Jews of Palestine would either continue to speak several languages and adopt one common official language, or they would all speak one and the same common language. Hess did not care to be more explicit about this or any other cultural aspect of the Jewish state. As a matter of fact he said practically nothing about the culture of the Jewish state, except that "there will arise in the Holy Land, as in Germany and other European countries, universities led by able scholars."[112]

Hess was more explicit about the social aspects of the future Jewish state. This state, he pointed out, must be based on the following foundations: (1) acquisition of soil by the nation as a whole; (2) creation of "legal conditions under which work can flourish"; and (3) "founding of Jewish societies of agriculture, industry, and trade in accordance with Mosaic, i.e., socialist principles."[113] It is more or less clear what the first two points amount to: partial nationalization of the land and legal protection of labor. The meaning of point three is less clear. What are the societies based on "Mosaic, i.e., socialist principles?" Although the context does not indicate this, there can be little doubt that Hess had in mind the establishment of productive associations (or co-operatives), to be founded, as Lassalle suggested in Germany, by workers with the financial help of the state.

[109] *Ibid.*, Letter IV, p. 17.
[110] Hess in *Ben Chananja*, V (1862), 305.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] *Rom und Jerusalem*, Letter XII, p. 120.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Hess was an enthusiastic follower of Lassalle and agitated for his program,[114] and it was quite natural that he should also have wanted to see it applied, in time, in the Holy Land. What Hess said about the introduction of this program in Germany, he would also apply to Palestine, namely, that the necessary reforms should be introduced only when the workers had acquired—through "peaceful means"[115]—a majority in the legislative bodies.[116] Thus democracy, and not dictatorship, appeared to Hess to offer the best means for introducing socialist measures. The dictatorship of the working classes was rejected by him.[117] "Social revolutions in the sense that communist fanatics have ascribed to them are fantasies that belong in the lunatic asylum."[118]

In conclusion it may be briefly pointed out that Hess succeeded in formulating an interesting synthesis of socialism and Zionism. Whether or not one accepts this synthesis depends, of course, on one's general stand on socialism as well as Zionism. But whether one agrees or disagrees with Hess, his ideas clearly show how mistaken are those who assume that until the emergence of the Jewish proletariat in the political arena, it was "impossible" for a great socialist to view the Jewish people otherwise than as a collectivity of parasites. Hess provides conclusive evidence that there was nothing "inevitable" in the desire of so many socialists to see the Jews and Judaism disappear as quickly as possible. He also testifies to the fact that it was perfectly possible for a socialist, long before the appearance of an active Jewish proletariat, to reconcile the aspirations of the laboring classes with those of the Jewish nationality. Hess achieved such a reconciliation not only because of his powerful vision,

[114] See Hess, *Die Rechte der Arbeit* (Frankfurt a. M., 1863); *Ueber socialökonomische Reformen* (Hamburg, 1863).

[115] Hess, *Ueber socialökonomische Reformen*, p. 9.

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[117] Hess, *Die Rechte der Arbeit*, p. 18. "La liberté n'est pas le sommet, mais la base même de l'oeuvre révolutionnaire." Hess, *La Haute Finance et l'Empire* (Paris, 1869), p. 4.

[118] Hess, *Die Rechte der Arbeit*, pp. 18-19.

but also because his identification with the Jewish people was no less strong than his attachment to socialism.

It goes without saying that the socialist Zionism of Hess enjoyed not the slightest success during his lifetime. Contemporary socialists organized, so to speak, a conspiracy of silence about his *magnum opus.* Radical and socialist references and allusions to *Rom und Jerusalem* are exceedingly rare, indeed, and ironic to boot. *Der Pionier,* a periodical published by the German radical Karl Heinzen, noted in passing that Hess was once reported "to have gone to Palestine to establish a new Jewish empire."[119] Johann Philipp Becker, the only contemporary socialist who specifically referred to *Rom und Jerusalem* (and called it, moreover, "an interesting work"), made the following remarks about its author: "Mr. Moses Hess, pardonably enough, is very much in love with his Jewish nationality, claiming that Providence has assigned to it the vocation of freeing mankind from spiritual darkness. He seems to forget, however, that his race has simply never had the 'stuff' to exist for any considerable time as a nation, but went from the Egyptian captivity to the Babylonian, and soon thereafter from one alien yoke to another, and finally into two thousand years of exile, and that accordingly, precisely from the point of view of the fulfillment of a cultural-historical task, it does not seem to have the vocation of being a united body—a nation—but is destined for scattered, isolated, *individual* activity. Or will Mr. Hess perhaps deduce from this that he and his fellow-Jews (who are indeed, as a rule, inquisitive and obtrusive) have the privilege of 'individual opinion and of knowing better?' "[120] Bernhard Becker was not so personally aggressive; as an example of the abuse of the principle of nationality, he simply cited Hess as "seriously" giving consideration to the establishment of a new Jewish state.[121]

[119] Anonymous, no title, *Der Pionier,* June 29, 1864, p. 3.

[120] J. Ph. Becker, "Warnung für Warnung," *Nordstern,* No. 323, Sept. 16, 1865, p. 2 (available at Amsterdam, Institute for Social History). In countries where they have been emancipated, the Jews are considered by J. Ph. Becker as "nationals" of those countries where they are settled. *Wie und wann?* (Geneva, 1862), pp. 139-140.

[121] Bernhard Becker, *Der Missbrauch der Nationalitätenlehre,* 3d ed. (Braunschweig, 1873), p. 129.

So far as the present writer is aware, these are the only contemporary socialist references to the Zionism of "the donkey Moses Hess"—as Karl Marx called him.[122]

For nearly four decades Hess's Zionist work remained almost entirely forgotten or rather unknown. Only at the end of the nineteenth century was he rediscovered by Zionists. At their first congress at Basel (1897) he was hailed as a herald of socialist Zionism.[123] Two years later appeared the first reprint of *Rom und Jerusalem,* which definitely saved Hess the Zionist from oblivion.

[122] Marx to Engels, Jan. 25, 1865, Marx-Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* ed. by the Marx-Engels Institute, Erste Abteilung (Frankfurt, Berlin, Moscow, 1927-35), III, 216.

[123] See David Farbstein in Zionist Congress, *Stenographisches Protokoll des I. Kongresses* 1897, pp. 95, 107, 110-111.

SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH

The Formative Years of the Leader of Modern Orthodoxy

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[Translated from the German by Hilde Kisch]

SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH lives in the memory of his admirers and critics almost exclusively as the founder and organizer of western European Orthodoxy. During his years in Frankfurt all his work was devoted to this cause. Certain utterances and acts by Rabbi Hirsch as a young man seem to be in contrast to the picture derived from his Frankfurt period, but they are usually considered in the light of his later development or altogether denied.

The present essay is an attempt to draw—partly on the basis of documents as yet unpublished—an unbiased picture of Hirsch's early activities which resulted from impressions received in his youth.[1] The author will at-

[1] This refers to documents that were rescued for research through the efforts of my late brother-in-law, Mr. Felix Perle of Breslau. They were part of the correspondence between S. R. Hirsch and my late grandfather, Abraham Heinemann, member of the Synagogue Board of Wildeshausen, Oldenburg. For information concerning Hirsch's activities in Emden I am indebted to Mr. W. Valk, formerly of Emden, now in Petah Tikvah, Israel.

The following abbreviations are used for a number of frequently quoted works: Ho. = S. R. Hirsch, *Horeb, Versuche über Jissroéls Pflichten in der Zerstreuung*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a.M., 1889). — — L. = S. R. Hirsch, 19 *Briefe über Judenthum*. Herausgegeben von Ben Usiel. 4th ed. (Frankfurt a.M., 1911). Cf. *The Nineteen Letters of Ben Usiel*. Translated by Bernard Drachman (New York and London, 1899). The English version of the quoted passages is partly taken from this translation. — — N. = S. R. Hirsch, *Mittheilungen aus Naphtalis Briefwechsel*. 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a.M., 1920). — — *Isr.* = *Festschrift des "Israelit" zum 25. Siwan 5668* [1908] *mit Bildern und einer biographischen Einleitung* [by Judaeus (?), referring to unpublished letters]. — — *MGWJ.*, 1918, 1919 = M. Brann, "Aus H. Graetzens Lehr- und Wanderjahren," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, LXII (1918), pp. 231-265; LXIII (1919), pp. 34-47, 343-363. — — *JJLG.* = *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft zu Frankfurt am Main.*

tempt to offer an insight into the practical and spiritual work of one of the few men who guided western European Jewry when it was facing the danger of being swallowed up by secular civilization, almost defenseless, without support in its literature and without model leaders in its past to lean on.

Early Impressions

Hirsch's appointment as "Landrabbiner" of Oldenburg was made by the Government without the participation of the Jewish communities. It had been proposed by his predecessor, Dr. Nathan M. Adler, later Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, on the basis of an examination given by him and two non-Jewish government representatives.[2] Previously an inquiry had been made by the Government of one of their officials in Hamburg whose reply was of remarkable accuracy. It is possible for this writer to confirm that information in all main points and even to supplement some details as far as that is necessary in order to understand Hirsch's activity.

Hirsch was born at Hamburg in 1808. His parents are described by him as "enlightened and religious" ("*erleuchtet religiös*") (L. 2). A photograph shows them with the traditional head-covering, but his father had no beard (Isr.). As far as the study of the Talmud is concerned, it must be said that young Hirsch started it with a "mature intellect and on his own initiative." There is no evidence that he ever attended the Talmud Torah school where even small children were made to study the Talmud; rather, he received instruction from private teachers together with the other children of the family. For a while he worked as an apprentice in a business firm but later decided to become a rabbi in the modern sense of the term, namely, the religious leader of a community.

In this endeavor "only one star guided him somewhat in the beginning" (L. 19), doubtlessly Isaac Bernays, who

[2] On the preliminaries to his appointment to the position in Oldenburg see Mannheimer, Isr., 17.

in the year of Hirsch's Barmitzvah had been appointed "spiritual warden" ("*geistlicher Beamte*") of the German-Jewish community of Hamburg.[3] Hirsch had attended Bernays' lectures on Torah and the Psalms, and he remembered them well even in his later years.[4] From them he came to conceive the earliest history in the Torah as the tale of the apostasy of mankind up to the time when Abraham appeared as the pioneer of pure faith in God and—a model for us all—"invoked the name of God." From Bernays' lectures, too, young Hirsch learned to understand such Psalms as the fifteenth, and above all their basic ideas, so that he could penetrate into all minute details, unimportant as they might seem. Could it be that as early as then the decision had ripened in the youth's mind to "view" the whole of Judaism in the same way as his master did the Psalms, that is, in the true meaning of Goethe's words on "beholding" things: "dass es erst ins Innre dringt, dann nach aussen wiederkehrt"—that which one sees must first penetrate the innermost and then return outward? Be that as it may, if later on the Nikolsburg talmudists complained that "in the past one used to learn Gemorah and say Tillim; nowadays, however, one says Gemorah and has to learn Tillim" (Isr., 21), the "guilt" for this must be placed on the man who taught Hirsch "to enter the halls of 'Tauroh' with a thirst for cognition," that is, for ultimate truth or Weltanschauung.[5] A stay of one and a half years at Karlsruhe (1828-29) with Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger, a childhood friend of Bernays, proved very advantageous for Hirsch's talmudic studies.

The foundation for his secular knowledge Hirsch owed to the Hamburg "Gymnasium" where he received thorough

[3] The lectures on Kuzari in 1838 were not attended by Hirsch but by his brother; Dukesz, *JJLG.*, V (1907), p. 307 and n. 2, is inaccurate on this.

[4] For the following exposition see Hirsch's Commentary on Gen. 4:26 and Ps. 15 (quotations from Bernays); cf. Hirsch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1904), p. 324. For the explanation of the first-mentioned passage the *Bibelsche Orient* was used, the author of which, in my opinion, was Bernays. To a third quotation in Hirsch's Commentary to Num. 20:7 ff. and to the unfortunate development of his relations with his teacher I intend to devote a detailed exposition elsewhere.

[5] Hirsch, *Jeschurun*, 1868, p. 133, emphasizing his independence with regard to details in his Commentary on the Pentateuch.

instruction in Latin. This stood him in good stead; his discussions with the "enlightened" Reform rabbis (N.) are replete with Latin quotations. Even a man like Ludwig Philippson "cannot withhold his respect [from Hirsch] when he [Hirsch] tries to fight his adversaries with the sharp and polished weapon of his profound erudition.[6] In the controversy concerning Jewish oral tradition he would point out to critics of rabbinical etymologies that even Cicero's linguistic derivations are very contestable, though no one can deny his mastery of the Latin language. Another advantage derived from his attendance at the "Gymnasium" was a solid general education, which at the time of his first publication included, for instance, a knowledge of *Tasso* and the works of Shakespeare (L. 1). Above all, there he had stepped into a human environment distinctly different from the old Jewish milieu as far as language and manners were concerned.[7] That is why correct manners according to the standards of educated Europeans seemed always important to him.[8]

It is true that Hirsch studied at a university (Bonn) for only two semesters, but it was probably there that he became familiar "with the consequential deductions of a Leibnitz and Kant." Courses on the Roman satirist Juvenal and on experimental physics, too, were included in his schedule.[9] In all his studies Hirsch seems not to have intended to delve deeply into any one subject; rather, he endeavored to enlarge his general education, his knowledge of modern methods in philology and the natural sciences. As far as Semitic languages are concerned, there is no trace of them apparent in Hirsch. However, he shows a strong

[6] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* III (1839).

[7] Bernays stressed the need of appointing a Christian teacher for the Talmud-Torah School because of the favorable influence of a "complete stranger" upon the language and behavior of the students; A. Fürst, "Die jüdischen Realschulen Deutschlands", *MGWJ.*, LVIII (1914), p. 518. Cf. Graetz, *MGWJ.*, 1919, p. 37, on the "vernachlässigtes Äussere und die mauschelnde Sprache" of the modern preacher, Solomon Plessner.

[8] Isr., p. 21 (Nikolsburg); *Historia Judaica,* X (1948), pp. 104 f. (Frankfurt).

[9] Raphael Breuer, *Unter seinem Banner, ein Beitrag zur Würdigung Rabbiner Samson Raphael Hirschs* (Frankfurt, 1908), pp. 213 f.

interest in natural science which comes to the fore even in his late publications; and he never attempted to evade coming to grips with enlightened ideologies based on natural science.

Just as the Gymnasium had done before, so the university had much more to offer Hirsch than mere knowledge and methodological training. There he met young people whose way of thinking to some extent greatly differed from the traditional Jewish approach.

As early as his trip to Mannheim it had been Hirsch's endeavor to become acquainted with the sympathizers of Reform at Frankfurt. He had, for instance, paid a "courtesy call" on the preacher and teacher at the Philanthropin, Michael Creizenach (N. 3). In the latter's house he had also met Abraham Geiger, two years his junior, whom he was to meet again in Bonn where they came to know each other more intimately. Both complained bitterly about the then prevailing situation that Jewish theologians with modern training were suffering from isolation. Together with some friends, all of them differing in their religious views, they founded the "Homiletical Association" for the purpose of improving their ability to preach through mutual criticism. Their friendly relations lasted for a long time and remained firm even after Geiger, as a preacher of Reform, had stated his viewpoint unequivocally in his sermons at the Frankfurt Philanthropin. It was only his sharp criticism of the *Nineteen Letters* that brought their friendship to an end.

Popular Instruction

The inaugural sermon of the newly appointed "Landrabbiner" was at the same time a Rosh-Hashanah sermon.[10]

The past year ought to be surveyed with deep thankfulness. Thoughts of many a broken flower should give way to the joyous feeling "that a new future lies ahead of us and that we will be able to work with even greater strength and vigor." Then the youthful preacher goes on to voice thanks to God, to his parents, the government, his congregation, and after having expressed his gratitude, he urges everyone

[10] Published in Wohlgemuth's *Jeschurun*, I (1914), pp. 73 ff.

"Forward!" ("*jetzt vorwärts*!"). The way seems pointed out to him in the three calls to be found in the main prayers:

God is the Lord: therefore man must not be wanton in good times and despondent in grief.

God teaches us: His voice is heard like a trumpet in our conheartless. "Do not slacken in doing good even if prejudice and indolence prevail when you call for progress; for you work for the sake of your Heavenly Father and therefore no effort is lost."

God teaches us: His voice is heard like a trumpet in our conscience, in nature, in history, but above all—in the Torah. It speaks especially to parents who should lead their children toward the Torah in order "to make their hearts a divine temple where the holy voice makes itself readily heard."

The sermon closes with a prayer invoking God's blessing for the fatherland and Hirsch's own rabbinical work. Its phrasing is in complete harmony with the taste of the time. It shows no trace of the old *derashah*, whose point of departure is usually biblical, and particularly rabbinical, texts, which then proceeds to point out the difficulties in them, and finally arrives at some meaningful truism on life. True, the theme of the sermon, built up in three parts, is taken from traditional Jewish thought. But the discussion follows a strictly systematic course with only occasional quotations from the Bible and among these only two in Hebrew. How strange does the short prayer (leading over to the main part) sound to us with its wish "that the sermon may not be lacking in truth and its words may not be devoid of power"; how un-Jewish and how unlike Hirsch! Unquestionably, it is patterned very much after Christian models. And it is understandable, indeed, that Judaism, striving to overcome the formlessness of the ghetto and to grow into the mould of European culture, should first have conformed to strange models—in much the same way as a young teacher might first pattern his method of instruction after that of a certain pedagogue only to find in the course of time a way of his own to deal with his young students! It ought to be remembered here that even before Hirsch a man like Bernays had preached in his own way but had expressed his very modern ideas in a form resembling very closely that of the old *derashah*. However, there could be no attraction in Bernays' method for Hirsch. For despite the

fact that Bernays' lectures on the Psalms and Jehuda Halevi were well received by his audiences, and although even Heine found his Sabbath sermons spiritually deeper than those of the preachers of the *Tempel,*[11] it must be said that not only the public at large, which for the most part did not even understand Bernays, but, as far as form was concerned, even an expert like Isaac Noah Mannheimer, preferred the sermons in the Temple.[12] It seems only natural that in the course of time preachers as well as congregations were bound to develop a taste of their own. The fact that Hirsch won the acclaim not only of the Jews, but also of non-Jews who—certainly at the invitation of the congregations—attended the services,[13] makes it understandable, indeed, that he should have considered this way of preaching as the best means to educate his congregation and to spread the understanding of Judaism in remoter circles, too.

The above-mentioned sermon bears a close structural resemblance to an admonitory message placed by Hirsch in 1834 in Hebrew letters on the synagogue at Wildeshausen and, doubtlessly, also on the other synagogues in that district. The "Message" is presumably a slightly revised Passover sermon delivered at the synagogue in Oldenburg. It begins with the following words:

At a time when everything around us begins to bloom anew, and everything awakens and strides vigorously forward to the blissful life

[11] Letter to Moser of August 23, 1823.

[12] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* VI (1846), p. 62, pointing to Bernays' "Verworrenheit."—In Norden, near Emden, a Jewish visitor found a portrait of Hirsch in the private office of a prominent Christian manufacturer. The latter told him the story of how it happened to be there. It had to do with a lawsuit of his father with a Jew many years ago. The court then imposed an oath on the Jewish party. According to procedural law, the oath had to be taken before the rabbi (Landrabbiner). Hirsch, who held this position at the time, came to that town and on the Sabbath before the projected ceremony delivered a sermon on oaths and uttered in particular misgivings against the taking of any oath. Without Hirsch's knowledge the Christian manufacturer had attended that sermon. The sermon made a deep impression on the audience. The manufacturer thereupon visited Rabbi Hirsch and declared that he would not insist on the oath of his adversary even if he should lose the case. Unaware of this the Jewish party made an identical declaration to Hirsch. This story is significant of both Hirsch's concept of the purpose of a sermon and of the power of his word.

[13] Graetz, *MGWJ.*, 1919, pp. 351, 357.

for which the Creator has destined it, these words, dear brethren, are to express the wish that our community, too, may stride forward and reach the goal set for all communities in Israel by our heavenly Father. Only recently the feast of Passover has reminded us of our origin and taught us that the same God, who every year awakens his creation from winter to spring, has called us away from the winter of Mitzrayim to an active life that is intended always to progress and to flourish. Is it, therefore, not appropriate for us, dear brethren, to contemplate whether the will of our heavenly Father is being fulfilled in our communities? Whether we, at a time when everything lives up to its purpose, are not tardy and ought to be ashamed before every blade of grass? For truly, now as many millennia ago, the earth changes constantly; now as many millennia ago it must obey the divine law by which it is governed. But as for us humans, God in His wisdom has only taught us to recognize our destiny; it is left to our own endeavor to live up to it, or else we shall never fulfil it.

As the last words show, the train of thought contained in the preceding paragraph is a direct outgrowth of Schiller's epigram:

"Suchst Du das Höchste, das Grösste? Die Pflanze kann es Dich lehren,
Was sie willenlos ist, sei Du es wollend—das ist's!"
[Do you search for what is highest and greatest? Every plant can teach it to you.
What it is without a will of its own, you must be with a will.—That's it!]

It is well known that Hirsch always extolled Schiller's idealism. This is particularly evident in his address on the occasion of Schiller's centenary, where the above epigram is also quoted.

Moreover, the first sentences of the "Message," too, breathe strongly the air of that "general spring" which Schiller's Posa promised to mankind as its redeemer from all religious compulsion, "und neues Leben blüht aus den Ruinen" ("and a new life will blossom forth from the ruins"). It is therefore not surprising that the "Message" calls three times for "progress"—perhaps in a more forceful manner than did Hirsch's call, "And now forward!" in his inaugural sermon. One must ask, of course, what an admonisher like Hirsch understands by "progress." He ex-

plains it to us immediately: It consists in the support of all that is "sound" and in the removal of all that is decayed in "Torah, Avodah, Gemiluth Hasadim."

Torah, he goes on to say, is the central pillar on which everything rests. It points out to us the purpose of our existence. But can we fulfil that purpose of we do not know the Torah and its commandments? It is the task of Avodah to make us strong so that we can practice the teachings of the Torah and it should lead us to the fear of God, to the love of God, and to trust in God. But Avodah is surely rotten in a community in which the father and his family do not rise to pray, in which the house of worship stands empty or is turned into a place of quarrel and selfishness by undignified disturbances and disorder. If, however, brotherly love, Gemiluth Hasadim, is missing in a community, then it is not truly a community in Israel either.

Now then, dear brethren, examine how these three pillars are founded in your congregation!

What about Torah? Do you study or listen to the word of God every day after your work is done or at least on every Sabbath? Can you not arrange your studies so that you may derive even greater benefit from them? Do you make your children go to school sufficiently? Do you bring them up solely for the purpose of enabling them to earn a living or to make true Israelim out of them?

What about Avodah? Are there regular services on the Sabbath, on every Yomtov, and at least on Mondays and Thursdays? Are they conducted with such dignity as is required by their holy significance? Do you really become better and stronger through the divine service and richer in *Yir'a, Ahavah* and *Emunah*?

How about Gemiluth Hasadim? Are you really, as you should be, a community of brothers? Is there no needy one who lacks help, is there no sick person in want of healing, and no mourner who is not comforted?

Well, dear brethren, these are questions which my words are intended to stir up in you. And if there should be an improvement now and then, here and there, then I shall bless my words because they gave stimulus to it. And may God's blessing also be on everyone who not only listens to the sound of my words but takes them to heart and practices them.

As one can readily see, the "progress" called for in Hirsch's exhortations is essentially different from that propagated by the "progressives." Hirsch called for an adjustment of Judaism to modern forms of expression or modern conceptions only with respect to the divine service, which

he desired to be conducted in a "dignified" manner. What mattered most to him was the fulfilment of the time-honored traditional Jewish demands to be carried out by the individual Jew. The question to what extent he contributed to the realization of these demands in his capacity as Landrabbiner and whether or not he rejected "progress" in the usual sense of the term as a means for further development of Judaism will be answered in the following pages.

Hirsch's Administration of His Office

Hirsch's own activity, too, was for the most part devoted to the tasks urged by him upon his congregations in the "Message." Graetz, who once substituted for the Landrabbiner during the latter's absence on a trip, reports that ritual questions would sometimes come up for rabbinical decision. But since he also tells of having spent the fast day of the seventeenth of Tammuz by himself, meaning without a divine service,[14] one can hardly assume that Hirsch's time was heavily taken up by halachic decisions as had often been the case in the days of the old rabbinate. Nor do we find any report of organized social welfare work initiated by him during his stay in Oldenburg, in contrast to his activity in Emden and Nikolsburg. Thus only "Torah" and "Avodah" remained, and to them Hirsch dedicated all his efforts with complete devotion.

In the rural communities it was customary to entrust all synagogual duties as well as religious instruction to a "Kultusbeamte" ("cult officer") who was also placed in charge of *Shehita.* The choice and engagement of these officials were also attended to by Hirsch. There is information available that on two occasions a teacher had to be appointed in the congregation. Each time it was the Landrabbiner who carried on the necessary correspondence and came to an agreement with the candidate on the terms of his appointment. All complaints submitted by the congregants were investigated by him on regular inspection trips.

[14] Graetz, *MGWJ.*, 1919, pp. 346 f., also on supervision; cf. p. 360 on the lack of religious observance in Oldenburg.

Hirsch's influence on the course of instruction consisted primarily in his endeavor to find teachers who could also give instruction in German.[15] Furthermore, in 1841, he recommended the use of the newly published dictionary by Johlson, preacher and former instructor in religion at the Frankfurt Philanthropin, thus departing completely from the general custom. Although appreciating full well how greatly his own views differed from those of that extreme reformer, Hirsch never hesitated to agree with him on the technique of instruction or to make use of his achievements.

Even more "modern" must seem to us the fact that Hirsch translated parts of the Mishna and sent copies of his translation to the teachers, although it was difficult to prepare such copies.[16]

During his stay in Oldenburg Hirsch personally took part in teaching school.[17] But only for three and a half years was he to enjoy the eagerly grasped opportunity to derive from instruction the stimulus to probe more deeply into the sources of religion.

Hirsch Graetz was born in the province of Posen in 1817, and thus was only nine years Hirsch's junior. Having been brought up exclusively in the traditional Jewish manner, the reading of enlightened literature plunged him into grave doubts about Judaism and rabbinism in particular. Then one day the eighteen-year-old youth came upon the

[15] Letters to Wildeshausen of April 26, 1838 and April 30, 1841.

[16] According to Isr., p. 10, he translated the "Mishna."

[17] Graetz was his substitute, *MGWJ.*, 1919, p. 347. A teacher is mentioned, *ibid.*, p. 45. In Emden county Hirsch founded several Jewish elementary schools. In the elementary school of Emden Jewish subjects were taught on Sundays and Wednesdays in the afternoon and students of the highschools participated. Instruction was given in postbiblical history, not, however, in Talmud. Boys had to study Mishna while *Pirke Abot* were explained to girls also. Hirsch personally gave instruction to the adolescent youth (boys and girls in separate classes). Modern textbooks, seemingly including those by Johlson, were used. In the beginning, the fundamentalists were displeased by Hirsch's novel methods and he was made the subject of satirical poems which were sung.

Nineteen Letters, finding therein "an idea of Judaism never heard of or anticipated before and well supported by convincing arguments." Having found out the name of the author of the "divine epistle," he asked the "Ezra of our spiritual Galuth" for permission to become his disciple. Hirsch agreed by return mail and offered him room and board in his own home if Graetz really wished "to learn 'Tauroh' for the sake of 'Tauroh.' " "Full of blissful hope" the youth, then nineteen years old, started out on his journey to "Ben Uziel."

Their first morning together was devoted to the study of Gemarah; no details on this are given us by Graetz. "Before dusk we started to study Tehillim; but ah! how different it all became through his profound exegesis! After a few days we read together Heine's 'Salon' " (which Graetz happened to know already from excerpts). "But my master asked me: Ought we not to tear our clothes as one does when listening to a blasphemy?[18] He wanted to burn the book and pay the librarian for it. What faith! Would God that his example were an inspiration to me to do similar things." Such sincere pain, however, did not induce Hirsch to set limits on his pupil's unbridled desire to read, which remained just as ardent as ever before. While on a trip Hirsch only cautioned him against Bayle, because this author laid great emphasis on sensuality: "That is not useful but detrimental. Read only the purely scientific parts." Graetz (in his diary) promised to live strictly according to the precepts of his master. In bringing the "scientific" aspect into harmony with tradition, Hirsch was most helpful to his pupil. Even when traveling together he discussed with Graetz the dietary laws and the laws on mourning on the basis of his general conception of Judaism. For the young man such talks were "blissful."

But Hirsch could not enjoy to any great degree teaching "Tauroh" in such a manner. Avodah, on the other hand, seemed to offer a wider field for his activity.

[18] *MGWJ.*, 1919, p. 47. In the original the Hebrew expressions were used. Hirsch was particularly offended by the fact that Heine had written in full the name of God.

Above all he felt responsibility for his congregants' attendance at divine services, especially in the small congregations. Upon receiving complaints from Wildeshausen, he asked the chairman of the board to "exhort those absent, and if that should have no results, to submit a proposal to the Landrabbiner to mete out punishment."

Hirsch's ideas on how services should be conducted are described by him in a letter of December 15, 1839, written to his friend, Simon May (Isr. 18). There he makes a distinction between "the weak who have thrown away the consecration of a priestly life" and those "who sleep," that is, between the indifferent and those who faithfully adhere to Judaism but who supinely watch its decline. From this the following remarks can be easily understood:

"But our services, our services—yes, my dear, as far as they are concerned, your complaints are justified, and even more so since it would be so easy to remedy the situation. But not for the sake of the weak, for it seems to me that not one of those weak ones would be one iota more Jewish if our services were more dignified. If, at some future time, you should choose a life companion and were to love your bride only in her Sunday best, then woe to you for the paltriness of your love! However, he who loves his bride sincerely will also want her to have beautiful finery. And so it is in this case: If one does not love Judaism even in a dusty dress, one will not love it in a fancy one either. Therefore it is not for the sake of the weak but for you who are strong, or rather for the sake of Judaism itself, that everyone who loves it should wish it to be dignified at all times, and that includes also the services; and one should not only wish for it, but contribute as much as possible to make this wish come true. And what a comparatively easy task it is to bring, with only a little tact and even the scantiest resources, more life and dignity into our services! I know this from my own experience, since I have tried it out here for several months with what little means I have at my disposal."

One can easily see that Hirsch rejects decidedly "services of the old careless pattern" at which, as his pupil Graetz put it, "everybody shrieks loud enough to make your ears tingle." Hence, the challenging question in his "Message," whether the services are of a dignified character, as befits their holy significance. However, it is not to meet the requirements of the new times or to get a hold on the half-

uprooted that the divine service should be "dignified," but solely for the sake of its holiness.

"Several months ago," which probably means on Rosh Hashanah 1839, nine years after his inauguration, Hirsch took a further step in this direction. He speaks of a "minimum of means" at his disposal. These words cannot point merely to the suppression of disturbances by him, as no means are necessary for such a purpose. They must refer rather to a choir, although in 1839 this feature was doubtlessly considered a sign of Reform.[19]

Almost without exception Hirsch opposed changes in the ritual. In the aforementioned letter he gives the following explanation to a friend who objected to the prayer against "slanderers and transgressors": It refers only to the wicked, and according to "the trend of the times" the whole community sins only through error (see Num. 15, 26), therefore the latter is not meant by the prayer.

According to *Horeb,* § 688, every individual Jew may speak the language of the land; the congregation, on the other hand, must maintain Hebrew and must keep the younger generation from being ignorant of that language by educating it to "the true spirit of Israel" ("*Jisroelgeist*"). It is a fact that the manner of expression in the *Piyutim* seems strange to us because of our unfamiliarity with *jüdische Wissenschaft* on which they are based; but their wide dissemination is justified (Horeb, 671). That is why Hirsch left them unaltered, to the great vexation of his disciple Graetz (*MGWJ.*, 1919, 356).

On the other hand, it was commonly known in Hamburg, where Graetz made a stopover on his return trip from Oldenburg, that "B. U. [Ben Uziel] had abolished the *Kol Nidre* prayer." In his talks with Bernays and Hirsch's uncle, Mendelssohn, Graetz, too, "had to fight against *Kol Nidre* that he [Hirsch] has abolished at my urging, of course, thereby making many enemies for himself" (*MGWJ.*, 1920, 144 f.). These words coming from a man who, half a year before, had attended the services in Oldenburg, demonstrate that the *Kol Nidre* prayer had

been abolished at least in the city of Oldenburg, and only at a time when Graetz was already entitled to believe that he was exercising a decisive influence on his master, i.e., about 1838 or 1839.

This decision by Hirsch cannot come as a complete surprise to anyone who reads the *Horeb* carefully. For while the detailed analysis of the divine service therein deals briefly even with *Lechah Dodi*, for instance (§650), nothing at all is said about *Kol Nidre*. Neither is it mentioned in connection with vows, much as it must have suggested itself to Hirsch as the starting point for his objections against any vow (§471).

Hirsch's attitude toward *Piyutim* and *Kol Nidre* is very revealing indeed. Both were introduced only in post-talmudic times and are therefore not required by the *Halachah*. Each was strongly opposed in the early Middle Ages by adherents to the old tradition, as can be easily understood.[20] Nevertheless, whereas most of the *Piyutim*—and in large part precisely the finest among them—were hardly appreciated, *Kol Nidre* won over everyone's heart, not because of its content,[21] which is given thought only by very few worshippers, and scarcely because of cabbalistic influences,[22] but because of its wonderful melody and the elevated feelings usually connected with this first of all the Yom Kippur prayers.

This attitude of the congregations toward *Piyutim* and *Kol Nidre* had a decisive effect on most of the traditional-minded rabbis. They clung, of course, to *Kol Nidre* and did not object to a considerable abbreviation of the *Piyutim*.

[19] According to Zunz's *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, first published in 1832 in Berlin, choir and organ should not be used if they would cause serious discord; see Zunz, *op. cit.*, 2nd. ed. (Frankfurt, 1892), p. 491.

[20] Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1913), §§24, 39; Elie Munk, *Die Welt der Gebete*, II, 2nd. ed. (Frankfurt, 1936), pp. 250 f.

[21] The popularity of religious and patriotic songs is hardly dependent on their content. From 1888 to 1914, "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz" was sung with enthusiasm in Germany in spite of the fact that the bearer of the crown, fortunately, had no chance of winning any "Siegerkranz."

[22] Munk, *op. cit.*, pp. 255 f.

Young Hirsch, on the other hand, came to a directly opposite decision. Just as he tried to conceive the whole of Judaism on the basis of its spiritual content, so he also conceived the divine service. What does *Tefillah* mean to him? To judge ourselves, to be strong enough to pass sentence on ourselves and our relationship to God (*Horeb,* §618). In this endeavor the *Piyutim* can help us if we will lift our souls to the "Tauroh"-nearness of their authors. The very fact that they are inwardly remote from our time and our kind ought to be a spur to us. Has *Kol Nidre,* too, such inner value? If Hirsch had found a positive answer to this question, we would read about it in the *Horeb* or in one of his later writings, in which he usually liked to defend customs improperly treated by the reformers. *Kol Nidre,* therefore, cannot have meant much to his inner feelings, but he drew the logical conclusion from this fact only after many years of careful consideration. According to Graetz, a prayer shown by Hirsch in manuscript form to his Hamburg friends was presumably intended to replace the *Kol Nidre* prayer as a dignified opening of the service.

It is understandable that the news of this "reform" and perhaps also of the introduction of a choir should have caused great excitement among the orthodox Jews of Hamburg. As we shall see later, much ill feeling had already been created by the attacks in *Horeb* on "the Polish teachers" and the Pilpul cultivated by many great teachers. Now, the abolition of the *Kol Nidre* prayer seemed to confirm the apprehension that Hirsch, in spite of his attacks on Geiger's ideology in *Naftali's Briefwechsel,* had gotten on an inclined plane himself. However, that was by no means so.

It is true that Hirsch never belonged *wholly* to the orthodox, a fact that later was to be clearly felt in Nikolsburg and Frankfurt. The innovations introduced by him establish that his plea for "progress" voiced in his inaugural sermon and in the above-mentioned "Message" to the congregations was, like that of the reformers, aimed at various institutions in Judaism. These innovations, however, were kept in firm bounds by Hirsch's faith in the *Halachah.* Changes in school and synagogue were not intended to re-

strict the latter but rather to present it in a dignified way; and in his opinion it was elastic enough to stand them well. Hirsch tried to explain and to prove this concept of *Halachah* in his literary work.

"Selbsterkenntnis" ["Self-Cognition"] in Judaism

Despite the great amount of special work devotedly performed by him in the service of the tiny Oldenburg communities, Hirsch found time for publications the importance of which reaches far beyond the bounds of his office and even beyond his generation. In the present essay they will be appraised only in so far as they are connected with his activity in Oldenburg.[23]

As in Hirsch's practical religious activities, so also in his literary work one can notice a gradual clarification. It is appropriate to examine the first two writings (L. and Ho.) apart from the third (N).

"In an age when contrasts stand out so sharply against each other, and when truth is on neither side, in such an age the man who *belongs to no party*, who has only the cause at heart and serves it alone, cannot expect approval from any side." This statement made in the last of the *Nineteen Letters* seems to be in complete contradiction to Hirsch's later position as leader of "Orthodoxy." The truth is that the party system in 1876 was very much different from that in 1836. Nineteenth-century Judaism in Germany was faced with two questions: (1) the cultural question, Was Judaism to be preserved in its pre-emancipatory form? and (2) the religious question, Was it to be considered an immutable divine creation or a man-made work subject to change? As far as the *religious* question was concerned, Hirsch never wavered. Belief in the divine origin of the laws of the Torah and in their obligatory nature is the pre-supposition for Hirsch's concept of Judaism even in his early writings: Let him who does not share this belief

[23] In the Introduction to my new (Hebrew) edition (Jerusalem, 1949) I tried to evaluate the contents of the *Nineteen Letters*.

never read the *Horeb!* (Preface.) There was certainly no one of the old school who surpassed him in the conscientious observance of all ritualistic prescriptions relating to the conduct of one's daily life.[24] With regard to the *cultural* question, however, his attitude was entirely different from that of ghetto-Judaism, and that for reasons of—orthodoxy. For the *Tauroh* knows only of one difference between Israel and the nations: We were given 613 commandments, of which merely seven have to be observed by the others. These commandments of "*Tauroh*" regulate our relationship not only with God, but also with the world and our fellowmen. Thus they also affect our "secular" (profane) life deeply and force upon us a certain isolation, though by no means a fundamental cultural segregation.[25] The ghetto-Jew, on the other hand, feels himself to be different from the Gentile in his whole character—and wants to remain so. He looks at emancipation with suspicion, not merely, as Hirsch did, because of the danger it constitutes to the religious duties (L. 16, toward the end) but rather because of the inducement it presents for assimilation to the surrounding world in dress and in language.[26]

Hirsch, on the other hand, used the language of Europe and its literary expressions with evident pleasure. He sanctioned all customs practiced in the Jews' environment if "they have been introduced for sensible reasons and are not rooted in a strange religion" (Ho., §505). It is true he demanded for halachic reasons that wives "cover their hair," but they were not required to wear a cap (*Haube*) as his mother had done and as his teacher Jacob Ettlinger had asked his daughters to do, the cap being the mark that distinguished between the Jewish and the Gentile woman. In contrast to both his teachers Hirsch wore a rabbinical gown with white bands; and an engraving he had made in

[24] In ritual observance he went too far for young Graetz; *MGWJ.*, 1919, p. 356.

[25] This was clarified by Hirsch only later in his comments on the story of Abraham.

[26] Cf. S. Weingarten, *Hatam Sofer and His Pupils* (Hebrew; 1905), especially p. 42; also p. 30 on *Minhagim*. In upholding *Minhagim* Moses Sofer went far beyond Hirsch (Ho., §474).

Oldenburg shows him in this gown without a beard and—without head covering.[27] He stressed his thorough knowledge of Latin and of world literature, but certainly not in order to boast. Rather he wanted to show that a faithful son of the "*Tauroh*," too, could be a good European— and vice versa.

According to Hirsch, the musty atmosphere of ghetto-Judaism not only had a crippling effect on our human qualities, but the *Tauroh,* too, pined away if it was approached "under Polish guidance" (L. 1). For a "spiritless spirit" ("*geistloser Geist*") that contents itself with sophistry (L. 18) "has seized upon laws full of life and meaning and reduced them to mummies" (L. 10, beginning). The "merest word-knowledge of the Torah" is being taught "without any elucidation or spiritual fervor," and "it is a stroke of luck, indeed, if that is the only thing" (L. 17, end), if all duties are not understood merely as a dull *opus operatum* or a charm to ward off physical ills, or if the idea of "Hasidism" is not misunderstood as asceticism (L. 15, in the middle).

According to Hirsch, this sort of dull and stupefying study should be replaced by the endeavor to comprehend Judaism out of its own spirit, "in order to lead the thinking among the young men and women in Israel" (Ho.) "to a kind of Judaism that understands itself" (L. 18, in the middle). Instead of teaching Talmud to six-year-olds, it would be far better first to open up the minds of the youth—both male and female alike, for a woman can achieve much in our time (Ho. § 446)—that they may understand the significance of the *Tauroh* as a guide in their *Lebensanschauung*, for the religious interpretation of the world and humanity as God intended it to be (L. 2). Make

[27] This engraving is now in the possession of the Hebrew National Library at Jerusalem. To be absolutely sure, I also showed it to a number of friends.

[28] According to Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 574 f., Rabbi Solomon Tiktin of Breslau remarked "about 1840 in reference to Abraham Geiger that anyone who had attended a university was *ipso facto* disqualified to be a rabbi."

them see Israel's task as a preacher of true humanity (L. 9, middle; 16, middle) and the purpose of the Commandments to consecrate us as *Menschjisroel* so that they may be fulfilled through "a life from within" (L. 15, middle).

It is this demand for "self-cognition on the part of Judaism" that establishes Hirsch's position "between the parties." It separates him, of course, from the old traditionalists who do not want to see the forest for the trees, as well as from the new progressives and their forerunners. For self-cognition means cognizance of a phenomenon out of its own roots and its particular symptoms. According to Hirsch, Maimonides' explanations of Judaism are based on Aristotelian ideals rather than on those contained in the *Tauroh*. Many details presented by him with praiseworthy minuteness in *Mishne Torah* seem to be completely irrelevant in his foundation of the laws as set forth in the *Moreh* and were therefore altogether removed by the reformers. Thereby a truly scientific explanation of Judaism was made impossible, however. For just as a scientific theory can be convincing and satisfying only if it fully explains all observed phenomena and none contradicts it, so a concept of Judaism can be given recognition only if it is in complete accord with all the facts contained in the *Tauroh* (L. 18, note).

The fact that the reformers did not try to comprehend Judaism in "an organic way," as we would say today, that is, out of its own roots and its own fruits, is surely a grave mistake in Hirsch's opinion. But it is also the *only* shortcoming with which the reformers are reproached in the *Nineteen Letters*. It ought to be especially stressed that those things in which the reformers differed from Maimonides and Mendelssohn, in dogmatic as well as in practical respects, are at best merely hinted at in a vague manner.[29] Instead of the scorn poured out by the *Bibelsche Orient* (that is to say, by Chacham Bernays) on the followers of Friedländer, the *Nineteen Letters* express benevolent ap-

[29] One may compare the discussion with Michael Hess and the Frankfurt reformers who referred to Maimonides and Mendelsohn; Hirsch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I.

proval of a good intention. "Be wroth with none! Respect all! For they all feel the shortcomings that exist; all desire that which is good, as they conceive it! Therefore you should respect their intentions, but you may well mourn and weep when you examine the aims to which their efforts are directed" (L. 17).

Here "the left hand pushes back and the right hand draws near" (according to a talmudic saying). In the literal sense, the author hoped to offer a platform on which both "parties" could meet without being unfaithful to themselves. Hirsch was convinced that "things will change in Israel" (L. 18, at the end). And not alone through his theoretical argumentation as a new basis for Judaism did he hope to convince. His ordinances, too—that instruction be based on the old traditional faith but that it be modern in method, and that divine serivces do justice to both Halachah and modern taste—were to demonstrate how the new concept of Judaism ought to be translated into reality. When Hirsch, in his inaugural sermon at Emden (1841), prompted by his experiences in Oldenburg, set forth his opinion on how to set up "a regular school system" and on how to effect "a liturgy evoking true devotion," a liberal Jewish journal stated admiringly that he had the ability "to rid graying orthodoxy of all its drawbacks and to place it in a clear light so that it could develop further, reconciled with the spirit of the time."[30] Just that was his aim.

But only very few stepped on Hirsch's platform. His Hamburg friends thanked "with abuse and intimidations" the man "who had the courage to speak publicly about a subject hitherto passed over mostly in silence."[31] Moreover, Abraham Geiger, who founded the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie,* published in its first year's issues two comprehensive reviews of the *Nineteen Letters,* one written by the editor himself. Both rejected sharply the kind of historic Judaism built up by Hirsch.

It was probably under the influence of these critiques that, after the publication of *Horeb,* Hirsch decided to

[30] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* V (1841), p. 689.
[31] Letter to Josephat of Adar 5596 (March, 1836); Isr., p. 36a.

continue with *Naftali's Briefwechsel.* Like the *Nineteen Letters,* this continuation was not intended originally for the exclusive purpose of criticizing the reformers. Rather, it was to serve as "a calm discussion of other topics related to Jewish science and life" (N. 3), at the same time also calling attention to the most recent reform publications. Only later, in the course of the work, did Hirsch come to recognize the full danger of these writings, and not merely as seen from the traditional standpoint. In his opinion they contained a deception that everyone must be anxious to dissipate "no matter to what religious opinion he may adhere" (*ibid.*), namely, the conscious or unconscious deception (N. 5) that "the reformatory change can be proven to be based on the Talmud and *Judaism itself,*" and thus disregard for basic laws or their abolition could find support in the Bible and in rabbinism.

True, Hirsch also turned against, among other things, utterances that seemed offensive to him—for instance, against Geiger's remark about the "doglike obedience" ("*Hundegehorsam*")[32] of those who uphold the Commandments simply as divine ordinances and not because of their purpose to impart "a moral stimulus"—and against the reproach of "willfully distorting and twisting the meaning of the Scriptures" (N. 51) raised by a certain rabbi against the Talmud. But what Hirsch was mainly fighting for and his reasons for so doing are expressed in some remarks contained in his reply to the critics of this work (*Naftali's Briefwechsel*):

> Let anyone think this or that opinion to be or not to be appropriate to the time, to educational or emancipatory trends, or to convenience. I will not oppose him. However, he must not represent things as being in accord with the Talmud and Bible if they are not. No friend of Judaism will *resent any* reform of any Jewish religious condition that is shown to be really justified in the ancient documents of Judaism. For how could anyone friendly to Judaism be averse to any kind of *life* rooted therein and *flowering* from it! But every friend of *lawful progressive endeavor* ("*gesetzliches Fortstreben*") must be doubly opposed to every *unlawful effort.* For, as the unlawful is destructive in itself, so it is also a hindrance to the lawful. The fact that they

[32] N., 13. Cf. also Hirsch's comment on Gen. 22.

aspire to a scientific theology, that they do *not* strive after it, that all their writings are devoid of any serious scholarliness, that is what puts the pen into my hand.[33]

The first paragraph of the above statement demonstrates that Hirsch did not aim at rejection of the "heterodoxy" *as a whole*. His criticism was directed not against men "filled with noble enthusiasm for the welfare of the Jews, but against those who look upon Judaism as an antiquated phenomenon" (L. 18). One of these men was Gabriel Riesser, whose frank "confession" of faith, according to Hirsch, "is very honorable just because of its straightforward sincerity" (No. 103). "He would not quarrel" with such men, and it is a fact that he fought radical opposition to religion only occasionally during his stay in Oldenburg[34] as well as later. His main attack was always directed against those *Jewish* theologians who claimed to stand well inside the pale of Judaism despite their divergent opinions and to conceive it more correctly than did those adhering to traditional views. There can be no doubt that Hirsch fought them above all for *religious* reasons, because of his close tie to Bible and Halachah, as each line of his work bears witness. But he battled with them, too, for *scientific* reasons, since every explanation of a phenomenon must explain all its individual aspects in order to be true (similarly also the *Nineteen Letters*). Hirsch fought like a man who relishes "a flourishing life" and disdains rigid mummifications, as he stated in his "Message" to the Oldenburg community. He fought like one who saw *legitimate progress*, namely, progress, as far as it is based on and justified by the Halachah, discredited and hence gravely *threatened* by illegitimate progress. This same thought was to be expressed by Hirsch several years later at Emden in his criticism of the Brunswick Rabbinical Conference.[35]

It must be for these three reasons that Hirsch considered the "closed phalanx" (N. 78) built up around Geiger as

[33] *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, III (1839), pp. 234, 516. Italics are mine.

[34] Cf. Isr., p. 9a.

[35] Published in *Nahalat Zvi*, I, p. 82.

the greatest danger to Judaism as he envisioned it, a danger far greater than that constituted by the backwardness of the "old school" ("*der Alten*"). That is why he changed his tone considerably in dealing with the reformers. True, we find him still "weeping a melancholy tear" over Geiger's argumentation (p. 13), but at the end he complains bitterly that almost no one (his own teachers included) dares to oppose "lies" with the "truth" (N. 78 f.). So it happened that in this work of his, completed in the summer of 1838, a tactical change took place leading Hirsch in a direction which he was also to follow in the future during his stay at Emden and Frankfurt though not at Nikolsburg.

Did this change in Hirsch's tactics also constitute a change of opinion? True, Hirsch found himself an ally in the book of a sixteenth-century Spanish foe of philosophy, which a few years later was to be re-published by eastern European Jews antagonistic to Enlightenment.[36] But Hirsch heard in it not only attacks on Aristotelianism, which were well in line with his own criticism of the *Moreh,* but also a reproof of the *Pilpul* and of false wisdom, as well as an admonition to a "true and pure study of the *Tauroh*" (N. 69 f.), the latter being no less strongly pressed upon the reader in the *Nineteen Letters.*

Above all, Hirsch's theory is supplemented by his acts in practical life. It was only after the publication of the *Mitteilungen aus Naphtalis Briefwechsel* that Hirsch made up his mind to introduce a choir and to abolish the *Kol Nidre* prayer, thereby showing how serious he was about "reforms" not in conflict with Halachah.

The last years of Hirsch's activity in Oldenburg, then, saw, not a change of mind in him, but a considerable clarification of his standpoint in the right as well as in the left direction. In Hirsch's opinion there even exists a certain inner connection between his polemics against Geiger's group, on the one hand, and the modernization of the divine services, on the other. In the aforementioned letter of

[36] On Joseph ben Hayyim Jawetz, *Or ha-Hayyim* (N., p. 68) see Kaminka, *Jüdisches Lexikon,* III (1929), p. 163 and *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* VI, p. 48.

December, 1839, written to a school friend at Hamburg (Isr., 18 f.), he complained, not about the "weak" in Israel, but about the "unpardonable somnolence of the others," that is, of the strong who do nothing to make the service "dignified," and "without moving a muscle allow a rabbi to hurl the reproach into their faces that the whole Talmud consists only of roguery and immorality." Hirsch considered it a holy duty of the teachers in Israel to take up the fight in both directions. He himself stood completely alone in his struggle, especially in Oldenburg, and that was true "in the literal sense of the word." But just as he admonished his friend to be "cheerful and circumspect," so he was himself. Here we can quote his Schiller again: "The strong man is mightiest alone" ("*Der Starke ist am mächtigsten allein*").

It was this very standing alone that enabled Hirsch to express his concept of Judaism clearly and unequivocally in word and in deed, "without having to squint to either side out of minor considerations that disfigure everything" (N. 79). There were two sides to his activity, both having been considered by us in their proper mutual relationship: his "legitimately reformist" labor and his "scientific presentation." Both were the result of his double, personal experience of Judaism and Europeanism, of a Judaism restricted to carrying out its divine task and little appreciative of all "national" customs and of a Europeanism keeping inviolate its belief in divine revelation despite the "enlightened" quality of its character. It is essential for the understanding of Hirsch's twofold achievement, the spiritual and the practical, to know that this double experience was absolutely natural for him: He evidently had just as little doubt about the unity of the Book of Isaiah as about the right of the Jew to wear European dress and his appreciation of Schiller. Moreover, the conviction gained from both, that Judaism with modern methods as applied by world culture can recognize its own character and state it, was to him beyond any doubt. Aware as he was of the involved and difficult problems of its interpretation in detail, he always kept a "perfect equilibrium" regarding the foundation of his concept.

This explains, on the one hand, the hypothetical form of his assumptions as found in his commentaries, as well as the moving modesty with which "Ben Uziel" speaks to the intellectually only half-grown Graetz,[37] and on the other hand, the extremely sharp language employed by the young writer against the *Moreh,* much to the surprise of his admirers even down to our own generation. The almost somnambulistic assurance with which he could make his way between extremes enabled Hirsch to become the leader of a vacillating youth. Today even those who disagree with his ideas will be united in their respect for his "homogeneous personality"[38] that devoted its unusually constructive talents, in spiritual as well as practical tasks, to the reconstruction of Judaism.

[37] Graetz, *MGWJ.*, 1918, p. 261: ". . . erwarten Sie keinen schon vollendeten Meister, sondern einen selbst noch im Forschen begriffenen Mann"; cf. also letter to Mendelsohn of 1836, Isr., p. 17.

[38] Max Wiener, *Jüdische Religion im Zeitalter der Emanzipation* (Berlin, 1933), p. 79.

THE RABBIS OF PRAGUE

A History of the Rabbinate of Prague from the Death of Rabbi Loewe B. Bezalel ("The High Rabbi Loew") to the Present (1609-1879)*

By Gutmann Klemperer
Late Rabbi of Tabor (Bohemia)

Ezechiel Landau

The Rabbi, Teacher, Halachist, and Preacher

Soon after the death of R. David Oppenheim, troubled times came to the Jewish community of Prague; one disaster after another befell it. Still, all possible efforts were made to fill once more the office of chief rabbi which had been vacant for so long. Initially, Aryeh Loew, rabbi in Amsterdam, seemed to have the best chance, so that his friends called him the future rabbi of Prague. But, as often happens with vacancies, new circumstances bring a change of opinion, causing the one who thought himself ahead to fall behind, while another moves up into his place. The present case was no exception. A campaign was started against Jonathan Eibenschütz, who was highly esteemed in Prague where he had many friends and followers. Aryeh Loew, who agitated most violently against him, provoked such general displeasure that his popularity turned into mistrust. The quarrel ended with the appearance of a genuine peacemaker, who was greeted with great enthusiasm. He was Jecheskel (Ezechiel), Landau, rabbi in Jampol, Podolia, born in Apta [Opatov] on November 6, 1713 (Marcheshvan 18, 5474). In my book *Chayye Jehonathan,* the content of a letter sent by Landau

* Continued from Historia Judaica, Vol. XII (1950), pp. 33-66, 143-152. See the Editor's Introductory Note, *ibidem,* pp. 33-35. For reasons of economy, several Hebrew titles in the present conclusion of this article have been transliterated. The sub-headings in italics were added by the Editor.

to all Jewish communities is printed, which reveals political skill combined with wise judgment and impartiality. His appointment to the capital of Bohemia was due largely to this letter, which had made a deep impression. R. Landau arrived in Prague in the autumn of 1754, shortly after the great fire that had raged there earlier in the year and had badly damaged the Jewish quarter.

To acquire full authority was not easy for him, for Jonathan Eibenschütz, to whom he indirectly owed this eminent position, caused him—also indirectly—much trouble and sorrow. The elite among the local talmudic scholars still looked to Eibenschütz as their authority, who, although he now taught in Hamburg-Altona, had wished to return to Prague as Chief Rabbi. Defeated by a powerful faction, led by the clever and most respected Primator (president), Israel Frankel (1707-1791), they looked angrily on the newcomer in whom they had little confidence. He was hard pressed at his first public sermon (*derasha*), which was far from being a success. It is said that his adversaries also succeeded in preventing him from being appointed to the land rabbinate, which was later entirely abolished.[1]

After the death of Jacob [Wiener] Hamburger,[2] Maier Fischel was elected president of the *Beth Din* and he, too, for similar reasons, did not cooperate with the new rabbi whose subordinate he was.[3] This may also have been the fault, indirectly, of R. Jonathan Eibenschütz, whom Maier Fischel considered the greatest rabbinical authority.[4] But gradually Rabbi Ezechiel Landau managed, in a masterly manner, to overcome all difficulties and not only succeeded in holding his ground, but actually transformed the ill-will

[1] *Bikkure Haittim.*—According to an old custom the new rabbi had to invite the dignitaries of the community to an afternoon repast on the first Sabbath after his installation. On this occasion, the rabbi moved his chair. R. Salman Koref, a great rabbinical authority and also known as a jester, asked him: "Is the chair too high for the rabbi?" The rabbi, however, was quick to retort: "No, the table is too low."

[2] See Pascheles, *Illustrierter Israelitischer Volkskalender*, 1883, p.133; [and *supra*, section III, at the end].

[3] [In the German original a long, amusing anecdote is related in this note, which is here omitted.]

[4] Klemperer, *Chayye Jehonathan*, p. 18.

of his adversaries into real friendship. His magnanimity, combined with a lofty nobleness of mind, won him their undivided admiration and respect and caused them to follow him willingly. Although he possessed an immense store of knowledge, he was never satisfied with himself, working ceaselessly day and night, sometimes not sleeping for weeks.[5] His tremendous diligence and endurance soon gained him the reputation of one of the most prominent rabbinical authorities of his time.

R. Landau like all his colleagues, set up a talmudic academy, for it was the foremost and holiest duty of a rabbinical scholar to spread the knowledge of the Torah. He was untiring in his activity as a teacher.[6] His lectures were masterpieces of acumen and learning and attracted disciples from many countries. His regular classroom soon became too small, and the Klaus Synagogue had to be used as an auditorium. Great talmudists received their training here, and it became a particular distinction to have been a disciple of the Rabbi of Prague.

R. Landau was in demand not only as a teacher but also as a counselor in religious practice. He received inquiries on Halachah from all parts of Europe. They came not only from prominent rabbis who wanted to learn his opinion on halachic problems, but also from individuals who submitted their questions for his decision. His good nature and modesty permitted no inquiry to be neglected.[7] A master in the field of Halachah, he was unfamiliar with the other branches of knowledge. He made no attempt to hide the fact that he had never studied Hebrew grammer,[8] although, unlike many of his colleagues, he was not at all opposed to its study. He openly remarked that it was useful to know Hebrew grammer in order to better understand the Holy Scriptures.[9] Eloquence in the pulpit was not his

[5] Preface to *Tziyyun Lenefesh Chayyah,* Pesahim.

[6] *Noda Biyehudah,* first ed., Orach Chayim, No. 18, Yoreh Deah, No. 15, Eben Haezer, No. 10.

[7] *Noda Biyehudah,* Pt. II, Preface by R. Jekovka.

[8] *Noda Biyehudah,* Pt. I, Orach Chayim, No. 2.

[9] Approbation to *Davar Tov* by Abigdor [ben Simcha Halevi] from Glogau (Prague, 1783).

strong point. It is true his homiletic writings have a sound basis, but they often lack delicate expression and striking effect so that the content is not very provocative. Nevertheless, his sermons were popular because of his unequalled rhetoric, the clear sound of his voice, and a specific elegiac emphasis that charmed his audience and moved it to tears.[10] It must be mentioned that R. Landau had little liking for the so-called *pshetel,* which was popular with the preachers of his time, who used it to play with the text of the Bible or of the Haggada. His sermons reveal the profound thinker. He found special delight in the works of Maimonides, the halachic as well as the philosophical writings for he had studied thoroughly the *More Nebuchim* and used to quote it often in his sermons.

Character Portrait

R. Landau's eminent spirit was matched by a greatness of character that revealed virtues worthy of the man as well as of the leader. How his lofty character dominated all events of his life will be described in brief hereafter.

R. Landau's arrival in Prague occurred at a time when the Jewish community was beset by numerous troubles. For a while he seemed to regret that he had moved away from Poland. He spoke his mind in a sermon delivered on September 19, 1765: "Unfortunately our community has been heavily afflicted; first came the war, then the siege; then the plundering and, finally, the great fire which destroyed our property. Our remaining funds were spent on rebuilding the burned houses. I, too, experienced personal anguish because God sent me here to see the misery of the poor and to witness conditions the like of which I had never seen in Poland."

Landau also hinted at a renewing feud which may have been the cause of the Seven Years' War; in all this he ex-

[10] The well-known hebraist, Wolf Maier, once told me that he never forgot the impression made on him by the Rabbi with a funeral oration beginning: אני ישנה ולבי ער, אני ישנה בגלות ולבי ער לגאולה. These words were spoken in such a gripping and soul-stirring tone of voice that they unfailingly elicited tears.

pressed himself as befitted a man of his wisdom.[11] Nevertheless, he foresaw a new war in the near future and, as a true patriot, he took certain necessary steps. He ordered that twenty chapters from the Psalms, which contained a reference to the current emergency, be recited daily in the morning and in the evening. This was followed by a prayer composed by him in which the Almighty's help was invoked for the welfare of the Imperial House and of all public functionaries and for the success of the Austrian Army in war and in peace. The war progressed, and on December 22, by order of the Chief Rabbi and with the consent of the authorities, ceremonies appropriate in such emergencies —lifting the Torah, blowing the Shofar, extinguishing the candles—were held to pronounce the great ban on all those guilty of even the slightest act of treason against the Empress and the Empire, and on those who had knowledge of such crimes and failed to report them at once to the authorities. The heavenly blessing was invoked for Her Majesty and all her faithful subjects.[12]

In a most splendid manner Landau showed his patriotism and his faithful devotion to his community during the horrible siege of Prague in 1757, which lasted from May 30 until June 19. Many persons had fled when the enemy was approaching, but the Rabbi could not be moved to do likewise. He refused to leave his flock at a time of extreme danger. His presence in the city was in fact a great blessing for the community. He had a rare gift for caring for the needs of the poor. During the famine he used his authority against those who tried to raise the prices of food, and he called on all Jews to help in fortifying the entrenchments and in extinguishing the numerous fires caused by the fire bombs.[13]

[11] *Ahabath Tziyyon*, No. 2.

[12] This prayer and the formula of the ban (*cherem*) are before me, printed in German with German type.

[13] Preface by R. Jekovka, to *Noda Biyehudah*, Pt. II.

Landau and Eibenschütz

Soon thereafter a dark cloud appeared from another direction which caused great sorrow to the Rabbi. Again it was Jonathan Eibenschütz who, unwittingly, brought distress to R. Landau. Eibenschütz decided to renounce the rabbinate of the three communities and to return to Prague once more. He applied to the Austrian Government, supported by the Danish Ambassador. Landau heard of this step and made all possible efforts to frustrate Eibenschütz's plan. Obviously, he feared that the presence of Eibenschütz in Prague might seriously affect his own position.

Several years ago a document was discovered in Prague purporting to be a letter from Landau to the Empress Maria Theresa, in which he urged the rejection of Eibenschütz's petition, citing the vicious character of the applicant and his devotion to the false teachings of Sabbatai Zvi. This document was sent to Professor Graetz, who immediately published it in his *Monatsschrift* as confirmation of his own condemnation of Eibenschütz.[14] I declare openly that though Graetz maintains the letter is absolutely genuine, I have grave doubts as to its form and contents. First, we do not know whether the document is the original or only a copy. If it is the original, why does it bear no date? If it is a copy, why does it bear Landau's signature in German and in Hebrew? Copies as a rule, are not signed at all or, if they are, not in as detailed a manner as this one. As to the contents, it is unthinkable that the discreet and careful Landau should have dared to intervene in the decision of Her Majesty without being asked to give his opinion. He could not have been asked, for then he would have had to address the letter to the authorities who had made inquiry of him, and not to Her Majesty, who certainly did not personally address herself to him. Furthermore, it is impossible that the Rabbi of Prague, who was gifted with a keen intellect, should not have thought of the consequences that such an

[14] Graetz, *Geschichte de Juden*, X, pp. 354 ff.; [Graetz, "Ezechiel Landaus Gesuch an Maria Theresia gegen Jonathan Eibenschütz: Ein Aktenstück," *MGWJ*, XXVI (1877), pp. 17-25].

extraordinary step might have, not only for himself but for the Jewish community in general; or that he failed to consider the impression Her Majesty might get if the Chief Rabbi, holding a high position in Israel, were to denounce a colleague who was no less respected—it was bound to cause a great *Chillul Hashem,* inasmuch as such a denunciation would degrade the accuser as much as the accused! Could these considerations have been cast aside by this cautious and politically experienced man? Finally, I would like to stress still another point. In this so-called "document" it is asserted that Jonathan Eibenschütz was excommunicated by all the communities of Italy. Graetz declares this to be a fact unknown until then; in my opinion this fact is neither new nor old, but entirely untrue, because *Luchoth Eduth* contains several letters written by Italian communities to Eibenschütz all of which testify in his favor. Whether Landau knew of this or not, we cannot say, but it is inconceivable that this honest and just man should have put a matter before Her Majesty of whose truth he was not convinced. These are our arguments against the above-mentioned document. But whether it is genuine or not, it proves in effect that Landau dreaded the thought of Jonathan's coming to Prague and his fear induced him to write such a letter. It is quite probable that, when he calmed down, he decided not to send the letter and perhaps hid it so cleverly that it was not found until recently. Can such a letter written in a weak moment be taken as a historic document? Would it not have been far better to forget about it instead of publishing it? After all, it is only a letter and by no means a substantiated document and only serves to darken the character of its author, a result surely not intended by Graetz.

A Study of the Character and Relationship of Both Rabbis

If we consider the relationship between R. Jonathan and R. Jecheskel, we find that here, too, the latter behaved like an upright and honest man who, when at last he recognized the truth, did not hesitate to take all measures to restore Jonathan's honor. In my book, *Chayye Jonathan,* I

have already pointed out that there existed no real friendship between these two great men, as they were quite different in nature and character; their ways of thinking and acting contrasted at every point as will be shown in the following analysis.

Jonathan felt a deep sympathy for Moses Mendelssohn, whom he esteemed as a wise and learned man and whom he honored with the title of "chaver." If the latter had been married at the time, Jonathan would have doubtlessly bestowed upon him the title of "morenu."[15] On the other hand, Jecheskel openly disagreed with the author of *Phaedon,* unperturbed by his generally acknowledged high degree of learning. In a sermon on Sabbath Hagadol he pronounced a curse on Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch and worked himself into such a state of excitement that his sable cap nearly fell from his head.[16]

Jonathan was a staunch cabbalist to whom the teachings of the theoretical and practical Cabbala were old and holy traditions of divine origin. Accordingly, he favored the distribution of amulets as a cure for the sick. Jecheskel, however, sharply condemned this practice, emphasizing in his writings that he had no interest whatsoever in the secret teachings and voicing his opinion that the distribution of amulets was but a shabby swindle.[17]

Whenever he was confronted with talmudical matters touching on the medical sphere, Jonathan would consult with approved experts whose opinion he respected.[18] Jecheskel, on the other hand, cared little for the scientific approach. When he was asked to approve the delay of interments, a measure most earnestly recommended by the best medical experts of the time, he replied that all should remain as before, holding that the view of the experts was of no con-

[15] *Kerem Chemed,* III, p. 224.

[16] [In a note omitted here, the author relates an anecdote to prove that, even after Mendelssohn died, Landau did not change his attitude toward him. According to the author, Graetz's assertion of Landau's repentance does not deserve credence.]

[17] *Luchoth Eduth,* Preface, letter of R. Jecheskel Landau from Jampol.

[18] *Bnai Ahuvah,* 121, p. 156.

sequence.[19] This clash of minds characterizes all their halachic writings.

The work of Jonathan was strictly confined to explaining the religious codes, its ultimate purpose being to clarify their meaning so that, should the necessity arise, a correct independent judgment could be arrived at. His *Kerethi Uphelethi* rests upon these principles. Nevertheless, he did not particularly care to publish his rabbinical opinions and make his decisions the rules for others; thus, only a few of his decisions have been handed down to us. For Jecheskel the collection of his responsa was the most important task of his life; through them he hoped to erect a lasting monument for himself.[20]

Lastly, their opinions of the various rabbinical personalities of their time were in substantial disagreement. Thus it happened occassionally that one of them held a low opinion of a rabbinical authority while the other one held him in—unduly—high esteem. This was true in the case of R. David Oppenheimer, whose halachic practice Jonathan did not value very highly. Oppenheimer once announced in the synagogues of Prague that on Passover Jews should abstain from milk. Jonathan ridiculed him in the Beth Hamidrash whose president he then was.[21] He also pointed to the groundlessness of this prohibition.[22] Jecheskel, on the other hand, often quoted the writings of Oppenheimer (*Moed David*) and fully agreed with the decisions of the author.[23] This disagreement was also evident in the case of R. Jacob Joshuah of Cracow, who was rabbi in Frankfurt on-the-Main. On his work, *Pne Jehoshuah,* Jonathan looked with contempt whereas Jecheskel praised it as an excellent commentary, maintaining that it helped Jacob Joshuah to become a teacher of all Jewry.[24]

[19] Landau's opinion was published in *Meassef* and later reprinted in *Bikkure Haittim.*

[20] *Noda Biyehudah,* Pt. I, Preface.

[21] *Teshuvah Meahavah,* Pt. III, No. 325.

[22] *Kerethi Uphelethi,* 60, 1.

[23] *Tziyyun Lenefesh Chayyah,* Sabbath, p. 5 b.

[24] *Kerem Chemed,* III, pp. 32, 230.

In view of the fact that they held such divergent views and were not kindly disposed towards each other, it is understandable that Landau should not wish Eibenschütz near him. Apart from this, Landau feared him for two reasons: first, he sincerely suspected him of Sabbathianism, and second, Jonathan was much older than he was and far surpassed him in rabbinical importance. Thus, Jonathan's presence in Prague would have ben liable to weaken his, Jecheskel's, influence within his community. Fortunately, his fears were unfounded. Jonathan never again saw the walls of Prague, thus causing no further embarrassment to the Rabbi of Prague.

Only once did Jonathan disturb Jecheskel and then through no fault of his own, as he was no longer among the living. On September 20, 1764 (Ellul 21, 5524) Jonathan departed from this life. Sarach Eidlitz was the first in Prague to deliver a moving eulogy for him in the Pinkas Synagogue during the Ten Days of Penitence. He apologized for his "indolence" in being the first speaker by declaring that the decesaed had been his paternal benefactor, his revered teacher to whom he owed all his knowledge. It was generally expected that the Chief Rabbi would also deliver a eulogy for the celebrated rabbi. But Jecheskel hesitated as to what he should do, an indecision which caused him painful embarrassment. He knew quite well that his passive attitude would provoke much excitement; yet, somehow, he could not bring himself to mourn in public for a man whose character he had considered ambiguous. His clever wife, who feared the consequences of this self-enforced silence, knowing at the same time that her husband would stubbornly uphold a decision which he regarded as just, employed drastic means to resolve the dilemma. It was a custom in Prague that a eulogy, which was to be delivered in a synagogue in the evening, was announced by a town crier earlier in the day. One early morning she informed the town crier that the Chief Rabbi would deliver a eulogy for Rabbi Jonathan that evening and that it should be announced in the streets. The messenger did as he was told, and his strong voice was heard under the windows of the Chief Rabbi. The

rabbi inquired as to the nature of the announcement, and his wife decided that it was better to tell him the truth. When he pointed to the short time for preparation, she replied: "I can rely on you to do your duty even if the time is short." She was not mistaken. He introduced the eulogy with a few carefully chosen words which explained his situation.[25]

A similar case occurred a year later, only this time the problem was of a different nature. Rabbi Landau wanted to deliver a eulogy but feared to offend the adherents of Eibenschütz. In 1765, Chief Rabbi Samuel Hellmann of Metz died, the last of the principal adversaries of Eibenschütz who, because of his leading role in the controversy, was not much liked in Prague. In order not to offend either party, R. Landau formulated his eulogy in such a manner that it could be applied both to Hellmann and to a rabbi of Prague, Anschel Osers, who had died at the same time and who was an admirer of Eibenschütz. In this eulogy Landau defended the actions of Rabbi Hellmann, pointing to the latter's conviction that, when the divine glory is at stake, the reputation of any one person did not matter.[26] Eibenschütz's best friend, Sarach Eidlitz, expressed the same opinion in his eulogy mentioned above and thus defended the Jewish leaders who were unfriendly disposed toward his rabbi.[27]

R. Sarach—as he was generally called—was a man of firm character and a pure soul and possessed of a rare personality. He was highly esteemed by the Rabbi of Prague.[28]

[25] Oral information by Chief Rabbi M. Hirsch in Prague who had this anecdote from one of his teachers.

[26] *Ahavath Tziyyon*, No. 6.

[27] *Or Layesharim*, 114a.

[28] R. Sarach suddenly suffered a stroke but lived a few hours after during which time the Rabbi had the Synagogue opened for prayer and called out: "Let us say *Tillim* for this *tzadik*." This I know from eyes witnesses. R. Eleazar Flekeles delivered a eulogy for R. Eidlitz in the latter's home town, Kojetein, which is printed in *Mille Dehespeda*. It is most regrettable, therefore, to read Jacob Emden's fierce attacks against R. Sarach in his *Hitabbekuth*. Just as foolish is Emden's assertion that R. Jonathan was responsible for the expulsion of the Jews from Bohemia, and a contemporary historian now embellishes this tale. At that time all the Jews had to leave Bohemia with the exception of R. Salman Koref, who had access to the highest authorities in the country and consequently was able to intervene successfully for his coreligionists. If Jonathan had been implicated in the smallest way, R. Salman

But Sarach was reared and educated by Jonathan Eibenschütz and worshipped his paternal friend and mentor almost like a god. It would not be incorrect to say that the intimate relationship between these two men caused Rabbi Landau to change his opinion of R. Eibenschütz. He may have been impressed by the integrity of the disciple and concluded that the teacher of such a fine man surely must have been an extraordinary personality. That the latter's integrity was conceded by Landau in his later years is borne out by the fact that he was one of the first to subscribe to Eibenschütz's book, *Urim Vethummim,* in order to make its publication possible.[29] If Landau had still nurtured the old suspicion, he surely would have attempted to suppress the work of a Sabbathian, as he considered the Sabbathians to be full-fledged heretics whose writings were forbidden reading. We therefore believe we are justified in stating that Landau, who did not hesitate to publicly admit his error, actually helped in vindicating Eibenschütz, which is further proof of Landau's honesty and integrity. If we accept this change of mind as an established fact, many otherwise inexplicable facts may be easily understood. We have carefully examined the works of the students and descendants of Landau and have found that they very often refer to Eibenschütz as a reliable authority and always mention him respectfully by the title "Gaon, the righteous may rest in peace," and sometimes also as "*Rabbenu Hagaon.*" Wolf Lasch, one of the most eminent disciples of Landau, in his commentary to *Ketuboth* published during Landau's lifetime, placed his teacher and Eibenschütz in one category, remarking: "I cannot marvel enough at these two great lights."

All this could not have been if Landaus' pupils, who literally worshipped him, had not been certain that his suspicion against Eibenschütz no longer existed. One final point: Landau's favorite disciple, who knew him thoroughly

would have known of it. But the latter remained a follower of Eibenschütz and wished to see him again Chief Rabbi in Prague after the exile. R. Salman [Koref], too, was sharply attacked by Emden, which testifies only to the latter's lack of veracity, also attested by the late Mr. Ernst Wehli.

[29] See Preface to *Urim Vethummim,* Pt. II.

and looked up to him as to a man of God, was the "Assessor" or member of the rabbinical board, Rabbi Eleazar Flekeles, who delivered a eulogy at his master's funeral directly in front of the bier. In this most touching sermon he quoted a remark by the "Gaon R. Jonathan Eibenschütz."[30] The speaker would certainly not have dared to allude to Eibenschütz were it not for the fact that the deceased Rabbi had entered into eternity not as an adversary and opponent but as an admirer and friend of R. Jonathan.

We tried to have described the relationship between Eibenschütz and Landau in accordance with the facts, having taken pains to use only objective sources and avoided subjectively colored references that were clear distortions of the historical truth. We have described Landau's mental dilemma from which he emerged as victor. We now turn to the political struggle in which he was a central figure in the last years of his life. Here, unfortunately, he did not emerge victoriously.

Landau on Modern Trends in Judaism

The reform movement initiated by Emperor Joseph II and developed by the Mendelssohn school caused deep concern to Rabbi Landau. He saw in this movement an acute danger for the ancestral religion and fought it with extraordinary energy. He was not successful.

When, in 1778, the publication of Mendelssohn's German Bible translation was announced, the Rabbi of Prague immediately denounced it and prohibited its use because he feared that the Jewish youth would be diverted from studying the Talmud and gradually waver in its firm faith. Nevertheless, the circulation of Moshe Dessau's [Mendelssohn's] Pentateuch translation expanded steadily in Prague.

This fear of a slackening in the study of the Talmud also caused violent opposition to the decree of the Austrian Government obliging the Jews to establish public schools ("Normalschulen").[31] Hartwig Wessely, in his polemical

[30] *Mille Dehespeda*, p. 71c.
[31] Berlin, 1782.

publication, *Divre Shalom Veemeth* ["Words of Peace and Truth"], attempted to banish this fear by pointing out that general scientific education was not only useful for his fellow-believers but a necessary and suitable addition to Jewish religion.[32] Immediately after its appearance this publication raised a storm of indignation, and many rabbis agitated against the author. They were again led by R. Landau, who proceeded against Wessely in the same manner as he had once done against Mendelssohn, but again without success. Even within the realm of his own activity a school with regular German instruction was established.

Landau's opposition is quite understandable as his chief worry was that rabbinical studies might be neglected. His attitude is less clear in a matter which jeopardized, not the religion, but the life of the Jewish population. We must realize, however, that the men of the old school regarded Judaism as an absolute totality and feared the introduction of new ideas.

As early as 1772 the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin had issued a decree to the Jews in his country prohibiting immediate burials in order to prevent the burial of seemingly dead persons, on the ground that those actually dead could be buried later. The Jewish communities in Germany considered this a violation of a religious law and approached Mendelssohn, who stated openly that he was in full accord with the decree, citing irrefutable support from the Talmud. He consented, however, to write a petition asking for mitigation of the decree. Twelve years later, the Austrian Government asked the Rabbi of Prague for his opinion in the same matter, hinting at the same time that it knew that the wise and religious Mendelssohn had expressed himself as being against immediate interment. Otherwise there was no official intention to hinder the Jews in the practice of their religion. Landau's reply made a most unfavorable impression and was rejected by the Government on the ground that it consisted partly of objections contrary to common sense and partly

[32] [Cf. Charles L. Ozer, "Jewish Education in the Transition from Ghetto to Emancipation," *Historia Judaica*, IX (1947), pp. 75-94; 137-158.]

of superstitious applications of the Talmud, and he was ordered to see to it that none of his fellow-believers was interred within forty-eight hours after death had occurred.[33]

Rabbi Landau's opinion was published in the periodical *Meassef* (1786). As he also repudiated the opinion of the medical experts, the highly respected physician in Berlin, Marcus Herz, came forward with a special treatise, "Concerning the Immediate Interment of the Jews,"[34] in which he accused the Rabbi of Prague of utter conceit and narrow-mindedness. The Rabbi did not deserve such censure. He was neither a hypocrite nor conceited nor egotistical. His predjudice against any innovation stemmed from his conviction that Judaism does not tolerate the slightest deviation from its ancient principles. We certainly cannot blame him for his attitude when we read how his disciple, Eleazar Flekeles, bewailed the decay of religion in general and complained especially about the falling off of those with knowledge of Torah.[35]

Yet all these defeats in no way affected Landau's reputation or position; then, as before, he remained the holy, highly respected Rabbi, whose words were accepted as veritable oracles and of whom the *vox populi* maintained that his maledictions pronounced over certain persons always came true.[36] His unexampled learning and his imposing figure inspired everyone with the deepest reverence. When he emerged on the eve of the New Year in his long white silken caftan, the crowd formed a lane from the Altneu-Synagogue to his house in the Rabbinergasse and greeted him with the wish, *leshonoh tovoh,* to which he, stopping from time to time, answered with deep feeling, *gam atem leshonoh tovoh tikothevu.* At this moment he is said to have looked like a heavenly messenger reflecting the majesty of God.[37]

[33] Gubernium-Decree of July 3, 1786, No. 15512.

[34] ["An die Herausgeber des hebräischen Sammlers über die frühe Beerdigung der Juden," German Appendix to *Meassef,* IV (1787; 2nd ed., 1788; Hebrew transl., 1789).]

[35] *Olath Chodesh,* in many places.

[36] In my youth I heard many such stories.

[37] This I heard from my great-uncle, who witnessed such a scene.

I should like to cite another occasion on which R. Landau was active without public fanfare, and although he was not successful, he did not compromise his high office in any way. In 1788 the Emperor of Austria issued a strict order to the effect that the Jews were no longer exempt from military service but, like all other subjects, must answer the call to the colors. Great anxiety befell Jewish parents, who feared that their soldier-sons would be forced to violate the religious laws. In order to induce His Majesty to withdraw this order, a deputation consisting of three distinguished persons was sent to the court at Vienna. They were kindly received by the Emperor, but their request was rejected. In the first year following the new order, a large number of Jewish youths were drafted. On the day before their departure from Prague, the Rabbi called them together in the "Badhof," where a great crowd, among them many rabbis and leaders, was already assembled, and addressed them in a touching sermon, admonishing them always to fulfil their duty toward the Emperor and the Empire, to adhere faithfully to their military oath and, like their ancestors in Palestine, to excel through heroism and bravery. He concluded with the benediction contained in the Holy Scriptures, and many tears were shed.[38]

Turning now from R. Landau's public activities, we shall touch briefly on his private and family life.

Landau's Family

In spite of the fact that his income in Prague was considerable, R. Landau did not leave a fortune; he was always ready to help the poor and the suffering, and there was none who applied to him in vain.

Landau was a loving husband and father.[39] His wife, descended from a very distinguished family in Brody, named Libe or Libusch, was closely attached to him. He often

[38] This description is based on information received from contemporaries. [Cf. Alexander Kisch, *Zur Geschichte der israelitischen Militärseelsorge in Deutschland und Österreich* (Prague, 1917), pp. 1-3.]

[39] *Noda Biyehudah*, Pt. I, Yoreh Deah, No. 40.

followed her wise counsel, and the incident cited earlier indicates how great her influence was. She died in 1790. The members of the rabbinate eulogized her, followed by her husband who described her profound piety, the purity of her soul, her discreet tact, and her constant endeavor to spare him worry and annoyance, and to protect him from hostility within the community.[40]

They had six children whose lives we shall briefly sketch. Jekevka, born in Jampol, lived in Brody, where he acquired a wide reputation as a distinguished talmudist and expert in the Hebrew language. His death in the summer of 1822 was publicly mourned in the Neu Synagogue by R. Eleazar Flekeles, then president of the rabbinical board, an honor granted only to prominent rabbinical leaders. The second son, Samuel, died at the age of 82. He was president of the rabbinical board in Prague, and his demise caused great consternation in the community. We shall describe later his rabbinical activity. He married the daughter of Phoebus (Feibush), rabbi in Lissa, who was a son of Samuel Hellmann and known for his enmity toward R. Eibenschütz. Samuel Landau always treated Eibenschütz with the greatest esteem and reverence, which confirms my surmise, stated above, regarding Ezechiel Landau's attitude toward Eibenschütz. The third son, Israel, made a German translation of Maimonides' *Sefer Hamitzvoth.*[41] His son, Moses, who died in Prague in 1852, was a leader of the Jewish community and a prolific writer in the German and Hebrew languages.

Of R. Landau's daughters, the oldest was married, while still in Jampol, to Joseph Hatzaddik, later rabbi of Posen. He combined great wealth with extraordinary learning. This gained him the esteem of his father-in-law who, when explaining a passage to his disciples, used to say: "You had better ask my son-in-law, Rabbi Jossele, who is a greater scholar than I am."[42] In Landau's work, *Noda Biyehudah,*

[40] *Ahavath Tziyyon,* No. 7. He began his eulogy as follows: "The Beth Din eulogized me, now I shall eulogize my wife."

[41] Published in Prague in 1798 under the title, *Chok Leyisrael.*

[42] *Noda Biyehudah,* Pt. II, Preface; J. Perles, "Geschichte der Juden in Posen," *MGWJ,* XIV (1865), p. 261.

R. Jossele's incomparable talmudic learning is also repeatedly stressed. The second daughter had a troubled life. In 1774 she married a talmudic scholar, by the name of Salman, son of the rich and distinguished Meir Pressburger of Vienna.[43] They had a son but, for unknown reasons, their marriage was dissolved. Her second marriage was to Aaron Beer Wehli, whose brother was also a son-in-law of R. Landau. From this marriage came Ephraim, who married in 1810 and lived in Goltsch-Jenikau, where he was very respected as a great talmudist. The third daughter, Miriam, was very clever, witty, and learned. By her marriage to Yomtov Wehli, famous for his great knowledge, Landau became related to his former adversary, Ephraim Wehli. Landau would refer to this son-in-law as "one who was rather young but very learned."[44]

Landau's Literary Activity

Before concluding Landaus' biography, I must describe briefly his literary activity. His works were received with great appreciation in the rabbinical world, appearing in several editions.

1. Two parts of *Noda Biyehudah,* both printed in Prague. The first part was published by R. Landau in 1777, the second in 1811 by his son Samuel, who occasionally interpolated his own views. It contains responsa concerning all four codices by Karo [*Shulchan Aruch*]. In particular, the following principle is pointed out there: In defining the Halachah only the basic sources are to be used; interpretations of the epigones do not merit any consideration—it is superfluous to occupy oneself with them. If someone wanted Landau's opinion in actual case, he immediately analyzed the nature of the problem, without taking the slightest interest in the personal attitude of the inquirer.[45] Truth was his sole guide in making halachic decisions, regardless of what others thought about the case. Thus, under certain

[43] *Tziyun Lenefesh Chayya,* Pesachim, at the end.
[44] *Ibidem.*
[45] *Noda Biyehudah,* in many places.

conditions, he permitted clipping the beard during the intermediate days of Passover.[46] The rabbinical world was thrown into an uproar by this decision, and Asulai in *Waad Lachachamim* openly attacked it.[47] On the other hand, Landau did not approve of Moses Isserles' decision that an ulcer in the lung of cattle might be rubbed off, and he spoke up as follows: "Isserles should not have permitted this; if he had abstained from all his prohibitions, he would surely have acted in accordance with the Law."[48]

2. *Tziyun Lenefesh Chayya,* a commentary to various tractates of the Talmud. This work contains rather complicated explanations of talmudical passages; some of these are highly involved and complex dissertations which only experts in the Talmud can fully comprehend. According to Landau's own statement, the work consists of excerpts from advanced talmudical lectures called *Chilukim,* which employ the pilpulistic method chiefly. He admits that much of it serves only to sharpen the intellect, not to establish the simple, pure truth.

3. *Dagul Merebabah,* an extremely useful work containing corrections and popular explanations of the four parts of the *Shulchan Aruch.* Because of great popular demand for it, the book was re-edited by his son, Israel.

4. *Shibath Tziyyon, Ahabath Tziyyon,* and *Derush Letziyyon,* all three published in 1826 by Samuel Landau. The first part comprises halachic discourses, the second, moral sermons, the third responsa; each contains additions by the editor.

5. Several sermons on the occasion of national events. As head of the Jewish community it was Landau's official duty to express its patriotic sentiments. (a) *Derush Lehesped,* eulogy on Maria Theresa (Prague 1780), translated into German (1781); (b) *Derush Hashebach Wehodaah,* an official address at a festive ceremony in the Meisel Synagogue,

[46] *Ibidem,* Pt. I, No. 13.

[47] Also *Noda Biyehudah.*

[48] *Teshuvah Meahavah,* Pt. III, No. 320.

arranged in celebration of the victories won by the Austrian army and its Russian ally in 1789 [over the Turks].[49]

Landau's Death and the Struggle for His Succession

Returning again to Landau's life story, there is not much more to report. Despite his vigorous physical constitution, in the years before his death Landau grew steadily feebler until he was no longer able to direct the talmudical academies and was forced to appoint his son Samuel school rector. Yet he continued his halachic correspondence, and he never failed to reply to the many halachic inquiries until his death ended this correspondence. On April 22, 1793 (Iyar 17, 5553) his pure soul left the earthly body. Interment took place on the following day in the Wolschan cemetery where Rabbi Flekeles delivered the eulogy, beginning with the words: „ברוך דיין האמת וכל משפטיך צדיקים ואוי נא לנו שהחיינו וקימנו והגיענו לזמן הזה".

On Wednesday of the following week, Iyar 26, Rabbi Flekeles delivered another eulogy in the Klaus Synagogue; these two oratorical masterpieces are contained in his book, *Mille Dehespeda.* After the rabbis of a great many other communities had arranged similar tributes, there appeared in Prague another eulogist who was not one of the functionaries of the community and who had never held a rabbinical position. This man, Baruch Jeiteles, made a habit of courting both sides by maintaining contact with both the old and the new schools. A well-known authority in talmudical casuistics, he was also versed in other sciences, and his name was often mentioned in the periodicals dealing with Jewish literature. He disapproved of the system of exegetic analysis employed by the old rabbis. But his eulogy, which contained absurd explanations of the Bible and Midrash that could have been expected only from an old Polish *Maggid,* failed to win him supporters. It was submitted to the editors of the *Meassef* who were justly indignant and bitterly reproached the author. In revenge he published a pamphlet

[49] Prague, 1790.

under the title *Haoreb,* in which he attacked the editors with fury.[50] In the following issue of their journal, they countered by revealing that said pamphlet was not really interested in the argument. Its main purpose was of quite a different nature, most intimately connected with the question of the rabbinate in Prague. We shall describe the situation in some detail.

Supporting the rabbi was the rabbinical board, "Beth Din," whose oldest member was known as "Rosh Beth Din." After R. Landau's demise, the Beth Din consisted of the following four persons: Salman Emmerich, Michael Bacherach, Jacob Günzburg, and Eleazar Flekeles. The first-named was president and therefore became acting rabbi. When he died a year later, Michael Bacherach took his place. Samuel Landau aspired to be elected as the fourth member but failed. Assuming that Bacherach and Günzburg were working against him, he attempted to defeat them on other grounds. For the previous seventeen years these two rabbis had occupied a free residence under the terms of a foundation established by Simon Kuh, which was placed at their disposal by his heirs. The foundation document contained, however, a clause to the effect that those who occupied an office in the community were not entitled to the benefits of the foundation. Consequently, Landau maintained that the two rabbis should either vacate their apartments or resign from their respective positions. For, he concluded, as long as they occupied these apartments, their rabbinical position was illegal and all their official acts, such as marriages, divorces, etc., would be invalid from the religious standpoint. He advanced this argument in a special paper which he sent to the most important rabbinical authorities in Prague, asking them to decide according to law and justice. Without Landau's knowledge this circular letter was reproduced in the *Meassef.* Landau immediately wrote an open letter to the editor requesting a public statement that he had not

[50] [The text of the author's note in Pascheles, *Volkskalender,* 1884, p. 117, cannot be reconstructed because part of the page is missing. On the fictitious names of the author and place of printing of this pamphlet see *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* VIII (Berlin, 1931), pp. 1061 f., *s. v.* Jeiteles, Baruch.]

sought the publication of this paper nor did he contact the journal in any way. This was confirmed in the next issue, but the editors added that while the article was not directly submitted by Landau, it had been sent in by one of his friends, who assured the editors that this was done with the knowledge and consent of the author.

At this point Baruch Jeiteles published his *Haoreb,* using a pseudonym, as though he had never intended to make much fuss about the affair. The booklet consists of three parts: (1) Samuel's article; (2) a provocative reply; (3) a preface and an epilogue sharply attacking the editors of the *Meassef,* whom he accused of ignorance combined with arrogance. As we have already mentioned, the author gained nothing by his publication. While there was certainly enough cause for discontent in Prague, nothing developed and the bickering soon died down. Jacob Günzburg, however, a man of great piety and honesty, was sufficiently disturbed to retire voluntarily from the rabbinical board in order to be able to retain his apartment without outside interference. To fill the vacancy, Samuel Landau was finally appointed to the position to which he, as a son of the deceased Rabbi and head of the Yeshivah, had a just claim. Thus began a new epoch for the Prague Rabbinate which lasted for eighty-five years.

The "Oberjuristen" or "Appellanten," Eleazar Flekeles and Samuel Landau

As long as the autonomy of the rabbis existed, the community of Prague had two rabbinical courts, a higher and a lower court, בי דינא רבא and בי דינא זוטא. The latter, in daily session between Mincha and Maariv, dealt only with minor matters, earning for it the name "Penny Beth Din." Matters of major importance came before the higher court, which probably served also as a court of appeals when parties were dissatisfied with the decision of the "Penny Beth Din." In the language of the Ghetto, its members were called "Appellanten," that is members of the Court of Appeals. In official terminology the members of the higher court were

called "Oberjuristen" and those of the lower court, "Unterjuristen." The end of rabbinical autonomy also meant the end of the "Penny Beth Din." The higher court remained, to deal with religious matters.

After the demise of R. Jecheskel Landau, no chief rabbi was appointed. The Oberjuristen became the religious leaders of the community and together formed the rabbinical board which consisted of three members. The first Oberjurist was the president of the Beth Din, while the others were known as second and third appellants, respectively; promotion to a higher rank had to be approved by the Government.

As of 1795, this board consisted of the following members: M. Bacherach, E. Flekeles, and S. Landau, each having his special function. Bacherach kept the register of births, deaths, etc.; Flekeles supervised the orphanage; and Landau was in charge of the preparation of kosher meat. In 1799, during their regime, a strong Sabbathian movement again developed in Prague. In order to prevent it from spreading, the Beth Din took certain precautions which were of no avail, while the population resorted to excesses. The victims appealed to the governmental courts, accusing the rabbinical leaders of being the chief instigators of the scandals.

In November, 1800 (Marcheshvan 23) the members of the rabbinical board were called to the police, subjected to a strict examination, and taken into provisional custody.[51] The accusers themselves interceded for the seventy-one-year-old Michael Bacherach and obtained his release. After four days the trial ended with the full acquittal of the defendants, who were released on Marcheshvan 27 with general rejoicing. A great crowd awaited them in front of the prison, greeted them with the words of the customary benediction, and accompanied them to their homes. Michael Bacherach, upon his release from jail, returned home where many dignitaries awaited him. Still agitated, he opened the window and called out: "A fire from hell shall come upon them." He died about two months later (January—Shevat, 3—1801), and a few weeks after that, on a Friday night, a fire broke out in

[51] *Teshuvah Meahavah*, Pt. I, Preface.

the home of one of the Sabbathians. It began as a small blaze but in spite of all efforts to extinguish it the fury of the flames increased until the whole upper floor was in ruins. No other house in the neighborhood was touched, although in this section the buildings were very close to one another. The cause of the fire was never determined, and many believed it was the fulfillment of the deceased rabbi's curse. But the damaged house was soon rebuilt.[52]

With the appointment of Loew Melis the rabbinical board was again complete. Soon, however, a conflict arose between the two older members, Eleazar Flekeles and Samuel Landau, both of whom claimed the chairmanship. They were of the same age and both were disciples of Rabbi Jecheskel Landau. But they were distinctly different in character and in their ways of thinking. Eleazar Flekeles was a *Baki*, Samuel Landau a great *Charif*. Consequently, they differed greatly in their method of teaching Halachah. Eleazar rejected the pilpul which often relegates truth to the background. He was also quite opposed to the so-called Chilukim.[53] Samuel, on the other hand, defended their use by maintaining that, even if it were true that pilpulistic discussions were not conducive to truth, they were still extremely useful: they attracted the talented student and enhanced his interest in the study of Talmud. They might also be regarded as an effective medium for analyzing the very essence of Halachah, thus contributing to its fuller understanding. In the course of this controversy, he gave an excellent definition of the technical expressions, "Derasha" and "Chiluk." The former combines various halachic subjects which, at first glance, seem not to belong together, but whose logical connections are established by ingenious methods. The Chiluk confines itself to a single theme which receives detailed analysis and attains a splendid, logical structure under the skilled treatment of the lecturer.[54] R. Samuel knew the value of the casuistic method in which he was

[52] This story is based on information from my late father, who witnessed all these events.

[53] *Teshuvah Meahavah*, Pt. I, Preface.

[54] *Derush Letziyyon*, Preface.

a master, much superior to R. Eleazar. The opposite picture offered itself in the field of Haggada. In homiletics, in which, at the time, the haggadic method had gained importance, R. Eleazar was a master. His sermons were distinguished by splendidly chosen texts and fine allegories, and were especially impressive through their unusual rhetorical quality. On the pulpit this rabbi had the audience completely in his power. He knew how to move his listeners to tears; yet occasionally, as on the eve of the New Moon of the month of Shevat, his witty remarks caused general amusement and occasional laughter. R. Samuel's sermons were dry and usually of little significance.

The same difference in traits characterized their modes of thinking. Eleazar was strictly conservative, as was R. Jecheskel; he threw his full weight against Mendelssohn's Bible translation, stating that he preferred to limit the teaching of the young mainly to talmudical subjects with just enough secular study to satisfy the needs of daily life. He looked with great anxiety upon the liberalizing tendencies of the times, and voiced his displeasure at delayed interments and the removal of the cemetery to the outskirts of the city. But he was cautious not to come into conflict with the authorities.[55] Having engaged in some secular study himself, Samuel Landau expressed himself to the effect that they were useful; he fully approved of teaching the Bible with the help of the new German translation, and even advised the women to use Euchel's German translation of the prayer-book. However, he condemned the growing religious apathy of the private tutors, who instilled in the youth entrusted to them false views of Judaism.[56]

These two personalities were now competitors for the same office, each with his group of supporters. Again the talkative Baruch Jeiteles raised his voice against Samuel and, in support of Eleazar, quoted from the Mishna the passage, ראש ב"ד אומר מקדש, causing the supporters of R. Landau to protest loudly in the synagogue. In the Altneu Synagogue

[55] *Teshuvah Meahavah* and *Olath Chodesh*, in many places.
[56] *Ahabath Tziyyon*, Nos. 10, 12.

there also occurred a similar scandalous incident. Finally, the Government decided in favor of Eleazar, who was conceded to have the priority. This decision brought an immediate end to the whole dispute, as both rivals were tactful enough to find a modus vivendi between them.

Thus, the two revered men lived and worked together for twenty-five years until on the sixth day of Passover, 5586 (April, 1826) Eleazar was called to a better world. His writings follow:

1. *Teshuvah Meahavah,* in three parts (Prague, 1815-1821), containing responsa to the *Shulchan Aruch,* with very helpful notes to the text of this codex. Eleazar was not one to make things more difficult.

2. *Melecheth Hakodesh,* a manual for the writers of Torah scrolls, containing instructions as to the holy character of the various names of God (Prague, 1812).

3. *Olath Chodesh,* four volumes of sermons, distinguished for excellent diction and immensely stimulating to the reader (Prague, 1785-93).

4. *Maasse Berabbi Eleazar,* commentary to the Haggada for Passover (Prague, 1818).

5. Several sermons commemorating special political events.

6. *Zecher Olam,* a very witty commentary to Megillath Esther, the manuscript of which in his own handwriting is in the possession of the editor of this Calender [Jacob W. Pascheles].

Samuel Landau assumed without opposition the office of president of the Beth Din and occupied himself with the edition of several of his father's works. To complete the membership of the rabbinical board, two learned talmudists, R. Samuel Freund and R. Maier Schlesinger (called Glogau), were nominated as Oberjuristen. The latter, however, died shortly after his appointment.

During Samuel Landau's last years a "Society for the Establishment of Regulated Divine Services" ("Verein zur Errichtung eines geregelten Gottesdienstes") was founded

in Prague. As Samuel voiced his stern disapproval and in view of his advanced age, the activities were for the time postponed. Upon his death on October 30, 1834, the Society put its program into effect.

Landau's Successors

The Rabbi of the districts of Tabor and Budweis, R. Samuel Löw Kauder from Kalladei, was now called to Prague where he had many friends and relatives, for he had lived and taught there for many years. He arrived in December, 1835. Prompt steps were then taken to complete the rabbinical board by inducing the great and respected talmudist, R. Efraim Löw Teweles, to accept a position on it, which had been offered to him before but which he had modestly declined. Unfortunately, Kauder's stay in office was brief for he died after only three and a half years. Two works from his pen were published:

1. *Olath Samuel,* responsa, in which he concurred with the opinion of R. Landau on clipping the beard during the intermediate days of Passover, and extended it to the intermediate days of Sukkoth (Prague, 1823).

2. *Ahabath Emeth,* sermons in aggadic style (Prague, 1829).

The community in Prague now turned its attention to Rabbi Salomon Löw Rappoport, rabbi in Tarnopol, who had acquired fame through his historical-critical essays in the periodical, *Bikkure Haittim.* He moved to Prague in 1840 with general acclaim. On his seventieth birthday he received many tributes, and the Jewish community conferred upon him the title of Chief Rabbi of Prague, whereas until then he had been Chief Oberjurist. We deem it superfluous to discuss further the well-known work of this founder of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* except to remark that in his leisure time he devoted himself to his scientific studies which culminated in his eagerly awaited work, *Erech Millin,* published in Prague in 1852.

After his demise on October 16, 1867, the Jewish community of Prague was again faced with the task of appoint-

ing a Chief Rabbi. It elected the chief rabbi of Altofen, Markus Hirsch, who arrived at his new destination in 1879 and immediately won the hearts of all. Ever since, he has unfolded most praiseworthy activity in every field, and we close our report with the heartfelt wish that he may benefit from the old saying which we heard personally from R. Efraim Löw Teweles: The Rabbinate in Prague is מאריך ימים; its occupant may be certain of long life.[57]

[57] Having completed, with the help of the Almighty, this historical treatise, I feel obliged to thank all those most sincerely who have stood by me in word and deed. The library of the Jewish Community in Prague for a long time courteously supplied me with the books I needed. The well-known bibliophile, Mr. Koppelman Lieben, author of *Gal-Ed,* was kind enough to place at my disposal several of his rare books and manuscripts. Finally, my good friend Mr. Simon Hock, author of the explanatory notes to *Gal-Ed,* by virtue of his thorough knowledge of the history of the Jewish Community in Prague, has assisted me greatly by giving me useful information on some points which had not been clear to me.

[With this acknowledgement, Gutmann Klemperer's essay concludes. For the present, as a substitute for the non-existent continuation of the history of the Prague rabbinate one may consult Guido Kisch, *Alexander Kisch* 1848-1917: *Eine Skizze seines Lebens und Wirkens* (Halle-Saale, 1934; privately published). There the activities of many rabbinical leaders who played an important role in the Jewish community from 1880 to 1917 are described. The fate of this old and long famed seat of piety and learning was sealed with the occupation of the Bohemian capital by Hitler's hordes of barbarians.]

BOOK REVIEWS

Early Greek Christian Writers on Jews and Judaism

THE TREATMENT OF THE JEWS IN THE GREEK CHRISTIAN WRITERS OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES. By *Robert Wilde.* Catholic University of America Press. Washington, D. C., 1949. Pp. xviii + 239.

FATHER Wilde's purpose in writing this useful dissertation was to give a more comprehensive account than other scholars whether Christian or Jewish have given of the attitudes of the Greek Fathers of the first three centuries toward the Jews and Jewish beliefs. His limitation of the study to the Greek Fathers has the advantage of setting them in contrast to the Latin Fathers and in bringing out some of the significant differences between the two groups. The author finds that "the Greek Christian literature is earlier, more voluminous, of greater significance and more influential upon later Christian thought and practice in the West as well as in the East."

In order to get a running start he includes two introductory chapters. Chapter I is on "the Jews and their relations with the pagan world," and rapidly sketches the history of the Jews during the Persian and Hellenistic-Roman periods. Chapter II is on "the attitude toward the Jews in profane Greek literature." These two chapters, covering about seventy-five pages, make up a third of the monograph.

The main subject is first treated in chapter III on "Christian authors from the Apostolic Fathers to Justin." Chapter IV goes "from Justin to the author of the Epistle to Diognetus." Chapter V is on "Jewish attacks on Christians: the martyrdom of Polycarp." In chapter VI the author discusses "Greek Christian literature in the West: Saints Irenaeus and Hippolytus." Chapter VII is devoted to Clement of Alexandria, Chapter VIII to Origen and his successors. Chapter IX deals with the Didascalia, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies and the Apocrypha. At the end there are a Conclusion and an index.

The author's findings can best be reported in excerpts from his Conclusion (pp. 227-232).

"It was the exclusivism of the Jews that most struck the pagans with whom they came in contact. This social and religious exclusivism gave rise in the pagan mind and in pagan writings to all sorts of unfavorable reports, and even horrid tales. Some of the earlier authors, and many of the authors who wrote after the final destruction of Jerusalem in 135, expressed themselves more kindly, attracted by the purity of the Jewish

religion, giving the Jews a reputation for wisdom . . . It should be observed that no charge is made against them in our literary sources on the score of wealth."

"Whereas the attitude of the pagan authors was governed by social relationships, without excluding religious considerations, the attitude of the Christian authors is almost exclusively theological. It is based on two principles: the Jews occupied a chosen part in the divine plan of history; the Jews persecuted Christ and put Him to death, and acted in a similar way regarding His disciples and Apostles; they were constantly persecuting the Church and uttering calumnies against the Christians. The Christian authors hold that the Jews are rejected by God because they first rejected Him, and this is the ultimate basis for the harsh statements that they make. But Christians are not to be prosecutors of the Jews, rather they are to see in them the types of the things planned and ordained by God. This principle forms the basis of many favorable reports."

"It is inaccurate to attribute a hatred of the Jews to the Christian authors of the first three centuries. They were opposed to Judaism as a religion whose place is taken by Christianity, and as an institution responsible for the death of Christ, for the persecution of Christians . . . No attempt is made by orthodox Christians to belittle the place of Jews in sacred or profane history. Such an attempt, however, was made by heretics. There is no trace of any racial animosity on the part of Christians."

"The Christians are warned from the very beginning that they should not pride themselves on their chosen place, for they can fall just as the Jews had fallen. The Christian treatment of the Jews never descends to the *ad hominem* level. The problem is basically theological, and remains basically a theological one."

As might be expected, a Jewish scholar would differ with Father Wilde in the formulation of certain points connected with the interpretation of Scripture and with the part played by the Jews in the treatment of Jesus and his disciples. But there is no doubt in the reviewer's mind that in spite of the author's commitment to Catholic tradition, he has done an excellent job. He has shown commendable objectivity in analyzing the writings of ancient pagan and Christian writers on Judaism and in assessing the conclusions reached by modern Jewish and Protestant scholars who have dealt with the same problems.

Father Wilde's dissertation contains a rather small number of inaccuracies or disputable judgments, to which the reviewer herewith calls attention in the hope that his criticisms may be of use to the author in continuing his study.

There is no convincing evidence of Jewish control of the banking house of Murashu and Sons in fifth century Babylonia (p. 7). That "Antiochus IV died in 164 on his return from Elymais" (p. 18) is an inaccurate statement. Actually he died in Elymais (or Media) in 163. For "drachma" (p. 25) read "didrachmon." In dealing with Josephus'

excerpt from Clearchus of Soli (p. 34) the author might have referred to Hans Lewy's important article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 1938. Similarly, on Hecataeus (p. 36) he might have referred to Lewy's article in *ZNW*, 1932, and on the subject of onolatry (p. 44) to Bickermann's article in *MGWJ*, 1927. There seems to be a contradiction between the views expressed on p. 92 and those expressed on p. 99 in reference to Jewish influence on Christian apologetics. That Justin was right (p. 129, note) in charging that "the Rabbis would deny as being in the original [of Scripture] whatever did not agree with their opinion" is far from clear to the reviewer. The author's assumption (p. 145) that the *Minim* were Christians is probably mistaken. The best authorities recognize that the *Minim* were Jewish Gnostics. The reviewer would also question the author's statement (p. 147) that "what we know of Simon Magus bears a Jewish imprint," even though it is qualified by the admission that "these ideas merely represent convenient borrowing and are in no way orthodox representations of Judaism." Surely Simon Magus went far beyond most Jewish Gnostics in questioning the first principles of Judaism.

Aside from these inaccuracies and perhaps others missed by the reviewer, the dissertation written by Father Wilde is a competent, conscientious, and informative work, deserving of much praise.

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MEDIEVAL JEWRY LAW IN GERMANY

EISENACHER RECHTSBUCH. Bearbeitet von *Peter Rondi* + (Germanenrechte Neue Folge: Abteilung Stadtrechtsbücher, Band 3) Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. Weimar, 1950. Pp. xlvii + 269.

SOME time between 1374 and 1397 the Thuringian town clerk and chronicler, Johannes Rothe, compiled several lawbooks among them the *Eisenacher Rechtsbuch*, which has come down to us in a unique manuscript preserved in the Landesbibliothek of Kassel, Germany. Until recently, this lawbook was available only in the antiquated edition of Friedrich Ortloff, *Das Rechtsbuch nach Distinctionen nebst einem Eisenachischen Rechtsbuch* (Jena, 1836). It has now been replaced by the new edition under review, which fully satisfies the needs of modern scholarship.

For the readers of this journal two regulations of the *Eisenacher Rechtsbuch* concerning Jews are of special interest. Both can be traced to the older *Meissener Rechtsbuch* (about 1357-1387). Both have escaped the attention of historians and are therefore deserving of a brief discussion.

Book I, article 1, section 7, concludes a series of regulations on the differences in personal status ("Geburtsstand") and the diversity of the laws of inheritance resulting therefrom:

> The seventh *Geburtsstand*, called *Kebsstand* [personal status originating in concubinage] or abject *Geburtsstand*, arises when a man of legitimate birth has children by a common woman, or a Jew by a Christian woman. If one can prove that, the children are barred from all rights.

Since the Council of Elvira, at the beginning of the fourth century, the medieval Church had endeavored, through increasingly vigorous sanctions to prevent sexual relationships between Jews and Christians. After the Fourth Lateran Council such transgressions were placed in secular legislation under the penalty of death at the stake.

None of the widely disseminated German lawbooks of the Middle Ages, however, contains a prohibition against intermarriage between Jews and Christians. In the view of the Church, such alliances were obviously illicit. This made specific rules to this effect superfluous. The above legal discrimination against issue of illicit relations between a Jew and a Christian woman confirms this. Nevertheless, the fact that illegitimate children of such origin were legally deprived of all rights and thus rendered "rightless" *kat exochen*, does not result from any specific discrimination against Jews. Theirs is rather the same treatment under the law as that accorded other illegitimate children of illicit alliances. It is merely one case of "rightlessness due to personal relations."[1] Yet, the legal development showed a tendency toward mitigation of the strict rules. About 1500, the penalty of death at the stake imposed originally also for sexual relations between Jews and Christians, had become obsolete in Eisenach. It seems that the child's personal status, too, was improved, provided that it was baptized and educated in the Christian faith.[2]

The second regulation is intended to improve and protect the economic status of these children. Book I, article 2, states:

> Further, ye should know that there are some people who come to the Christian faith from unbelief, such as heathens and Jews. If they come together within the second or third or fourth sib degree and then marry one another in [i.e. having embraced] the true faith; if they had children before, and have children later again; and if the former, too, embrace Christianity: the fortune they earn together is to be inherited by the first [children] as well as the last ones. This was decreed by the emperors by

[1] Cf. Rudolf Hübner, *Grundzüge des deutschen Privatrechts* (5th ed., Leipzig, 1930), pp. 117f., Hübner, *A History of Germanic Private Law* (Boston, 1918), p. 104 (English translation).

[2] Guido Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status* (Chicago, 1949), p. 205-207.

> virtue of the imperial power, so that the first children remain all the more steadfast in the Christian faith. They always hand down their possessions [i.e., to their children]; they can leave them to the collateral line as well, if they have brothers and sisters. In case they have no children before or after [embracing Christianity], they may bequeath their possessions to the churches ["selgerete" or soul-portion] or for paths or roads, or bequeath them to whomever they please, or bequeath them to the sick and poor, or donate them for the good of their souls; this they can do on their deathbed. If they miss this opportunity and make no bequests, their possessions fall after their death to the royal jurisdiction, that is, to the lawcourt. If there is any kin surviving, who came from unbelief to the Christian faith, he should have a better title to inherit their possessions than the royal jurisdiction and the lawcourt.

As is well known, the Jews, in self-defense and to prevent apostasy, used to dispossess and disinherit apostates. Their right to do so was recognized by secular law as early as 1090 in the privileges granted to the Jews of Speyer and Worms.[3] The Church, however, and under her influence some secular lawbooks, tried to protect the economic interests of converts. A special clause in the *Schwabenspiegel* (ed. Lassberg, art. 262; Gengler, 214, 12) permitted converts from Judaism "rightfully to hold property and inheritance." As can be seen from the above translated regulation, the *Eisenacher Rechtsbuch* went even further than the *Schwabenspiegel* by elaborating on the widely accepted principles.

There are no other references to Jews in Johannes Rothe's lawbook of Eisenach.

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THE JEWRIES OF THE LEVANT

ROMANIA: THE JEWRIES OF THE LEVANT AFTER THE FOURTH CRUSADE. By *Joshua Starr*. Editions du Centre. Paris, 1949. Pp. 123.

THE last work of the late Joshua Starr is a study on the history of the Jews in medieval Greece. The author very diligently collected data on the Jewish communities from the foundation of the Latin empire (1204) until the Turkish conquest and analyzes them with deep insight. That period was for Greece an epoch of political disintegration. Several Latin and Greek principalities came into being, each with its peculiar form of government and social order. Owing to this variety of historical conditions Starr chose in his work the method of regional

[3] G. Kisch, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

description. Chapters are devoted to the Jewries of Constantinople under the Palaeologues, Negroponte, Modon and Coron, Patras, Thessalonica under the rule of Venice, Durazzo, Rhodes under the knights Hospitallers, Chios under the Genoese and Cyprus. In the rich historical material concerning these Jewish communities presented by the author the information on their economic structure is especially interesting. We read of Jewish landowners, artisans, etc. Surely, additional material may be found in other sources. Starr's work, however, was not intended to be a "History of the Jews in Medieval Greece," but a contribution to it, and it is a valuable one.

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RABBI JUDAH LOEWE BEN BEZALEL (MAHARAL)

THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF THE MAHARAL OF PRAGUE. By Rev. Dr. *Aaron Mauskopf*. Hammer Publishing Co. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1949. Pp. viii + 108.

RABBI Judah Loewe ben Bezalel, known as the Maharal, enjoys greater fame as the legendary creator of the Golem than as the creative thinker and leader of the Jewish communities of Moravia, Posen and Prague. There is a brief German biography of the distinguished rabbi by Nathan Grün, under the title, "Der Hohe Rabbi Löw" (Prague, 1885). In Hebrew, beside the reports in David Gans's *Zemah David* and Azulai's *Shem Hagedolim*, the skeleton biography by Meir Perles, *Megilat Yuhasin* (1718), and the items in M. J. Michael's *Or Hahayyim*, (no. 1017) and S. M. Chones, *Toledot Haposekim*, there is the elaborate and well documented monograph by A. Gotsdiener, *Haari shbehachme Prag*, in the third volume of the publications in memory of Rabbi A. I. Cook (1937, pp. 253-443). The English reader can turn only to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, for a concise article on "Judah Loewe ben Bezalel" by Max Grunwald (Vol. VII, 353-355) or to a still shorter one in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (Vol. 7, 216-217, under "Loewe Judah ben Bezalel"). The English edition of Graetz omits even the skimpy and carping paragraph about the Maharal in the German original. The one-volume histories dismiss him with a few lines. Meyer Waxman's *History of Jewish Literature* passes him over completely.

Dr. Mauskopf's work attempts to introduce and to appraise the religious teachings of the Maharal. It falls into three parts: Philosophy of Torah (chs. i-x), Philosophy of Ethics (chs. xi-xvi), and Philosophy of History (xvii-xxii).

Even though his primary concern is with the thought content of the Maharal, the author should have furnished a fuller and more colorful life story of the sixteenth-century leader. Outside of the few pages dealing with his educational reforms, the book contains nothing to

connect him with the turbulent events and problems of his day. His voluminous exegetical and homiletical writings, too, are referred to only in footnotes as references to statements in the text. A systematic bibliography of Rabbi Loewe's literary efforts and an analysis of their nature should have been supplied.

Dr. Mauskopf follows a fixed pattern. Each subject in the book is opened with a survey of the antecedents of the Maharal's teachings. While he quotes profusely from the philosophic writers, the cabbalistic sources of the Maharal are overlooked. The introductory material is in several instances much longer than the subject matter itself. Covering so much ground in such limited space, the treatment is occasionally unsatisfactory. For example, the views of Maimonides on evil and of Crescas on freedom and providence can hardly be considered adequate. To complete the subject of the work, a section should have been added on the theology of the Maharal, which is basic to his conceptions of Revelation, Ethics, and the role of Israel. The scanty chapter on Providence in the section on Ethics does not compensate for the omission.

These defects notwithstanding, Dr. Mauskopf has rendered a true service by introducing to the English reader this vital Jewish thinker. While the Maharal draws upon biblical, rabbinic, philosophic, and mystic literature, he is not a mere compiler of older ideas. He controls his material and stamps it with his personality. His analyses of the paths of Torah and of science, of the moral nature of man and of the religious character and mission of Israel possess a freshness and an originality that challenge modern Jewish thought.

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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

IN SEARCH OF FREEDOM: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN JEWS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By *Guido Kisch.* With a Forword by *Jan Masaryk.* Edward Goldston. London, 1949. Pp. xvi, 366. [American Distributors: Bloch Publishing Co., 31 West 31 St., New York City].

THE great merit of this study lies in the fact that it calls attention to the importance of the specific cultural background of Jewish emigration to the United States. The historians of American Jewry have been accustomed to designate as German the whole movement of Jews to the New World before 1880. In so doing, they have tended to disregard the significant differences in social structure and in economic and cultural conditions even within central Europe, within the old German and Austrian empires. Professor Kisch's useful volume attempts to correct this short-sighted view, to demonstrate how the distinctive features of the Czech situation influenced the nature of emigration and of settlement in America.

Fortunately this author is well-qualified for his task. A splendid bibliography and superb documentation testify to his command of the sources. And he brings to his writing the warmth and feeling natural to one who has himself followed in the footsteps of earlier emigrants in search of freedom.

The work falls into two main sections. The first, and more valuable, deals with the antecedents of the Revolution of 1848 in Czechoslovakia and with its effect upon the Jews. The situation in this part of the Hapsburg empire was markedly different from that in Austria or in Germany. For the early Czech liberal nationalists rebuffed the overtures of Jews, and the revolutionary mobs seemed to direct their first violence against the ghetto. Consequently hopes for emancipation were not raised by the liberal uprisings. Discouragement with the future early became apparent; and the *On to America* movement quickly gained strength from the realization that whatever the success of the revolution, the position of the Jews would not immediately be improved. Professor Kisch properly judges that this attitude had an important effect upon the course of Czech Jewish migration.

The second large section of the book deals with more conventional material. It is made up primarily of a detailed analysis of the contributions of Czechoslovak Jews to American civilization. Some of the information is interesting. But not much of it is fresh. And the approach—description of prominent individuals—prevents Professor Kisch from confronting squarely his main problem, the effect of the specific Czech background upon the acculturation of these immigrants in the United States. Here we would have found useful the same fresh exploitation of sources characteristic of the first section.

With regard to the work as a whole, this reviewer has two questions. First, is it proper to deal with the Slovakian emigration as if it were the same in nature as the Czech; is there not evidence that conditions in Slovakia were more like those in the rest of Hungary, even Galicia, than like those in Bohemia and Moravia?

More generally, I wonder whether Professor Kisch's perspective was not somewhat influenced by his emphasis upon the exceptional individuals. The streams of emigration upon which he focuses are those motivated by political factors, by the search for freedom. Consequently we get the impression that the volume of emigration was slight between the mid-century and 1930, when the political situation of the Jews in Czechoslovakia was relatively good. There are, indeed, enormous difficulties in dealing with the mass of immigrants because American statistics before World War I did not recognize Czechoslovakia as a separate country of origin. Yet there are indications of a continued movement of Jews from that area to the United States in the sixty years after 1870. The data for the 1920's reveal a not insignificant trend, for instance; and in the 1880's there seem to have been a substantial number of Bohemian Jewish cigarmakers in New York. Such stray evidence is not con-

clusive, of course. But an examination of the non-political sources of emigration might have turned up more, and might have revealed quite another aspect of the subject.

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JEWISH HISTORY, CULTURE, AND RELIGION

THE JEWS: THEIR HISTORY, CULTURE, AND RELIGION. Edited by *Louis Finkelstein.* Two volumes. Harper and Brothers. New York, 1949. Pp. xxxiii + 1430.

THIS monumental work, edited by the scholarly president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, is a book the need for which has long been felt. Ignorance of true Judaism is abysmal, even among those who value it as a still vital force. One need only read the editor's Preface to see how widely misunderstood Judaism is. In comprehensive and scholarly form these volumes give valuable information on all developmental phases and cultural contributions of Judaism, from its early beginnings until today. Yet, the work is far from being a mere condensation of previously published books. Written by thirty-eight authors outstanding in their respective fields, each article is an independent monograph and in most cases the product of studious research. Each article could have been published separately and would have found its own reading public.

With so many authors of different background and approach, one can accept the fact of occasional overlapping (most noticeable in the articles on "Jewish Religious Life and Institutions in America" and "Jewish Educational Institutions") and at times even divergent opinions expressed in the various articles. While some of the essays will be appreciated by all readers, others will appeal only to those interested and versed in the respective topics. This reviewer thinks that the editor is to be thanked for having avoided uniformity of thought and approach in the work.

The book is divided into four parts: (1) The History of Judaism and the Jews; (2) The Role of Judaism in Civilization; (3) The Sociology and Demography of the Jews; (4) The Jewish Religion. Within the space available, it will be impossible to discuss each part at length and as thoroughly as should be done. We shall have to limit ourselves mainly to the historical sections.

Part 1, comprising eight chapters, can well be divided into four sections. The biblical period, to which one chapter is devoted; the post-biblical period, with two chapters; the European period, covered in three chapters; and the American scene, with two chapters. Of these, the chapters on Europe and America deserve most attention.

As to the biblical period, although Professor Albright fully recognizes the historicity of the Bible, his theory of the compilation of the Pentateuch (pp. 54, 45 f., etc.) will not be shared by the traditional Jewish reviewer. The constant use of the Tetragrammaton instead of "God" indicates that the author believes in the gradual development of the universal God idea in Judaism (p. 11), an assumption quite contrary to accepted Jewish belief. These theories are disturbing flaws in an otherwise excellent historical presentation.

Of great value and interest, not only for the historian of ancient Judaism, but equally for the modern Jewish theologian, is the chapter, "The Period of the Talmud." Its author lucidly describes how talmudic times laid the foundation for a Judaism no longer attached to a country and to a politically independent nation. If Judaism and Jews survived against all historical odds, it is due to the foresight of the leaders in that era. Knowledge and understanding of this period therefore is essential for an understanding of present Judaism.

Two essays by Cecil Roth describe the European period, "The European Age in Jewish History" and "The Jews of Western Europe (from 1648)." About the eighth or ninth century the Jews had become definitely a European people, sharing in the ups and downs of the nations in whose midst they lived. The early beginnings in Europe were on the basis of equal and respectful treatment by the surrounding world, till the Church violently set herself against the Jews restricting their social and economic freedom. This trend was continued by secular rulers for economic reasons in order to eliminate Jewish competition. Nevertheless the Jews remained in Europe, for the various powers, in their rivalry with one another, took advantage of the benefits which the Jews could bring to their countries. Driven from one land, they found refuge in another until they were accorded final admittance and relative peace for more than a hundred years during the era of emancipation and liberalism. This entire story is vividly described by the author. This reviewer cannot agree with him, however, when he blames the rise of anti-Semitism in western Europe on the immigration of East European Jews (p. 276) and when he overrates the importance of the fight between Zionists and anti-Zionists as a cause of the weakening of Jewish resistance against anti-Semitism(p. 279). It may also be noted that the Hirsch family were not bankers but prominent in the metal business (p. 272); and that Walter Rathenau at the time of his assassination was Minister of Foreign Affairs and not Minister for Reconstruction (p. 279). There are more such inaccuracies.

The article, "The Problem of European Jewry (1939-1945)," reads like a sort of epilogue to the thousand years of European Jewish history. From declining Europe, Jewish history shifts to the western hemisphere. This period is treated in two instructive contributions. "The American Jewish Chronicle" and "Jewish Religious Life and

Institutions in America." The latter article is a veritable sourcebook for the development of Jewish congregational life in our country. Its author, Dr. Moshe Davis, not only reports facts and dates, but also explores the reasons underlying the various developments, for example, the failure of the planned union of all traditional groups (pp. 396, 405) and the internal struggle for the establishment of institutions of higher learning (pp. 374, 396). (The Teachers Institute, founded in 1917 by the American Mizrachi, was, by the way, not the first established under orthodox auspices (p. 421); the teachers' seminaries of Cologne, Würzburg, Kassel, and Hannover, Germany, were much older). The development of the three factions in American Judaism receive a detailed description which is as scholarly as it is impartial. Dr. Davis' article is in part, i.e., as far as American Jewish schools are concerned supplemented by Dr. Simon Greenberg's contribution, "Jewish Educational Institutions," which offers a fine survey of such institutions from biblical times to our day, describing and evaluating each type of school.

While Dr. Davis describes the religious history of American Jewry, Mrs. Lebeson's article, "The American Jewish Chronicle," is an instructive essay on the political, economic, and social development of the Jews in America and the part they played in general American history.

Nathan Reich in his article, "The Economic Structure of Modern Jewry," points out that Jews, in choosing an occupation, follow more or less the general trend of their environment unless they are diverted by prejudice (pp. 1256 ff.). Very enlightening is the author's analysis of "productive" occupations and the statistical material accompanying the essay. Table 10 (p. 1252) puzzles one by the complete absence of Jewish traders and factory owners in Israel.

A further source of information for the modern historian is Jacob Lestschinsky's description of "Jewish Migration, 1840-1946," giving the reasons for Jewish emigration, among which commercial anti-Semitism was dominant prior to the Nazi period (p. 1212 ff.). He also discusses the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish immigration and the consequent lack of any Jewish remigration of importance (p. 1227), and the difference between emigration to Israel and other countries. Full figures are given only for the United States, Canada, and Israel. Although immigration to other countries was considerably smaller in volume, the reader wants to know more about the adjustment and distribution of these immigrants.

Almost all the articles in these volumes bear on Jewish history. Jewish contributions to the various fields of civilization are of interest and importance to the historian; they are in the realm of literature, music, science, and art; in the fields of religion, philosophy, and ethics. They all are represented in this work.

In conclusion, once more thanks are due to Dr. Finkelstein for his untiring labor and study for this work, which represents truly

"monumenta Judaica." It is hoped that these volumes will impart a greater and better understanding of Judaism and the Jews.

SELIG S. AUERBACH

Aberdeen, South Dakota

PURIM ANTHOLOGY

THE PURIM ANTHOLOGY. By *Philip Goodman.* Jewish Publication Society. Philadelphia, 1949. xxxi + 525 pp. with illustrations.

A STUDY in strange paradox presents itself to those seeking to capture the spirit and meaning of the festival of Purim. There is, on the one hand, the narration of the serious theme of the persecution and redemption of an ancient Jewish community. And yet, a carnival spirit of laughter has been chosen as the medium for the recollection of this dispiriting tale. This enigma is beautifully illustrated in the *Purim Anthology* edited by Philip Goodman. Utilizing skills gained in developing holiday observance guides for the Jewish Welfare Board and the armed forces during the recent war, Rabbi Goodman has moulded the first comprehensive Purim anthology in the "hope of presenting vividly the character and meaning of this festival and the manner of its observance."

In a skillfully interwoven collection of short selections, this volume captures the core of the Purim message as portrayed in materials garnered from every age and distant corner of the Jewish dispersion: of Purim in Jewish history, its manner of observance in many lands and ages, its creative expression in literature, art and music. What gives significance to this maze of material is that tidbits of popular information are balanced by scholarly presentation: in the field of music by A. W. Binder; in that of art by Rachel Wischnitzer. There are the essays of Solomon Grayzel in history; Israel Davidson in parody; of Jacob Shatsky in the literature of Purim plays. The inclusion of these articles by authorities gives a permanent value to what might have been limited in scope to a popular compilation united by the Purim theme.

Whether perusing gems from the Bible, Talmud and Midrash, or the broader canvas of the short story, poetry and prose, the core of the Purim festival as "faith by example" becomes evident. Purim parallels tell of an unending struggle against Caesars, who like the waves of the sea in the rabbinic parable, shatter against the shore each wasting its strength in a fruitless attempt to overwhelm the dry land. It is a testament validated by history that "whom the gods would destroy, they first make drunk with power."

The second section of this volume is concerned with the manner of observance. Here is a practical guide for the transmutation of Purim into a Festival of Joy; curiosity and humor, parties and special programs, dances and songs, delicacies for the palate, and plays for per-

formance. In these techniques for observing Purim, we glimpse the secret of survival in the Jewish tradition. To prevent the spirit from being overwhelmed by painful experience and memory, it is the better expedient to draw energy from the unpleasant, and discharge bitterness in liberating laughter. These sections form a practical handbook for use in the synagogue, school and home, giving living expression to an ancient theme.

For the rabbi, the *Purim Anthology* will be an invaluable aid in making the Jewish tradition meaningful and joyous to his people. For the student of religious history, it will be the fascinating story of the emergence of patterns of holiday observance, a mosaic of a people's experience and expression. For the general reader, it will open the treasure-house of a favorite festival. The *Purim Anthology* is a valuable addition to the holiday series in preparation by the Jewish Publication Society.

ALBERT G. SILVERMAN

Jamaica, New York

BOOK NOTES

By GUIDO KISCH

New York City

ANCIENT JEWISH ART

ANCIENT HEBREW ARTS. By *A. Reifenberg*. Schocken Books. New York, 1950. Pp. 171.

IN over 200 pictures with explanatory text, this beautiful volume presents art remains of Jewish antiquity. It is an extensive selection from what has been preserved or restored by excavations, and gives an idea of the art and useful objects created in Palestine during the biblical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, and in the early Jewish Diaspora. The remains cover a span of about 2,000 years, from the time of the Kings to the sixth or seventh century of the common era. All kinds of archeological material are represented: architecture, sculpture, ceramics, seals, coins, mosaics, lamps, and glass. Introductory remarks to each individual section make the reader acquainted with the historical background and the many facets of archeological research in the land of the Bible. The explanatory text relates the findings to the Bible, to Hebrew and Jewish life and history, to Jewish thought and ritual. According to its jacket the volume is intended mainly for the general reader. Often, however, the merely fragmentary descriptions will arouse rather than satisfy his desire for full and clarifying information. The art historian and collector, on the other hand, for whom the book is also intended, will badly miss bibliographical references, although they

will greatly appreciate the useful lists and indexes at the end of the volume. Despite these omissions, *Ancient Hebrew Arts* is an outstanding work of scholarship and book production.

Jewish Migrations

TO DWELL IN SAFETY: THE STORY OF JEWISH MIGRATION SINCE 1800. By *Mark Wischnitzer.* The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1948. Pp. xxv + 368.

GREAT historians have conceived Jewish history as a history of successive persecutions. This volume offers the supplementary picture of a succession of forced migrations of the Jewish people. They are almost standard in pattern and vary only in degree and intensity. The period 1800-1948 treated by the author falls into eight phases: (1) 1800-1880—Overseas migration from central and eastern Europe, from the Napoleonic wars on, at first slight in volume but gaining momentum after the revolutions of 1848; (2) 1881-1890—The beginning of the Jewish exodus from Russia after the first pogroms; (3) 1891-1900—The rising tide of emigration from eastern Europe; (4) 1901-1914—The peak of East European emigration; (5) 1914-1932—Decrease during and after World War I; (6) 1933-1939—Migrations under Nazi pressure; (7) 1939-1945—Migrations as an effect of the global war; (8) 1945—Aftermath of the Allied victory in Europe. The author, having been a lifelong expert in practical migration policies and counseling, offers a thoroughgoing factual account of the mass population movements during the last one and a half centuries. The highlight of his presentation of historical, geographical, statistical, philanthropical data and other factual information is, of course, the flight of the Jews from Tsarist Russia and Hitler's terror. While he discusses migration to every land of new settlement, he gives principal attention to the United States and Israel as countries of immigration. Probably the most complete collection of such material, it is conveniently supplemented by references to the wealth of pertinent literature. For the historian and sociologist the author has successfully paved the way for an appropriate interpretation and evaluation of the material, the importance of which for Jewish history is obvious.

Biography

DR. HERMANN BAERWALD 1828-1907. Selected papers, biographical and others (translated from the German), collected for the members of his family by his son, *Paul Baerwald.* For private circulation. New York City, 1950. viii + 53 pp.

DR. Hermann Baerwald, known as the principal of "Philanthropin," the famous Jewish highschool of Frankfurt, and an eminent German-Jewish educator of the nineteenth century, started his career

as a promising medievalist. His early essays on Rudolph I and on medieval formularies appeared in the official publications of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. This outstanding Academy also published the *Baumgartenberger Formelbuch,* the most important theoretical-practical formulary of the Middle Ages, which earned for its young editor great scholarly distinction and the rare award of the Austrian Gold Medal for Arts and Sciences. The book, though published in 1866, was in 1931 still considered a classical and up to-date work, in the judgment of Harry Bresslau, then the leading authority on medieval palaeography. Yet, because of external as well as personal reasons, Baerwald devoted his lifework to Jewish education in Germany. The exemplary achievements of the Philanthropin are due to his efforts which were motivated by profound knowledge and high idealism.

It was an act, not only of filial devotion, but also of deep historical insight, to refresh the memory of Hermann Baerwald by publishing in English translation a number of his biographical studies and pedagogical reflections (some for the first time) as well as several appraisals of his life and work by contemporaries. Among the first group the biographical and analytical studies of Moses Mendelssohn and Leopold Ranke are stimulating and still worth reading even after more than half a century. The commemorative sketches of Baerwald's personality offer a remarkable and fascinating picture of German Jewry at its best and of its leaders during the period of emancipation, that still awaits an able historiographer and sociologist. He will be grateful to Mr. Paul Baerwald for making available this interesting source material, the significance of which surpasses the limits of mere genealogical interest. Appended to the volume is a "Bibliography of Publications by and on Hermann Baerwald," whose name also appears in the political correspondence of his friend, Eduard Lasker, the leading statesman of the progressive party in the German Reichstag in the Bismarck era.

The Yiddish Press

THE YIDDISH PRESS: AN AMERICANIZING AGENCY. By *Mordecai Soltes.* Teachers College, Columbia University. New York, 1950. Pp. xvi + 242.

THIS is an unchanged re-issue of the author's well-known work on the Americanizing influence of the Yiddish press in the United States, first published in 1923. It is enlarged by a "Foreword" in which the development of the Yiddish press during the last twenty-seven years is summarized and analyzed. Special reference is made to J. Chaikin's article on the genesis, growth, and achievements of the American Yiddish press in *Jewish Book Annual,* III, 1944-45 (Yiddish). One can welcome the republication of Dr. Soltes' book, which has been out of print for a long time.

NECROLOGUE

HUGO BIEBER

1883-1950

HUGO BIEBER, who died on October 1, 1950 in New York City at the age of 67, was an ardent student of world history and a prolific expert on the literature of many nations and peoples. In Berlin he served as managing director of the "Volksverband der Bücherfreunde." He wrote two important books on German poetry, *Der Weg der deutschen Dichtung* and *Der Kampf um die Tradition.* He was a contributor to numerous scholarly journals and encyclopedias.

After his arrival in America as a victim of Nazi persecution Bieber wrote articles for the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* and many scientific journals. His interest in and study of Jewish affairs was manifold and persistent. He wrote extensively on the formation of the civic conditions of German Jewry, the various stages of anti-Semitism, and the settlement of Jews in America from the beginning until 1865. Hugo Bieber was a lifelong student of the works and correspondence of Heinrich Heine. His book on the poet's Jewish views, first published under the title, *Confessio Judaica* (1922), was a challenge to all critics who up to that time denied Heine's attachment to Jewish ideas. Through carefully gathered testimony of contemporaries and critics, both friend and foe, Bieber succeeded in proving Heine's constant nostalgia for Judaism. The last result of these investigations he published under the title *Heinrich Heine—Jüdisches Manifest* (second enlarged edition of *Confessio Judaica*) (New York, 1946). After World War II Bieber participated in the re-education program of German schools by writing the standard text books on modern history for the French, American and British Zones.

HUGO HAHN

New York City

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Michael Alper, *Trip Guide to Places of Jewish Interest in Metropolitan New York.* Jewish Education Committee of New York and National Jewish Welfare Board. New York, 1950. iv + 53 pp. (multigraphed).

Israel Bettan, *The Five Scrolls: A Commentary on The Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther.* Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Cincinnati, 1950. xv + 252 pp.

Philip D. Bookstaber, *The Idea of Development of the Soul in Medieval Jewish Philosophy.* Maurice Jacobs, Inc. Philadelphia, Pa., 1950. xi + 104 pp.

Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men: The Story of Western Thought.* Prentice-Hall, Inc. New York, 1950. ix + 587 pp.

Robert F. Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France.* Volume I: The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, N. J., 1950. x + 348 pp.

Israel Cohen, *Contemporary Jewry: A Survey of Social, Cultural, Economic and Political Conditions.* Methuen and Co. Ltd. London, 1950. xiv + 410 pp.

Samuel Daiches, *Bible Studies.* Edward Goldston and Son Ltd. London, 1950. x + 134 pp.

Will Durant, *The Age of Faith: A History of Medieval Civilization—Christian, Islamic, and Judaic—from Constantine to Dante, A. D. 325—1300.* Simon and Schuster. New York, 1950. xviii + 1196 pp.

Morris Goldstein, *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition.* The MacMillan Company. New York, 1950. ix + 319 pp.

Julius H. Greenstone, *Proverbs with Commentary.* Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1950. xlii + 354 pp.

Malcolm Hay, *The Foot of Pride: The Pressure of Christendom on the People of Israel for 1900 Years.* The Beacon Press. Boston, 1950. xxii + 352 pp.

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Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them.* Farrar, Straus and Co. New York, [no date given]. 307 pp.

Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the First Century B. C. E.—Fourth Century C. E.* Jewish Theological Seminary of America. New York, 1950. xiv + 231 pp.

Ignaz Maybaum, *The Jewish Mission.* James Clark and Co. Ltd. London, [1950]. viii + 166 pp.

Judah Pilch [editor], *Jewish Education Register and Directory* 1951. American Association for Jewish Education. New York, 1951. 122 pp.

Oskar K. Rabinowicz, *Fifty Years of Zionism: A Historical Analysis of Dr. Weizmann's 'Trial and Error.'* Robert Anscombe & Co., Ltd. London, 1950. 130 pp.

Alfonso Francisco Ramirez, *Israel.* Ediciones Metropolis. Mexico, D. F., 1948. 755 pp.

G. N. Renier, *History: Its Purpose and Method.* The Beacon Press. Boston, 1950. 272 pp.

Charles Reznikoff and Uriah Z. Engelman, *The Jews of Charleston: A History of an American Jewish Community.* Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, Pa., 1950. xii + 343 pp.

Cecil Roth, *History of the Great Synagogue London* 1690—1940. Edward Goldston and Son. London, 1950. xiv + 311 pp.

Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States* 1654—1875. The Citadel Press. New York, 1950. xxx + 762 pp.

Karl Simon, *Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder.* Verlag Waldemar Kramer. Frankfurt am Main, 1948. 108 pp.

Eduard Strauss [Festschrift] *zum 75. Geburtstag am* 18. *Februar* 1951. Edited by Hugo Hahn. Congregation Habonim. New York, 1951. 18 pp. (Typescript.)

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Historia Judaica

CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON DOHM

By Willy Cohn
Late Studienrat
Breslau

AMONG the contemporaries of Moses Mendelssohn, Christian Wilhelm von Dohm stands out as a most ardent champion of the emancipation of the Jews. The only book we have about him is the century-old biography by his son-in-law, W. Gronau.[1] It is fitting, therefore, that in commemorating Moses Mendelssohn, we should at the same time endeavor to portray Dohm's personality.

Christian Wilhelm von Dohm was born in Lemgo, in the principality of Lippe, on December 11, 1751. After completing his studies in Leipzig—first in theology and then in law—he became a professor at the Karolineum Institute in Braunschweig and later councillor and archivist at the

Editor's Note. December 11, 1951 will mark the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751-1820), a statesman and political writer, the first German scholar and state official to propose emancipation of the Jews in a comprehensive theoretical work, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (Berlin and Stettin, vol. I, 1781; vol. II 1782. A projected third volume was never published). Historia Judaica wishes to revive and to honor the memory of this outstanding protagonist of Jewish emancipation and friend of Moses Mendelssohn by the following translation of Willy Cohn's article, "Christian Wilhelm von Dohm." This article appeared first in German on the occasion of the Mendelssohn Bicentenary in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, I (1929), pp. 255-261. Cf. also W. Cohn, article "Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, V (1930), pp. 1176-1178.

[1] W. Gronau, *Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, nach seinem Wollen und Handeln. Ein biographischer Versuch* (Lemgo, 1824); M. Rapaport, *Dohm, der Gegner der Physiokratie und seine Thesen* (Berlin, 1908); Franz Reuss, *Dohm's Schrift* "Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden" *und deren Einwirkung auf die gebildeten Stände Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1880); Jacob Jacobson, *Jüdisches Lexikon*, II, pp. 175 f.; Willy Cohn, "Ein altdeutscher Beamter über die Frage der Judenemanzipation," *Jüdische Zeitung für Ostdeutschland*, October 24, 1924.

War Office in Berlin. He died in Berlin in his sixty-eighth year. The five volumes of his "Memoirs," unfortunately not even nearly completed, are our main source of personal material.[2]

In 1781, through the publisher Friedrich Nicolai of Berlin and Stettin, Dohm's book, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* ("Concerning the Improvement in the Civil Status of the Jews"), appeared with official royal Prussian permission. It was Moses Mendelssohn who had given Dohm the idea of writing it. The Alsatian Jews had asked Mendelssohn to prepare a memorandum for presentation to the French Council of State requesting a change in their oppressed condition. As a relative of Dohm's, Gronau had access to material that, as will be explained later, is no longer available. Discussing the origin of this book, which was to assume such great importance in the history of the Jews of Germany, Gronau said: "Dohm had been living in Berlin a few months when Moses Mendelssohn persuaded him to take part in the preparation of this memorial and particularly to compile the facts and to organize them in such a manner as to make an impression on the person who would have to translate the document into the French language, so that no further changes would be necessary. Dohm was always interested to do work that would be of general usefulness and would have as far-reaching an effect as possible. Therefore such a suggestion was quite welcome to him, as it permitted him to present new opinions on a problem of paramount interest from a humanitarian as well as a political point of view. It became obvious, however, that it would be impossible to dilate in a memorial on all the considerations of a general nature and all the resulting politico-philosophical conclusions. Yet it seemed important and desirable to give them publicity, and thus, quite naturally, the idea was conceived to write a book, to which that memorial would be attached as an appendix."[3]

[2] Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, *Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit oder Beiträge zur Geschichte vom letzten Viertel des* 18. *und vom Anfang des* 19. *Jahrhunderts,* 1778 *bis* 1806 (5 vols., Lemgo and Hannover, 1814 ff.)

[3] Cf. Gronau, *op. cit.,* pp. 84 f.

It almost goes without saying that because of this book Dohm was suspected of having been bought by the Jews. But even his adversary, Johann David Michaelis, who did not agree with Dohm's proposals at all, categorically denied such a baseless accusation.[4]

It may be taken for granted that though a new edition of the book is urgently needed, its content is generally known. Nothing reflects better the humanitarian spirit of the eighteenth century, with which the author was so thoroughly imbued, than a few sentences from his Preface. After referring to his intention to publish the results of his study of Jewish history, he said: "This was not inspired merely by the desire to fill in a considerable gap in history, which hitherto had been neglected, but also by the hope that a study of the unhappy history of the Jews would demonstrate that the oppressive conditions under which they still live in most countries are a remnant of the unpolitical and inhuman prejudices of the dark ages, unworthy of being carried over into our times." He felt that "if he could prove from history that the Jews had deteriorated as human beings and as citizens merely because the rights of human beings and of citizens had been denied them, he would be more successful in arousing the governments of the different countries to increase the number of their good citizens by removing the conditions that caused the Jews to be poor citizens."

In view of the general ignorance of Jewish history which existed at that time, it was necessary for Dohm to make his exposition fairly lengthy, which, moreover, was the fashion in the eighteenth century. His main charges were directed against the countries where Jews were living at the time. He stated that almost all of them had passed laws limiting the number of Jews. "In most countries they were permitted to settle only under the most onerous conditions and to become subjects, but not full citizens."[5] The Jews were restricted in every effort to earn a living. "The

[4] Johann David Michaelis, *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek* (Frankfurt a. M., 1782).

[5] Dohm, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, I (1781), p. 8.

most elementary of all occupations, tilling the soil, is everywhere prohibited to them, and practically nowhere can a Jew own land in his own name. No craftsmen's guild but would consider itself dishonored if a Jew were admitted to membership, so that almost everywhere Jews are excluded from all handicrafts and skilled labor."[6]

Even though a few individual Jews were able to work themselves up—Dohm was undoubtedly thinking of Mendelssohn—"by and large even the most signal merits of the intellect and the heart do not offset the disadvantages of being a Jew."[7] Dohm then described how the only means of livelihood left to the Jews was trade, but here again under the most severe restrictions. Small trade, peddling, and moneylending were almost the only fields in which they could be active. In Dohm's opinion, difference in religion should not be a reason for withholding civil rights from the Jews. On the contrary, he felt that granting them such rights would awaken a deepfelt gratitude in their hearts. He then came to the important conclusion that all the accusations leveled at the Jews were conditioned by their political status and that "any other group of men living under similar conditions would react in the same manner."

On the other hand, he had warm words of praise for the moral atmosphere prevailing among the Jews. "In no place do poor Jews become a burden to the state. They are taken care of by the wealthy and the entire community takes an interest in the condition of the individual. Home life seems to be enjoyed with more simplicity by Jews, at least more so than is customary in most of our large cities. They are, as a rule, good husbands and excellent fathers. Luxury is not indulged in as much as it is among Christians of the same means. Conjugal life is more sacred, and the sins of the flesh, particularly the unnatural sins, are far more rare among them." Of course, Dohm was well aware that the occupational adjustment of the Jews would present a major problem and suggested that, where there were several sons, the state should endeavor to have at least one

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[7] *Ibid.*

of them become a craftsman. Dohm also wanted to see a Jewish peasantry once more.

"The money that is spent by many states on colonizing might often be more wisely invested if it were used to settle industrious native Jews in small, uncultivated areas and to provide them with shelter and financial aid in starting farms. It would also be helpful in rekindling the spirit of this occupation in the [Jewish] nation if Jewish tenants and owners of Jewish farms were required to hire a certain number of Jewish help to work them."

At the end Dohm summarized his postulates in a series of points. He recommended the maintenance of the religious and national autonomy of the Jews. He had probably already realized the great danger that Jewry might well be destroyed, if the Jews were emancipated individually and not as a people. Because of his attitude toward Jewry, Dohm could see no advantage in their destruction through the liberation of individuals, but rather in their preservation.

The publication of Dohm's book created a sensation. In a second volume, which appeared in 1783, he answered the critics of his first volume. Here we find his reply to the criticism of Johann David Michaelis, together with Mendelssohn's refutation of Michaelis' objections, to a review by Michaelis of Manasse ben Israel's *Salvation of the Jews with a Preface by Moses Mendelssohn,* and, finally, to the thoughts of Preacher Schwager on reading Dohm's book, and a large number of excerpts from letters. Dohm went all over the ground again, emphasizing the expositions of his first volume.

It may be pertinent to mention briefly some of the grounds of Michaelis dissent, for they were essentially the arguments always used against the emancipation of the Jews. Michaelis feared that the Jews would not keep their oath as citizens and considered it detrimental to give the Jewish oath and the Christian oath equal value in the courts of law. Generally speaking Michaelis' objections were based on Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judentum* ("Judaism Uncovered"). Finally, Michaelis did not believe that the Jews

could be used for military service, and if the other citizens suffered heavy casualties while the Jews were spared, their number as compared with that of the others might grow unduly.

In contrast to the objections of Michaelis were the many expressions of appreciation that had been received. We mention, for instance, a review in the Appendix to the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen,* vol. 48, 1787. Referring to Dohm's book, it says: "It is filled with the clearest views on statesmanship, legislation, and the civic happiness resulting therefrom. It is to be desired that the vehement recommendation of this most ardent among all the defenders of the Jews will not merely be read by a small section of the scholarly but generally ineffectual public, but will be heeded by the great of the earth whose fortunate lot it is to be able to give happiness to the lowly."

The impression the book made on the Jews of the world was very deep. For a high, Christian official to take up the cause of the Jews in such a selfless manner was something hitherto unknown. In 1787, a letter was written to Dohm by the board of the Portuguese-Jewish Community of Surinam, Dutch Guiana, that has been preserved. We quote a few sentences from this letter: "Permit us, therefore, worthy friend of humanity, as the leaders and representatives of the Portuguese-Jewish nation, which has been settled in Surinam, [South] America for more than a hundred years, to express our thanks to you by this letter. We thank you for your zeal in publishing this book on political reform, which, though printed in 1782, only last month came to our knowledge. Although, because of the philosophical tolerance which is the motto of the great Dutch State, our fatherland, we can only congratulate ourselves on our own fate, we cannot withhold our admiration. . . ."[8]

Dohm answered this letter on January 29, 1787 from Cologne. We quote the following passage from his reply,

[8] Cf. J. S. Roos, "Additional Notes on the History of the Jews in Surinam," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* XIII (1905), pp. 127 ff., esp. 133 f.

which shows that he intended to continue his work on the history of the Jews: "I was most pleasantly surprised to learn through your letter that my book concerning your unhappy nation, which is so unjustly treated almost everywhere, had come to your attention. The feelings that guided me in writing it, should be shared by all good men, above all by all good Christians and by all true statesmen. I trust that the simplicity [of my recommendations] will make it possible for governments to put them into practice, and I should congratulate myself if I should be fortunate enough to have contributed to this in some way. However, to date, I have not been granted this reward. On the contrary, almost at the moment I received your letter, I learned that my book had been burned in Paris. I can only hope that this was done merely because of a misunderstanding, which will soon be removed. . . ."

"Your approval, gentlemen, sent to me from the opposite end of the earth is therefore all the more consoling to me. You are fortunate that you know only from your ancestors of the manner in which your people are illtreated in Europe. Your situation is convincing proof to me of my contention that, like ourselves, the Jews are capable of being good citizens, if they are permitted to be so. You would render me a great service if you would send me a few details as to the privileges your wise and enlightened Government has granted you. I would particularly like to know if in the country where you are living any differentiation is made between your people and the other inhabitants. Are all the professions, occupations and trades open to you? Do you have the right to own property in your own name? Are you subjected to special taxation? Is the number of Jewish families restricted? Have you the right to defend your common fatherland as soldiers and to serve it as officials and officers? These are questions that interest me deeply. I would be greatly indebted to you if you would send me a detailed, exhaustive reply, to which you might add a few historical data on the vicissitudes of your colony since its foundation, the date of which I do not know. Further, you might describe the historical changes in your privileges and

civil rights, the moral and political condition of the colony, and the feelings aroused in the Christian population by the just attitude of your government towards you."

It can be assumed that the report as requested by Dohm was sent to him from Surinam. It has been lost, however, together with all the other manuscripts Dohm left. Every effort to locate them has been fruitless to date.[10]

Even in his later years, Dohm remained faithful to his ideal, to obtain equal treatment for the Jews, and in 1818, at the special request of the Englishman Levis Way, he tried to influence the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to this end.[11]

The extraordinary esteem that Dohm enjoyed among Jews was expressed symbolically by the fact that a family in Breslau adopted his name. This Breslau Jew, Lewin Benjamin Dohm, later played an important part in the emancipation of the Jews of Silesia.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

[10] In answer to my inquiry at the Archives in Lemgo, Professor Dr. Schacht wrote me as follows: "About thirty years ago we received an inquiry as to the whereabouts of the manuscripts left by the famous statesman Christian Wilhelm von Dohm. In 1896, a highschool teacher, Mr. Demcker, wrote us from Mühlhausen in Alsace, that a great-grand-daughter of Dohm, a Mrs. A. Beschoren in Munich, had informed him that in the eighteen-fifties Dohm's daughter, the widow of his biographer, W. Gronau, had sent the large collection of her father's papers and writings to the local municipality for the purpose of leaving this historically valuable material in safekeeping for posterity during her numerous travels. Needless to say, this highly interesting and quite unexpected news led a friend and student of the history of his home town . . . to diligent search in this direction. Unfortunately, all these efforts and many inquiries in other places where success might have been expected, have remained futile. I have not been able to uncover even a trace of the alleged shipment of this scientific treasure, nor have I come upon a single item of it, so that I have now come to the conclusion that all hope of ever finding it must be given up, and that Mrs. Gronau probably did not carry out her plan to entrust this treasure to the Lemgo municipal archives. Since she no longer had relatives in Lemgo at that time (1850), it is not very probable that she should have turned here."

[11] Cf. Max J. Kohler, "Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXVI, (1918), pp. 33-125.

[12] Lewin Benjamin Dohm was the author of a pamphlet, *Ein Wort zur Beherzigung an meine israelitischen und christlichen Glaubensbrüder* (Breslau, 1816). Kohler erroneously attributed this pamphlet to Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (*loc. cit.*, p. 83, n. 128). The Breslau Dohm is often mentioned in Jewish documents in the Breslau State Archives. Cf. also the present author's article, "Die Staatsbürgerrolle der Breslauer Juden von 1812," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, II. (1930), pp. 150-64, cf. also Heppner's *Jüdisch-literarischer Taschenkalender für das Jahr 5690*, p. 39 (on Lewin Benjamin Dohm).

SOLOMON MAIMON: THE MAN AND HIS THOUGHT

On the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of His Death

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SOLOMON MAIMON is generally known through his autobiography—an autobiography that is rich in adventure and color. His place in the history of European thought is known only to a few specialists. However, the idea which his autobiography symbolizes can be fully comprehended only by those who are acquainted with his other writings and with his contribution to the development of philosophical thought. Only in association with the latter can the idea of the former be fully understood.

Autobiography of a man of thought is, in a sense, one of the most difficult of the literary arts. To excel in it, an author requires not only discrimination, a good memory, and skill, but, what is more important, the ability to find that point from which the subject's whole life can be seen in perspective and to recognize the central idea dominating his life-experience. In the case of Maimon the search for truth and knowledge was a passion with him; this is the point from which his life can be seen in perspective. His passion for truth and persistent search for logical consistency is manifest in all his philosophical writings. He was never satisfied with mere perfunctory understanding of an author or a philosophical system; he attempted always to follow

an idea to its ultimate conclusions, to pursue a concept to its final results, often trying to understand an author better than the latter had understood himself. Maimon's paramount concern was with fundamental philosophical problems, to which his interest in the history of philosophy was subordinated. This is easily explainable by his central passion for truth. He did not, therefore, entertain any scruples in interpreting previous writers in the light of his own philosophy. Thus, for instance, he interprets Aristotle in the light of Kant (in his book *Kategorien des Aristoteles*), following the same method in his interpretation of Maimonides (in his commentary to the *Guide for the Perplexed* under the title *Giv'ath Hamoreh*). He relates Leibniz to Spinoza, especially with reference to his understanding of the pre-established harmony. Thus Maimon's interpretations of former philosophers are of significance, not because of the historical truth contained in them, but because of the intrinsic systematic value they imply for the understanding of his own philosophical point of view.

Maimon's life was a constant struggle with adverse circumstances. Yet in spite of the unfavorable conditions in which he was placed by fate, he reached the highest pinnacle of philosophical culture of his time, and his contributions to philosophical thought have secured for him a lasting place in the history of European ideas. Maimon was born in 1753 or 1752 in a village near Niesvies in Lithuania, which was then a part of Poland. He was brought up in the customary climate of rabbinic talmudic studies, acquiring an extensive knowledge of rabbinic literature at a very early age. He also read extensively in the Kabbala and chasidic literature of the time as well as works in philosophy, especially the *Moreh Nebuchim* of Maimonides, and whatever scientific books in Hebrew came his way.

At the age of 27 Maimon went to Berlin after having failed two years previously to secure admission into the city. Except for a short stay in Holland, he remained in

Germany until his death. While in Germany he attended a gymnasium in Hamburg for three years, acquiring a fundamental knowledge of languages, mathematics and sciences. Through extensive reading he also obtained a knowledge of philosophy before studying Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason.*

His talmudic studies upon which he was nurtured in his youth, instilled in Maimon the habit of analyzing every subject that he studied. He could not read a text without commenting upon it and attempting to explore its implications. This was the manner in which he studied the works of the philosophers: Wolff, Leibniz, Locke, Hume, and Spinoza. This method stood him in good stead also in the study of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason.* While trying to assimilate the ideas of Kant, he compared them in his mind with the ideas of philosophers previously studied. The comments and critical notes he made while reading the *Critique* developed into his first work, the manuscript of which his friend Markus Herz, a famous physician in Berlin and a former student and friend of Kant, sent to the great philosopher. Kant, in a letter to Herz, gave a very favorable opinion of the manuscript, saying that very few of his critics understood him as well as Maimon.

This praise encouraged Maimon to publish the book under the title *Versuch über die Transcendentalphilosophie.* In it he manifested an outstanding philosophical maturity, attaining a point of view from which, with some minor exceptions, he never deviated in the course of his philosophical career.

Maimon's material position remained precarious until Count Kalkreuth, a nobleman with wide cultural and philosophical leanings, became interested in him, both as an author and as a man, and offered him a home at his estate in Siegersdorf near Glogau in Silesia. There he was able to make use of the large library of his host and he remained for about five years until his death on November 22, 1800.

In this house he wrote his last major work, *Kritische Untersuchungen über den menschlichen Geist,* dedicated to his benefactor, Count Kalkreuth, and a number of essays. He was buried by the Jewish community of Glogau beyond the pale of the cemetary, as a heretic. From the publication of his first work in 1790 until his death, a short span of about eleven years, the following works came from his pen: (1) *Versuch über die Transcendentalphilosophie* (Berlin, 1790); (2) *Philosophisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1791); (3) *Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin, 1792); (4) *Streifereien im Gebiete der Philosophie* (Berlin, 1793); (5) *Die Kategorien des Aristoteles* (Berlin, 1794); (6) *Versuch einer neuen Logik* (Berlin, 1794); and (7) *Kritische Untersuchungen über den menschlichen Geist* (Leipzig, 1797).

Maimon also wrote commentaries on the works of other authors, outstanding among which is his commentary in Hebrew on Maimonides' *More Nebuchim,* under the title, *Giv'ath Hamoreh,* with an introduction containing a short history of philosophy. His other commentaries are: (1) *Bacon's von Verulam neues Organon,* with notes by S. Maimon (Berlin, 1793); (2) *Anfangsgründe der newtonischen Philosophie,* with an introduction and notes by S. Maimon (Berlin, 1791). Moreover, the most important philosophical journals of the time carried many of his essays of which the following are outstanding: (1) "Versuch einer neuen Darstellung des Moralprinzips und Deduktion seiner Realität," *Berlinische Monatsschrift,* Vol. XXIV; (2) "Ueber die ersten Gründe des Naturrechts," *Philosophisches Journal,* Vol. I, 1795; (3) "Pragmatische Geschichte des Begriffs von Philosophie," *ibid.,* Vol. VI; and (4) "Ueber die ersten Gründe der Moral," *ibid.,* Vol. VIII.

Many streams of thought converge in Maimon to form his own distinctive system. Maimonides, Spinoza, Leibniz, Hume, and Kant—all these fructified Maimon's thought. It must be emphasized, however, that Maimon's philosophy is by no means a mere eclecticism or syncretism; rather it

presents a new synthesis, a new system in which various currents of thought unite to form a mighty stream.

Kant's critical philosophy left its imprint on succeeding thought; indeed, it has dominated the development of philosophy down to the present day. Two streams of thought originating from Kant have contended with each other for supremacy, the critical and the metaphysical. For about forty years, beginning with the last decade of the eighteenth century, the dogmatic-absolutist stream, manifested in the metaphysical systems of the philosophy of identity (Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel), was dominant, but in the second half of the last century the critical stream gained the ascendancy with the rise of Neo-Kantianism. It was at this time, after the rapid and successful development of science had challenged the claim of metaphysics to present an account of the essence of reality independent of scientific investigation—ignoring the results of scientific thought—that the call went out for a return to Kant, i.e., to the critical trend in Kant's thought. In Neo-Kantianism this trend was revived after it had been supressed by the metaphysical systems of the philosophy of identity. Both strains of Kantian thought, the metaphysical as well as the critical, were emphasized by Maimon, the latter, however, predominating.

On Kant's critical principles Maimon built a system that went further than Kant. While the destructive criticism of Kant by some of Maimon's contemporaries, such as Jacobi and Schulze, led them away from critical philosophy to either romanticism or dogmatic skepticism and to the adoption of a philosophical standpoint diametrically opposed to that of Kant, Maimon's constructive criticism of the latter grew into a system of critical philosophy that made him a true successor and heir of Kant.

The problem of the concept of the thing-in-itself in Kant's thought, its meaning and significance, became the pivotal point of philosophical thought of the period immediately following the appearance of Kant's *Critique*. All

the discussions and arguments in the various philosophical schools revolved around this concept as upon an axis, and in this respect Maimon's philosophy was no exception. He attacked the problem of the thing-in-itself in a variety of contexts and from several different angles. Not satisfied with proving the untenability of the concept in a critical system of thought, as Jacobi and Schulze had already done, he attempted to define its positive meaning in critical philosophy. If the thing-in-itself is understood, as it usually is, to mean an object independent of a thinking subject, then it is just as incongruous and inconsistent as the concept of a squared circle. It is tantamount to stating that we can imagine something which is in principle unimaginable, or that we can be conscious of something which in principle transcends all consciousness. As it is impossible to know something which is in principle unknowable, and as it is inconceivable for the subject to have an idea of an object in itself which cannot be brought within the sphere of apprehension of the subject, the thing-in-itself is an illegitimate concept. Our task, therefore, is to explain the origin of this incongruous concept in our mind by positively establishing its rightful place in the realm of consciousness.

Maimon's philosophy is thus based, first, on the disproof of metaphysical entities, such as things-in-themselves, understood as substances bearing the appearances, and second, on the reflective analysis of the phenomena of consciousness as such, with the result that a complete correlation between consciousness and its objects is demanded.

Through an analysis of the concept of the thing-in-itself Maimon was led to the conclusion that there is a gradation of consciousness with reference to its clearness and distinctness. The existence of an infinite series of grades of consciousness, from the lowest to the highest degree of clearness, can be established. All being is nothing else than being conscious of, and the reality of an object-in-itself of which we are not at all conscious is not only unthinkable but mean-

ingless. But since there is an endless gradation of levels of consciousness with respect to clearness, the lowest degree of consciousness we designate as the thing-in-itself. The place of the thing-in-itself is thus not outside the mind and independent of it, but it is rather that element in our mind which is not yet clearly apprehended. Thought and its object stand in a necessary correlation to each other, and one is unthinkable without the other. When the object has been clearly comprehended by the pure subject, there is an identity of thought and being. When the object has not been comprehended and conquered by the pure subject, it is designated as the thing-in-itself. The object-in-itself was generally thought of as opposed to the pure thinking subject and existing outside this subject. When well considered, however, it will be found that it is wrong to conceive of these as two entirely discrete entities referring to two distinct realities, one within the subjective mind and the other outside the realm of the mind. The thing-in-itself should rather be considered as the lowest degree of consciousness, just as darkness is the lowest degree of light. Pure subject and object-in-itself are, like light and darkness, only contrary to, not contradictory of each other. They are contrary terms in the sense that they express the extremes of divergence on the scale of one and the same genus, i.e., from the lowest to the highest degree of consciousness; they are not contradictory terms, for they do not denote exact negatives opposed to, and exclusive of, each other.

The greater the degree of consciousness and clarity of thought the human mind attains in relation to an object, the lesser the degree of the thing-in-itself; conversely, the lesser the degree of pure thought and consciousness, the greater the degree of the "objective," i.e., the thing-in-itself. In every act of cognition of an object both elements are present, the pure subject and the object-in-itself, and with the increase of one element is bound up the decrease of the other.

Since it is possible to ascend on the scale of consciousness to the highest degree as well as to descend to the lowest de-

gree of clearness and distinctiveness, the positive as well as the negative degree constitute the absolute limits of this process. They are thus ideas in the Kantian sense. The greatest degree of clearness of consciousness constitutes the idea of the pure subject in which there is no thing-in-itself, but all is thought, thus attaining the absolute identity of thought and being. On the lowest degree of the scale there is a minimum of thought and a maximum of the thing-in-itself.

As a limiting concept, an idea, the thing-in-itself is just as legitimate as the idea of the pure subject. Since the absolute limit of cognition, i.e., pure consciousness, can only be constantly approached but never fully attained, the task of cognition is for Maimon an infinite task. Maimon illustrates his concept of the thing-in-itself as an idea by a mathematical example. The thing-in-itself as a limiting concept is to be compared with the irrational number in mathematics; it is similar to the square root of 2, the exact value of which can be constantly approached but never completely reached. However, the conception of the thing-in-itself in a dogmatic and realistic sense, as the absolutely "given" object outside of consciousness and as the bearer and cause of appearances, is similar to the square root of—a, in mathematics, which is an imaginary number having no reality.

The "given," according to Maimon, is not to be sought outside of consciousness, but within it. Those elements of consciousness which are confused are to be designated as the "given." We can thus have of the "given" an incomplete and confused idea which can, however, be gradually overcome by our mind and reduced to a minimum, since the process of cognition and the growth of consciousness are subject to endless advance. Accordingly the thing-in-itself is an idea denoting the limit of this process, similar to the irrational root in mathematics. While the rational apprehension of the object is the positive aspect of consciousness, the object as the merely "given" constitutes its negative aspect.

The task of cognition is an endless task and consists in the demand of a continuous process of rationalization of the

object, thus increasing the positive aspect of consciousness and correspondingly decreasing its negative aspect. The minimum of the absolutely "given" which does not lend itself to a further reduction by the process of rationalization is the absolute limit of cognition, and as such it is merely an idea. Just as the highest degree of rationalization is an idea of the limit of the process of thought, so the "given" is a limiting concept. Corresponding to the increase of rationalization is the decrease of the "given," and vice versa.

Maimon's concept of practical philosophy, i.e., ethics, corresponds to his theoretical philosophy, i.e., epistemology. In the realm of thought and consciousness as well as in the realm of action and will, Maimon emphasized the infinity of the human task. The idea of cognition as an endless process aiming at overcoming the "given" and obtaining pure consciousness also determined Maimon's doctrine of man and his formulation of the ethical task. Man is never a "given," a fixed datum, but is always in a state of becoming. The ethical goal consists in the demand of transforming the merely "given" object into a pure subject and of raising the "given," which is always a sensuous manifold, to the unity of pure consciousness or the pure ego. The solution of this task can never be fully attained; we can merely strive constantly to approach it.

And just as, in the theoretical sphere, the approach to absolute unity, pure consciousness, is an endless task, so in the practical, ethical sphere the attainment of the pure subject, i.e., the personality, is an endless pursuit giving direction to life and action. Thus the highest stage of pure consciousness in relation to an object which manifests itself in an absolute identity of thought and being, is an endless idea corresponding to the infinite idea of the pure ego which is personality. The realization of absolute freedom of the human will is the attainment of the pure ego. Man is in reality a mixture of ego and thing, of subject and object. As an object he, like any other natural phenomenon, is chained to natural law; as a pure subject he is free to start

a line of action. With the diminution of the material, phenomenal aspect of his nature, the pure subjective aspect of his being, i.e., his ego, increases, and vice versa.

According to Maimon, we have not only a method in the theoretical sphere by which we strive to approach the idea of a pure ego, i.e., pure consciousness, but also one in the practical sphere by which we attain a greater degree of personality, or of ego, through the decrease of the objective and material.

The two realms, the theoretical and the practical, are thus in Maimon's philosophy correlated and intertwined. They are both determined by the central idea of an infinite goal, the absolute pure consciousness or the absolute pure ego.

At the beginning of this essay it was pointed out that Maimon's *Lebensgeschichte* can best be understood in conjunction with his philosophy. But the opposite is equally true: Maimon's philosophy can best be read in the light of his autobiography. The latter is a monument to the greatness of the human spirit and the sovereignty of the human will, which manifests itself in man's ability to transcend himself. In it Maimon showed that all obstacles can be conquered and all difficulties overcome by the human will when a higher purpose gives direction to one's life. The words of Maimon employed in connection with Leibniz apply equally to Maimon himself, namely, that genius transcends itself. Maimon demonstrated in himself the sovereignty of the creative human personality and its ability to surpass itself. He thus proved the supremacy of person over thing and the priority of form over matter.

His philosophy, too, tends to establish the primacy of subject over object, of form over matter. Maimon was critical of the dogmatic residuum of Kantian philosophy—the thing-in-itself as it is generally understood to mean a noumenal entity. For him the thing-in-itself is that element in our consciousness which is not yet reduced to pure thought. It presents an endless task for our thought to reduce this element to a minimum. But there is no thing-in-itself in-

dependent of the subject and beyond consciousness. Thus in relation to Maimon, the dictum of Fichte holds true: "The kind of philosophy one holds is dependent on the kind of man one is." In Maimon's life-experience the same idea is epitomized as in his philosophy: the priority of form over matter, of subject over object, and the supremacy of the creatively transcending personality over thing. There is thus an indissoluble union of the life and thought of Solomon Maimon.

Bibliographical Note

Following is a list of the important works on Solomon Maimon:

(1) Friedrich Kuntze, *Die Philosophie Solomon Maimons* (Heidelberg, 1912); (2) A. Zubersky, *Solomon Maimon und der kritische Idealismus* (Leipzig, 1925); (3) M. Guéroult, *La Philosophie Transcendentale de Solomon Maimon* (Paris, 1929); (4) Hugo Bergmann, *Ha-Filosofia shel Shlomo Maimon* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1932).

Since the publication of *Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der Geschichte der neuern Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1848) by I. E. Erdmann, who deserves credit for being the first to present a comprehensive account of Maimon's philosophy, thus awakening an interest in Maimon, all the histories of philosophy have a chapter devoted to Maimon: (1) E. Zeller, *Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Leibniz* (1875); (2) Kuno Fischer, *Fichtes Leben, Werke und Lehre* (Heidelberg, 1900); (3) Ernst Cassirer, *Das Erkenntnisproblem, III* (Berlin, 1920); (4) Richard Kroner, *Von Kant bis Hegel*, (1921); (5) Wilhelm Windelband, *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1922).

Maimon's autobiography has been re-edited and provided with a useful introduction and some valuable notes by Jakob Fromer: *Solomon Maimon's Lebensgeschichte. Mit einer Einleitung und mit Anmerkungen neu herausgegeben*, (Munich, 1911). The original work was translated into several languages. The English translation by J. Clark Murray, *Solomon Maimon: An Autobiography with Additions and Notes* (London, 1888), is not complete, the philosophical sections having been omitted. Nor is it free of mistakes. The passage on page 23, for instance, where Maimon analyzes the difference between understanding and imagina-

tion, is rendered inaccurately. The recent publication, *An Autobiography by Solomon Maimon, Edited with an Epilogue,* by Moses Hadas (New York, 1947), is even less complete. Many of the most interesting passages are left out, among them those referred to above. Maimon's statement on his innate talent and inclination for painting, "Yet I judge of myself at present that, if I had kept to it, I should have become a *great,* but not an *exact* painter . . ." (Murray's translation, p. 27), so characteristic of his life and work in general, is also missing from this translation.

The following Hebrew translations have appeared: *Toldoth Shlomo Maimon,* by J. Ch. Tavyov (Warsaw, 1898); *Hayye Shlomo Maimon, Katuv Biyede Atzmo,* by J. L. Baruch (Tel-Aviv, 1942), an excellent translation with a valuable introduction by F. Lachover.

A contemporary of Maimon, one of his closest friends, Sabattia Joseph Wolff, has published reminiscences of Maimon's life and work under the title: *Maimoniana. Oder Rhapsodien zur Characteristik Salomon Maimon's. Aus seinem Privatleben gesammelt* (Berlin, 1813).

AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE JEWISH PROBLEM

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TO understand the attitude of Austrian Socialists towards the Jewish question,* we should recall what Karl Kautsky reported about the situation in Austria in the middle eighteen-eighties when he was still active in that country. In a letter to Friedrich Engels dated June 23, 1884, he noted that "we [Austrian Socialists] have trouble in keeping our own people from fraternizing with the anti-Semites. The latter are now our most dangerous opponents, more dangerous than in Germany, because they present themselves as oppositional and democratic, and thus meet the instincts of the workers half-way."[1] A few months later, in another letter to Engels, Kautsky frankly stated that "a new enemy has sprung up in anti-Semitism, which is assuming colossal dimensions and has won over a large part of the petty-bourgeois elements—including some very 'radical' ones—that up to now have been on our side. And the petty-bourgeois instincts are so strong even among the workers here, who in large part have grown up in an environment of petty-bourgeois ideas, that our leaders have encountered every conceivable difficulty in keeping the masses from deserting to the anti-Semites."[2]

Kautsky added that "this danger is now past,"[3] but there is little doubt that his statement needs qualification. True, danger in its most acute form disappeared, and the party no longer ran the risk of losing its membership to the

* There exists no monograph on the position of the Austrian Socialists with respect to the Jewish problem. Aurelia Gerlach's book, *Der Einfluss der Juden in der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1939), is pure German national-socialist propaganda with virtually no source material.

[1] Kautsky, *Aus der Frühzeit des Marxismus* (Prague, 1935), p. 122.

[2] Letter of Dec. 22, 1884, *ibid.*, p. 160.

[3] Same letter, *ibid.*

anti-Semites, but there were still anti-Semitically minded workers in the party, and they were even more numerous outside it, especially in the provinces. To please these elements within the party and to appeal to prospective voters outside the party, the Social Democratic leadership preferred to assume an equivocal attitude towards the Jews, bordering sometimes on anti-Semitism. This leadership—itself to a great extent Jewish—was eager to demonstrate that the party was not, as the anti-Semites asserted, "Jewish" or "pro-Jewish."

The anti-Jewish trend in the Socialist party manifested itself sometimes in reluctance to deal openly with the Jewish question, sometimes in positively anti-Semitic statements or in a rejection of elementary national rights to the Jews. As early as 1897, the charge was made at the party congress that the party leadership was not fighting anti-Semitism energetically enough. The complainant, Jakob Brod, a delegate from Galicia, explained this neglect by the party's fear of being branded a Jewish party. Though, he said, Jew and capitalist were considered as synonymous in Vienna, the existence of the Jewish proletariat, the most oppressed of all, had not even once been mentioned in the central organ of the party, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, or at party meetings. Victor Adler was particularly afraid of the anti-Semites. "At the International Congress in Brussels," said Brod, "it was proposed that a stand be taken against anti-Semitism, and it was the representative of the American-Jewish workers who brought up this question, and comrade Dr. Adler and the deputy Singer declared themselves opposed to putting this question on the agenda. ([Interruption by] comrade Dr. Adler: 'The matter has after all been settled!') This is the same policy which comrade Dr. Adler follows in Vienna."[4]

The party leaders did not present any facts refuting Brod's charges. The manner in which one of them, Engelbert Pernerstorfer, answered Brod indicates only that the

[4] *Verhandlungen des sechsten österreichischen sozialdemokratischen Parteitages* (Vienna, 1897), p. 87.

party preferred personal insinuations to factual discussion. Here is what he saw fit to say on the subject: "In principle the party has never made difficulties for the Jews; but the situation is not such that a person must have a leading [party] position simply and solely because he is a Jew."[5] Franz Schuhmeier's comment reveals no less clearly the spirit in which Jewish matters were discussed at the congress. He said: "Comrade Brod has attacked me because I allegedly made the assertion that for all I care, all the Jews should go to Palestine. If I know myself—and I know myself better than comrade Brod knows me [Laughter]—I would certainly have added that I also have no objection if all the clergy (*Pfaffen*) follow the Jews to wherever you like."[6] Adler himself in his concluding speech did not enter at all into the substance of Brod's charges. His assertion that the party never rejected a Jewish proletarian[7] is irrelevant, inasmuch as Brod made no such charge.

According to dispassionate observers, the Social Democratic press contained anti-Semitic utterances. Unfortunately, Austrian Socialist newspapers, metropolitan and provincial, were not available for the present study. However, since the charge was made even in a periodical edited by Pernerstorfer himself, it cannot well be discounted. This is in fact what Richard Bernstein noted in *Deutsche Worte* as late as 1904, without eliciting any editorial comment from Pernerstofer: "That a good many newspapers of the [Austrian Socialist] party see fit to traffic in anti-Semitism is a phenomenon which has only too often been discussed, but not eliminated."[8] He also observed that in the Austrian Socialist press, despite its numerous Jewish writers, "evasion of the Jewish question is customary, a desire to conceal one's own [Jewish] origin, which is not only unworthy, but also

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[7] Adler, *Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe,* (11 vols., Vienna, 1922-29), VIII, p. 387.

[8] Bernstein, "Die Sozialdemokratie und die Lösung der Judenfrage durch planmässige Ansiedlung des jüdischen Volkes," *Deutsche Worte,* XXIV (1904), 311-312. The author was hostile to Jewish nationalism but favored a territorial settlement of the Jews in British East Africa or some other suitable place.

harmful to the [Socialist] movement because . . . again and again it furnishes ammunition to our anti-Semitic adversaries."[9]

Austrian Social Democracy also discriminated against the Jews as a people by denying them those rights which it claimed for all other nationalities. This, of course, was done on the ground that the Jews are not a nation. Consequently, the party did not recognize the right of Jewish Social Democrats to form an autonomous section in Galicia. The Polish Socialist party,[10] too, in 1905, prohibited the creation of such a section, and the All-Austrian Executive of the Social Democratic party ratified this interdiction. The "separatists" —as they were called by the Executive—nevertheless created the Jewish Social Democratic party of Galicia (1905), but it was not recognized by the Executive, whose secretary, Skaret, declared that such a " 'national' group" was superfluous.[11] The discriminatory character of this treatment can be fully grasped only when one realizes that since 1897 Austrian Social Democracy had been organized on a national basis. It was divided into six autonomous national groups (German, Czech, Polish, Ruthenian, Slovenian, and Italian). The Jewish group seems to have been the only one that was not acknowledged. Moreover, leading theorists of Austrian Social Democracy (Renner, Bauer) refused to concede the right of the Jewish people to preserve and develop their national culture, and this in spite of the well-known nationalities program voted by the party congress at Brünn (1899), which "solemnly" affirmed "the right of every nationality to national existence and national development."[12]

It is hardly necessary to add that Austrian Social Democracy was opposed to Zionism. Its theoretical organ, *Der Kampf,* maintained silence on the subject up to 1919. In

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[10] Affiliated with All-Austrian Social Democracy.

[11] *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Gesamtparteitages der sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei in Österreich: Abgehalten zu Wien, 30. Oktober—2. November 1905* (Vienna, 1905), p. 87. See also p. 53.

[12] Parteitag 1899, *Verhandlungen,* p. 74; also reprinted in the proceedings of the subsequent party congresses.

that year it published the first article on Zionism, characterizing it as "a reactionary movement."[13] From 1927 on, however, *Der Kampf* tolerated both points of view, publishing anti-Zionist[14] as well as pro-Zionist articles.[15]

1. Victor Adler

The founder and leader of Austrian Social Democracy, Victor Adler (1852-1918), was not free from anti-Jewish prejudice, a fact that even his Socialist biographer does not deny.[16] From his early youth he participated with his friend Pernerstofer in the Austro-German national movement (*Deutschnationaler Verein*) and was active in the *Deutscher Schulverein.* In 1878, at the age of twenty-six, he embraced Christianity together with his father who went to Rome for the ceremony.[17] (Father and son seemed to have considered conversion as a definite solution of the Jewish problem.) Baptism, however, did not make Victor Adler's position in the Austro-German national movement more secure. The *Deutschnationaler Verein,* under the leadership of Schönerer, grew more and more anti-Semitic, and one of its auxiliary organizations, the above-mentioned *Deutscher Schulverein,* in which Adler was particularly active, adopted in 1885 the so-called "Aryan paragraph," under which no new Jewish members could be accepted. As a consequence, Adler left the movement voluntarily in the same year. Strangely enough, he applied a sort of *Arierparagraph,* to some extent at least, in his own new Socialist organization. "There is no doubt," says his biographer, "that he alienated many able [Jewish] minds from participation in the work of the party, driving them into other camps or into emigration to Germany."[18] The biographer also suggests that Pernerstorfer's "half-anti-Semitism" may have influenced Adler.[19]

[13] J. Hannak, *Kampf,* XII (1919), 651.
[14] J. Hannak, *ibid.,* XX (1927), 454-458; R. Abramowitsch *ibid.,* XXII (1929), 509-519.
[15] M. Singer, *ibid.,* XX (1927), 574-580; E. Vandervelde, *ibid.,* XXIII (1930), 31-34; H. Steiner, *ibid.,* p. 136-140.
[16] Max Ermers, *Victor Adler* (Vienna, 1932), p. 230.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 103-104.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 231.
[19] *Ibid.,* p. 230.

This is, of course, more than plausible, but one must not forget that, quite apart from this factor, Adler suffered from typical Jewish self-hatred. He used to say: "I myself [as a Jew] am a burden to the party,"[20]—a strange statement in the mouth of an internationalist Socialist.

With such a complex, he could hardly analyze the Jewish problem without prejudice. He realized, of course, that the great majority of the Jewish people are proletarians.[21] Yet, he considered "the Jews" as superior to all other peoples "in the distribution of booty"; that is why "perhaps relatively more Jews have acquired wealth than one would expect from their numerical strength."[22] This was not their fault, however, as they did not create capitalism. At most they only accelerated its development, and perhaps also rendered its manifestations sharper and uglier. Thus, "if the Jews are 'the kings of the age,' that is the fault of the age and not of the Jews."[23]

Anti-Semitism was viewed by Adler as a movement of the dullest sectors of the population. He was convinced, however, that even they would at last understand that capitalism and not the Jew was the real enemy. Therefore, the leaders of anti-Semitism, despite their intentions, "are promoting the interests of Social Democracy."[24] The working class might look calmly on the fight between anti-Semites and Jews, a family quarrel between two factions of the possessing classes. "Austrian Social Democracy has only the task of taking care not to pull chestnuts out of the fire either for the Jews or for the anti-Semites."[25] The proletariat was indeed fighting for a society "where the qualities that are rightly or wrongly called 'Jewish qualities' will lead neither to power and influence nor to prosperity."[26] Those qualities would then become useless and would disappear.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Adler, "Der Antisemitismus," *Gleichheit*, May 7, 1887, in Adler, *Aufsätze, Reden und Briefe*, VIII, 347.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

In this sense, the Jewish question would be settled definitely. "The Socialist society will attend the funeral of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew!"[27] Then, and only then, would anti-Semitism disappear, for the very simple reason that there would be no more Jews. "The last anti-Semite will die only with the last Jew."[28]

Adler tried as hard as he could to minimize the importance of the Jewish question. Taunted by hecklers as a "*Jud*"[29], he insisted on not appearing as a defender of the Jews. Social Democracy, he wrote, should not ally itself with anti-Semites, "but it must no less strictly avoid tying itself to the Jews while taking a stand against anti-Semitism."[30] It is thus quite clear why he opposed putting the Jewish question on the agenda of the international Socialist congresses. At Brussels (1891) he tried, though in vain, to convince Abraham Cahan that his proposal to discuss the Jewish question at the Congress was "a tactlessness" because it would furnish the anti-Semites with an excellent pretext to call the Socialists protectors of Jews.[31] And when Cahan nevertheless attempted to obtain from the Congress an expression of sympathy for the persecuted Jewish workers, Adler did everything in his power to sabotage Cahan's effort. In this he was successful: The congress, instead of voting a resolution of sympathy, passed a motion condemning both anti-and philo-Semitism. In Adler's eyes the resolution was well founded, and he defended it personally in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.[32] Two years later he warned Cahan not to raise the same question at the International Socialist Congress at Zurich.[33] At the party congress of 1894 he even expressed some sympathy for the persecuted anti-Semites: "However strictly we hold ourselves aloof from the anti-Semites, we must nevertheless confess, as honest men, that

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] Adler at the party congress of 1898, *ibid.*, p. 391.

[29] L. Brügel, *Geschichte der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1922-25), III, 379.

[30] Adler, *Gleichheit*, Feb. 12, 1887, in his *Aufsätze*, VIII, 338.

[31] Cahan, *Bleter fun mein Leben* (New York, 1926), III, 162.

[32] August 28, 1891, reprinted in his *Aufsätze*, VII, 65-66.

[33] Cahan, *op. cit.*, III, 313.

the anti-Semites as an oppositional party [in Austria] are today being persecuted, and that inasmuch as they are, we must protect them."[34] A few years later, at the party congress of 1897, when reminded of his efforts to curb the fight against anti-Semitism, he declared that "the importance of the Jewish question was exaggerated [*aufgebauscht*]."[35] "Just as ridiculous and absurd as fear of the Jews," he said, "is fear of the anti-Semites. . . . We permit no diversion of the Social Democratic movement into anti-Semitic channels, but equally no diversion into philo-Semitic channels."[36]

A party comrade of Adler went even further. Friedrich Austerlitz, editor-in-chief of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and a Jew himself, pointed out that anti-Semitism during the Lueger period was an "all too well justified reaction against the indubitable preponderance of the Jews, which at that time was becoming perceptible in all spheres of influence of Viennese public life—in the press, in politics, in social life, in science and art, everywhere, in short—and which was arousing bitter feelings."[37]

Another Austrian Socialist, Wilhelm Ellenbogen, also acted in the spirit of Adler when he prevented discussion of certain aspects of the Jewish problem at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart (1907). At a meeting of the commission on migrations of workers, a Rumanian delegate noted that only two kinds of migratory movements were being analyzed there: spontaneous immigration and "artificial immigration" organized by capitalist agencies or governments. There was, however, a third kind of immigration, he added, namely, that which resulted from mass expulsions of workers by certain governments, such as the Rumanian. In Rumania, he observed, there were more than one hundred thousand Jews who were deprived of all rights and against whom any police agent could take measures. One must protest against "this forced emigration," he con-

[34] Parteitag 1894, *Verhandlungen*, p. 43.
[35] Adler, *Aufsätze*, VIII, 387.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 388.
[37] Austerlitz, "Die Wahlen in Wien," *Neue Zeit*, XXIX[2] (1910-11), 510.

cluded.[38] To this Ellenbogen, chairman of the commission and a Jew, retorted that the discussion of the emigration problem must not be "complicated" by "other problems" such as the situation of the Jews in Rumania.[39] Consequently, the whole matter was dropped.

2. Engelbert Pernerstorfer

Like Victor Adler, Engelbert Pernerstorfer (1850-1918) started his political career in the Austro-German national movement. Because of its increasing anti-Semitism, however, he left it in 1883.[40] His sympathies then turned to Socialism and, after a long interval, he formally joined the Social Democratic party in 1897, later playing a leading role in it. He was for many years a member of the Austrian parliament and, from 1907 on, vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies.

Pernerstorfer's attitude toward the Jews was ambivalent and not easy to interpret. In theory he was not an anti-Semite, and in practice he fought political anti-Semitism more consistently than many another Austrian Socialist. He parted with Schönerer precisely because he could not agree with the latter's militant anti-Semitism. The periodical he edited, *Deutsche Worte,* not only opposed political anti-Semitism, but occasionally published even Zionist-Socialist articles and similar material.[41] Yet in spite of all this evidence, he was considered by his contemporaries to be anti-Semitically minded. Statements to this effect were made not only by Nazis—who tried to fish out some "true Germans" from among Austrian Social Democrats—but also by Socialists and Communists. According to a Nazi historian, Pernerstorfer (as well as two other Austrian Socialists, Franz Schuhmeier and Karl Leuthner) had an "instinc-

[38] *VII^e Congrès Socialiste International tenu à Stuttgart* (Brussels, 1908), p. 242.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] See Pernerstorfer, in *Deutsche Worte,* XII (1892), 1.

[41] See N. Syrkin, *Deutsche Worte,* XVIII (1898), 289-313; and Bernstein, *ibid.,* XXIV (1904), 307-312.

tive aversion to the Jews."[42] A Socialist writer speaks of his "half-anti-Semitism,"[43] and a Communist publicist remarks that he was not always free from anti-Semitic leanings.[44] The consensus of opinion is remarkable. In fact there can be no doubt that Pernerstorfer, though opposed to political anti-Semitism, had a personal dislike for the Jews.

There is, of course, nothing surprising in such an attitude. It finds a particularly clear expression in an anonymous article in *Deutsche Worte,* which, to judge from its content and from the fact that it is not accompanied by any editorial note, was most probably written by Pernerstorfer himself. "It stands to reason," one reads there, "that no one can be blamed if he is simply unable to display any particular sympathy for the Jews: love, like hate, cannot be produced by compulsion. Such a purely personal emotional anti-Semitism is a private matter, and everyone is just as much at liberty to feel it as to feel an aversion to stutterers or bald-headed men. This, however, is a very long way from the political anti-Semitism of our times, and the latter cannot from any standpoint be approved or even defended."[45] This personal antipathy for the Jews comes to light even in some official statements by Pernerstorfer. Thus, at the party congress of 1898, referring to Schönerer he said: "What he has preached about anti-Semitism is something that is almost beyond discussion, because it is simply true, namely, that the Jews are Jews (Laughter). That is a fact which cannot be got rid of by discussion; only it is a pity that Karl Marx said the same thing many decades earlier in his brilliant essay 'Zur Judenfrage,' and said it in a much wittier and better way."[46]

Only once, to our knowledge, did Pernerstorfer attack

[42] A. Schilling-Schleter, *Walter Riehl* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 98. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 11 and 13, and the same author in K. Wache (ed.), *Deutscher Geist in Österreich* (Munich, 1933), p. 81.

[43] Ermers, *Victor Adler,* p. 230.

[44] Otto Heller, *Der Untergang des Judentums,* 2d ed. (Vienna, 1933), p. 132.

[45] Anonymous, "Der Antisemitismus," *Deutsche Worte,* XXIV (1904), 364.

[46] Parteitag 1898, *Verhandlungen,* p. 80.

a specific group of individuals in their character as Jews. In 1915 he asserted that the anti-national (left) wing of Austrian Social Democracy consisted of a handful of academicians, a closed clique, who were preparing to seize the party leadership, and to constitute themselves a supreme court that would decide what is genuine Socialism. "But this handful of men," Pernerstorfer insisted, "is made up not simply of academicians, but also exclusively of Jews."[47] Those Jews were furthermore reproached with not being good Germans. No other Socialist party than the Austrian would tolerate such unpatriotic elements. "Only we German Social Democrats have to submit to it, when such Jews in influential positions strive eagerly to make the German workers disgusted with their Germanness."[48] Robert Danneberg was described by Pernerstorfer as a representative of this type of Jew in the party. "I asked Danneberg on one occasion," said Pernerstorfer, "to what nation he considered himself as belonging. He answered: I am a cosmopolitan. A splendid answer for a logical thinker such as Danneberg certainly believes himself to be. Every man is the child of some nation. Danneberg, however, does not want to be a German, but he also does not want to profess himself a Jew, which after all would be entirely to his credit. No, he himself is 'a mixed creature' [*ein gemischtes Subjekt*], and wants to pull the German worker down to his own low level."[49]

[47] Pernerstorfer, "Der Typus Danneberg," *Volkstribüne*, No. 17, April 28, 1915, p. 5. [Available at the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.]

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Ibid.* (Robert Danneberg was murdered by the Nazis in the concentration camp of Auschwitz; see B. Kautsky, *Teufel und Verdammte* [Zürich, 1946], p. 185.)

[50] Adler, in *Volkstribüne*, No. 18, May 5, 1915, p. 5. The charge that the left opposition was "Jewish" was repeated at the party congress of 1917. Abram Simon, a Tyrolian deputy to the Austrian parliament, asserted that Karl Renner was being attacked by the left, "weil er kein Jude ist." Parteitag 1917, *Protokoll*, p. 148. Furthermore, he added ironically: "Es ist ein Fehler bei dir [Karl Renner], dass nicht acht Tage nach deiner Geburt eine Operation an dir vorgenommen wurde (Heiterkeit), das ist ein Fehler. Wenn Genosse Renner zur Gilde gehören würde, dann wäre er unser grosser Karl. So aber beisst man sich an ihm die Zähne aus, und das muss man zurückweisen. Diese Arroganz, die wir auf der Seite der Linken sehen, macht ein Wort der Abwehr vollauf berechtigt." *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167. Renner himself noted "dass ich nicht die

Pernerstorfer distorted reality by asserting that the non-patriotic left wing consisted only of Jews. His friend Victor Adler had to correct him in this respect.[50] However this may be, Pernerstorfer did not draw any anti-Semitic conclusions from his criticism of Danneberg and his friends. Those people, he explained, were university graduates who had received their education at a time when anti-Semitism was rampant at Austrian universities. Thus they simply could not have acquired any warm feelings for the Germans. Yet in spite of this explanation Pernerstorfer felt that party comrades would accuse him not only of nationalism but also of anti-Semitism. Anticipating such charges, he indignantly replied: "I spit on such accusations. I can calmly declare that I am a decided philo-Semite. Since my youth I have had, and still have, most friendly connections with Jews; I esteem very highly the talent of this race, a talent which in Austria has proved itself so able in the party (academicians and workers); I am proud to call myself a modest and grateful pupil of Lassalle and Marx; and finally, I am an inflexible advocate of equal rights for all mankind."[51]

It is symptomatic that Pernerstorfer's protestation of "philo-Semitism" coincided with his attack on Jewish intellectuals in the party. In a controversy with Jewish comrades who denied their nationality he chose to speak of the good qualities of the Jewish race and thus to humiliate still more "the Danneberg type." In his affirmation of philo-Semitism, moreover, he might have been sincere. He was always a nationally minded German, who tried to synthesize internationalism with true patriotism.[52] Internationalism, he said, did not require of the individual "that he put aside his nationality, that he be non-national or anti-national."[53] Some party comrades, among them Jews—or, as he thought, predominantly Jews—were irritated by his national philo-

Absicht habe, von den Zufälligkeiten der Geburt und den sich hieran knüpfenden Folgeerscheinungen Gebrauch zu machen." *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[51] Pernerstorfer, "Der Typus Danneberg," *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[52] See a reprint of his articles (1905-16) in his *Zeitfragen* (Vienna, 1917), pp. 3-57.

[53] Parteitag 1902, *Protokoll*, p. 69.

sophy. Jakob Brod, for example, criticized him for accentuating the national factor and asserted that "the national question is in Austria a petty-bourgeois question."[54]

As time went on, Pernerstorfer, who to our knowledge did not profess "philo-Semitism" before 1915, must have become more and more convinced that it was better to deal with nationally minded Jews than with those "mixed creatures" who wanted to be neither Germans nor Jews. Himself a nationally minded person and a keen student of nationalism, he must even have acquired some sympathy for those Jews who struggled for the political reconstruction of their nation. This is all the more probable since he was persuaded that Zionism could serve the interests of the Central Powers,[55] and he certainly would not have regretted a mass exodus of Eastern Jews to what was then Turkish Asia. This mixture of genuine sympathy and "half-anti-Semitism" may well account for his friendly attitude toward Zionism in 1916. Western European Jews were so thoroughly assimilated that Zionism, he thought, might better forget about them. Not so, however, the Eastern Jews. They were "a nation, and a nation of particular spirituality, like every inwardly strong civilized nation. They have a right to national existence. Therefore, it only remains to be considered how this can be guaranteed. I have already indicated that this can be done, on a permanent world-historical basis, by means of a commonwealth of their own [in Palestine], and pending the establishment of such a commonwealth, by means of national autonomy in all places where they live in compact masses."[56]

3. Otto Bauer

Two leaders of Austrian Social Democracy distinguished themselves in the study of the nationalities problem: Karl Renner (1870-1951) and Otto Bauer (1881-

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[55] Pernerstorfer, "Zur Judenfrage," *Der Jude*, I (1916), 311. See also Pernerstorfer, *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, May, 1916, p. 271.

[56] Pernerstorfer, "Zur Judenfrage," *op. cit.*, p. 313.

1938). At the turn of the century Renner (*Staat und Nation* [1899]; *Der Kampf der österreichischen Nationen um den Staat* [1902]) worked out the theory of a federative state in which every nationality would enjoy autonomy based, not on a territorial, but on a so-called personal, principle. Members of the same nationality, irrespective of their place of residence within the territory of the federative state, would thus have their national rights safeguarded. Renner's theory was accepted by Otto Bauer in his well-known study, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907). According to Renner and Bauer, the right to national autonomy was to be given to every nationality except the Jews. Renner was, of course, opposed to anti-Semitism,[57] in which he saw, on the one hand, a form of rebellion by the petty bourgeois against capital, and on the other, a manifestation of hatred by big industrial capital against commercial and financial capital.[58] Since, however, he nowhere says that the Jews are entitled to national autonomy in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he seems thus implicitly to have refused them this right. On the other hand, Otto Bauer discussed this problem at some length, and denied them this right explicitly.

Bauer, a well-known Socialist leader of Jewish origin, did not deny that the Jews are a nation. On the contrary, his definition of a nation is such that it covers well the mass of Eastern European Jews: "The nation," he says, "is the totality of men united through community of fate into a community of character."[59] Nevertheless he rejected their claim to national autonomy on the alleged ground that it was incompatible with proletarian interests.

[57] Cf. Renner, *Novemberverbrecher?* (Vienna, 1932), p. 87-88; *Lebenserinnerungen* (Vienna, 1946), I, 178, 231-234.

[58] Renner, "Die Wandlungen der Christlichsozialen, *Kampf*, II (1908-09), 5-6.

[59] "Die Nation ist die Gesamtheit der durch Schicksalsgemeinschaft zu einer Charaktergemeinschaft verknüpften Menschen." (Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* [Vienna, 1907], p. 135). It is a "Naturgemeinschaft und Kulturgemeinschaft." (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

His chapter[60] on the Jews starts with the assertion that the Austrian Social Democratic party was right in not granting to the Jewish Social Democrats—the "separatists" —the right to form an autonomous section in Galicia. He then proceeds to examine the question "whether the working class should or must demand the autonomy of the Jewish people within the state."[61] As long as the Jews acted as intermediaries of commerce and finance in a non-capitalistic society, so long did they undoubtedly constitute a nation.[62] The situation changed, however, with the progress of capitalism. Money economy seized hold of the entire society, even "Christians themselves became Jews."[63] The Jews were gradually forced into other professions; they scattered far and wide over the continent, penetrated into all branches of production, entered into closer and closer economic relations with the population, and culturally adjusted themselves to the latter more and more. This real adjustment brought about their legal emancipation, which, in turn further accelerated their assimilation: They participate in the public life of nations, their children attend public schools, their youth serve in the army. In other words, their assimilation proceeds rapidly in countries like those of Western Europe, where capitalism quickly attained a high degree of development.[64] "Even in Western and Central Europe it would perhaps be going too far to say at present that the Jews are not a nation. But we may certainly assert that they are ceasing to be one."[65]

The process of Jewish assimilation was slower in Eastern Europe because of its economic backwardness. There it affected only the Jewish bourgeoisie, while millions of Jews belonging to the lower classes were still unassimilated. "Those Jewish petty bourgeois and workers in Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Galicia, Bukovina, Rumania, etc., constitute

[60] "Nationale Autonomie der Juden?" *ibid.*, pp. 366-381.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 366.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 367.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 368.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370. See also Bauer, in *Kampf*, V (1911-12), 260.
[65] Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, p. 370.

today the Jewish nation."[66] According to Bauer's peculiar terminology, nations composed only of the exploited classes were called "unhistoricial nations,"[67] and the Jewish nation was one of these. "Unhistorical nations," however, lacked precisely those classes which, in a class society, are bearers of cultural progress. Consequently, their culture was stunted, their language corrupted, and, moreover, they did not possess a national literature. The nineteenth century, because of the capitalist development, awakened all "unhistorical nations" to a new life. "Will the twentieth century give to the Jewish nation, too, the possibility of new, independent cultural development?"[68]

Certainly not, because the Jews were being forced into closer and closer economic relations with the surrounding majority, and henceforth would have to adopt also the culture of their hosts. "The Jews," says Bauer, "would become a historical nation if they remained a nation at all, but capitalist society does not permit them to exist as a nation."[69] Capitalism disrupted the bonds of union between the Jews, and since they did not have a common territory of their own—a territory which would permanently create solid bonds between them—the Jewish nationality must disappear. "With the advancing development of capitalism and of the modern state, even the Jews of the east will cease to be a separate nation and will be absorbed into the other nations, just as the Jews of the west have long since been."[70]

One must not, of course, exaggerate the rapidity of Jewish assimilation in the east. In Russia, for example, the economic and legal prerequisites for assimilation were still lacking, and the new Jewish cultural movement could continue there for decades. Yet the revival of the Jewish culture in the east was possible only as a transitional phenomenon. With the progress of money economy—"which

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 371.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 190 f.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 373.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 376. Zionism is not mentioned by Bauer at all.

transforms all Christians into Jews, and, therefore, the Jews into Christians"[71]—it was certain that the Eastern Jews, too, would be absorbed by the surrounding nations. "Historically considered, even the awakening of the Eastern Jews to new cultural life is only a foreshadowing of eventual assimilation."[72]

One had to take into account those evolutionary trends before adopting a definite attitude on the question whether national autonomy should be demanded for the Jews in Austria. Bauer offered an answer to this specific question, and said explicitly—most probably in order to avoid a clash with the Bund—that he was not in a position to say whether his answer was valid for Russia also. At any rate, as far as Austrian Jews were concerned, "we must not take as our point of departure the high-sounding but meaningless phrase of the natural right of all nations to self-determination; rather we must ask what are the aims of national autonomy, and must inquire whether the needs of the Jewish working class require national self-government."[73]

National autonomy for the Jews, thought Bauer, was essentially a question of having separate Jewish schools. Was it desirable, however, to have such schools and thus to impede the process of assimilation? "We believe," said Bauer, "that the Jewish workers in Galicia and Bukovina, as soon as they recognize their own best interest, cannot demand separate Jewish schools."[74] In order to improve their economic situation, Jewish workers must disperse throughout the country and penetrate into all branches of production. They must therefore "adjust" themselves to the culture of the surrounding majorities. They must realize that "in many factories, even today, the Christian workers will not tolerate Jewish fellow-workers; this aversion does not spring from political anti-Semitism, but from

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 377.
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 378.

their naive instinct to dislike the strange ways of the non-assimilated Jew."[75]

It may be noted, parenthetically, that the economic aspect of this "naive instinct" was not even mentioned by Bauer. Nor did he discuss the political manifestations of proletarian anti-Semitism in eastern Europe. Polish workers participated in pogroms, and in 1902, for example, plundered and tortured Jewish workers in Czestochowa.[76] They struck, in Lodz, Pabianice, and other places against employers hiring Jewish workers.[77] In Bialystok they concurred in a *numerous clausus* for Jewish weavers.[78] Polish Socialists, as early as 1893, asked for "a voluntary emigration of the Jews,"[79] and later acquiesced in so-called "progressive," i.e., economic, anti-Semitism.[80]

In order to get jobs, Bauer insisted, the Jewish workers must culturally resemble native workers. They must not offend—by the inflection of their language, their gestures, their apparel, their customs—"the Christian class comrade, the foreman, the employer."[81] Only after such a cultural adjustment to the environment would the Jewish worker acquire real freedom of movement and be able to turn to every job made available by the blind working of capitalist forces. "Only then will his special Jewish misery disappear, and he will be left with nothing but the common proletarian misery which he will fight and vanquish in the common battle, shoulder to shoulder with his Aryan colleagues."[82]

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] B. Szmidt (ed.), *Socjaldemokracja Krolestwa Polskiego i Litwy; materjaly . . .* (Moscow, 1934), pp. 335-338.

[77] Anin, *Sozialistische Monatshefte,* XX[1] (1914), 354; Kon, *Neue Zeit,* XXXIV[1] (1915-16), 178.

[78] Cf. Ber Borochov, *Nationalism and the Class Struggle* (New York, 1937), p. 83.

[79] Cf. Rezawa, *Neue Zeit,* XII[2] (1893-94), 332.

[80] Cf. Anin, *Sozialistische Monatshefte,* XV[1] (1911), 397; XXI[1] (1914), 354. When, in 1918, Ignacy Daszynski, the leader of the Polish Socialists, was asked by foreign Social Democrats to use his influence to prevent further outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, he replied: "The pogroms are directed against usury, and, as invariably happens, the innocent must unfortunately suffer as well." *Jewish Labour Correspondence,* London, I, August, 1919, p. 28.

[81] Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie,* p. 378.

[82] *Ibid.,* p. 379.

All this would be rendered more difficult, if not impossible, by separate Jewish schools where children of Jewish workers would be artificially kept "loyal to the spirit of times past."[83] Bauer was simply horrified by the prospect of establishing separate Jewish schools. "Just imagine the Jewish children in their own schools, with Yiddish as the language of instruction!"[84] "The Jewish school means for the Jews, first of all, artificial preservation of their old cultural singularity, which limits their freedom of movement and thereby increases their misery; and secondly, a strengthening of their old ideology, their old social psychology, which must first be overcome in order to enable them to carry on the class struggle."[85] Therefore, "national autonomy cannot be demanded by the Jewish workers."[86] What had to be done if the Jewish proletariat, in spite of Bauer's dialectic, did demand national autonomy? Bauer did not ask this question explicitly, but he nevertheless gave an answer: Since Jewish national autonomy was harmful to the Jewish as well as to the non-Jewish proletariat, the German worker "must deny it to the Jewish worker."[87]

It would be superfluous to analyze the fallacies of Bauer's interpretations of the Jewish problem. For the purpose of the present study it will suffice to indicate only Bauer's extreme discrimination against the Jews. Of all the nationalities of the Hapsburg Empire, he chose the Jews as the only one not to have the right to self-determination. Of all the working classes of that Empire, he chose the Jewish proletariat as the only one to whom the right to struggle for its own national future must be denied. His outcry, "Just imagine the Jewish children in their own schools,

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] *Ibid.* Jewish schools were also opposed by Bauer in *Kampf,* V (1911-12), 159. In his opposition he went even further than the Polish Socialist party, of whose anti-Semitism, incidentally, he was not entirely unaware (cf. Bauer, in *Kampf,* IV [1910-11], 94). In view of "the needs of the Jewish proletariat," even that party demanded in 1910 that "Yiddish be taken into account in public instruction." Polska Partja Socjalistyczna, *Sprawozdanie z drugiej konferencji partyjnej* (Cracow, 1910), p. 61.

[85] Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie,* p. 379.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *Ibid.,* p. 380.

with Yiddish as the language of instruction!" utterly betrayed his contempt for the Jewish people. Bauer tried hard to cover up this contempt with a flood of genuine or pseudo-dialectical verbiage, but without much success. It was this contempt, most probably, that drove him to break with one of the axioms of demoratic Socialism, the right to national self-determination. Estranged from his own people, he suffered from what may be called "the Jewish complex," so common among assimilated Jews. This complex makes such Jews believe that the way they have chosen for themselves is not only desirable for all other Jews but, historically, the only one possible. It is this complex more than anything else that seems to have led Bauer to maintain that Socialism and Jewish national aspirations are mutually exclusive.

THE UNICORN IN CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH ART

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EXAMINATION of the ever growing literature on the unicorn in legend and art will disclose to the interested student only passing reference to Jewish influence on the Christian conception of the mythical single-horned animal and nothing at all on this creature in Jewish art. While it is easy to account for the neglect of Jewish art and its iconography, which only recently have begun to attract the attention of scholars, it is rather surprising to note that the investigation of the Jewish literary elements in the unicorn story should have made so little headway.

The *Physiologus*, an early Christian work in Greek on the nature of animals, plants, and some minerals that is our source for the unicorn story, shows unmistakable traces of Jewish influence. This was recognized as early as 1898 by E. Peters, according to whom the *Physiologus* is a "product of Egyptian and Hebrew animal symbolism."[1] More recently, Wellmann has pointed out a passage in Josephus (*Bell. Jud., II.* 8.6) which he considers as alluding to a Jewish work on natural history. In his opinion, this work may be the nucleus around which the *Physiologus* built up its fables.[2] Shepard, in his book on the unicorn, mentions the talmudic discussions of single-horned animals.[3] All these were only tentative and casual suggestions, however, not followed up in further study.

[1] Emil Peters, *Der griechische Physiologus und seine orientalischen Übersetzungen* (Berlin, 1898), p. 9.

[2] Max Wellmann, "Der Physiologus," *Philologus, Supplementband* XXII.1 (Leipzig, 1930), p. 55.

[3] Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (Boston, 1930), p. 45.

The earliest extant manuscripts of the *Physiologus* are of the ninth century C.E.[4]

Origen (185-254) refers to the work in such phrases as "nam *Physiologus* scribit" (for the *Physiologus* writes).[5] Who is the *Physiologus?* The word means "naturalist." The anonymous author of the work recounts his stories on the authority of the physiologus, the naturalist, who in one manuscript is several times referred to as Solomon[6] and in another as Aristotle.[7]

The place of origin of the *Physiologus* is generally held to be Alexandria or, according to Wellmann, Caesarea Stratonis.[8]

The animal stories are treated in the *Physiologus* in separate chapters; each begins with a biblical quotation relative to the animal, proceeds with a description of its nature and habits, and finally offers a christological explanation of the story. It is believed that the allegorical interpretations were developed by the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, while further additions may have been made in the medieval copies and translations.

The Unicorn of the Physiologus and Its Literary Background

According to the *Physiologus,* the unicorn was a small animal resembling a goat and provided with a single sharp horn that prevented the hunters from approaching him. He could be subdued only by a virgin. The hunters drew his glance to a pure (in other versions, fair) virgin, and he leaped to her and put his head in her lap. When captured he was led away to the palace of the king.

[4] Among the earliest, ninth century manuscripts of the *Physiologus,* Codex 318 of the Stadtbibliothek in Bern, Switzerland, discussed by Helen Woodruff, "The Physiologus of Bern," *The Art Bulletin,* XII (1930), pp. 226-253, may be mentioned.

[5] Friedrich Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strasbourg, 1889), p. 70.

[6] Fritz Hommel, *Die aethiopische Übersetzung des Physiologus, nach einer Londoner, Pariser und Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 53, 104.

[7] Lauchert, p. 44.

[8] Wellmann, p. 11.

The description has much in common with the story of the Indian kartazon in Aelian, *De natura animalium,* XVI 20. The kartazon was a single-horned animal, fierce and untractable, wandering about alone. He became gentle toward the female in the mating season. The foals were taken when quite young to the king of the Prasii. No full-grown specimen was ever caught.[9] For all the similarities of the story, it is to be noted that the kartazon was a large horse-like animal with the legs of an elephant, while our unicorn was small and resembled a goat. In another Aelian fable (*De nat. anim.,* I. 38)—this one about the elephant—we find the motif of the fair maiden who alone could subdue the animal. Thus the female kartazon became a fair maiden and finally the virgin of the Christian *Physiologus* story. The author of the *Physiologus* sums up the meaning of the story thus: "The unicorn is a figure of the Savior who has dwelt in the womb of the Virgin." To justify this allegorical interpretation he adduces Psalm 92:10, "But my horn shall thou exalt like the horn of the unicorn," which establishes the identity of the animal with the "unicorn" of the Old Testament. Another quotation, this one from Luke 1:69, associates the horn of the unicorn with the horn of salvation, and a reference in John 1:14, "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," points up the idea of incarnation.

The unicorn of the *Physiologus,* then, is the *reem* of the Hebrew Bible. In the Ethiopian translation of the *Physiologus* the medieval scribe added, to make it quite clear: ". . . which is the *reem.*"[10] That the *reem* is nowhere in the Bible actually depicted as a unicorn or a one-horned animal mattered little. Psalm 92, where the horn is mentioned in the singular, made such an interpretation possible, and the author of the *Physiologus* relied on this reference inasmuch as in the Septuagint, *reem* was rendered as *monokeros,* the one-horned.

[9] Lauchert, p. 24, points out that Aelian's description of the kartazon goes back to Megasthenes' *Indika* (ab. 300 B.C.E.).

[10] Hommel, p. 68.

But what about the shape and size of the animal? The Bible says nothing about the appearance of the *reem*. By implication we learn that it was an awe-inspiring creature. It conveyed the fury of the Lord (Is. 34:7), the exalted position of the Lord (Ps. 22:21), strength (Num. 23:22; 24:8; Deut. 33:17), wildness (Job 39:9-12), and swiftness (Ps. 29:5). The Talmud enlarges on these traits, portraying the *reem* as a huge animal, too large to enter Noah's ark (Zebahim 113b) and easily mistaken for a mountain (Midrash Tehilim to Ps. 22:21).

The emphasis on the smallness and goat-like appearance of the unicorn reveals a deliberate departure of the *Physiologus* from the traditional idea of the *reem*.

Shepard believes that the one-horned goat of Daniel's vision may have influenced the concept.[11] In Daniel 8:5 a one-horned goat, a figure of Alexander the Great, overpowers the double-horned ram, a figure of Persia and Media. However, there seems to be no point in adding to the powerful *reem* the characteristics of another powerful animal. Besides, the small size of the unicorn of the *Physiologus* contradicts this suggestion.

Fortunately, some versions of the *Physiologus* offer an explanation of what the small size and the goat-like appearance of the unicorn were meant to imply.[12] The smallness of the unicorn, we are told, was intended to convey the humility of Christ, and the goat-like appearance his desire to be like any human sinner.

The goat, then, to which the unicorn of the *Physiologus* bears resemblance, is the sacrificial goat, the goat offered by Aaron for the redemption of the people (Lev. 16:9 ff.). The goat of the sin offering contributed something indeed to the concept of the unicorn that the *reem* lacked: the idea of expiatory suffering. In a similar way early Christian theology used the sacrifice of Isaac as a figure of the

[11] Shepard, p. 78.

[12] Lauchert, p. 22.

sacrificial death of Jesus.[13] The idea of the redeeming sacrifice of Jesus was expressed in John 1:29 by the metaphor of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." St. Basil (c. 330-379) calls Jesus "son of unicorns" to convey his power, and a "sheep led to the slaughtering block" to allude to his death.[14] Now, the lamb and the goat were both animals used in the Jewish sacrificial service (Lev. 22:19).

The author of the *Physiologus* amalgamated the *reem* with the goat into one symbolic figure. What suggested to him this seemingly incongruous image?

One-horned animals were discussed in the Talmud in connection with the problem of ritual purity. Even though the Temple was no more, and the sacrificial service was long abolished, animals were still classified according to their fitness for sacrifice and hence for food. A ruminant with cloven hoofs was likely to be declared clean; doubt would arise, however, with regard to single-horned animals. Tradition had it that Adam had sacrificed a one-horned ox (Hulin 60a), which was regarded as a precedent. Nevertheless, Sabb. 28 b had misgivings about the *tahash* (held to be single-horned) of Exodus 26:14, whose hide was used by Moses for the covering of the Tabernacle. On the other hand, the single-horned *keresh* was considered ritually clean (Hulin 59 b).[15] The *reem* was not regarded as a one-horned animal.[16]

The discussions of the rabbis regarding the sacrificial purity of one-horned animals may have been familiar to the compiler of the *Physiologus*. With these speculations in

[13] Hans Joachim Schöps, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Paul's Theology," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXV (1946), 385 ff.

[14] Homily to Psalm XXVIII; see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXIX, p. 295.

[15] For a discussion of these animals see Ludwig Lewysohn, *Die Zoologie des Talmuds* (Frankfurt a.M., 1858), p. 151, and *passim*.

[16] Shepard, p. 45, n. 8, cites Zebahim 113 b as evidence that the Talmud conceived the *reem* as one-horned. However, in the Hebrew text of the tractate the term "horn" is used in the plural. The *reem*, which could not enter Noah's ark owing to its huge size, was taken in tow by "tying his horns on to the ark." The *reem* is a double-horned beast also in the story of David, who mistook a sleeping *reem* for a mountain and was lifted by him to the clouds, as recounted in Midrash Tehilim to Ps. 22:21.

mind, he could readily have visualized the sacrificial aspect of his unicorn. The ambivalent concept of the unicorn would then have a certain organic unity.

In some minor Greek manuscripts of the *Physiologus,* a "second" trait was added to the nature of the unicorn. According to this version, the unicorn purified the water poisoned by a snake for the benefit of the animals. He did it by dipping his horn, a symbol of the cross, into the water.[17]

This feature is a dramatization of a sober report of the Greek physician Ktesias (fourth century B.C.E.) on the properties of the horn of the Indian unicorn, a kind of ass large as a horse. According to this source, now lost but preserved in fragments, dust filings from the horn of this animal, taken in a potion, were an antidote against poison, and drinking from such a horn protected one against epilepsy.[18]

It is interesting to note that a story somewhat similar to that in the *Physiologus* is found in Midrash Tehilim 25.187. Whenever a drought occured the animals applied to the pious hind to pray to God. The hind dug a hole, stuck her horns into it, and prayed for rain, whereupon God caused water to flow from the hollow. Louis Ginzberg points to Pliny (*Historia naturalis,* VIII. 50 [32]), who mentions the use of burnt stag's horns to drive away serpents.[19] In Ktesias, Pliny, and other ancient authors we find stories in which horns are employed against serpents, poison, disease. Nowhere, however, has the story the form of a fable with the animals, bearers of the horns, acting as dramatis personae. This feature, as well as the motif of the life-sustaining water and, above all, the pious moral, is common only to the *Physiologus* and the Midrash narrative.

[17] Lauchert, p. 23, n. 2.

[18] *Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian,* tr. by J. W. McCrindle of the abridgement of his *Indika* by Photios and of fragments of that work preserved in other writers (London, 1882), p. 26.

[19] Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews,* V (Philadelphia, 1942), 59, n. 190.

The Unicorn in Christian Art

With the literary background of the unicorn in mind, we may consider now his pictorial representations.

In what appears to be the earliest picture of the unicorn in Christian art, a fifth century mosaic at the basilica of St. John the Evangelist in Ravenna, the unicorn is a stocky animal with a short, pointed horn.[20] He is shown alone. It is possible that the Ravenna mosaic was inspired by writings of the Church Fathers, who used the symbol of the unicorn for Christ, rather than by the *Physiologus*, which could not as yet have had wide currency. In the earliest surviving illustrated *Physiologus* manuscript of the Stadtbibliothek of Bern, Switzerland, dating from the ninth century, the unicorn already resembles a goat. His horn is the curved horn of a goat, only larger. A woman stands before him holding his muzzle with both hands, a pose implying her power over him.[21]

In the course of the development of the theme in the Middle Ages, in copies and translations of the *Physiologus*, in bestiaries derived from it, and in Christian Psalters, the hunting and killing of the animal became major features of the representations. The unicorn, now more articulate, clung to the maiden, hid his head in her bosom while the hunters fell upon him with ax and spear.[22] In an English bestiary of the early thirteenth century in the British Museum the unicorn displays for the first time, as far as our material indicates, the long twisted straight horn projecting forward that we generally associate with this fabulous animal. It is not a goat's horn, nor a gazelle's horn that may be twisted but that always projects backward. It is in fact

[20] Guido Schönberger, "Narwal—Einhorn," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, IX (Frankfurt a.M., 1935/36), fig. 202.

[21] Woodruff, fig. 20 and p. 250.

[22] English Bestiary, c. 1200, Leningrad Public Library, Qu. V. 1, illustrated in Schönberger, fig. 206.

the tusk of the narwhal, a sort of whale living in arctic waters.[23]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the theme of the unicorn purifying the poisoned water became popular in art. It was inserted into an expanded representation of the unicorn hunt. Taken up in tapestry design, the story was related in a series of woven pictures portraying the following scenes: the huntsmen starting for the chase, the unicorn at the fountain purifying the water, his escape, his struggle, the virgin-capture, and his death and the presentation of his body to the lord and lady of the castle or his captivity in an enclosed garden. The set of tapestries from the Château of Verteuil in France displayed at the Cloisters in New York depicts the various phases of the story.[24]

The Fountain tapestry is particularly charming. We see gathered beside a small stream in front of a fountain basin a lion and a lioness, a panther, a civet, a hyena, a stag, and two rabbits, while two pheasants and two small birds flutter around on the fountain ledge. The unicorn, a beautiful white animal with the noble bearing of a horse, a goat's head and beard, and a curly tail, dips his long spiraling horn into the stream unaware of the huntsmen who appear behind the greenery with their leashed hounds waiting for the signal that the quarry has been sighted.

These are the most characteristic episodes in which the unicorn appears in Christian art. In the decoration of vessels and in heraldry he is usually shown in leaping or climbing posture, very much like the lion rampant, his companion as supporter of the arms.

The Unicorn in Jewish Art

As is known from literary evidence, medieval European synagogues were decorated with animal and floral designs.

[23] Schönberger, fig. 207. This Bestiary (British Museum, Royal MSF XIII) is important because it shows that the English artist already is familiar with the narwhal (cf. *ibid.*, p. 195). Even if earlier pictures of the unicorn with the tusk-like horn should be found, this particular form of the animal did not become current before the thirteenth century.

[24] Illustrated in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York, 1938).



FIG. 1. Mahzor, fol. 132 a. German, 14th Century.
Dresden, Oeffentliche Bibliothek, Ms. A. 46 a.

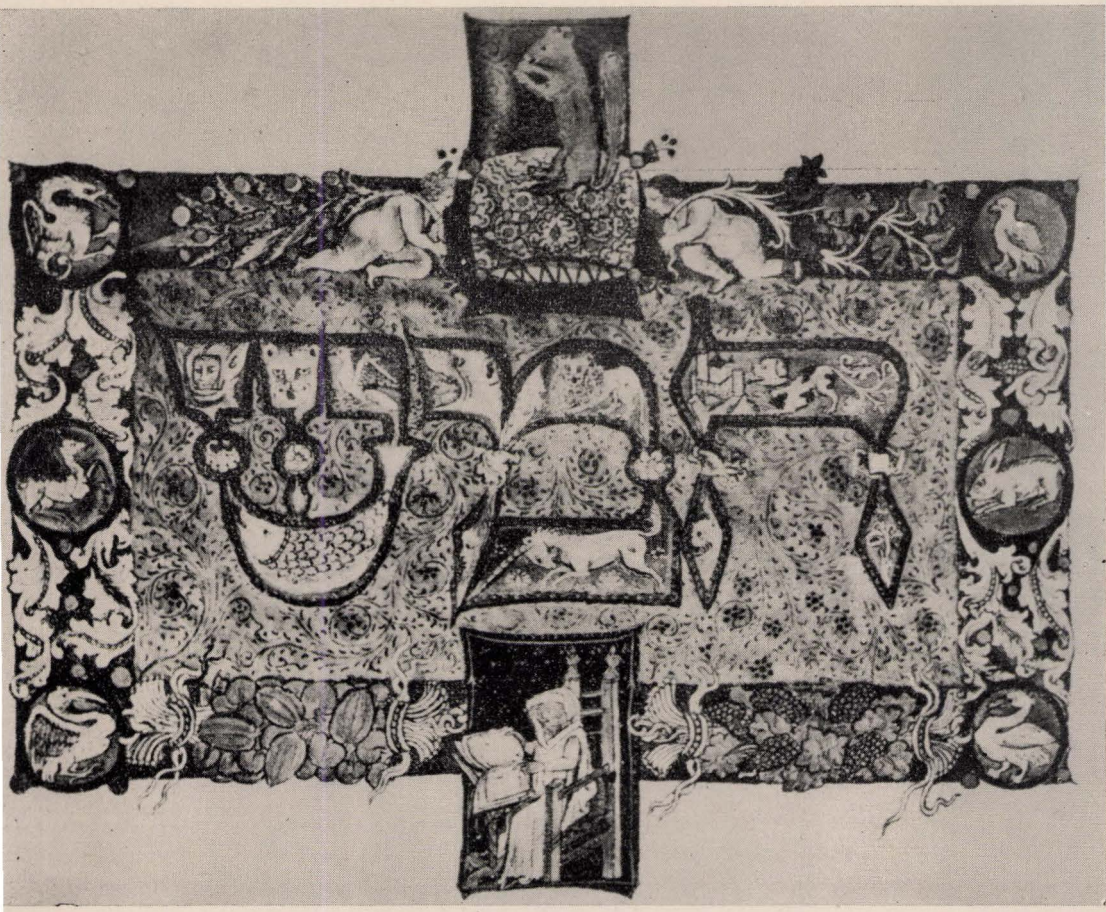


FIG. 2. Talmudic Compedium by Asher ben Yehiel, fol. 198 a. South German, 15th Century.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Hebr. 418.

It is possible that the unicorn played a role in these decorations. Unfortunately, none of them has survived.

The unicorn is found, however, in the illuminations of Hebrew medieval manuscripts. In the early fourteenth century Ashkenasic *Mahzor* in Dresden we find the unicorn in the decoration of the opening word *Elim* in the prayer for dew.[25] There he is a goat-like animal with a curly mane and short tail, a horse's head and a long twisted horn projecting directly forward (fig. 1). He is shown in leaping posture to the right in the center of the headpiece. A lion of smaller stature is seen behind the unicorn facing left. The remaining space between and around the letters is filled by two dragons. A pair of dragons is a common ornamental motif found a number of times in the manuscript; the unicorn and the lion, however, appear to have been especially selected to emphasize the meaning of the word *Elim* (The Mighty Ones).

Both animals are thus symbols of power. As a symbol of power the unicorn can only be meant to be the *reem*. The two most powerful creatures, the unicorn and the lion, appear in Psalm 22:21. With no Jewish pictorial models to draw from, the artist adopted the current conception of the animal, resembling a goat and provided with a tusk-like horn, without giving thought to its particular Christian connotation, for the unicorn, popularized by the bestiaries, had become a figure of secular folklore.

Another specimen of manuscript illumination contributes to our understanding of what the unicorn really meant to the Jewish reader. In a talmudic compendium by Asher ben Yehiel (1250-1327) in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. hebr. 418), a copy of the fifteenth century executed in South Germany, the unicorn is found in the decoration of the heading *Humesh* (Pentateuch) (fig. 2).

[25] Dresden, Öffentliche Bibliothek, Ms. A. 46 a, fol. 132 a; see Robert Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen* (Dresden, 1906), pp. 203-204; Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "The Messianic Fox," *Review of Religion*, VI (1941), 258 ff.

The interior spaces of the letters are filled with all sorts of beasts. The unicorn appears in the lower stroke of the letter "mem" in the center of the headpiece. The animal has a goat's head with the characteristic beard, and curly mane and tail, and he stoops and lowers his head so that his long spiraling horn touches the earth of a flowery meadow. His posture is unmistakably that of the unicorn dipping his horn into the water to purify it as we know it from the fountain scene in the unicorn hunt.

The animal in the upper stroke of the "mem" is a lion. The remaining letter space and the borders of the panel are filled with a variety of creatures. There is a hind and a rabbit, a fish, the head of a tiger and of a dog, a weasel, wild and domestic birds, a dog in front of a castle on a hill, a bearded profile and a jester's head in a two-horned fool's cap—motifs evidently taken, in part, from some picture of the "Unicorn at the Fountain." Garlands and branches heavy with flowers and fruits held by nude genii combine to present a picture of the luxuriant fertility of nature.

In a rectangle inserted in the lower border of the panel a scholar in a long robe and a hood is seated in a high-backed chair holding a large open book. This is apparently a likeness of the author, Asher ben Yehiel. The unicorn is just above the portrait. Farther up, in the upper border of the panel, in a corresponding rectangle, a squirrel perched on an embroidered cushion is cracking a nut. He is intended, we assume, to indicate the difficult problems Asher ben Yehiel, an outstanding authority in Jewish law, had solved in the course of his distinguished career.[26] In this context the unicorn symbolizes intellectual rather than cosmic power.

The unicorn conveys spiritual strength and piety in a beautiful full-page miniature in a fifteenth century *Siddur*

[26] The squirrel cracking a nut appears on a tombstone in the Jewish cemetery in Lublin (Majer Balaban, *Die Judenstadt Lublin* [Berlin, 1919], fig. on p. 67) and in Warsaw (Arthur Levy, *Jüdische Grabmalkunst in Osteuropa* [Berlin, 1923], fig. 31). No information is available regarding the inscriptions and dates of the tombstones.

executed in Italy. Before the last war the manuscript was in the E. Bicart-Sée collection in Paris.

The center of the picture is occupied by the word *Shomea* (He hears) painted on a mille-fleurs background. Above the panel is depicted the interior of a synagogue with the Scriptures displayed in the open Ark. Below, yeshiva students are seated at a table with their books before them. The left border of the miniature exhibits a hind and a unicorn, each in a medallion. The animals are in resting attitude against a landscape. The unicorn with his long straight horn pointing upward toward the sky was probably inspired by the figure of the "Unicorn in an Enclosed Garden." The border decoration includes a lion rampant flanked by phoenixes, a crown shown twice, a laureled bust à l'antique, a typical amalgam of Jewish symbols and Renaissance elements.[27]

Judging from the context in which they appear in our picture the unicorn and the hind seem to express and emphasize the scholarly and religious mood associated with a house of prayer and of study. Their symbolism adheres basically to the old tradition.

In the examples discussed thus far, the unicorn has the appearance of the animal of the Christian legend, and some of his postures are clearly inspired by Christian pictorial representations. However, in copying these models the illuminators of the Hebrew manuscripts seem to have been totally indifferent to the fables with which the unicorn was associated. With their growing cultural assimilation during the Renaissance—in Italy perhaps earlier than elsewhere—the Jews showed a wider interest in general literature and art. It is significant, for example, that a man of no scholarly ambitions, Meshulam ben Menahem of Volterra, was acquainted with Pliny's *Natural History*.[28] The earliest printed edition of Pliny, by the way, was issued in Venice in 1469.

[27] The miniature is reproduced in Elkan N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers* (London, 1930), plate I.

[28] See his travelogue (1481) in Adler, *op. cit.*, pp. 164 f.

In 1491 a Hebrew animal book appeared, the *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* by Isaac ben Solomon ibn Sahula (1281), illustrated with woodcuts. It was published by Gershon ben Moses Soncino in Soncino and Brescia in the same year.[29] There is in the book a story of the *ofer* and the *aku* represented by a unicorn and an ibex. While the *aku* is the ibex or rock goat of Deuteronomy 14:5, the interpretation of *ofer* as a unicorn is less obvious.

Ofer ha-aialim is in Canticles 2.9 a young hart. Now *ofer* in Canticles is translated in a late Targum as *urzila.* We know the term *urzila d'rema* from Zebahim 113b, where it denotes the young of the *reem.*[30] Thus, the *ofer* became a *reem* and was illustrated as a unicorn.

The two animals are shown in the *Mashal ha-Kadmoni* conversing about the wickedness of the hunters. Whether the thirteenth century author of the book had a hart or a unicorn in mind is hard to tell; at any rate, the fifteenth century designer regarded the unicorn as a more fitting representative of the animal kingdom to speak up against evil. He did not merely borrow the figure of the unicorn from a unicorn hunt picture; he was familiar with the story of the animal and commented on it in his own way.

It is surprising to find the motif of the "Virgin and the Unicorn" in a Jewish book. In the calendar included in the *Sefer Minhagim,* a Judeo-German book on Jewish customs first printed with woodcuts at di Gara's in Venice in 1593, the sign of the zodiac for *virgo* (month of Elul) is illustrated with the stereotyped picture of the virgin and the unicorn.[31] It was a not uncommon practice with printers to use blocks rather indiscriminately for various books.

Owing to the dissemination of the figure of the unicorn through illustrated books, heraldry, house signs, and

[29] Both incunabula are in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. My thanks are due to Dr. Alexander Marx for drawing my attention to this work. The New York Public Library possesses the sixteenth century Venice edition with the set of illustrations re-cut.

[30] For this information I am indebted to Mr. Abraham Berger of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library.

[31] For the *Sefer Minhagim* see R. Wischnitzer, "The Esther Story in Art," in Philip Goodman (ed.), *The Purim Anthology* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 244.

last but not least, unicorn cups falsely represented as made of portions of the magic horn[32] and decorated with the animal in silver work, it becomes difficult to determine in every case as we approach the modern period just what the unicorn was meant to express in Jewish art and indeed whether he still had any symbolic significance at all.

The affronted unicorns added to the traditional lions of Judah in the decoration of a silver Torah shield (Nuremberg, c. 1700), a rare piece in the possession of the Jewish Museum in New York, may be the inspiration of the Christian silversmith. On the other hand, the unicorn darting his horn down the throat of a lion, painted in 1735 on the vault of the synagogue at Horb, Bavaria, by Elieser Susman ben Solomon of Brod, may well refer to Psalm 22:21: "Save me from the lion's mouth: for thou hast heard me from the horns of the *reemim.*"[33] In the Psalm the divine *reemim* are contrasted with the lions, an image that may have been responsible for the idea of the antagonism of the two animals. Midrash Tehilim to Psalm 22 notes that the *reem,* when lifting David to the clouds, dropped him at the sight of the lion and crouched before him. The unicorn fighting the lion is also found in the vault decoration of the synagogue at Gwozdziec, Galicia, painted in 1652 by Israel ben Mardochai of Jaryczow near Lwow.[34]

[32] Among those who exposed the fraudulent sale of all sorts of horns and tusks as alicorns—as the horns of the unicorn were called—was Amatus Lusitanus, the marrano physician (about 1558) (see Shepard, p. 115) and the Jewish physician, David de Pomis, who devised a test of the horns (see his *Dittionario novo hebraico* [Venice, 1587], *s.v. reem*). However, the magic horn was used in drugs and in the manufacture of drinking cups all through the seventeenth century.

[33] Illustrated in *Rimon, Hebrew Magazine of Art and Letters,* and in the Yiddish companion edition, *Milgrom,* III (1923), 4.

[34] According to an inscription, the paintings of the Gwozdziec synagogue were repainted in 1729 by another artist from Jaryczow, Isaac son of Jehuda Löb; see Alois Breier, Max Eisler, and Max Grunwald, *Holzsynagogen in Polen* ([Vienna] 1934), pp. 12-13, 51. The motif of the enmity of the unicorn and the lion is not found in the *Physiologus.* The fight between unicorns and lions, represented on a tapestry of the Borromeo palace in Isola Bella on the Lago Maggiore, alludes to the unicorn in the Borromean arms (Shepard, p. 76). The legend about the ruse employed by the lion in combat with the unicorn, mentioned by Shepard (p. 241), may well go back to Psalm 22.

The unicorn is regarded as the emblem of Joseph on account of the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:17), which refers to Joseph and his two sons in these words: "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of *reemim* . . . and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim and they are the thousands of Manasseh."

An early modern Jewish artist, Joseph Herz of Fürth (1776-1828), designed banners for the Twelve Tribes, with the half-tribe of Ephraim represented by a unicorn and Manasseh by a young bull. The Midrash, however, assigns the bullock to Ephraim—apparently because this animal is first mentioned in the Blessing of Moses, as is the name of Ephraim—and gives the unicorn to Manasseh.[35]

The problem has recently become of particular interest. Emblems of the tribes have been found depicted on a fourth century mosaic pavement excavated by E. L. Sukenik in Yâfâ in Galilee. One of the fragments portrays a double-horned animal inscribed *Ephraim*.[36] The question is whether we have here a double-horned *reem* or a bullock. The Midrash would favor the second interpretation.

An interesting piece has shown up recently in the Jewish Museum in New York. It is a silver spice box for the Havdala service at the close of the Sabbath. The hexagonal foot of the container is adorned with free-standing unicorns and bullocks placed at the angular points. On one angle, however, there is a flag instead of the two animals. Was the flag an afterthought, fitted on to replace a broken part? There is no evidence to support such an assumption. We rather think that the decoration of the spice box was meant to represent the emblem of Joseph, the banner of his tribe

[35] Bab. Talmud, Baba Raba, 2.7; see Ginzberg, III, p. 238; VI, p. 83, n. 447. In the ornamental framework of a *ketubah* from Modena of 1669 the unicorn appears as the emblem of the tribe of Manasseh; see *Israel. Familienblatt*, 1930, July 17, Beilage "Aus alter und neuer Zeit."

[36] Illustrated in *Israel Speaks* (September 15, 1950). According to information received from Dr. Sukenik of the Hebrew University, he is preparing a publication on the Yâfâ Synagogue.

with the unicorn and the bullock. The spice box, a work of the early nineteenth century, is a fine example of the awakening intellectual interest in Jewish symbols and customs that we find in the work of the designer Joseph Herz of Fürth as well as in that of the painter of Jewish scenes Moritz Oppenheim of Frankfurt a.M.

As last vestiges of the unicorn we may mention the names Einhorn and Rome. The latter is pronounced in Yiddish *reem*. The tombstone of a bearer of the name Rome in Warsaw (dated 1836) was decorated with two affronted unicorns.[37]

Concluding Remarks

To sum up the results of our investigations, we may say that the *reem* of the Bible was a symbol of supernatural power. In the Septuagint he was identified with the Indian *monokeros* of Greek travel books, evidently a rhinoceros. Roman natural histories popularized the Greek stories about the animal. The Talmud amplified the biblical conception of the *reem*. The *Physiologus,* while identifying the unicorn with the *reem,* bestowed upon the symbolic animal traits and qualities characteristic of various animals described in the pagan sources, in the Bible and the Talmud.

Out of this complex literary background, to which must be added the influence of the trade in spurious unicorn horns—whale bones, elephant, walrus and narwhal tusks, the latter almost revolutionizing the appearance of the goat-like animal—developed the rich imagery of the unicorn in Christian art.

The Christian unicorn exerted a considerable impact on the pictorial concept of the *reem* in Jewish art. The *reem* became a unicorn in appearance. During the Middle Ages, however, he retained his significance as a Jewish symbol of strength which, through the increasing emphasis on Torah and learning, was understood as spiritual strength and piety.

[37] Levy, fig. 28.

With the growing acculturation of the Jews and the general decline of symbolism in art, the unicorn lost much of his significance, frequently he was hardly more than a decorative figure. Symbolic animal decoration lived on, however, in the synagogues of Eastern Europe, where we find the unicorn in a motif inspired by the Psalms. From there the motif migrated with other elements of synagogue art to the West. In the nineteenth century, in a period of reawakening pride in the Jewish historical past, the unicorn reappeared in what was regarded as an ancient tribal emblem.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Jews and Modern Capitalism

THE JEWS AND MODERN CAPITALISM. By *Werner Sombart.* Translated by *M. Epstein.* With an Introduction to the American Edition by *Bert F. Hoselitz.* The Free Press. Glencoe, Ill., 1951. Pp. xlii + 402.

THE distinguished historian of economics, Lujo Brentano, called Werner Sombart's *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* "one of the most deplorable publications of German scholarship" ("eine der betrüblichsten Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der deutschen Wissenschaft"; Brentano, *Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus* [Munich, 1916], pp. 158 ff.). Professor Hoselitz, in his "Introduction to the American Edition" of this work arrives at a very similar conclusion: "Thus we come to the conclusion that much of Sombart's *The Jews and Modern Capitalism* must be rejected or severely modified. His historical facts are often faulty or imaginary; his analysis based on them is often methodologically assailable; his social theory is defective, and his interpretation of Jewish religion, law, and philosophy deduced in considerable part from biased and incomplete sources; last but not least his views of national character and the 'racial' characteristics of Jews are derived from untenable theories or purely romantic speculation" (p. xxx).

"Why then print a new edition of the book?" is the logical question of its most recent editor. He offers three reasons: (1) "The original and the [English] translation [of 1913] have become very scarce" (p. xvii); (2) "In spite of its defects the work poses often in sharp and unusually keen and penetrating manner all the crucial questions of the role played by the Jews not merely in the development of capitalism but of human civilization in general" (p. xxxi); (3) "*The Jews and Modern Capitalism* is a classic which inaugurated a new era in the study of Jewish social relations" (*ibid.*).

No one will deny that the book, at the time of its publication and for many years thereafter, attracted the attention of wide circles of scholars and laymen and had a stimulating effect on historical research. There can be no doubt either that it created much confusion and supplied much material for anti-Semitic "scholarship" and propaganda. Sombart's technique was indeed so masterful that for about two decades he was able to appear as a speaker on the subject of his work in Jewish as well as Christian circles all over Germany and even beyond its boundaries, without his listeners and readers being able to tell whether he

was an anti-Semite or not. He definitely lifted the mask in 1933 when he became a full-fledged supporter of the Nazi philosophy. The latter fact is acknowledged by the reeditor of his work (p. xxxiii).

Professor Hoselitz's statement about the scarcity of the earlier editions may possibly apply to the first English translation only. To the reviewer's knowledge, there were fifteen impressions in German up to 1927 (probably some additional ones later), and French and Polish translations besides the English version. In his opinion, a new edition in the present form was unnecessary.

Sombart's work cannot be placed on the same level with Max Weber's *General Economic History* or Carl Menger's *Principles of Economics,* classics in the best meaning of the term, of which new English translations were published in the same series of works on economic history and theory. In spite of the fine general refutation in Professor Hoselitz' Introduction,[1] there is a very great danger of misunderstanding, misinterpretation, and misuse of Sombart's statements, many of which were definitively controverted long ago.

If the new editor was convinced of the necessity of re-publication—an opinion that will hardly find many supporters among scholars—a comprehensive apparatus of footnotes should have been added. Therein each individual problem in the light of more recent research, could have been discussed extensively and full references to the literature given. Only this would have proved of actual value for the student. The editor's "Bibliographical Note" (pp. xxxii-xlii), with its useful and interesting critical annotations, will, of course, not free the conscientious researcher from going back to the vast controversial literature on the several problems. Its limitation to the literature of the last fifteen years seems rather arbitrary. Though helpful, it is by no means a complete guide. For instance, the most important and almost complete bibliographical aid is missing, Alfred Philipp's *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben, eine antikritisch-bibliographische Studie* (Berlin University Ph.D. thesis; Strasbourg, 1929), in which the entire polemical literature concerning Sombart's book is fully listed and discussed. Published upon Sombart's suggestion and under his guidance, this summary-survey is not impartial. Wilhelm Roscher's classical study, "Die Stellung der Juden im Mittelalter, betrachtet vom Standpunkte der allgemeinen Handelspolitik" (1875), now available in S. Grayzel's English translation (*Historia Judaica,* VI [1944], pp. 13-26), also deserved mention. Nor is any reference found to Brentano's well-established, scholarly, and brilliant refutation in his abovementioned work.

No purpose would be served in continuing this list of desiderata. The student engaging in a discussion of Sombartian problems should

[1] See also H. R. Trevor-Roper in *Commentary,* XII (1951), pp. 89-91, to whom, however, the question did not occur as to what purpose a new edition of Sombart's book may serve.

not omit to give heed to Brentano's characterization (*op. cit.*, p. 160) of Sombart's *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*:

> The book is replete with the flippancies of an insolent man who considers himself a superman. With supreme contempt he blows the soap bubbles of his fancy into the face of his reader dumbfounding him by his overcleverness and demanding, moreover, that he accept these fancies as 'irrefutably correct' scholarly theses.[2]

Coming from a scholar of Lujo Brentano's caliber and presented with the full weight of thoroughly documented proof in a public assembly of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, this statement should have cautioned editor and publisher against the republication of a work of doubtful value, at least in its present form.

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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

THE JEWS OF CHARLESTON: A HISTORY OF AN AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY. By *Charles Reznikoff*. With the collaboration of *Uriah Z. Engelman*. The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1950. Pp. xii + 343.

NEW YORK, Newport, Easton (Pennsylvania), and Charleston are perhaps outstanding in American Jewish history as offering the richest stores of historical material chronicling the development of their Jewish communities from their beginnings to the present. This volume, published on the occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Beth

[2] "Das Buch ist voll der Frivolitäten eines sich als Übermensch fühlenden Übermütigen, der die Seifenblasen seiner Laune dem durch Geistreicheleien verblüfften Leser mit souveräner Verachtung ins Gesicht bläst und dazu von ihm verlangt, dass er seine Einfälle als unwiderleglich richtige wissenschaftliche Sätze annehme."

Cf. Brentano, *op. cit.*, pp. 198f.: "Dabei soll nicht geleugnet werden, dass, was Sombart in diesem Kapitel [chap. 14] geschrieben hat, lustig ist und dass man es angeregt liest. Das gilt auch für sein ganzes Buch. Aber das Kapitel ist zuchtlos, und zuchtlos ist sein ganzes Buch. Von dem zuchtlosen Geist in der Wissenschaft aber gilt dasselbe wie von der Schönheit des zuchtlosen Weibes (siehe Sprüche Salomonis XI, 22)."

[It cannot be denied that what Sombart wrote in this chapter [chap. 14] is amusing and that it makes stimulating reading. This applies to his whole book. However, the chapter is undisciplined as is the whole book. To this undisciplined spirit in scholarship applies what is said in Proverbs of the beauty of a woman without discretion (XI, 22).]

Elohim Synagogue, the fifth Jewish congregation to be established in the United States, is a welcome addition to the all too few histories of American Jewish communities that have made their appearance up to now. Fortunately, in Barnett A. Elzas' *The Jews of South Carolina* the authors had a rich mine of information from which they could build a solid foundation. Indeed, excellent as Elzas' history is, it was published forty-five years ago, and it is somewhat disappointing that research for the present volume should not have been able to contribute more new and vital material to add to our knowledge about this important Jewish community.

In many ways the Charleston community is unique in American Jewish history. At the end of the Revolution it might well have been claimed that Charleston was "the most cultured and wealthiest Jewish community in America." From 1697 on there is an unbroken history of Jews in Charleston. Certainly, no other Jewish community in the United States could demonstrate its continuous solidity and standing by such an astonishing coincidence as is pointed out in the Foreword. In 1750, when the Congregation Beth Elohim was founded, it was headed by Joseph Tobias; in 1950, when the congregation celebrated its Two Hundredth Anniversary, it was led by Thomas Jefferson Tobias, "an equally vigorous and interested descendant."

The background of South Carolina history shows broad and liberal principles of religious tolerance. Not only were Jews here free to establish their "churches," but here was the first community in the modern world where Jews voted as of right. It was the first government in which a Jew held office elected by Christian fellow citizens. Indeed, Elzas is well justified in claiming as he does in his beginning paragraph of *The Jews of South Carolina*:

> In not a few things has South Carolina set the pace to her sister States, but in nothing may she feel a more justifiable pride than in the broad and liberal principles on which she was founded.

The Constitution which John Locke (1669) wrote for the original South Carolina proprietors meant much to the Jews of Charleston. Locke's philosophy and liberalism are not sufficiently stressed in the present narrative of the first Jewish Charleston settlers even though the colony fell short of his standards. Locke had reasoned:

> As the magistrate has no power to impose by his laws, the use of any rites and ceremonies in any church, so neither has he any power to forbid the use of such rites and ceremonies as are already received, approved, and practiced by any church: because if he did so, he would destroy the church itself; the end of whose institution is only to worship God with freedom, after its own manner.

Further, he said:

> . . . Thus if solemn assemblies, observations of festivals, public worship, be permitted to any one sort of professors; all these things ought to be permitted to the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Quakers, and others, with the same liberty. Nay if we may openly speak the truth, and as becomes one man to another, neither pagan nor Mahumetan, nor Jew, ought to be excluded from the civil rights of the commonwealth, because of his religion. The Gospel commands no such thing . . .

Thus the Beth Elohim Congregation enjoyed a place and a standing in the community in early Colonial days which was enjoyed by no other synagogue of that time. It was recognized by the government of the State as having the free right to maintain an organization in order to practice its own religious faith, for the Locke Constitution proposed for "heathens, Jues and other disenters":

> . . . any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion shall constitute a church or profession to wch. they shall give some name to distinguish it from others.

In this atmosphere, as early as 1697, Jewish inhabitants were freely made citizens of the State; although, under the election law of 1721, they did not have the right to vote or hold office, later reforms corrected this injustice.

In a volume such as *The Jews of Charleston,* it is inevitable that inaccuracies and omissions should crop up.[1] It is regrettable that the heroic figure of Francis Salvador is underemphasized. Not only is his distinguished career as colonist, legislator, and Revolutionary leader notable South Carolina history, but he is famous as the first Jew heroically to give up his life on a Revolutionary battlefield, and he deserves more adequate treatment than he is given here.

In the Congregation Beth Elohim was evolved, a hundred and twenty-five years ago, the first indigenous attempt by American laymen to modernize Judaism. This was important Jewish religious history, as well as a significant chapter in American history, illustrating how American idealism and thinking penetrates into many divergent and even conflicting component elements of its population. It was the period when America came of age. Its intellectual leaders, like Emerson and Channing, were liberalizing, rationalizing, and Americanizing Christian

[1] For example, Israel Delieben is mentioned several times and is described as being from Prague. Lieben is a suburb of Prague where Jews lived, so that probably he is Isaac de Lieben, Isaac from Lieben. Moreover, there is no mention of Charles S. Kuh, a member of the South Carolina Legislature, whose career Professor Guido Kisch has described in his *In Search of Freedom* (pp. 126, 300 n. 20, and 315 n. 90).

religious thinking. Unitarianism, an American religious contribution, was a lusty pugnacious pioneer. Though perhaps in some ways amateurish and unsuccessful, the conflict within the synagogue illustrates how this Jewish community was part of the great current of American liberalism, struggling to free religious thinking from shackles imposed by outgrown philosophies.

Today, as the authors point out, new blood and old traditions have come with later generations to join and share with the descendants of its earlier Jews in Charleston's present. Thus, in its synagogues Orthodoxy, Conservative Judaism, and Reform Judaism flourish, united in the idealism of a common religion and municipal and national loyalty.

The communication of the "Eighty-four Israelites" published in the Charleston newspapers of 1832 deserves an honored place in more than a local American Jewish history. It voices the true democratic spirit of the Charleston Jews:

> We discountenance the idea of selecting an individual for office, either of profit or honor, upon the ground that such individual belongs to a particular sect, with a view of securing or of influencing the suffrages of such sect. . . .
>
> . . . While we are sensible that there are gentlemen among us, who would do no discredit to any station public or private, we will not support any man for office who is not selected by the public for himself, his character and his talents.

The history of Charleston Jewry is rich with many notable names—Cardozo, Carvalho, DaCosta, Tobias, Harby, and Mordecai. Many others, whose distinguished careers were achieved elsewhere, passed some of their formative years in this city—Mordecai Manuel Noah, Judah P. Benjamin, Bernard M. Baruch, and Ludwig Lewisohn, to name only a few.

The Civil War period was in many ways the end of the old Charleston and the beginning of a new era. As an integral part of the community the Jews of the city offered freely of their means and their youth to the sacrifice of war, and shared the difficulties of Reconstruction days with their neighbors as Charleston slowly recovered to take its place as one of our gracious modern American cities, perhaps a little more beautiful and with still a little more of the sedate romantic atmosphere than blesses other localities.

Rich in interesting illustrations, this volume is a welcome addition to American Judaica.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

תולדות היהודים במצרים וסוריה תחת שלטון הממלוכים. מאת א. שטרויס. כרך שני. ירושלים, מוסד קוק, תשי"א.

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT AND SYRIA UNDER THE MAMELUK DYNASTY. Volume II. By *Eli Strauss*. Pp. xxiv + 561.

THE second volume of Strauss's important work[1] covers the period of the so-called Castle (Arabic: *Burjī*) dynasty of the Mameluks, who were mostly of Circassian descent and who ruled Egypt from the year 1382 to the Turkish conquest in 1517. The new line of rulers marks a further consolidation of power in the hands of the pretorian guard, for the Mameluk sultan now lost nearly all independent authority and became a mere *primus inter pares*, without the right to designate his successor and without means to control his unruly troops. For the population of Egypt and Syria the change meant not just the continuation, but rather the acceleration of the relentless process of mismanagement and brutal oppression which in the end brought economic ruin, mental sterility, and physical depopulation to a prosperous, cultured, and thickly settled land. For the once flourishing Jewish community the results were, if anything, even more disastrous, because the Burjī sultans for the most part made it their policy to cultivate the goodwill of the Muslim clergy and to aid and abet its unceasing efforts to grind the faces of the hated "unbelievers" into the dust.

Fortunately for the historian, the source materials covering the Burjī period are more numerous and richer in content than those dealing with the preceding line of Mameluk rulers. The Arab chroniclers of the period wrote about events of which they themselves were eyewitnesses, and many of them occupied positions in the governmental or clerical hierarchy which gave them direct access to the fullest and most authentic information available. They had little critical sense, to be sure, but they made up for it by supplying a wealth of detail, so that their narrative often assumes the character of a diary, recording not only important political happenings, but also trivial day-by-day news, common gossip, etc. Hebrew sources comprise not only letters and documents, but also a number of travelogues by keen and intelligent Jewish observers. Most important, there is on hand a goodly number of sixteenth century responsa which, while written shortly after the fall of the Mameluks, yet undoubtedly reflect conditions that had changed but little from those prevailing under Burjī rule. And lastly, the historian has

[1] The first volume was reviewed in *Historia Judaica*, VIII (1946), pp. 200-204.

at his service a number of works by contemporary Western Christian pilgrims who described their impressions and experiences on their journeys to the holy places in Palestine.

The political history of the Burjī period was comparatively uneventful. The menace of the Crusaders and the Turks had passed, the latter not to become dangerous again until close to the conquest year of 1517. The Mongol tide, after Tamerlane's devastating excursion into Syria in 1400-1401, had also receded, and so the historian has little to occupy himself with except unending palace revolutions and internecine insurrections and wars. Dr. Strauss was therefore able to devote the greater part of this volume to the social and economic position of the Jewish community, its internal affairs, and its daily life and customs. The result is a broad panorama of wide scope, lavish detail, and absorbing interest.

With confident strokes of his brush Dr. Strauss outlines the complicated regulatory mechanism that was designed to control the Jewish subjects of the Mameluk sultans. The result was unending anxiety over the synagogue buildings, which were constantly being demolished by government wreckers, by mob rioters, or by sheer age, while the frantic Jews scurried around trying to secure—by entreaty, or bribe, or both—permission to rebuild or repair them, at the same time assuring hostile government inspectors that such restoration would not involve additional (and therefore forbidden) floor-space; heavy taxation subject to the whim of the rulers and frequent exactions of lump sum contributions as penalties on trumped up charges of political malfeasance or contempt of Islam; wide jurisdiction of Muslim courts over Jewish affairs and the constant pressure of their clerical and secular officials for greater powers over Jewish life and property; unceasing agitation by the clergy for the stringent enforcement of humiliating regulations, such as the one which compelled Jews to wear distinctive clothing in public places and to carry metal bells or tokens in the municipal bathhouses.[2] All these burdens were, of course, only additional to the economic handicaps of decreasing manufacture and commerce and shrinking population and national wealth.

No less thorough is the author's picture of the internal affairs of the Jewish communities under Burjī rule. The Jewish courts had to

[2] Dr. Strauss rightly stresses the fact that the idea of a Jewish ghetto was as familiar to the Muslim East as it was to the Christian West, and that Muslim jurists advocated it quite openly and insistently. In practice, however, Jews resident in Muslim cities tended to congregate in separate quarters for reasons of safety and convenience, anyway, so that only occasionally did Jewish individuals buy or lease homes outside of the Jewish settlement area. There was, therefore, no real need for the government to go to the trouble of enforcing the observance of the ghetto. Curiously enough, even Jewish and Christian converts to Islam tended to live in compact groups, separate from their native Muslim brethren.

struggle constantly to maintain their authority and to protect their interests. If a Jew was converted to Islam—and such defections were not infrequent[3]—his own property and his hereditary rights in the property of his kinfolk became subject to Muslim law which resulted in serious difficulties and losses to the Jewish community as a whole. Even purely Jewish property left by deceased Jews became a bone of contention: The Mameluk crown claimed a statutory share in it, and when no heirs-in-law were available, the government disputed the right of the Jewish community to seize the estate for charitable or other public purposes. While moral standards were high—much higher than those in Muslim society—human nature asserted itself nevertheless. Not only men, but women also occasionally engaged in sexual promiscuity, and in the wealthier homes female servants, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were a particular menace to the sanctity of the Jewish marital bond; even cases of rape were not entirely unknown. On the other hand, the status of the Jewish wife was on a very high plane,[4] so much so that at least on one occasion the ladies of the Jewish community successfully defied the edict of the rabbis forbidding the substitution of bathing at the public bath-house or in the river Nile for the statutory immersion in the *miqweh*—a reminder to the rabbis, perhaps, that *que femme veult, Dieu le veult.* And while polygamy was lawful (the edict of Rabbi Gershom was never recognized by Eastern Jewry), a provision in the

[3] Jewish individuals became Muslims not only under severe government pressure (particularly in the case of Jews who occupied posts in the service of the State), but also in order to escape punishment for real or imputed crimes, or for the sake of monetary gain, or out of sheer spite. Dr. Strauss devotes several pages to a discussion of a number of such converts of that period. It is curious that Jewish converts to Islam, as a group, seem to have been much inferior, on an intellectual plane, to their Christian counterparts in Europe, and that their new Muslim brethren regarded them with rather more intense suspicion and dislike than did their *vis-à-vis* in Europe.

[4] I wonder if Dr. Strauss really meant it when he wrote (p. 342) that "the Jewish woman was not as enslaved (משועבדת) as was her Muslim sister." A general revision of the commonly held notion that free women (as distinct from female slaves) in Islam were mere chattels of their fathers and husbands is long overdue. Muslim law in fact took great pains to protect the woman's personal and property rights, and its influence in this field of jurisprudence upon the regulations issued by Eastern rabbis remains yet to be investigated—it would probably make a highly interesting study. Of course, much depended, as it did at all times and in all countries, upon the social and economic environment. The inmate of a royal or an aristocratic harem obviously had but little control over her own affairs. On the other hand, the women of the middle and lower classes exercised wide authority over their own lives and over the lives of their husbands and sons, and Arabic literature is full of anecdotes of domineering wives and henpecked husbands, as well as of obedient and respectful sons tenderly solicitous of their mothers' welfare. A comparsion with the condition of women in medieval Europe, amongst the same social classes and on the same economic and cultural levels, would probably not redound to the discredit of Muslim society.

marriage contract in most cases enabled the wife to compel the husband either to do without additional wives (assuming that he could afford to maintain them), or else to divorce her first, with the full compensation stipulated in the contract.

The end of the fifteenth century brought to Egypt and Syria a wave of Spanish refugees, and to them Dr. Strauss devotes a separate chapter, in which he conscientiously shows both the positive and negative effects of their incorporation into the native Jewish settlements. They brought with them their learning (the greatest rabbinic scholar of the period, David ibn Abī Zimrā, was one of them), their energy, their knowledge of European politics and business, and their wide contacts with their kinsmen in other countries. They brought also some characteristics acquired from their Castilian persecutors, such as their sense of superiority and their determination to impose their customs and views upon their hosts, and they created by their very presence some serious economic and social problems. Yet in the end they fitted in well and became a valuable component of Eastern Jewry.

As in the case of the first volume of Dr. Strauss's work, the criticisms which this reviewer has to offer are of minor scope. The unsatisfactory Arabic transliteration is still the same, with no distinction made, for example, between the dotted "d" and the dotted "z". A great many Turkish and uncommon Arab names are left unvocalized, offering the reader no help as to their pronunciation. And the frequent references to the travelogues of Western pilgrims make one wonder somewhat uneasily whether Dr. Strauss might not have exaggerated their reliability—after all, to most of the Christian pilgrims the Muslim world was a closed book, whose language they did not understand and whose culture and religion they held in abhorrence. But these are, of course, merely non-essential minutiae. What is important is that having turned the last page of this second and final volume, the reader is conscious of having been given a thoroughly reliable, lavishly detailed, and expertly narrated picture of Jewish life in Egypt and Syria in the Mameluk period of their history.

The size of the second volume of the work made it necessary to leave out the all-important indices, and a printer's slip informs the reader that they will be included in a third volume, which will contain also a collection of *pièces justificatives*. That is very glad news, indeed, for a goodly proportion of the documentary texts will presumably represent hitherto unpublished material, thus adding even more to the debt of gratitude which all students of medieval history owe to Dr. Strauss for his learned and interesting work.

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Language of Swiss Jews

DIE SPRACHE DER SCHWEIZER JUDEN VON ENDINGEN UND LENGNAU. By Dr. *Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg.* Verlag Jüdische Buchgemeinde. Zürich, 1950. Pp. 15. [Reprinted from *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz.*]

AFTER the medieval expulsions at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Jews began once more to immigrate into Swiss territory, where they were allowed to settle exclusively in two small villages of the Surbtal. In 1702 there were 35 Jewish families in Endingen and Lengnau. In 1774 the Jewish population had grown to 108. By 1809 Endingen counted 131, Lengnau 84 Jewish households. Until the nineteenth century the Surbtal Jews lived in these two villages in complete isolation and did not at all participate in the cultural life of their surroundings. It is due to this historical peculiarity that they could preserve their original language intact and altogether uninfluenced by the dialect of their immediate neighbors. The Surbtal Jews designated their language as "yiddish-daitsh"; if it was interspersed with many Hebrew words, as was the practice particularly among horse dealers, it was called "loshen hakaudesh."

The present essay is devoted to a preliminary, yet thorough study of this Swiss-Jewish language. The author characterizes it as a "very well-preserved, distinctly western Yiddish." Today, the western-Yiddish dialect is practically extinct in Germany. Thus the Surbtal "Judendeutsch" is the only living remnant of this kind of Yiddish.

Scholars will appreciate, indeed, the fact that the author undertook a study of this dialect which is quickly disappearing also in Switzerland. She investigated the origin and names of the Surbtal Jews, collected oral and written specimens of their language, analyzed them phonetically as well as philologically, compared them with the known forms of western Yiddish, and scrutinized linguistic influences by some German dialects such as those of Suabia and the Elsas. Of eastern Yiddish elements she discovered in the Surbtal language only two instances: *sikke, Sikkes* instead of *sukke, Sukkes,* and the Slavic expression, *kouletsch,* designating a cake of fine wheaten flour, that Jews used to bake for the Shabuot holiday. From the fact "that both these expressions refer to religious cult" the author derives the conclusion that they were incorporated into the language by "especially industrious and pious religious functionaries from eastern Europe" (p. 9). Whether this is so in the first instance remains an open question. As for the second, the reviewer has his doubts: for the term *koláč* (cake) has no specifically religious implication and was widely used in central Europe for a kind of annual dues which a villein was bound to render to his lord for holding his land (*kolisch, kolitzsch*); see Christian Gottlob Haltaus, *Glossarium*

Germanicum Medii Aevi (Lipsiae, 1758), pp. 1107 f., 2210 f.; G. Kisch, *Leipziger Schöffenspruchsammlung* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 604, *s. v., kolisch.*

The brief essay is a valuable contribution to the linguistic and cultural history of Swiss Jewry.

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MODERN MYSTICISM

THE WAY TO GOD. By *Maxwell Silver.* The Philosophical Library. New York, 1950. x + 303 pp.

THE content of this very interesting book is *modern mysticism;* its method is *modern allegory.* The author appeals to contemporary man to turn to the theistic faith of the Prophets rather than to the rationalistic philosophy of the Greeks for discovery of "the Way to God." Dr. Silver is of the opinion that philosophers of religion of our time have paid too much attention to the scientific and intellectual approach to the meaning of God (the Greek) and too little attention to the intuitive, immediate approach (the Hebraic-Prophetic.)

Silver's travels on the "road to God" compel him to restate the modern position on the nature of man. Man becomes more spiritual when he becomes more human! What makes man spiritual are the *human differentia*—memory, creative thought, moral sensitiveness and moral suasion, creative art and prophecy.

The ultimate aim of science and religion, says our author, is the same, that is, the greater welfare of man. The ultimate aim of science is to enable man to understand and to control the forces of nature; the ultimate aim of religion is to teach man how to enjoy and how to make proper use of the gifts of nature after he comes into possession of those gifts. Religion gives man moral companionship in his universe that he may have the courage, hope, and confidence required to make life worth living despite its bitterness, disappointments, disillusionments, senescence, and death.

Unique is Dr. Silver's literary vehicle for unfolding his thesis. The theme is handled in a dialogue between "Jeremiah," the spokesman for Hebraism, and "Aristotle," the spokesman for Hellenism. The allegory and parable are by no means unreal when seen in the context of the thesis. The author's argument carries weight throughout and never loses its immediacy and relevancy. Mankind's unfinished business is the union of Hebraism and Hellenism, of moral pragmatism and scientific humanism.

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Jewish Education

JEWISH EDUCATION REGISTER AND DIRECTORY: 1951. American Association for Jewish Education. New York, N. Y., 1951. 123 pp.

FROM Jabneh to the American Jewish educational system is a long way, not only in point of time but also as regards problems. The problem of survival is now being phrased in terms of "for what?" and "what kind?" It is in this connection that the American educational system is going through some soul-searching, and the Jewish school system within that environment is also being subjected to analysis and debate.

Naturally enough, the first pre-requisite of such analysis is the possession of facts and figures. The sermonic discourse of some drifts off into vague generalities, while the exhortations of others appeal more to the emotions than to understanding. The book under review, therefore, becomes the most basic essential for any future consideration of Jewish education in America. Here are presented the diagrams, the charts, and the discussions on which evaluations can be made and against which ideas must be checked.

There is no section on curricula, but other than Dr. Israel Chipkin's reference to Dr. Dushkin's essay on the "common elements," the book does not profess to provide suggestions in this area. In a real sense, it cannot; it is enough to point to trends in schools without pointing out why.

The reviewer assumes that this volume is the forerunner of future issues. It is hoped that these future issues will elaborate on the *real* problem: What is an *American Jewish* education?

Irving Levitas

Kansas City, Missouri

Bibliography

BUECHERKUNDE ZUR DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE, By *Günther Franz.* Verlag von R. Oldenbourg. München, 1951. 279 pp.

THE present volume is intended to offer to the student, beginner as well as scholar, a bibliographical guide to German history. On 237 pages 3000 bibliographical items are listed, in which references to 7000 individual titles are given. Of the sum-total of ten thousand books and articles seventeen concern Jews or Jewish history. The main section, "Juden," forms a subsection of the central heading "Rassen. Bevölkerung" (p. 42 f.). Such a classification should no longer be current in Germany. Of Jewish encyclopedias, *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jüdisches Lexikon,* and

Winninger's *Grosse Jüdische Nationalbiographie* are mentioned (the reference to Winninger on p. 42 is incorrect), as are also the historical works by Graetz, Dubnow, Caro, G. Kisch (*The Jews in Medieval Germany*). In the general item, "Sonderwissenschaften" (p. 26, no. 117), the keyword, "Judenfrage," refers the reader exclusively to V. Eichstädts' *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Judenfrage* (no. 343), a notorious Nazi publication of 1938 replete with anti-Semitic annotations. W. Zuncke's dissertation on the Jewish policy in the Frankish-German Reich, another Nazi publication that was considered mediocre even by Nazi scholars (see R. Ruth, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, German. Abt., LXII [1942], p. 510f.), bears the asterisk indicating an "especially rich bibliography." Logically enough, the infamous publications of the Nazi-endowed Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschland, *Forschungen zur Judenfrage* are listed (by the way, nine volumes appeared, not eight as stated under no. 345). The *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, vols. I-VII (1929-37) received no mention. Nor is reference found to the important encyclopedic work, *Germania Judaica*. The title of Sombart's well-known book is incorrectly given, as is also the number of editions (the 15th appeared in 1927). The *Monatsschrift* (no. 344) ran to 83, not 82 volumes. G. Liebe's anti-Semitic volume, *Das Judentum in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (no. 556) is not forgotten, nor is a reference to Corti's (pre-Nazi) book on the house of Rothschild missing (no. 2588). True, some of the most scandalous Nazi publications such as those by Wilhelm Grau, Hellmut Schramm, and Peter Deeg are not included.

The above description can hardly leave the reader with the impression that the author actually fulfilled his promise in the Preface, namely, "to make every effort to be fair in selection as well as evaluation, and not to permit personal predilections and interests to be pushed to the fore." From such a selection of literature no student or scholar can receive impartial guidance to the study of the history of German Jewry. Indeed, an author who, in the service of Nazism and racism, wrote in 1937 the essay, "Der Jude im katholischen Kirchenrecht" (*Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft*, II, 157-166) is obviously unfit to present the scholarly reader with a fair, representative selection of literature on Jews and Jewish history.

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BOOK NOTES

By GUIDO KISCH
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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

THE AGE OF FAITH: A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION, CHRISTIAN, ISLAMIC, AND JUDAIC, FROM CONSTANTINE TO DANTE, A. D. 325-1300. By *Will Durant*. Simon and Schuster. New York, 1950. Pp. xviii + 1196.

"THE AGE OF FAITH," continuing the well-known author's "Story of Civilization," surveys the medieval achievements and modern significance of Christian, Islamic, and Jewish life and culture from Constantine to Dante. The "integral method" of the work aims to give a unified picture of medieval life: to let the reader, for example, see that Christian philosophy was greatly indebted to Jewish and Moslem philosophy; to view the Crusades not as the assault of civilization upon barbarism, but as "the stimulating contact of a young culture with one of far greater maturity and subtlety." In this spirit the book presents a picture of economic life, politics, law, government, religion, morals, manners, education, literature, science, philosophy, and art as developed under the impact of the three great religions during an epoch that saw vital contests among them.

Book III, "Judaic Civilization," surveys the Talmud and summarizes the contributions of medieval Jewry to religion, morals, commerce, finance, science, and philosophy. A special chapter is devoted to medieval "anti-Semitism." All these discussions are based on secondary sources, principally the well-known standard works by Abrahams, Graetz, Baron, A. A. Neuman, and Waxman, and on encyclopedic works such as the *Cambridge Medieval History* and the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. The author seeks to explain trends, causes, and consequences, and to find in events a logic and a sequence that may illumine present-day historical events and developments. The result is a highly readable story, a simplified historical picture that is at times over-simplified. Not altogether free from major as well as minor errors it, nevertheless, will appeal to the general reader. This being the main purpose of the book, the author has attained his goal with great skill and considerable success.

CONTEMPORARY JEWRY

CONTEMPORARY JEWRY: A SURVEY OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITION. By *Israel Cohen*. Methuen and Co. Ltd. London, 1950. Pp. vii + 410.

ISRAEL COHEN, a well-known student of Jewish history and Zionist affairs, published in 1914 on the eve of World War I a volume called

Jewish Life in Modern Times. Owing to the fundamental changes produced by that event he rewrote and revised it for a second edition issued in 1929. Now, two decades later, the book has been completely rewritten and given a new title. These two decades have witnessed changes and developments in the fortunes and misfortunes of the Jews far more radical and epoch-making than have occurred for many centuries.

The volume portrays modern Jewish life in its multifarious aspects. It describes the new world-wide dispersion of the Jewish people, its communal, religious, and other organizations, its "solidarity in action," its purely Jewish cultural creations as well as its own original contributions to all branches of general culture and progress, its occupational distribution and its pioneering work in the economic development of various countries, its tides of migration from regions of oppression to heavens of refuge, its struggle for civil equality and the services rendered by its members to many states in both government and defense.

The book is based on a voluminous and widely scattered material, reaching from Jewish encyclopedias to detailed monographs, from official reports of Jewish organizations to newspaper and magazine articles. With all respect for the varied sources consulted, a more discriminating selection should have been applied. To give only a few examples: Arthur Sakheim's *Das jüdische Element in der Weltliteratur* (1924) has little value for research; Mordecai Soltes' *The Yiddish Press* (1923), a pioneer work at its publication, was to be supplemented by Chaikin; while James Parkes' Penguin-Book, *An Enemy of the People: Anti-Semitism*, no more than a superficial survey, is given as a source, the same author's excellent volume, *The Emergence of the Jewish Problem* 1878-1939, has not been used. Nor is there any reference to such books on anti-Semitism as *Essays on Anti-Semitism* (ed. by K. S. Pinson, second ed., 1946); Paul W. Massing's *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (1949); *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease* (ed. by E. Simmel, 1946); and, above all, the Nuremberg Nazi war criminals trial material. There is no need to go further into a critical examination of "the principal works that have been consulted in the preparation of the volume."

The book suffers from the disparate value of its sources. On the one hand, much conventional and familiar material is included, e.g., a list of Jewish Nobel prize winners, Jewish contributions to civilization. On the other hand, there is much that is to the point and not so familiar, e.g., interesting, though not full, information on Russian Jewry, and the chapter on Jewish attempts to secure redress at the Paris conference in 1946. Although the author's approach is more apologetic than analytical, and his statements are not free from errors and misconceptions, the volume presents in easily readable form historical facts and sociological developments, the discussion of which will be welcomed by the interested layreader.

Synagogue History

HISTORY OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE LONDON 1690-1940. By *Cecil Roth.* Edward Goldston and Son Ltd. London, 1950, Pp. xiv + 311.

THE history of the Great Synagogue of London is more than the story of the origins and development of an important religious institution. The Great Synagogue was the parent body not only of the Ashkenazic community in the British metropolis but of the Jewish community in Great Britain and the British Empire. It cooperated in the establishment of most of the important institutions of Anglo-Jewry. The chief rabbinate of the British Empire, for example, was merely a development of the office of its spiritual leader. Outstanding families and individuals, who played a significant part in the Jewish world as well as in the world at large (e.g., the Rothschilds and the Goldsmids), participated eminently in its management. The historian of British Jewry unfolds before our eyes a lively picture of all phases of development of this synagogue, he portrays its religious leaders and lay heads, and describes the impact of religious movements and political events on Jewish life in the synagogue and outside it. The story ends with a black-bordered page noting the tragic destruction of the historic building as the result of a German air-raid on London, on May 11, 1941.

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MOSES HESS: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Edmund Silberner.* (Burt Franklin Bibliographical Series, No. 4). Burt Franklin (170 Broadway). New York, 1951. Pp. viii + 65. 4°.

NEITHER the personality of Moses Hess nor his work nor the significance of either for the history of Socialism and Zionism can be adequately appreciated unless a satisfactory inventory of all the widely dispersed, partly yet unknown and partly very rare writings of "the Communist Rabbi" aid the task of the scholar. None of the existing monographs on Hess includes an extensive bibliography, much to the regret of all those interested in the fascinating personality of this early "Zionist" thinker.

Professor Edmund Silberner, whose essay "Moses Hess," in the April issue of this journal received wide attention and favorable comment, is especially qualified to attempt to fill that serious gap in the Hess literature. He has discharged his task with great diligence and rare skill.

The present volume, an offset reproduction of the original typescript, is divided into three parts: (1) the writings of Hess (except his correspondence); (2) Hess' correspondence (letters by and to Hess);

(3) a selective list of publications on Hess. The first is arranged chronologically as far as the dates of publication could be ascertained. The original works as well as their reprints and translations are listed. Translations into Hebrew were not included, as they may be found in G. Kressel's bibliography, *Social Science in Hebrew* (Tel Aviv, 1939).

The comparatively numerous anonymous publications by Hess presented considerable difficulty to the bibliographer. Through his studies he was able to attribute to Hess even some unsigned articles. In each instance the reasons for the identification are given and pertinent Hess literature is cited. In several cases Dr. Silberner found contemporary statements pointing to Hess' authorship. In addition, he offers information on the location of rare Hess items which in connection with welcome annotations, may well lead to new discoveries.

The volume is an important contribution to and a very useful aid in research on Moses Hess, for which all those working on the subject owe a debt of gratitude to the author.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JEWISH MUSIC. By *Alfred Sendry*. Columbia University Press. New York, 1951. Pp. xli + 404. 4°.

DR. SENDRY'S monumental work fills a definite need for a comprehensive reference in the field of Jewish musicology. It supplies an impressive corpus of almost ten thousand titles in the literature on Jewish music: source material, books, essays, articles, notes, etc., written by Jews and non-Jews from biblical times to the present day. It also contains a systematic catalogue of liturgic and secular Jewish music, both published and still in manuscript.

In the pages of this journal a full appraisal of this splendid product of tireless and meticulous research is not possible. The more modest aim of this note is to direct the attention of historians to it. In the extensive Introduction to the volume they will find a stimulating discussion of what is to be understood under the term "Jewish music." The author also delves into the origins and earliest sources of a bibliography of Jewish music offering a chronologically arranged historical survey and an account of the aesthetic and sociological aspects of the subject.

Needless to add, the work is a "must" for every Jewish library.

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Frank E. Manuel, *The Age of Reason.* Cornell University Press. Ithaca, New York, 1951. ix and 146 pp.

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VOL. XIV APRIL, 1952 PART 1

Historia Judaica

PAUL NATHAN AND HIS WORK FOR EAST-EUROPEAN AND PALESTINIAN JEWRY

On the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of His Death

By Ernst Feder
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Youth and Political Activity

THE year 1933 marked the end of a period of about two hundred years of German-Jewish history, an epoch that witnessed a long line of eminent Jewish-German personalities and their notable works and produced a type of German patriot and representative of German culture who at the same time was a conscientious defender of legitimate Jewish interests.

Paul Nathan, who was born in Berlin on April 25, 1857 and died six years before the outbreak of National Socialist barbarism, was a perfect example of this type.[1] His father, Wilhelm Nathan (1809-1877), was a banker; his mother, Henriette Cohn (1819-1904), was a sister of Baron Moritz von Cohn (1812-1900) a banker of Dessau. Moritz and Henriette Cohn were the children of Heymann Cohn (1777-1863), who in 1811 had founded the I. H. Cohn bank in An-

[1] The present study is based on the author's biography, *Politik und Humanität: Paul Nathan. Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin, 1929). The writer, as executor of Nathan's will, was able to use for his work all the papers and documents of the estate.

halt under a charter from Duke Leopold III of Anhalt-Dessau. Heymann Cohn later became administrator of the state treasury of Anhalt-Dessau, his son Moritz was court banker of Anhalt, honorary citizen of Dessau, Baron and Excellency, and later also Prussian court banker and administrator of the private fortunes of the emperors, William I and Frederick III.

Paul Nathan thus was the son, nephew, and grandson of big bankers. However, nothing during his whole life interested him less than commercial and financial matters. His desire was to study; he liked philosophy and literature. But his father decided that he was to become a merchant and make money. So he began his apprenticeship in the Berlin office of an oil company, working during the day and spending the evenings in studying texts and foreign languages. But mercantile activity made such demands on him that he nearly had a nervous breakdown and had to give up his other interests.

In 1877 Paul Nathan's father died. Immediately the young man gave up his position, intending to devote himself exclusively to scholarship and politics. He planned to meet his living expenses by writing, for his father had lost his fortune in speculative ventures and had left his son nothing but a pile of law suits.

Soon Nathan found work as reporter and collaborator at the democratic Berlin papers, *Berliner Bürgerzeitung* and *Berliner Börsenkurier*. His first article was on Count Rochambeau, commander of the French troops in the American War of Independence. He became a student at the University of Berlin, taking courses in public law, history of law, Prussian history, and economics. Already a keen critic, he wrote to a friend: "We have had a constitution only a short time, and the people who wrote books on Prussian public law since the end of the eighteenth century were reactionaries who wanted to demonstrate the sanctity of the old reactionary constitution."

In 1880 Nathan moved from Berlin to Heidelberg, where he studied archaeology, old French and German lan-

guage and literature. His doctorial thesis was entitled, "Studies on Gargantua and Pantagruel by Francois Rabelais." The young author's manuscript of 234 pages illuminated the political background of that grandiose work. The University considered the study "an enrichment of scholarship." Having passed the examination with honors, the young doctor returned to Berlin.

Was he to remain faithful to scholarship? Would he devote himself to politics, which always attracted his liberal mind? An acquaintance forced the decision. Nathan met Ludwig Bamberger, who introduced him to his friend Eduard Lasker. The two liberal parliamentary leaders, prominent members of the Reichstag, after examining the young acolyte, decided that he did not belong to the scholarly world but to politics. Lasker subjected him to a test. For the approaching election campaign he was asked to write a pamphlet on: "What is Liberalism?" Three days later Nathan returned. He had not written a word; first he wanted to learn what Liberalism was and then to write about it. Lasker, laughing, put both hands on Nathan's shoulders and said: "Young man, I like you."

The young doctor entered German politics under the flag of liberalism. German liberalism was at that moment at a crossroads. Bismarck had founded the German Reich with the help of the Liberal Party and for a decade had conducted the government with that party's aid. Lasker (1829-1884) and Bamberger (1823-1899), both Jews, had had an important role in the enactment of the basic laws of the new Reich, Lasker on the judiciary and Bamberger, perhaps the finest brain in the Reichstag, on the founding of the Reichsbank and the establishment of the gold standard. When Bismarck shifted to a reactionary policy, the left wing of the Liberals, including Lasker and Bamberger, separated from the Party and joined the Progressive Party, resolved to "oppose the Iron Chancellor with a resistance of steel." Paul Nathan participated in that fight with passionate interest. He became a contributor to, and later co-editor of, the weekly

Die Nation, the best political review Germany ever had, founded in 1883 by a friend of Bamberger, Theodor Barth (1849-1909).[2] For decades he was a member of the staff, writing the "Political Review of the Week" every Friday and contributing essays, articles, and notes. A profound political mind, he was not merely a politician. For him politics were a part of the general social structure. He was not a specialist. He did not timidly separate art, scholarship, and politics; to him all these domains were parts of flowing life. A paragraph of the obituary he wrote for the famous painter, Adolph Menzel, characterizes his point of view: "I cannot separate Menzel from Helmholtz, Mommsen or Virchow, nor from Bismarck or Wilhelm I."

The year 1888 brought an important political decision. William I died. The liberal Crown Prince Frederick William ascended the throne as Frederick III but after a reign of only 99 days succumbed to cancer of the throat. The liberal and human ideas of Emperor Frederick III were well known. As Crown Prince he had made the statement during the anti-Semitic campaigns of the court chaplain Adolph Stoecker, in 1881, that henceforth was often quoted: "Anti-Semitism is the shame of the century." He had been in personal contact with liberal leaders, especially with Ludwig Bamberger who, during the 99 days, was his secret counselor, as is proved by the secret diaries of this parliament leader.[3] The death of Emperor Frederick on June 15, 1888 put an end to all hopes of a liberal monarchy in Germany. For a whole generation, until 1918, German liberalism was relegated to the role of a weak opposition.

The *Nation* and its editor, Nathan, continued the fight, but all efforts and sacrifices were in vain. Was it not foolish to continue political work under such circumstances?

[2] Ernst Feder, *Theodor Barth und der demokratische Gedanke* (Gotha, 1919).

[3] Ernst Feder, *Bismarcks grosses Spiel: Die geheimen Tagebücher Ludwig Bambergers* (Frankfurt am Main, 1932; 2nd ed., 1933). After the rise of National Socialism in Germany all copies of this work were destroyed by the Nazis.

Nathan, then in his forties, put this question to himself and answered it in a letter to his friend August Herzog: "I personally am completely convinced that I am the famous hero of Cervantes. To participate in politics in Germany, in a non-political nation such as ours, is nonsense."

In 1899 Nathan suffered a heavy loss in the death of Ludwig Bamberger. "Life," he wrote to his friend, the art historian Carl Aldenhoven, "may bring me many other things in the future, but no such relation as this unique contact between a younger man and one who had had such a rich life." At the bier, resting in the library of Bamberger's home, the great historian Theodor Mommsen delivered the funeral address and then collapsed weeping. What a tribute to Bamberger were those tears!

That same year Nathan published the first volume of Ludwig Bamberger's *Memoirs*, one of the most valuable works of political reminiscences of the nineteenth century.[4] Two years later, the common tombstone of the friends, Bamberger and Lasker, was unveiled in the old cemetery on the Schoenhauser Allee, in Berlin. The inscription, composed by Nathan, read: "Here rest, joined in death, those who in life were united by a common zeal for Germany's unity and liberty." Mommsen, whose opinion had been asked, objected to this text: "Under our pseudo-constitutional absolutism, I would not dare to fix in stone Germany's unity and liberty."

Nathan, at the side of Theodor Barth, carried on the fight for liberty and liberalism, which, in view of increasing reaction and the indifference of the liberal bourgeoisie, grew more and more difficult. In 1903 he left the *Nation*.

THE *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* AND RUSSIAN JEWRY

Shortly after this decision Nathan's cousin, the Baroness Julie von Cohn-Oppenheim, died. The only child of Baron

[4] Paul Nathan, *Erinnerungen von Ludwig Bamberger* (Berlin, 1899). In 1913 Nathan also edited the *Gesammelte Schriften von Ludwig Bamberger* (5 vols.).

von Cohn, she had inherited a large fortune. She had designated as her heirs the City and the Jewish community of Dessau, imposing on them the obligation to dedicate the fortune to humanitarian foundations. In her will she had said: "I forbid any preference to one or another religion because it is incompatible with my ideas of the duties imposed on man by the commandment of neighborly love."

From his cousin Paul Nathan received a legacy that gave him complete financial independence. He took advantage of this to serve the Jewish cause. Until then he had remained rather removed from Jewish matters. He did not participate in religious life; he did not know Hebrew. But he fought anti-Semitism with the same energy with which he had opposed injustice and reactionary attitudes of every form. He acted, not in defense of Jewish interests, but in defense of human rights.

In the beginning of the twentieth century a change occurred in Nathan's position. Literary activity as such had never seemed sufficient to him. Now he saw the possibility of great creative work in behalf of Jewish causes. In the preceding decades he had attended various "ritual murder" trials: 1882 in Tisza-Eszlár, Hungary, and ten years later in Xanten-Cleve, Rhineland. The reports he had published of these trials were models of clarity, conciseness, and objectivity.[5] In these cases, too, he was not interested in the defense of the Jews, but in the struggle for rights and civilization. In the same manner he served the "Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism." This Committee published in 1896 two valuable studies from Nathan's pen which were pioneer work in the field. The first, mentioned by Theodor Herzl in his *Judenstaat*, referred to the incidence of crime among the Jews in Germany, demonstrating that it corresponded

[5] *Der Prozess von Tisza-Eszlar: Ein antisemitisches Kulturbild* (Berlin, 1892).—*Der jüdische Blutmord und der Freiherr von Wackerbarth-Linderode, Mitglied des Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses: Ein antisemitisch-parlamentarisches Kulturbild* (Berlin, 1892).— *Xanten-Cleve: Betrachtungen zum Prozess Buschhoff* (Berlin, 1892).

exactly to the incidence of crime in the social strata to which the Jews belonged.[6] The second dealt with "The Jews as Soldiers," analyzing the part German Jews had played in the wars of 1813, 1864, 1866, and 1870-71.[7] All research work later carried on in these two fields of statistics was based on Nathan's investigations.

These special studies in the Jewish field suggested a general inquiry into the Jewish problem and Jewish misery. Remonstrations against unjust attacks did not satisfy Nathan's constructive mind. His study trips to Turkey and Asia Minor in connection with increasing German influence in these regions gave him the idea to found, in Jewish as well as German interests, a German-Jewish organization with educational institutions in the Near East, corresponding to the organizations founded by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. In Turkey such work could be done only under the aegis of a European government. Accordingly, he asked the German Foreign Office if the Reich would lend its protection to such an organization and its schools.[8] The answer was in the affirmative, and Nathan began practical work immediately.

On May 20, 1901, the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden" was founded in Berlin. This organization, whose name was often misunderstood, was a national agency of the German Jews for immediate aid to the Jews of eastern Europe and the Near East. The two men who founded the Hilfsverein, Paul Nathan and his friend James Simon, the "royal

[6] *Die Kriminalität der Juden in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1896).

[7] *Die Juden als Soldaten* (Berlin, 1896).

[8] In a complete misunderstanding of this situation, the historian Simon Dubnow maintains: "It is now an established fact that Paul Nathan acted in accordance with instructions from the German Foreign Office and that as a representative of the Hilfsverein he enjoyed the support of German diplomats in Turkey"; *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, X (Berlin, 1929), p. 488, n. 1. Paul Nathan, who, during the existence of the German Empire, was always sharply opposed to imperial politics, never needed the support of German diplomats, nor did he act "in accordance with instructions from the German Foreign Office."

merchant," a well-known philanthropist and art connoisseur, were its leaders for three decades, until their deaths in 1927 and 1932 respectively.

The Hilsverein provided constructive aid to an extent which, before the First World War, had never been offered by any private humanitarian organization. The methods applied marked a new epoch in assistance to the Jews. The three objectives of the Hilfsverein were: (1) to offer material help, (2) to organize emigration, and (3) to create educational institutions. The Hilfsverein played a decisive role in these three fields because its efforts were directed not toward treating symptoms but curing the illness itself.

In pogroms and other emergencies aid was extended not only by the methodical distribution of money, food, and medicines, but also in the rehabilitation of the victims through their reintegration into the economic structure and by intervention on behalf of the victims with governments and chiefs of state.

In 1903 a terrible emergency arose. During the Easter week, the well-known massacres of Kishineff and later those of Homel resulted in the murder of many Jews and enormous property damage. The Hilfsverein intervened immediately and even launched very effective protective measures, until then unknown to Eastern European Jewry.

When the disturbances provoked by military disaster culminated in the Russian Revolution of October, 1905, there was reason to believe that once more the Jews would be used as scapegoats. The Hilfsverein tried to prevent this. Paul Nathan went to Russia, where he stayed three weeks, visiting Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Odessa. He carried on negotiations with Prime Minister Witte and the Minister of Home Affairs, Prince Obolenski, warning them of coming pogroms. Practical measures were discussed to protect the Jews not only temporarily but permanently and to obtain for them complete equality of rights, legal and otherwise. A few of Nathan's notes may illustrate these negotiations.

WITTE: We are in the midst of revolution. We can solve the Jewish problem only little by little; otherwise, bloodshed will occur.

NATHAN: Civilization costs blood. Right and left, the Jews are being attacked. Russia is again faced with pogroms.

Witte admitted this and remarked: The former government was asinine to let such a situation develop. But now we have to face it.

PRINCE OBOLENSKI: Referring to the Jewish problem, the whole Cabinet unanimously agrees with the aim of complete equality of rights. But the practical solution is difficult. Immediately after the pogroms the Government should have granted full equality. But now it is much more difficult. In many cases the Jews are in the first line of the revolutionary movement.

Nathan pointed out the vicious circle of this argument. The Jews are revolutionary because they are mistreated; if you wait until they are quiet, without changing their status, there will never be peace.

In 1906 Paul Nathan again went to Russia; this time he stayed two months. Witte had been dismissed, the Duma, the Parliament he had created, was in peril. The official paper of the new Prime Minister Stolypin was inciting the people against the Jews. In July, new pogroms occurred in Odessa. The following notes are taken from Nathan's negotiations with Stolypin on August 20, 1906, on Apothecary Island, near Petersburg:

STOLYPIN: The previous governments made incredible and foolish mistakes in dealing with the Jewish problem. Without doubt, full emancipation must be effected. But this can be done only slowly and with the help of the Duma.

NATHAN: But other measures of great importance are taken by the government without the Duma. Here claims of urgent necessity of justice are in question.

STOLYPIN: I am proceeding by all means in accordance with law and justice.

NATHAN mentioned the pogroms.

STOLYPIN: Those events do not prove that the government denies justice to the Jews.

NATHAN: The public opinion of the civilized world is convinced that the Jews are not accorded justice.

STOLYPIN: Every case brought to my notice is given my attention.

Nathan then discussed a series of concrete questions with a view to eliminating immediately certain situations prejudicial for the Jewish population. Five points were involved: (a) permission to live in the country; (b) permission to assume directorial positions; (c) abolition of restrictions against privileged merchants; (d) permission to sell brandy; (e) permission to establish Jewish schools.

Afterwards, Nathan discussed the same points in detail with the Minister of Finance Kokowzew. The latter became angry when Nathan made specific charges demonstrating the co-responsibility of the government, which the Minister could not refute.

In general, Nathan appeared to the Russian ministers, as one of them admitted, as an honest mediator who wanted to create, within a restricted sphere, peace between government and people. True, the sector of the Russian problem in which he was interested was a small one, but it was directly connected with the vital questions of the great Empire. Some of the statesmen with whom he negotiated may well have felt that this private person from Germany, who so intelligently and convincingly recommended humanity as the best political medicine, had a remedy for the illness of the gigantic Russian organism.[9]

Nathan won the confidence of Prime Minister Witte to such a degree that the Russian statesman, on each of his visits to Germany, met with him. In his memoirs Witte compared Nathan to the famous deputy of the Duma, Winawer, well

[9] The situation was clearly explained in Nathan's lecture *Die russische Revolution und die russischen Juden* (Berlin, 1906).

known for his courage and for the uncompromising spirit with which he fought for equal rights for the Jews.[10]

The intervention of Paul Nathan was not in vain. On December 31, 1906, the Council of Ministers submitted to the Tsar the draft of a manifesto designed to eliminate the worst discriminations against the Jews. That draft revealed the impact of the conversations with the representative of the Hilfsverein. The Tsar rejected the modest proposals, thus blocking, eleven years before the end of Tsarism, the beginning of a reform which perhaps would have been useful, not only for the Jews, but for the regime as well.

Aid for Rumanian Jewry

Next to Russia, Rumania was the European country in which the Jews were oppressed in the most unscrupulous manner. The peasants who revolted in March, 1907, were led to believe their troubles were due to the machinations of the Jews and were thus encouraged to massacre them. Paul Nathan at once journeyed to Bucharest and there organized, with the help of the German Minister Kiderlen-Waechter, a vast relief project. In conversations with Prime Minister Sturdza and Minister Bratianu, both promised measures to alleviate the situation. The riots were quickly suppressed, but it was not possible to obtain the equal status for Rumanian Jews that had been guaranteed by the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

The First Balkan War, which began in October, 1912, and which caused extreme suffering on the part of the Jewish population, brought Nathan again to Southern Europe. Accompanied by the English delegate, Adler, and by Dr. Bernhard Kahn, general secretary of the Hilfsverein, he arrived in Belgrade on January 12, 1913. That same night, immediately upon his arrival, he had his first conversation with the interested circles on the situation of Serbian Jewry, the extent of the damage, and the possibility of help. The next night

[10] *Mémoires du Comte Witte* (Paris), p. 343.

the delegation went to Sofia. A relief organization was set up there with a central committee in the capital, numerous local committees, loan offices to which Bulgarian Jews had to contribute, and employment agencies as well as such for medical aid. Nathan met with the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Commerce, Transportation, and Home Affairs and, finally with the Queen.

He also wanted to speak personally with King Ferdinand, but the German Minister in Sofia, Von Below, considered this impossible because the King was unapproachable. Nevertheless, the meeting took place. The conversation was of a frank and intimate character, satisfactory to both participants. The King promised equality for the Jews. The next day he sent his private secretary to Nathan, asking him to appease his coreligionists in the conquered territories and dissuade them from emigrating, for complete equality of rights would be granted them.

That same day the delegation journeyed to the theatre of war. Economic, financial, and medical help were organized in Salonika, of whose 140,000 inhabitants 50 per cent were Jews. These had suffered terribly because of the war. King George of Greece, too, received Nathan in audience, at which he pledged full equality of rights for the Jews and promised to support the relief work of the Hilfsverein. There then followed conferences in Constantinople and emergency measures for the innumerable refugees.

After a month a relief organization for war victims was established. The delegation issued a "Report on the Balkan Relief Work." It had done an exemplary piece of work: intervention in the midst of war, the combination of all aid organizations in one entity with a Central Committee in Berlin and special committees in the principal cities of the affected countries, rapid constructive help, not only by distribution of money and food, but principally by rehabilitation of the displaced persons. Numerous organizations and many individuals had cooperated to achieve this result. But the leading idea, the conception of the plan, and the principal part in its execution belonged to Paul Nathan.

Emigration of East European Jews

The Hilfsverein also played an important role in organizing Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe.[11] What Rabbi Ludwig Philippson in Bonn had envisaged in 1846, " a large Hilfsverein for the emigration of Russian Jews," now became a reality. The responsible leaders of the Hilfsverein felt that machinery for relief and rehabilitation organized on a permanent basis would be far more efficient than the work of the haphazardly created committees of the past. Hence they proceeded to elaborate an ambitious plan for regulating Jewish migration.

The program included the following points: establishment of special information bureaus for prospective emigrants; protection of travelers en route, especially at border stations and ports of embarkation; the securing of low travel rates from railway companies and steamship lines; negotiations with the authorities in transit countries; the persuasion of organizations in the countries of immigration to receive newcomers and provide work for them; instruction of emigrants in the language of the country of immigration.

The Hilfsverein called an International Jewish Migration Conference at Frankfurt am Main for December 4-5, 1904, which was attended by 102 delegates, representing 33 communities, organizations, and committees in Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, and other countries. Among the groups was the World Zionist Organization. American Jewry was not represented.

The Conference decided to establish a Central Office of Migration Affairs to be affiliated with the Hilfsverein. This Central Office was set up in Berlin on December 11, 1904 with Paul Nathan as chairman and Bernhard Kahn as executive secretary. On December 16, it published the first issue of an information bulletin on migration, and by the beginning of 1905 it had organized 24 emigrant aid committees

[11] Cf. Mark Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration since* 1800 (Philadelphia, 1948), p. 100 ff.

in various places, and set up two emigrant hostels in Koenigsberg and Tilsit, followed by others in Stettin, Eydtkuhnen and Soldau.

The Central Committee in Berlin, with offices in Hamburg and Bremen and a network of branches in the leading border towns and railway centers, systematically regulated the stream of transmigrants. A special case work department, in which Russian Jewish social workers were employed in various capacities, alleviated some of the hardships of the travelers.

In the decade of 1905-14 an estimated 700,000 East European Jews passed through Germany to embark from German or other Western European ports. Of this number the Hilfsverein helped 210,771 to proceed on their journey and aided many more thousands in innumerable ways. The bulk of the funds was derived from members of the Hilfsverein and the Jewish communities in Germany. Not the least part of the 5,000,000 Jews who are living now in the United States are the children or the grandchildren of those immigrants for whom the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden smoothed the path to the land of liberty.

The Work of the Hilfsverein in Palestine

The third form of constructive aid organized by the Hilfsverein under the direction of Paul Nathan was its educational work. With the purpose of facilitating the economic and social improvement of the Jewish population in the Balkans and the Near East, the Hilfsverein founded a great number of schools in Bulgaria, Rumania, Galicia, and Turkey. The educational institutions in these countries created or supported by funds of the Hilfsverein numbered more than fifty.

Paul Nathan devoted special interest to Palestine. Owing to his efforts, a network of twenty-eight educational institutions came into being. Beginning with 11 kindergartens, it

comprised all types of schools.[12] In the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle French was the language of instruction; in the schools founded by English organizations, English was employed. Nathan introduced Hebrew into the schools of the Hilfsverein as the language of instruction, though he himself did not know the language. Twenty-two of the twenty-eight schools of the Hilfsverein were exclusively Hebraic. The other six, whose complete hebraization was not yet feasible, nevertheless had a Hebraic basis and a preponderantly Hebraic curriculum.[13] In the large school for girls in Jerusalem, for instance, ten classes with 330 hours of weekly instruction were conducted. Of these 313 were taught in Hebrew, only 17 in German. The German language, of practical importance for the students, was perhaps neglected too much. Achad Haam, on visiting the schools of the Hilfsverein, declared: "I should not lament it if some pupils knew German better."[14] The pupils of all schools spoke Hebrew fluently. In the years that followed, teachers, writers, scientists, and other leading personalities of the country came in large part from the schools of the Hilfsverein which must be credited with pioneer work in the revival of the language of the Bible in Palestine.[15]

The high reputation that the Hilfsverein had quickly acquired during the first years of its existence is demonstrated by the fact that in 1903, two years after its founding, a brilliant young chemist, then "Privatdozent" at the University of Geneva, applied for the position of professor of mathematics and physics at the Teachers Institute of the Hilfs-

[12] A richly documented story of the establishment and character of the Palestinian schools of the Hilfsverein is found in Ephraim Cohn-Reiss, *Reminiscences of a Citizen of Jerusalem* (2 vols., Tel Aviv, 1933, 1936; Hebrew). The writer is indebted to Ludwig Foerder in Jerusalem for having made accessible to him this important source and other publications in Hebrew.

[13] *Jahresbericht des Hilfsvereins der Deutschen Juden für* 1911 (Berlin, 1911), p. 35; the same publication for 1913, pp. 15 ff.

[14] Cohn-Reiss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 128.

[15] Cohn-Reiss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 289.

verein in Jerusalem. His name was Chaim Weizmann. Unfortunately his application was not accepted.[16]

Paul Nathan had appointed as director of all educational work in Palestine Ephraim Cohn-Reiss, a native of that country and an outstanding expert in technical sciences. Nathan with a background of pedagogical experience gained through his activity on the School Committee of the Berlin City Council, cooperated in outlining the basis for instruction, including the curricula. Instruction was oriented to conform with the views of Jews in the Orient and not of those in Berlin, Paris or London.

Nathan visited Palestine four times. Having gathered information on all school systems in existence, he wanted to see the school system of the Hilfsverein crowned by a School of Technology, the future "Technikum." Engineers and other skilled workers who, until then, had to be imported from abroad, should be trained in the country to meet Turkey's needs for its industrial development. Moreover, Nathan, a German patriot, was convinced that such an institution created by German Jews would be useful to German economic and cultural interests, just as today American Jewry, actively interested in Israel, aims thereby to serve at the same time the cultural and economic interests of the United States.

In January, 1908, Nathan returned from his first visit to Palestine resolved to create such a "Technikum." About the same time, David Wissotzky, son of the Moscow tea magnate Wolf Wissotzky, visited the Berlin office of the Hilfsverein and placed at its disposal 100,000 rubles (at that time $50,000) as a gift. Nathan decided to use that money for the construction of a "Jewish Institute for Technical Education in Palestine," the Technikum. With his customary energy, he began implementing this plan. For this purpose a special Foundation was created, affiliated with the Hilfsverein and administered by a Board of Trustees (Curatorium)

[16] Cohn-Reiss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 10.

composed of representatives of the Hilfsverein and of the Wissotzky family. The whole enterprise was financed by Nathan's friends. James Simon, the President of the Hilfsverein, contributed $25,000. The Foundation set up by Nathan's cousin, Baroness von Cohn-Oppenheim, a foundation also administered by the Hilfsverein, contributed $75,000; The German Jewish department store magnate, Oskar Tietz, member of the Hilfsverein, added $12,500; the New York banker and philanthropist, Jacob H. Schiff, $100,000; and Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, $5,000. In 1911 the Wissotzky family gave an additional $50,000.

These gifts, amounting to more than $327,500, came exclusively from non-Zionists. David Wissotzky, upon taking leave of Nathan, said to him: "Do not forget, Doctor, I am not a Zionist." Shmaryah Lewin, Zionist member of the Board of Trustees, said to Nathan: "You do not belong to the Hilfsverein nor to the Zionists, nor to the German Jews. You belong to the whole Jewish people, for we have only one Nathan."[17]

On May 1, 1908, Paul Nathan arrived in Haifa to acquire a site for the Technikum. With extraordinary forsight he chose the small city of Haifa, which at that time had 20,000 inhabitants, of whom only 2,000 were Jews. He foresaw that Haifa would grow rapidly because it was the terminal of the railway and the principal port of the Syrian-Palestinian coast. Moreover, he preferred the neutral atmosphere of Haifa, which had not been touched by the conflict between the modern Zionism of Jaffa and the religious orthodoxy of Jerusalem.

The Technikum was constructed on the Carmel. The Kerem Kayemeth, which desired to participate in the work, contributed 20,000 dollars as a loan. In order to conform

[17] Cohn-Reiss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 312. In 1904 Theodor Herzl said to Cohn-Reiss: "I need people of clear political vision who combine intelligence with heart. Put me in contact with Rabbi Horowitz and with your Dr. Nathan. I can cooperate with and understand such men." Cohn-Reiss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 317.

with its statutes, this money was listed as being used to acquire the land which had already been bought.

In 1913 the Technikum was finished. It was ready for dedication and the beginning of instruction when the so-called "language struggle" took place at the Berlin meeting of the Board of Trustees on October 26, 1913. The Hilfsverein's principle of using Hebrew in its schools as the language of instruction had to be applied to the Technikum, too. But in the strictly technical courses, especially in mathematics and the natural sciences, Hebrew was impossible because of the lack of textbooks and appropriately equipped teachers. This was the opinion of the majority of the Zionist experts, especially Achad Haam.[18] At Nathan's suggestion the Board adopted the following program: "Only the technical courses should be taught in German. Hebrew should be taught so thoroughly that the students should be able to read Hebrew literature and to speak the language fluently. The subjects to be taught in Hebrew are: all 'Jewish' subjects (Bible, history, religion, literature), general history, regional history, geography, designing, spelling, singing, and gymnastics."[19]

The three Zionist members of the Board, who, under the leadership of Shmaryah Lewin, had demanded that the technical courses, too, be taught in Hebrew, accused the representatives of the Hilfsverein of Germanizing tendencies and left the Board. They proclaimed a strike against the schools of the Hilfsverein in Jaffa and Jerusalem, though these schools had nothing to do with the "language struggle" in the Board of the Technikum.

Nathan, accompanied by Bernhard Kahn, went to Palestine. The teachers refusing to continue their services

[18] "I cannot support this petition [the teaching of technical subjects in Hebrew]. I do not believe that it is possible to train experienced engineers in a language for which there are neither teachers nor text books available. We have all thought this until now." Achad Haam, *Letters*, V, pp. 63, 65.

[19] Cohn-Reiss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 169. Paul Nathan, *Palästina und palästinensischer Zionismus* (Berlin, 1914), p. 3.

were suspended. But the majority of teachers, pupils, and parents remained faithful to the Hilfsverein. Shameful scenes occurred, however. With deep emotion Nathan, on his return, described how he and his companion had been insulted and stoned in the streets of Jerusalem by teachers and pupils of Hebrew schools founded by the Hilfsverein. Paul Nathan presented the facts objectively in a pamphlet he wrote on his return voyage through the Mediterranean.[20]

It should be mentioned that the "language struggle" and the "teachers' strike" were condemned by the majority of the leading Zionists[21] such as Max Nordau, Franz Oppenheimer, Nachman Bialik, Moshe Smilansky, Alexander Marmorek, Yitzhak Epstein, and Achad Haam.[22] After Nathan's death the Zionist Executive stated in a letter to the Hilfsverein: "It will never be forgotten that the deceased was the first to found Hebrew kindergartens in Palestine and that he worked most successfully for the revival of our language. We shall never forget how much he contributed to the cultivation of Judaistic learning and the Hebrew language in the schools founded by the Hilfsverein. If there was a period when differences of opinion existed between him and us, then it was a fight for noble ideas, and there was no doubt that his intentions and thoughts were pure, for during his whole life he aspired only for the good of his people."[23]

In such an atmosphere of agitation the Institute for Technical Education could not be opened. Nonetheless the Hilfsverein continued the Hebrew school work unabated until the conquest of Palestine by the British Army in 1918 put an end to its activity. The British then turned over to the Zionist World Organization the Hilfsverein schools with their model organization and equipment. On this

[20] *Palästina und palästinensischer Zionismus.*

[21] Cohn-Reiss, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 136, 232, 311; 228; 239; 240; 262; 252; 228.

[22] Achad Haam, *Letters*, V, pp. 138, 147, 185.

[23] Feder, *Politik und Humanität*: *Paul Nathan*, p. 98; *Gedenkschrift für Dr. Paul Nathan* (*Jahresbericht des Hilfsvereins der Deutschen Juden für* 1926) (Berlin, 1927), p. 8.

solid basis the Zionist World Organization constructed its educational work.

It was not until 1925 that the Technikum could be opened. In that quarter of a century the Technical Institute gained university rank, the only institution of its kind in the Near East. With a staff of more than 100 professors, lecturers and assistants and its more than 1400 students, it has become one of the most important factors in Israel's economy, cultural development, and defense. Fifty-five subjects in its seven departments are taught exclusively in Hebrew. (Today this language has an appropriate scientific-technical vocabulary.) This is remarkable and quite in contrast to the technical institutions of the Arab countries, where English and French are still the languages of instruction.

It should not be left unmentioned that the activities and the name of the Hilfsverein and of its leaders, Paul Nathan and James Simon, generally were omitted or misrepresented in nearly all official and private references to their work.[24]

Between Two World Wars

When the First World War broke out, Paul Nathan again placed himself in the service of humanitarian endeavors. An "Inter-confessional Committee for the Alleviation of the Emergency in the Occupied Territories of the East" was established in Berlin under the formal chairmanship of the Spanish ambassador; actually it was under the direction of Nathan. The committee helped the hungry populations, especially the Polish, Russian, and Rumanian Jews of the territories occupied by Germany. From 1914 to 1918 more than six million dollars collected principally in

[24] The grotesque misrepresentation of the facts in Chaim Weizmann's *Trial and Error* (pp. 62, 69, 142-44, 153 of the American edition) is refuted in every detail by Oskar K. Rabinowicz, *Fifty Years of Zionism: A Historical Analysis of Dr. Weizmann's 'Trial and Error'* (2nd ed., London, 1952), Chap. VI, "Technikum, Hilfsverein, German Jews."

the United States, were distributed in the occupied territories of Russia and Rumania. Nathan acted as trustee for the neutral donors, whose full confidence he enjoyed.

During the four war years Nathan made six trips to the occupied territories carrying on negotiations with civil and military authorities in Kalish, Lodz, Kowno, Bialystock, and many other cities. On one occasion he conferred with General Ludendorff. He contributed effectively toward alleviating the terrible misery of Eastern European Jewry. He expended great energy also in behalf of the "alien enemies" interned for the duration of the war in Germany. After the war, when the Reichstag of the Weimar Republic had to answer charges of German war atrocities, the German Government in its statements could point to numerous letters from citizens of former enemy countries expressing thanks for the aid they received during the war in Germany. Many of these letters were addressed to Paul Nathan.

Soon after the Revolution of November, 1918, the Republican Government asked Paul Nathan to be German ambassador in Vienna. (One of his best friends, the Viennese historian, Ludo Hartmann, had been appointed Austrian Minister to Berlin.) Nathan refused the offer, stating that Austria, where Catholicism and anti-Semitism were powerful movements, was no place for a Jewish diplomat. He wrote: "I would have met with difficulties that would necessarily have proved detrimental to German politics. I could not take the responsibility for this."

Nathan did not agree with Walther Rathenau, who joined the Cabinet of Reich Chancellor Wirth. The night the news was received of his appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nathan remarked to the author in the office of the *Berliner Tageblatt*: "Feder, it is unfortunate that he accepted. He will not die a natural death." The prophecy came true some months afterwards when Rathenau was killed by the bombs of political murderers, one of the first victims of racial anti-Semitism in modern Germany,

which a decade later was to erupt in a war of extermination against German Jewry.

Under the Weimar Republic Paul Nathan participated actively in the political fight. He joined the German Democratic Party, the foundation of which had aroused high hopes. In November, 1921, he left that party because he believed that it did not defend democratic causes with sufficient energy. He then became a member of the Social Democratic Party without rising to a leading position in its ranks.

Because of the new international situation created by the German defeat of 1918, the Hilfsverein could not continue its work on the same scale as before. It was the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee which, in a certain sense, became its successor. Nathan suggested to Bernhard Kahn, till then General Secretary of the Hilfsverein, that he accept the post of European Director of the American Joint. This Committee, using the methods and taking advantage of the experience of the Hilfsverein, planned and executed its gigantic program, destined in the following decades to meet emergencies arising on a scale almost inconceivable to the human mind.

Paul Nathan remained faithful to the Hilfsverein and the more modest tasks to which it was reduced. In 1921, when once more the dreadful misery of the Russian Jews became urgent, he conceived the plan of going to Southern Russia and finding out at first hand about the situation. Only as late as November, 1926, could this project materialize. The Hilfsverein was invited to Moscow to participate in a conference arranged by the "Society for the Settlement of Working Jews in the Soviet Republics." Nathan represented the Hilfsverein. The reception he received demonstrated that he was not forgotten in Russia where his picture hung in thousands of shacks and houses as that of a great benefactor. His name still was popular in Russia. He met old friends and made new contacts. He talked with peasants, artisans, workers, agronomists,

technicians, journalists, rabbis, merchants, and officials. He attended all meetings of the conference and had numerous conversations outside it. Mark Wischnitzer, the companion on the last journey of this great traveler, gave the author an account of his untiring activity from the first day to the last and of the great impression made by his address on his Moscow experiences delivered the night before he left.

The months following his return were dedicated to intense activity. During those days he often said: "Not much time is left to me." On March 8, 1927, he took his last walk in the Berlin Tiergarten. On the morning of March 10, he collapsed on entering his library. A stroke paralyzed his left side. He dictated a letter to Max Warburg, his friend in Hamburg, whom he had promised to deliver a lecture there on the Jewish situation in Russia. His last thoughts were devoted to the misery of Russian Jewry. Then he became unconscious. He died on March 15, 1927, one month before his seventieth birthday.

Paul Nathan was a leader who won authority without benefit of official position with government or political party. He was one of those independent figures who are rare in every country and particularly in Germany. He did not commit injustice and he could not tolerate it. He would not permit his opponents to be treated unfairly, and it was characteristic of him that the last article he published was a refutation of an unjust attack directed against his political adversary, General Ludendorff. An excellent orator and a fine stylist, he had a remarkable talent for letter writing.

Helping others by practical and constructive measures gave him the greatest satisfaction. It was not by chance that he founded the Hilfsverein. It was an expression of hin inner nature. This man who, as the Rumanian Jews put it, referring to a great post-Biblical figure, "spoke to kings in favor of his people," considered humanitarianism as his profession, which had nothing to do with sentimentality or pathos.

His characteristic humanity is best expressed in a memorial sent to Nathan by the Jews of Kiev. They felt profoundly indebted to him, for, in the celebrated Beilis trial in Kiev in 1913 Nathan had effectively contributed to the definitive refutation of the legend of "ritual murder." They wrote:

"Whenever a new misery befalls the Jews of Kiev, their thoughts go to you. We know very well that you will reject our expression of gratitude, for each of your acts of humanity flows from your noble character. We know very well that your activity in the case of Kiev constitutes only a part of your great humanitarian work; therefore, we are not entitled to thank you, just as one has no right to thank an artist for his creations of art."[25]

[25] Ernst Feder, *Politik und Humanität: Paul Nathan*, pp. 96, 97.

BRITISH SOCIALISM AND THE JEWS

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THE Jewish problem did not play a very great role in nineteenth-century England. Important as was the question of full emancipation for the few thousand Jews in Britain, it did not particularly attract the attention of the British public at large. The Jews obtained emancipation gradually, without raising any great opposition. The relative unimportance of the Jewish problem in England is probably responsible for the fact that Socialist pronouncements there on the problem are rather rare.* And whatever the Socialists wrote on the matter in the first half of the century came from the pen of non-Jews, owing to the simple fact that there were no Jews among the Owenites or the Chartists.[1] Even after 1880, when, as a result of pogroms and persecution, a considerable number of Eastern Jewish proletarians (or, if one prefers, sub-proletarians) settled in England, Socialists did not often express an opinion about them. The proletarian character of this immigration nevertheless aroused some intellectual curiosity with respect to the new arrivals and the problems they posed. The participation of moneyed Jewish elements in British imperialist adventures at the end of the century also drew some attention to the Jews — or, rather, provoked outbursts of anger against them.

The earliest pronouncements in the field seem to have emanated from Robert Owen. Then came some statements of the Chartists, among whom Owen's influence was quite considerable. Thereafter, certain Fabians commented on the problem. Finally, Social Democrats devoted some attention to it.

* The present writer is unaware of any study in the field.

1 Max Beer, *Fifty Years of International Socialism* (London, 1935), p. 104.

I. Owen

While most of the early British Socialists or near Socialists — such as Charles Hall, John Gray, John Francis Bray, Thomas Hodgskin, and William Thompson — do not seem to have been interested in contemporary Jews, Robert Owen (1771-1858), the famous British Socialist, was not indifferent to their lot. It is hardly necessary to point out that he did not, and could not, sympathize with their particular creed, since he saw no great value in any of the established religions: Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, or Mohammedanism. On the contrary, he considered them all as "the greatest evils existing among men," because they deranged or destroyed the superior faculties of the human race and made man more irrational than any of the animal creation.[2] Their "gross immorality" also consisted in their tolerance of great wealth and extreme poverty within one and the same nation.[3] Moreover, the contemporaneous governments of Europe and America had no right to be called Christian; they were all mere pagan governments of force, fear, falsehood, and fraud, and they governed in direct opposition to the laws of God and Nature.[4] The Jews were certainly no better than other people. The law of Moses was a close approximation to a system of equality. The Jews, however, refused to keep the law, and now, like the Christians, preserved the name but not the spirit of their religion.[5] To sum up, one might say that "the world has hitherto been, and is now, a great lunatic asylum."[6] In this irrational world, all religions play their nefarious role. "But as the faith and religion of . . . the Jews are the most despised, and as those who profess Judaism suffer the most in all worldly considerations, on account of their peculiar faith or notions, and have no earthly inducement to retain them, they may fairly

[2] Robert Owen, *Debate on the Evidences of Christianity*, II (Bethany, Va., 1829), p. 153. The same statement occurs in virtually all of his writings.

[3] Owen, *A Development of the Principles* . . . (London, 1841), p. 8.

[4] Owen, *The New Existence of Man upon Earth* (London. 1855), Part VII, p. 13.

[5] Anonymous, in *The New Moral World*, May 5, 1838, p. 217.

[6] Owen, *The New Existence* . . . (London, 1854), Part V, p. lxxi.

be considered as the most disinterested and conscientious religious people in existence."[7] This "strong evidence in their favor," Owen adds, does not, in any degree, prove either the truth or utility of their religion.[8] His statement implies, however, that there are no reasons for discriminating against them.

Owen dreamt of substituting for the present chaotic world a rational system of society that would ensure happiness and security to mankind. The new moral world, as he imagined it, would be based on "true and genuine principles of universal charity and of never-varying kindness,"[9] on "love to man, without limitation."[10] In this future world, with no formal worship, with no mortification of the flesh or the spirit, with no anger on account of religious differences, there would be no persecutions, but "friendship, and kindness, and charity for the Jew and Gentile."[11]

Owen was not satisfied, however, with propagandizing the millennium in which the Jews, like all other men, would enjoy perfect equality. He also favored their full emancipation in the already existing world order. He took this stand publicly in the year 1830, when the British Parliament discussed "A Bill for the Relief of His Majesty's Subjects Professing the Jewish Religion."[12] On May 17, over twenty petitions were presented to the House of Commons praying for abolition of the disabilities on holding and enjoying civil offices and franchises arising out of differences in religious opinions.[13] The most remarkable of them was Owen's. It was presented to the House by Robert Grant, who noted, by way of introduction, that it came from "an individual whose name is well known to most in this House" and "whose

[7] Owen, *Six Lectures on Charity* (London, no date), p. 46.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Owen, *An Address Delivered to the Inhabitants of New Lanark* (London, 1816), p. 24.

[10] *Robert Owen's Millenial Gazette*, No. 6, July 1, 1856, p. 22.

[11] Owen, *Manual of the Association of all Classes of all Nations*, No. 2 (London, 1836), p. 57.

[12] Full text in *Bills, Public: Three volumes. Session 5 February - 23 July* 1830, Vol. II, p. 463-464. Bill No. 247.

[13] *Journals of the House of Commons, Session* 1830, Vol. LXXXV, p. 432.

motives, however we may disagree with him in his plans, we must all respect."[14] The petition was then read, "ordered to lie upon the Table," and to be printed.[15]

It is in this printed form that the petition has been preserved. The original submitted by Owen — and for which the present writer inquired in the archives of the House of Commons — no longer exists, since according to British parliamentary tradition it was kept only for one year and a day. The text, as it was summarized by the clerk and printed by order of the House, reads as follows:

"A Petition of Robert Owen, was presented, and read; setting forth, That the Petitioner is anxious that the Jews, and all men, should be relieved from the injustice of suffering for their conscientious belief; that he is most desirous the *British* Government should set an example of justice to the world, and declare, by a legislative Act, that, as man has not been formed with power of himself to change the convictions prematurely forced into his mind in early life, or at any time to resist the influence of the strongest evidence, none ought to suffer for his conscientious opinions, or be prevented from honestly stating them; that the contrary practice, through ignorance, has generally prevailed in most nations of the world, to the great injury of the character of man intellectually and morally; that this error has necessarily engendered uncharitableness, unkindness, hatred, anger, revenge, and the greatest injustice among mankind; that the Petitioner therefore prays, that all disabilities, on account of their belief, be removed from the Jews."[16]

The bill was rejected at the second reading in the House of Commons. Many other bills were introduced later, until, within the next forty years, the English Jews gradually obtained full civil equality.[16a] Jewish emancipation was thus

[14] *The Mirror of Parliament*, II (1830), 1777. A less full account is given in *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, XXIV (1830), 784.

[15] *Journals of the House of Commons, Session* 1830, Vol. LXXXV, p. 432.

[16] *Appendix to the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, Session* 1830, p. 653 (Petition No. 918). I wish to express my thanks to Mr. David Holland, House of Commons Library, for helping me to locate this text while I was in London.

[16a] On the Emancipation of the Jews in England see *The Jewish Chronicle*, No. 2051 (July 24, 1908), devoted to that subject; H.S.Q. Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law* (Oxford, 1908); Simon Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, IX (Berlin, 1929) § 31; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford, 1941), chap. XI. For further bibliographical data see Cecil Roth, *ed., Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica: A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History* (London, 1937).

frequently discussed in Parliament as well as in the press, and this gave the Chartists, too, an opportunity to express their views on the subject.

II. Chartists

Henry Hetherington (1792-1849), staunch Chartist and ardent Owenite, listed among the principles for which his *Republican or Voice of the People* was fighting: the "Emancipation of our fellow-citizens the Jews."[17] Mocking the ruling classes of England in general and the Lords in particular, his paper, *The Poor Man's Guardian,* made, in 1834, the following comment about an important opponent of Jewish emancipation: "Not longer ago than Monday night [June 23, 1834] we heard [from the gallery of the House of Lords] the Archbishop of Canterbury speaking against the Jews! — and heavens! — what an exhibition! There he was, the old sinner, professing the greatest love for the Jews, and the greatest admiration of them, as peaceable and loyal subjects of the king, while, in the same breath, he pronounced them unfit to be trusted with the rights of citizenship, because, forsooth, 'this was a Christian country,' and it would be therefore an 'insult,' both to the country and to Christ himself, to include them in the pale of citizenship, — in other words, that to do an act of justice to *man* would be an insult to *man's Redeemer!* His Grace also referred to the prophesy, that the Jews are always to be a scattered and persecuted people, as a further argument for keeping them in their present degraded state, an argument, by the way, which would equally justify all the crimes committed upon the early period of our history, or justify the banishing of them [the Jews] to-morrow to New South Wales."[18]

Several years later, another Chartist paper, *The Northern Star,* praised the high level of the discussion about the Jews that took place in the House of Commons at the end

[17] *A Penny Paper for the People,* March 18, 1831, p. 8. [Extremely rare; available at Columbia University Library.]

[18] Anonymous, in *Poor Man's Guardian,* June 28, 1834, p. 162.

of December 1847.[19] It commended Lord John Russell's speech on introducing his Bill for the Removal of Jewish Disabilities as "an able and a forcible exposition of the great constitutional principles on which the measure was based."[20] Naturally, the paper hinted at the financial influence of wealthy Jews: "We shall not," it said, "too curiously inquire how far the liberalism, either of the mover of the bill, or of many of its supporters, was influenced by the wealth, and the peculiar financial powers of Baron Rothschild, and the cognate fact, that the Jews, as a body, are wealthy."[21] The paper regretted, too, of course, that suffrage was not as yet extended to the working classes.[22] It did not, however, question the wisdom or justice of the bill, but approved of it as a matter of principle. Such an attitude was indeed consistent with the general philosophy of the Chartists, who were opposed to any religious discrimination and proposed to confer upon all men the rights of citizenship.[23]

Chartist newspapers, in so far as they reported the ill-treatment of the Jews, protested against it indignantly. Thus the anti-Jewish excesses at Damascus and Rhodes were characterized by *The Northern Star* as a "disgrace of our common humanity."[24] The newspaper was also horrified at the persecution of the Jews by the Russian government.[25] But opposed as they were to the oppression of the Jews, the Chartists had scarcely any genuine sympathy for them. They seemed to view them rather as a symbol of exploitation. Sometimes they distinguished between poor and wealthy

19 Anonymous, "Removal of Jewish Disabilities," *Northern Star*, Dec. 25, 1847, pp. 7-8. [A file of this exceedingly rare paper is available at the British Museum.]

20 Anonymous, *Northern Star*, Dec. 25, 1847, p. 4.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.* At a Chartist meeting in Greenwich, Samuel Kytt, with a slightly ironical overtone, reminded the audience that those who want to aid the removal of Jewish disabilities must not forget the disfranchized English worker, who cannot, "like the Rothschilds and Barings, boast of his millions, and command the services of great lords and rich commoners." *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1848, p. 7.

23 Anonymous, in *Northern Star*, Feb. 12, 1848, p. 4.

24 Anonymous, *ibid.*, May 2, 1840, p. 6.

25 Anonymous, *ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1844, p. 3. Cf. also *ibid.*, July 31, 1847, p. 3.

Jews.[26] More frequently, however, all Jews were lumped together into one over-all group of parasites. "We do not live," wrote the *Poor Man's Guardian*, "in a Christian country — we live in a country of Jews, and usurers, and parsons, and plunderers, and hangmen, and lawyers, and shopocrats, and vampires, and soldiers, and 'statesmen,' and bloodhounds."[27] Speaking of Christian usurers and middlemen, the *Guardian* observed that "like Jews and vermin, they flourish amid impurity and disease."[28] To insult a political opponent, Joseph Hume, a free-trade leader and member of parliament, the *Guardian* characterized him as "a mere Jew-peddler."[29] Samuel Kydd noted that the motto of "the Jew" is: everything is fair in trade.[30] Thomas Attwood, a Birmingham banker, advocate of currency reform and a Chartist, was convinced that England had long since been delivered into the "thraldom of the Jews and jobbers."[31] He reproached the Government with having adopted the "Jewish theory of Mr. Ricardo."[32] England and particularly the agricultural classes, suffered from exploitation, not by bankers, but by "the Jews."[33] He denounced "the false, cunning, plundering, and remorseless Jews,"[34] and warned the country against "the wiles of the Jews."[35] While these charges were made by Attwood long before he joined the Chartist movement, James Bronterre O'Brien referred to "Jews and jobbers," in the Chartist Convention on February 12, 1839.[36]

[26] As in the poem "Two Hebrew Melodies," by Thomas Macconnell (*Poor Man's Guardian*, Oct. 18, 1834, p. 295), if I understand it correctly.

[27] Anonymous, *Poor Man's Guardian*, March 16, 1833, p. 82.

[28] Anonymous, *ibid.*, March 8, 1834, p. 34.

[29] Anonymous, *ibid.*, July 20, 1834, p. 185.

[30] Samuel Kydd, in *Labourer*, II (1847), 266.

[31] Thomas Attwood, *The Scotch Banker* (1828), 2d ed. (London, 1832), p. 161.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[36] *Ayrshire Examiner*, Feb. 15, 1839, as quoted by A. Plumner, in *Economic History Review*, II (1929-30), 72. On the other hand, see O'Brien's sympathetic account of Robespierre's speech before the National Assembly (Dec. 23, 1789) against a proposal to exclude the Jews from the ranks of active citizens. James B. O'Brien, *Life and Character of Maximilian Robespierre* (London, no date), pp. 258-259.

In the same vein *The Northern Star* wrote: "Woe to the Jews and jobbers, oppressors and murderers . . ." who trample and spit upon the outraged people.[37]

It must be added, however, that on the whole such anti-Jewish utterances were relatively rare and always incidental in the Chartist press, which was, generally speaking, little interested in the Jews. In most articles on trade, commerce, finance, and usury, Jews are not mentioned, or at least not singled out.[38] The main attack of the Chartist press was directed against the ruling classes irrespective of their religion or nationality. It is quite interesting to note that in an article reprinted by the *Guardian,* references are made not only to unbaptized speculators but also to Christian "reptiles" — merchants and monopolizers — who "swell up, in a few years, to estate and power beyond that of the Jews."[39] In brief, if there were undeniable signs of an anti-Jewish bias among Chartists, it must be pointed out that only on rather rare occasions did this prejudice find its expression in their writings.

III. The Webbs

As far as the present writer knows, there were no Socialist expressions on the Jewish problem between the end of the Chartist period and the middle eighties. However, several relevant statements were made after 1884, and they come from two different sources: the Webbs and the British Social Democrats.

The Fabians — as a corporate group — expressed no opinions on the Jewish problem.[40] Two of their leading figures, however, Beatrice Webb née Potter (1858-1943)

[37] Anonymous, in *Northern Star,* Nov. 13, 1847, p. 8.

[38] It should be understood that this statement is based on an extensive, though necessarily incomplete, survey of the Chartist press, parts of which are extremely rare, if not inaccessible, even in Great Britain.

[39] William Cobbett, "On 'Public Credit'," *Poor Man's Guardian,* Jan. 25, 1834, p. 449. Though the *Guardian* was a Chartist newspaper, Cobbett, a notorious anti-Semite, was not a Chartist.

[40] It does not fall within the scope of this essay to study the Jew as portrayed in the fiction of G. B. Shaw and H. G. Wells. In their other writings, published during the period under review, they apparently do not speak of Jews.

and her husband Sidney Webb (later Lord Passfield, 1859-1947), made occasional comments which showed more than a mere lack of sympathy for the Jews. In the fall of 1887 Beatrice Potter spent a few weeks in the East End of London as a working girl and investigator of "sweated" labor.[41] On the basis of this research she drew some far-reaching conclusions about the Jews in general. In the slums of Whitechapel she found that "the love of *profit* as distinct from other forms of money-earning" is "the strongest impelling motive of the Jewish race."[42] Jewish workers are "a race of producers with an indefinitely low standard of life" and have "neither the desire nor the capacity of labor or trade combination."[43] They will work for practically any salary, under any conditions, an unlimited number of hours per day. They consider manual work as the first rung of the social ladder, to be followed at the first opportunity by the speculations or transactions of the profit-maker or money-lender.[44] "The immigrant Jew," said Beatrice Potter, "though possessed of many first-class virtues, is deficient in that highest and latest development of human sentiment — social morality."[45] This does not imply that East End Jews resist the laws or defy the conventions of social and commercial life. On the contrary, "the children of Israel" are very law-abiding men, because they are quick to understand that "law and order" and the "sanctity of contract" are indispensable for a full and free competition on the market.[46] "And it is by competition, and by competition alone, that the Jew seeks success."[47] In the process of competition, however, "the foreign Jews" do not recognize any moral rules: their competition is "unrestricted by the personal dignity of a definite standard of life, and unchecked by the social feeling

[41] See B. Potter, in *Nineteenth Century*, XXIV (1888), 301-314; *My Apprenticeship*, II (London, 1938), 360-364.

[42] Potter, "East London Labour," *Nineteenth Century*, XXIV (1888), 176.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[44] Potter, "The Jewish Community," in Charles Booth, *ed.*, *Labour and Life of the People*, I (London, 1889), 586.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 589.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Ibid.*

of class loyalty and trade integrity."[48] The Jewish small manufacturer injures the trade by bad and dishonest production. The Jewish petty dealer or small money-lender suits his wares and his terms to the weakness, the ignorance, and the vice of his customers. The Jewish workman, indifferent to the interest of the class to which he temporarily belongs and intent only on becoming a small master, acknowledges no limit to the process of underbidding fellow workers, except the exhaustion of his own strength. "In short, the foreign Jew totally ignores all social obligations other than keeping the law of the land, the maintenance of his own family, and the charitable relief of co-religionists."[49] He seems thus to justify by his mere existence the strange assumptions of Ricardo's political economy: the *homo oeconomicus,* "seeking employment or profit with an absolute mobility of body and mind, without pride, without preference, without interests outside the struggle for the existence and welfare of the individual and the family. We see these assumptions verified in the Jewish inhabitants of Whitechapel; and in the Jewish East End trades we may watch the prophetic deduction of the Hebrew economist [Ricardo] actually fulfilled — in a perpetually recurring bare subsistence wage for the great majority of manual workers."[50]

Of the trade-union and Socialist movements among the East End Jews, Beatrice Potter apparently did not perceive the slightest trace, or at least she did not register them in her report. And yet in 1887 there already existed several Jewish trade-unions in London.[51] How this escaped the attention of such a keen observer is indeed strange. It is even more surprising that the classical text she wrote with her famous partner, Sidney Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (1894), makes no mention whatever either of the Jewish trade-unions in England or of the strikes of Jewish workers, which, in 1890, already drew the attention of

48 *Ibid.*
49 *Ibid.*
50 *Ibid.*, p. 590.
51 H. Burgin, *Di Geshikhte fun der yidisher Arbeterbavegung in Amerika, Rusland un England* (New York, 1915), pp. 54, 57.

Friedrich Engels.[51a] The same silence was maintained in the new edition of *The History of Trade Unionism* published in 1902.[52] Meantime, in 1897, the Webbs published a treatise on *Industrial Democracy,* in which they disagreed with those who suggested that Jewish immigration was not injurious to English wage earners. Moreover, they asserted that immigrants "like the Polish Jews" not only brought a lower standard of living, but also constitute—as far as the national character and capacity of the British are concerned—"a constant influence for degradation."[53] The Webbs suggest in fact that among "the races and classes of wage earners" "the Jew" is unique in possessing neither a minimum nor a maximum standard of life: "he will accept the lowest terms rather than remain out of employment; as he rises in the world new wants stimulate him to increased intensity of effort, and no amount of income causes him to slacken his indefatigable activity. To this remarkable elasticity in the standard of life is, we suggest, to be attributed both the wealth and the poverty of the Jews—the striking fact that their wage-earning class is permanently the poorest in all Europe, whilst individual Jews are the wealthiest men of their respective countries."[54]

With people devoid of social morality, one can hardly sympathize. And the Webbs had in fact very little sympathy for the Jew. Whether this lack of sympathy was also responsible for their hostile attitude toward Zionism is at least problematic, inasmuch as anti-Semitic and pro-"Zionist" feelings are not mutually exclusive. As Secretary of State for the Colonies (in the MacDonald Cabinet) Lord Passfield is known to have been responsible for the anti-

[51a] Cf. Silberner, "Friedrich Engels and the Jews," *Jewish Social Studies,* XI (1949), 335.

[52] There is, however, a short reference to Jewish trade-unions in the revised edition of 1920 (p. 478).

[53] S. and B. Webb, *Industrial Democracy,* II (London, 1897), 744.

[54] *Ibid.,* pp. 697-698. Without recommending a policy of exclusion, the Fabians also thought that "the evil effects of the Jew's competition lies in the characteristics which render him a fit subject for the pestilential conditions of home work." *Fabian Tracts,* No. 50 (1894), p. 6; also *ibid.,* No. 130 (1908), p. 10.

Zionist White Paper of October, 1930.[55] It is none the less probable that his anti-Zionism was dictated more by his concept of Britain's imperial interests than by any personal considerations. To some extent at least this may also be the case with Beatrice Webb, in spite of her pronounced hostility toward the Jews. Shortly after the outbreak of the Palestine pogroms of 1929, in which nearly a hundred and fifty Jews were killed and many more wounded, Chaim Weizmann had a conversation with her. What he heard from her was: "I can't understand why the Jews make such a fuss over a few dozen of their people killed in Palestine. As many are killed every week in London in traffic accidents, and no one pays any attention."[56] Whatever interpretation may be given to this statement, it is hardly possible to believe that it was made only in order to defend the interests of the British Empire.

IV. Social Democrats

The first contacts between British Social Democrats and Jewish workers were established in the middle eighteen-eighties when a Jewish Socialist Club—composed chiefly of recent immigrants—was founded in London. Many prominent members of the British Social Democratic Federation—William Morris, Henry M. Hyndman, Harry Quelch, and Herbert Burrows — visited the Club.[57] Hyndman, Quelch, and Burrows are also reported to have spoken at public meetings of the East London (Jewish) Branch of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF)[58], organized in the middle eighteen-nineties. These contacts, however, did not create in the minds of the British Social Democrats

[55] James Ramsay MacDonald, after having visited the Holy Land, had published a pro-Zionist pamphlet: *A Socialist in Palestine* (London, 1922).

[56] Beatrice Webb as quoted in Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (New York, 1949), p. 331. Her paternal grandmother was a "tall dark woman of Jewish type who read Hebrew and loved music" and who was confined to a lunatic asylum; "she was obsessed by the mania of leading the Jews back to Jerusalem and actually got as far as Paris, alas! poor lady, alone and without her fancied following." B. Webb, *My Apprenticeship*, I, p. 30.

[57] M. Winchevsky, *Gezamelte Verk*, VIII (New York, 1927), 194.

[58] Cf. *Justice*, Oct. 12, 1895; May 9, 1896; March 29, 1902; March 12, Aug. 13, 1904.

any deeper interest in the Jewish problem. In fact, their comments on it are rather infrequent and incidental and almost never deal with the broader aspects of the problem.

None of the British Social Democrats seems to have liked the Jewish people. Occasionally, some of them even made strongly biased statements against the Jews. Yet there is hardly any avowed or consistent anti-Semite among them. True, Eduard Bernstein once accused Ernest Belfort Bax of moderate anti-Semitism, but the charge does not appear to have been well founded.[59] Neither can Henry M. Hyndman be considered a consistent anti-Semite, although his writings are not always free of a certain anti-Jewish overtone.[60] Also Cecil Chesterton suggested that the Jews be deprived of their political rights and placed under a separate law.[61] This he did, however, at a time when he no longer considered himself a Socialist.

Prior to World War I, Social Democrats did not favor restricting the immigration either of white aliens in general, or of the Jews in particular.[62] In this respect they differed radically from the trade-unionists. It may be recalled that the Trades Union Congress at Norwich (1894) called upon the government "to prohibit the landing of all pauper aliens who have no visible means of subsistence."[63] Naturally, those "pauper aliens" were in large part Jews. An identical resolution against these "paupers" was also voted by the Trades Union Congress at Cardiff (1895), at which one delegate referred to the East End of London as "the dumping ground for the common refuse of the

[59] See *Neue Zeit*, XVI (1897-98), 493, 826. Bax's *Reminiscenses* (New York, 1920) seem to suggest, however, that he had no particular liking for the Jews (pp. 175-177).

[60] See, e.g., Henry M. Hyndman, *Further Reminiscences* (London, 1912), p. 55.

[61] Cecil Chesterton, in *New Witness*, II (1913), 240-241. The establishment of an independent Jewish State, which he warmly recommended, would make it possible to treat the Jews "in every country as a foreign community with their proper privileges and their proper disqualifications." Chesterton, *The Prussian Hath Said in His Heart* (London, 1914), p. 228.

[62] Some of the Social Democrats were, however, opposed to the immigration of Chinese and Japanese; see *Justice*, March 12, 1904; May 10, 1913.

[63] Trades Union Congress, *Report*, 1894, p. 59.

world."[64] All such discriminatory measures were opposed by the Social Democrats. "Level up the alien, say we [the Social Democrats], and you will no longer need to regard even the much despised Polish Jew as a parasite on home labor, lowering wages, and spreading foul and unhealthy habits of living."[65] Social Democrats were indeed very proud to uphold the banner of internationalism in the matter of alien immigration. They drew attention to the fact that Jewish immigrants brought into existence in England new lines of production, such as the ready-made tailoring trade, the waterproof, and the cheap shoes trades.[66] "There is," said Bax, "absolutely no ground for charging either the foreign workers generally, or the Jewish specially, with 'blacklegging' to even as great an extent as is practiced by English workmen. As has been recently pointed out, a far greater proportion of them belong to trade unions than is the case with English workmen, while the blessings of a Free Labor League are unknown to them."[67] When, in 1904, a bill was introduced to curb the influx of foreigners, Social Democrats were thus opposed to it, and Hyndman—at a great meeting organized in Whitechapel by the East London (Jewish) Branch of the S. D. F.—denounced "all restrictive legislation against alien immigration."[68]

Occasionally, *Justice* rebuked other Socialist papers for denigrating Jewish immigrants. This was the case when *Clarion,* a Socialist weekly edited by Robert Blatchford, expressed concern over the influx of "poor unshorn and unsavoury children of the Ghetto" into England.[69] The number of Jewish aliens in East London said *Clarion,* was "alarming," and their increase "appalling."[70] It also declared that their habits were "unclean," and that "their

64 Trades Union Congress, *Report,* 1895, p. 45.
65 Anonymous, "Aliens," *Justice,* Dec. 7, 1895, p. 1.
66 Bax, "Aliens," *Justice,* Dec. 14, 1895, p. 4.
67 *Ibid.*
68 *Justice,* March 12, 1904, p. 6. He was opposed, however, to Chinese immigration.
69 Anonymous, "Exchange is Sometimes a Robbery," *Clarion,* June 22, 1906.
70 *Ibid.*

presence is often a menace and an injury to the English working classes."[71] Characteristically enough, *Justice* published letters of protest against this "most revoltingly unsocialist and anti-Semitic attack [of *Clarion*] upon the Jewish workers."[72] The attack was also stigmatized by the East London (Jewish) Branch of the S. D. F. as "a gratuitous insult" to men and women who had escaped tsarist persecution, and who, in a great number of cases, had fought against Russian autocracy.[73]

Justice, the organ of Social Democracy, also reported with high praise on the success of the movement among the Jews in East London. "Thousands of them, we speak without any exaggeration whatever, have already [in 1885] taken up with the doctrines of Socialism in a greater or lesser degree, and support a Socialist Hebrew [Yiddish] newspaper of their own. . . . The idea which prevails among so many Christians that all Jews are well-to-do is entirely erroneous. No portion of the proletariat is poorer or worse-treated than are the working Jews throughout Europe. . . . They are able, have a genius for organization and exposition, are thoroughly international. . . ."[74] *Justice* also gave accounts of the revolutionary activities of the "Bund"[75] and the sufferings of proletarian Jews from pogroms in Russia.[76] It also reported and protested against the "ritual" trial of Beilis at Kiev.[77]

Curiously enough, the Social Democratic press—though it spoke quite frequently about the exploited Jewish proletariat — contains not infrequent generalizations about the exploitative character of "the Jews," which would

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] "A Jewish Socialist," Letter to the Editor, *Justice*, July 7, 1906, p. 6.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] Anonymous, "When Jew Meets Jew," *Justice*, Jan. 10, 1885, p. 1.

[75] *Justice*, 1905-09: Nos. 1116, 1154, 1239, 1241-42, 1259, 1307-10, 1312, 1315-16.

[76] *Justice*, June 6, 1903; March 17, July 17, Sept. 1, 1906. At a meeting organized by the East London (Jewish) Branch of the S.D.F. and the Russian Social Democratic Circle to protest against the Kishinev pogrom, letters of sympathy were read from H. M. Hyndman and Keir Hardie, among others (*ibid.*, June 27, 1903, p. 5).

[77] *Justice*, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, Nov. 8, 1913.

befit any anti-Semitic paper. Thus, for example, *To-Day, the Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism,* printed an article whose anonymous author took it for granted that "economically and socially the Jews are our antagonists."[78] *Justice,* another Social Democratic organ, often singled out "Jew moneylenders" in England for their disgraceful rascality.[79] Georges Joachim Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was maligned as "the Hebrew loan-monger,"[80] and "the wandering Jew."[81] Cecil Rhodes was said to have "a whole Jew clique of bankers and loan-mongers" behind him.[82] Thus for *Justice* the Jew symbolized the usurer, although it must be added that on some exceedingly rare occasions, the paper did recollect the existence of some even worse specimens of humanity. Thus the "gombeen man"—a term applied to Irish usurers—was compared with "his brother in infamous extortion, the London Jew"; but his usury is "infinitely worse than the 'shent per shent' of the maligned Jewish money-lenders."[83]

The "Jew usurers" of Central and Eastern Europe were certainly no better than their coreligionaries in England.[84] Anti-Jewish excesses in Austria—"that Jew-ridden empire"[85]—Hungary, Poland, and Russia, were frequently described as the result of Jewish exploitation, and consequently were sometimes listed under the headline: "Revolutionary Movements."[86] In harmony with this line of thought, the anti-Semitic riots in Vienna were in the eyes of *Justice* "not so unreasonable as they seem," for there "the Jews represent capitalism in its worst form."[87] Hyndman interpreted anti-Semitism in Austria in the very same spirit. "The attack upon the Jews," he said, "is a convenient cover for a more

78 Ahasverus, "Baiting the Jew-Baiter," *To-Day,* I (1884), 56.
79 Anonymous, "Jews and Jews," *Justice,* April 5, 1884, p. 1.
80 Anonymous, "The Wandering Jew," *Justice,* Feb. 5, 1887, p. 1.
81 H. Quelch, "Foreign Immigration," *Justice,* Aug. 25, 1888, p. 4.
82 Anonymous, in *Justice,* Feb. 6, 1897, p. 1.
83 J. Casey, in *Justice,* May 26, 1888, p. 2.
84 Anonymous, in *Justice,* June 14, 1884, p. 3.
85 Anonymous, in *Justice,* July 12, 1884, p. 3.
86 Anonymous, *Justice,* 1884: July 26, p. 3, Nov. 8, p. 3. Cf. also May 23, 1903, p. 5.
87 Anonymous, in *Justice,* June 6, 1885, p. 1.

direct attack at an early date upon the great landlords and Christian capitalists. The position which the Jews hold in Austria —the whole political forces of the Empire are completely corrupted and Judaised—renders attacks upon them still more dangerous to the powers that be than similar movements in Russia or Germany."[88]

The situation was not much different in France. There, too, the Panama scandal had shown the great influence of Jewish speculators. In this connection *Justice* observed in 1893: "We cannot wonder at the popular hatred for the Jews. They are one race; they are not confined to any one country; the Jew financier is a living type of the international capitalist"[89] or "the personification of international capitalism."[90] All over the world, in Russia as well as in England, "the bestial behavior of rich Jews rouses a prejudice against the whole [Jewish] race."[91] And though *Justice* reported on "the abominable treatment of the Jews in Russia" and expressed sympathy for "the poor Jews," it found it appropriate to observe at the same time that "it would not be difficult to get up a Jew-bait even in the City [of London], civilized as we are."[92]

This is not the only pogromist "threat" to be found in the files of *Justice*. Already in one of its first issues, the paper noted that "an organized attack" upon "Jew moneylenders" "would be perfectly justifiable."[93] And once more, in 1893, *Justice* wrote: "We have no feeling against Jews as Jews, but as nefarious capitalists and poisoners of the wells of public information we denounce them. It would be easy enough to get up a capitalist Jew-bait here in London, if we wished to do so; and the proletarian Jews would gladly help us."[94]

Jewish capitalists were dangerous not only because of their economic power, but also because they used it for

88 Hyndman, *The Historical Basis of Socialism* (London, 1883), p. 43.
89 Anonymous, in *Justice*, Jan. 28, 1893, p. 2.
90 Editorial note, *ibid.*, p. 3.
91 Anonymous, "Jews in Russia," *Justice*, Dec. 20, 1890, p. 1.
92 *Ibid.*
93 Anonymous, in *Justice*, April 5, 1884, p. 1.
94 Anonymous, "Triumphant Jewry," *Justice*, Jan. 21, 1893, p. 1.

political purposes. "Jew moneylenders," *Justice* complained in 1884, "now control nearly every Foreign Office in Europe."[95] Their influence was particularly obnoxious in France. This is, in fact, what a regular contributor to *Justice* had to say on the subject: "I was lately reading how the moneyed Jews rule France. It appears that the French people are like so many children in the hands of the Jews, who control the affairs of France. . . . It seems to be an open secret that the government of France is too much in the grip of the Jews to take active measures against them as a body."[96]

Capitalist Jews dominated the press in France, Germany, and Austria. In all these countries their influence was "enormous" and "injurious."[97] The situation was not much better in Great Britain. Of course, Jewish owners of London dailies were no worse than their Christian colleagues. They were, however, more dangerous, since they belonged to the "International" of rich Jews and acted practically in accord with their fellow capitalist Jews all over the world.[98] In the six "Jew owned and Jew-edited" London papers, "considerations of 'bishness'" hold the first place.[99]

"There is something too much of the Jew influence in English politics already," notes *Justice* in 1889.[100] The Prince of Wales "is practically in the hands of the Jews,"[101] and what is more important, "capitalist Jews of the baser sort are already exceedingly influential in both our political parties."[102] Jameson's raid, according to *Justice*, was the work of an international money-mongering conspiracy, "which is almost entirely in the hands of the Jews."[103]

95 Anonymous, "Jews and Jews," *Justice*, April 5, 1884, p. 1.

96 S. Macfarlane, in *Justice*, June 25, 1898, p. 6. He was accused of anti-Semitism by Theodore Rothstein, in *Justice*, July 9, 1898, p. 3.

97 Anonymous, "The International Jew Press," *Justice*, July 5, 1890, p. 1.

98 *Ibid.*

99 Anonymous, "Triumphant Jewry," *Justice*, Jan. 21, 1893, p. 1.

100 Anonymous, in *Justice*, Feb. 16, 1889, p. 1.

101 Anonymous, "Guelph and Jew," *Justice*, May 17, 1890, p. 1.

102 Anonymous, "Triumphant Jewry," *Justice*, Jan. 21, 1893, p. 1.

103 Anonymous, "The Money-Grabbing Internationale," *Justice*, May 2, 1896, p. 1.

Hyndman warned against the constitution of "an Anglo-Hebraic Empire in Africa"[104] and asked who were the men behind the reiterated attacks on the Boers? "Rhodes and Beit, and Barnato and Eckstein—a pretty set, indeed!" "We say," he continues, "it is high time that those who do not think that Beit, Barnato, Oppenheim, Rothschild and Co., ought to control the destinies of Englishmen at home, and of their Empire abroad, should come together and speak their mind."[105]

The anti-Jewish tone of *Justice* became even stronger at the end of the century. An attack against English Jews was combined with one on French Jews. On August 26, 1899, the paper published an article in which the editors stated that though they admired many Jews and were strongly in favor of Dreyfus, there was nevertheless a great deal to be urged against the Jews. The latter, said the editors, were themselves responsible to a great extent for the bitter anti-Jewish feeling prevailing among Frenchmen. The Jews were exceedingly purse-proud when wealthy, very arrogant, very unscrupulous, and very clannish. Their influence on the press was almost wholly bad. Nothing would teach them the danger of parading their pecuniary strength and close race sympathies. All this was no reason why Social Democrats should treat the Jews with injustice, but it was every reason why the latter should cultivate just a trifle less arrogance and not deal quite so much in intrigue. "There is no disguising the truth," *Justice* continued, "that even here in London the feeling against Jews is growing. It will not be lessened by the action of the Jew press against the workers and in favor of piratical imperialism in the Transvaal and elsewhere."[106]

When a party comrade protested against such remarks,[107] the editors of *Justice* retorted that the Jew capi-

[104] Hyndman, "Imperialist Judaism in Africa," *Justice,* April 25, 1896, p. 4.

[105] *Ibid.* Hyndman was a "spekulierender Börsenbesucher," according to Ed. Bernstein, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Socialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung,* IV (1914), 109.

[106] Anonymous, "The Jews," *Justice,* Aug. 26, 1899, p. 1.

[107] J. B. Askew, Letter to the Editor, *ibid.,* Sept. 9, 1899, p. 3.

talist was *par excellence* the personification of international capitalism and that he seemed to have entirely stripped himself of any of the qualifications that do sometimes modify capitalists. They furthermore pointed out "the striking fact" that "the gold international, the financing ring, is dominated by Jews and that the most virulent jingo organs in this and other countries are in their hands."[108] In another leading article the editors of *Justice* asserted that they did not intend to preach a *Judenhetze*, but rather to remind the reader that the brutal outburst of anti-Semitism in continental countries was mainly, if not entirely, due to "the utterly corrupt and malignant influence of the Jews in high places."[109] The editors also seized this opportunity to utter a few words against the jingoism of the "Semitic lords" of the London press.[110] These and similar comments elicited protests from Jewish comrades. One of them, very active in Whitechapel, noted that such references to Jews were characteristic of Drumont's *La Libre Parole*. "I sometimes wonder," he added, "if Dr. Nordau was not right in saying that 'the Jews have no guarantee that they will enjoy peace and equality even in a Socialist régime.' "[111]

Undeterred by such protests, however, *Justice* continued its campaign. On October 7, 1899, a few days before the official outbreak of the Boer War, it published a long editorial by H. M. Hyndman, "The Jews' War on the Transvaal." By way of introduction, the Socialist leader recalled that thirty-seven years ago the war in Mexico, like the war in the Transvaal, had been undertaken at the instance of "Jews and stock-jobbers," who had obtained control of Napoleon III's entourage, and used their ill-gotten influence to bring about a war in order to give value to the so-called "Jecker Bonds." The Mexican War was "a Jews' war," and France paid dearly for her subservience to the "Semitic money-bags." As in 1862 in

108 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

109 Anonymous, "Jew Financiers the Real Anti-Semites," *Justice*, Sept. 30, 1899, p. 1.

110 *Ibid.*

111 M. Shayer, Letter to the Editor, *Justice*, Oct. 7, 1899, p. 3.

France, "the Jew influence" in England, said Hyndman, was being used for monetary purposes in favor of an outbreak of hostilities against the Transvaal. "Beit and Eckstein, Barnato and Oppenheim, Steinkopf and Levi," exclaimed Hyndman, "these are the true-born Britons who are dragging us common Englishmen into the war with the Transvaal, for which we, not they, shall have to pay alike in purse and in person, in money as in blood." And he mocked at Lord Salisbury, who had passed half his political life vilifying and intriguing against "the Jew Disraeli," yet who was being dragged into a war by "a Jew clique" whom he could not master.[112]

Hyndman's article caused a new influx of letters to the editor protesting against the way in which *Justice* wrote about the Jews. One correspondent pointed out that Jewish capitalists were being attacked by *Justice* as Jews and not as capitalists.[113] Another maintained that it was high time to choose between being Social Democratic and anti-Semitic, because "we cannot be both."[114] Still another correspondent, Theodore Rothstein, reproached *Justice* with preaching from its pulpit rank anti-Semitism. He asserted explicitly that in Quelch, the editor of *Justice,* and Hyndman the Socialist movement in England had two leaders ready—in theory, at least—to go hand in hand with such avowed Jew-baiters as Lueger, Stöcker, and Drumont. *Justice* might try to explain away its own anti-Semitism by insisting that the incriminating articles referred to Jewish capitalists and not to Jews in general. Such assurance, however, would be of no value, because, in any event, *Justice* singled out *Jew*-goats. Its anti-Jewish propaganda might be dangerous and lead to Jew-baiting if the paper had a wide circulation in the country. "Happily for the case, though unhappily for the general cause," noted Roth-

[112] Hyndman, "The Jews' War on the Transvaal," *Justice,* Oct. 7, 1899, p. 4. The well-known labor leader John Burns also thought that the Boer War was waged "to enable a lot of German Jews to establish slavery in South Africa" (Burns at an election meeting at Battersea, Jan. 14, 1906, as quoted in the London *Times,* Jan. 15, 1906, p. 4).

[113] A. Lewis, in *Justice.* Oct. 14, 1899, p. 3.

[114] J. B. Askew, *ibid.*

stein, "*Justice* is read by a comparatively small section of the community, so that a national anti-Semitic movement is not to be expected." Still some harm was sure to follow the "tactless" policy of *Justice,* which, by rendering more difficult Social Democratic propaganda among the Jews, indirectly favored "Palestinism, Zionism, etc."[115]

Rothstein was not the only one to protest. The Wimbledon Branch of the S. D. F. also regretted that *Justice*—and more specifically Hyndman and Quelch—continued to use the word "Jew" in a manner calculated to inflame racial feeling.[116] Even Ernest Belfort Bax, who certainly could not be accused of philo-Semitism, thought it necessary to intervene in the discussion and to attack the editors for their un-Social-Democratic behavior. He found it strange that the South African War was attributed by some Social Democrats, not to capitalists in general, or to "the financial capitalist" in particular, but to "the financial Jew *as Jew.*" "There is," he pointed out, "no getting over the fact of this *as Jew,* seeing that otherwise the introduction of race would be quite irrelevant."

Bax does not deny, of course, that Jews were involved in the traditional British land-grabbing policy in South Africa as well as in the gold-mine speculations. However, their proportion to non-Jews among the gold speculators appeared to him rather small. "Are Chamberlain, Milner, Rhodes, Lennard, Hammond, the Duke of Fife, Earl Greg, Macguire, Robinson, Jameson, Jews? No, it will probably be answered, but the guileless innocents in question are only the 'tools' of the wicked Jew!" In Bax's view, however, it was "a little funny" to consider Chamberlain and Rhodes as "tools" of Beit, Eckstein and Co. "I heartily agree with our friend Rothstein," concluded Bax, "that this howl for the liver of the financing Jew, taking him as it were out of the category capitalist or even financier in general, and holding him up to special obloquy, is a disgrace to our movement; indeed, if it goes on much longer I would be disposed

[115] Rothstein, Letter to the Editor, *Justice,* Oct. 21, 1899, p. 3.
[116] *Justice,* Oct. 21, 1899, p. 3.

to borrow a classical phrase of Rothstein's and say it constituted an 'indelible burning stain' on English Socialism."[117]

But it did not go on much longer. In fact, the anti-Semitic campaign continued for just two more weeks. In the beginning of November, 1899, Quelch published an article in defense of his editorial policy. He found it fully justified to call the South African conflict "a Jew capitalist war." He also agreed that an anti-Semitic movement would injure Socialism. "Therefore we point out that these unscrupulous wealthy Jews, by their ferocious pretense of jingoism and their greed for gold, are going the right way to stir up anti-Semitism in this country as they have succeeded in doing in other countries."[118]

The same issue of *Justice* published still another attack on the Jews. They were accused of not intermarrying with non-Jews, of observing dietary laws, and of economic parasitism. "The Jews, not being engaged in productive work, are not self-supporting, therefore must always, while they are Jews and exclusive, be apart from the people of their temporary country. They sometimes catch hold of a subdivided trade, mostly as blacklegs (they rarely belong to English trade unions), as a stepping-stone to becoming dealers."[119] For all these reasons it is obvious why they "can never be included within any Socialist people."[120]

This letter — excommunicating, as it were, the Jews from the Socialist commonwealth—was almost the last anti-Semitic text published by *Justice.* In the next issue the official organ of Social Democracy published a few more letters to the editor for and against its editorial policy; at the same time it declared that further discussion must cease, "as the subject has been well ventilated from both sides."[121] The subject had indeed been so well ventilated that never again did *Justice* publish any anti-Semitic material in its columns. At the outbreak of World War I, *Justice* printed,

117 Bax, "Jews, Boers, and Patriots," *Justice,* Oct. 28, 1899, p. 6.
118 Quelch, "Jews and Jingoism," *Justice,* Nov. 4, 1899, p. 4.
119 J. Arnall, Letter to the Editor, *ibid.,* p. 3.
120 *Ibid.*
121 *Justice,* Nov. 11, 1899, p. 3.

it is true, an anti-Semitic sounding letter to the editor by the Social Democrat J. F. Green, who accused some Russo-Jewish refugees in England of political indecency, because—in contradistinction to "real Russians"—they were pro-German and even dared to proclaim it openly.[122] But this letter did not reflect the views of the editors, who published several letters of protest of other comrades, pointing out that Socialists everywhere, whether Jew or Gentile, were hopelessly split on the subject of war.[123]

It has already been pointed out that, on the whole, British Social Democrats were very little interested in the broader aspects of the Jewish problem. This is well illustrated by the fact that Zionism, for instance, was hardly mentioned in their official organ, *Justice*. In so far as *Justice* did deal with that movement, however, it voiced only opposition to it. In this respect it followed the policy of the Jewish members of the Whitechapel branch of the S. D. F. The paper, to quote an example, aproved their manifesto proclaiming that "all the shibboleths about 'All Israel are brethren' or 'Back to Palestine' are so many glittering words with which the Jewish bourgeoisie and their hangers-on—the preachers—try to dupe the workers with the view of the better exploiting them." The manifesto declared furthermore that "Judaism, in short, in all its religious and national aspects is played out by now, and for the Jewish worker there are no other brethren and comrades but the oppressed proletarians of other nations."[124] *Justice* found the manifesto excellent and recommended that every Jewish Socialist in England spread it by the hundreds among the Jewish population in the big towns: "it will be like selling hot cakes," said the paper, sure of easy success.[125] Many years later, when it was hardly possible any longer to deny the national character of the Jewish problem, a contributor to *Justice* summarized the crux of the matter: "Only after the class struggle has been fought to a conclu-

122 J. F. Green, in *Justice*, Oct. 22, 1914, p. 7.
123 *Justice*, Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26, Dec. 3, 17, 1914.
124 Anonymous, "A Yiddish Manifesto," *Justice*, Jan. 23, 1897, p. 3.
125 *Ibid.*

sion will the Jews, as a nation, find a place on the earth and in the sun, there to work out their own national destiny, at the same time living in harmonious brotherhood with the other nations of the world. Only in the shade of the red banner of International Socialism will the wandering Jew find a haven of refuge."[126] The writer, however, did not elaborate on this statement.

Anti-Semitism was of a nature to strengthen Zionism, and that is one of the reasons why Theodore Rothstein, a member of the Whitechapel Branch, in a letter to the editor of *Justice*—already referred to—protested so vehemently against the anti-Jewish propaganda of that paper. He complained bitterly that *Justice* was thereby endangering the success of the anti-Zionist propaganda of the Jewish comrades. This complaint offered him an excellent opportunity to declare that the Zionist movement "is, of course, reactionary to the core," and that "the so called Jewish question" could not be solved by any means short of transforming present-day society into a Socialist one.[127] The same hostility was expressed in a pamphlet brought out by the Whitechapel Branch and favorably reviewed by B. Kahan, one of its leading members, in *Justice*. The pamphlet declared that Zionism as well as anti-Semitism were outgrowths of the same bourgeois stem and could serve only to blind the workers.[128] Against this view no one objected in *Justice*, except a certain H. Myers, who described himself as a Socialist, a nationalist, and a fully assimilated Jew professing Zionism. Myers, a complete unknown, found it strange that some Jews were so violently hostile to Zionism, a movement which—in his opinion—was compatible with Socialism.[129] By his pro-Zionist declaration he wanted to show that "even a Jew can cling to his own people."[130] As "a Nationalist Socialist" he could not well

126 J. Fineberg, "A Dialogue on Anti-Semitism," *Justice*, April 2, 1914, p. 3.

127 Rothstein, Letter to the Editor, *Justice*, Oct. 21, 1899, p. 3.

128 B. K[ahan], in *Justice*, April 19, 1902, p. 6.

129 H. Myers, Letter to the Editor, *Justice*, April 26, 1902, p. 6.

130 Myers, Letter to the Editor, *ibid.*, May 24, 1902, p. 6.

understand why members of any persecuted people were expected to be Socialists only so long as they agreed "to commit national suicide."[131]

Among the non-Jewish Social Democrats there seems to have been only one, Herbert Burrows, who sympathized somewhat with Zionism, a defect for which he was censured by the above-mentioned B. Kahan.[132] Burrows' sympathy with Zionism, however, appears to have been very mild; he scarcely believed in any practical possibility of establishing a Jewish national home, but thought at least that such an establishment, if it could be carried out, would be desirable. That such a home would have to be based on Socialist principles was for him self-evident.[133]

It may be added that the British Socialists' lack of interest in Zionism, or their hostility to it, lasted up to the first World War. During the War, however, their attitude changed, partly because of British imperial interests involved in Zionism and partly because they better realized the full scope of the Jewish national problem. In their "Memorandum on War Aims"—approved by the Special Conference of the Labor Party and the British Trades Union Congress (December 28, 1917) and subsequently adopted by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London (February 20-24, 1918)—the opinion was expressed that "Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or origin."[134]

131 Myers, Letter to the Editor, *ibid.*, June 21, 1902, p. 6.

132 B. K[ahan], in *Justice*, Nov. 15, 1902, p. 3.

133 Burrows, in a lecture on Zionism, as reported in *Welt*, VIII (1904), No. 7, p. 3.

134 Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference, *Memorandum on War Aims*, p. 12,

THE JEW IN THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD-PICTURE

By Hersch L. Zitt

Philadelphia, Pa.

ELIZABETHAN England inherited the world-picture, based on the writings of Sts. Paul and Augustine, which the Roman Church had made dogma and Protestantism had simplified.[1] This system was so constructed that nothing could be omitted, and everything had a definite place.

Jewry was placed in a shadowy area between the Third and Fourth Orders—between Man and the Beasts. Because of his appearance, the Jew could not be denied, entirely, the attributes of humanity. As the personification of evil, however, he could not be completely within the Third Order. It was most difficult to relegate the Jew to the Fourth Order, since there always was the possibility of eventual conversion and redemption. No beast, however intelligent, could be so favored. This belief in the semi-human status of the Jew was so well accepted that, prior to the agitation against the re-admittance of Jews into England during the Commonwealth period, it was never put into writing.

Neither Jewry nor England could exist without influencing one another. The place of the Jew in the Elizabethan world-picture was the result of that interaction.

I

For generations English scholars worked on the problem of the existence of the Jew and the meaning of his Scriptures. Hebrew was studied at Oxford from the time of Roger Bacon, and by the end of the sixteenth century excellent Hebraists were at work on the translation of the Old Testament. Since the time of Grocyn and Colet, these

[1] E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1945), p. 4.

scholars had departed from the Roman Church method of translating out of the St. Jerome Vulgate and used the original Hebrew and Greek texts in their work.

From the appearance of the first edition of *Cranmer's Bible* in 1540, the printing of biblical translations flourished mightily, Cranmer's own edition going into ten printings in nine years.[2] A veritable flood of translations and commentaries followed. The Pentateuch, Heptateuch, Psalms, Song of Solomon, and the Prophets were translated singly and in groups, in verse, in meter, in rhyme, in prose, and in collation. Translations appeared in Latin, Spanish, Gaelic, Welsh, Scottish, Greek, and French. Concordances were published as early as 1548 and Guides to the Scriptures even earlier.[3]

In the Reign of Henry VIII, Tyndale's and Coverdale's translations were smuggled into the country. During the reign of Philip and Mary the "Breeches" and "Geneva" Bibles were distributed clandestinely and read in secret in private homes. With the accession of Elizabeth, however, the situation improved so that in 1584, an official translation, the so-called *Bishops' Bible,* was issued, and the ground was laid for the final work—the *Authorized Version* of 1611. It is this version, prepared under the aegis of James I, which has become standard in the English-speaking Protestant world.

Interest in the Bible and biblical translation led to curiosity concerning Jewish philosophy and theology. Thus an occasional volume in these fields would be translated, usually into Latin. One such, the 613 *Precepts* of Maimonides, was rendered into Latin by Philip Ferdinand, Reader in Hebrew at Cambridge, in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Ferdinand, an apostate, served at Cambridge until 1598, after which he went to Leyden, where he died in

[2] Darlow and Moule (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1903-1911). 4 volumes. For a representative list see STC (note 3), pp. 47-64.

[3] A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds), *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and in Ireland and in English Printed Abroad.* 1475-1640 (London, 1948). Entries 2069-2079. Hereafter cited as STC.

1608.[4] The Maimonides volume, published in 1597, was called *Haec Sunt Verba Dei* and was ascribed to one "Abraham Abben Hassan, the Levite." The name of the translator was omitted.[5]

During the Elizabethan period, two works on Jewish history were familiar to all educated Englishmen: the *Josippon* and the *Works* of Flavius Josephus. The *Josippon*, written in Hebrew in Italy during the latter half of the tenth century, was known from a garbled Latin text. It was this text that was used by Peter Morwyn for his work, *A Compendious History of the Iews Commune Weale.* Between 1557, when it was first published, and 1602, it went into ten editions and was twice revised.[6]

The other source, Josephus's *Works*, was known in a Greek version. The first printed edition was published in 1590 with a Latin interpretation by John Luidi, at Oxford.[7] Within a year, Dr. Thomas Lodge, physician and poet, translated the Greek text into English, but it was not published until 1602.[8] Neither *Josephus* nor the *Josippon* was accurate; each was full of medieval additions and repeated errors.

II

The concept of the semi-human character of the Jew was most fully developed in the theatre. What the average Elizabethan play-goer expected to see, and did see, in the stage-Jew, was the incarnation of all Evil. Unquestioningly, he accepted the diabolical figure, wearing the red wig and long flame-colored nose, the orthodox costume of the devil in the old mystery plays.[9]

In English folklore the Jew was represented as the Christ-killer and the murderer of children for purposes of demoniac rituals. The legend of Little St. Hugh of Lincoln,

[4] H. P. Stokes, *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History* (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 208.

[5] STC 80.

[6] *Ibid.*, 14795-14804.

[7] *Ibid.*, 14814.

[8] *Ibid.*, 14809.

[9] F. M. Modder, *The Jew in the Literature of England* (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 15. Hereafter cited as *Modder.*

set down by Chaucer in the *Prioress's Tale* and by Paris in *Historia Major,* was accepted as truth, not fiction.

Literate Englishmen had Chaucer in print from 1477, when William Caxton issued his edition. From that date until 1602, thirty-one editions and printings were licensed.[10] Matthew Paris was available from 1571, when the first printing was issued.[11]

Added to this was the equally traditional portrait of the Jew as usurer—a picture so vivid that the word *Jew* was used as a term of opprobrium throughout the Elizabethan period. Thus, Stephen Gosson, in his *School of Abuse,* when discussing the plays current in London in 1578, singled out *The Jew* as an edifying drama, worthwhile seeing. In this play the "Iew [is] representing the greediness of worldly chusers and the bloody mind of Usureres."[12] Neither Christopher Marlowe nor William Shakespeare, then, created a new characterization in either Barabbas or Shylock, but dipped into an ancient tradition.

In their own day neither writer intended that sympathy be given his character. Indeed, each was presented in a broadly comic vein until the latter part of the eighteenth century.[13] What was true of Marlowe and Shakespeare was also true of their contemporaries. Thus, John Marston modeled his Mammon after Shylock,[14] and in an anonymous play, attributed to both Robert Greene and Thomas Green, the character of Abraham, a Jew, is made comic and distasteful.[15]

Within a short period after the successes of the *Jew of Malta* and the *Merchant of Venice,* Philip Massinger wrote two plays, *The Duke of Millaine*[16] and *Machiavellus,*[17] deal-

10 STC, 5068-5097.

11 *Ibid.,* 19209-19209[a].

12 S. Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (London, 1579), p. 40. *The Jew* has not come down to us.

13 *Modder,* p. 26; cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (London, 1923).

14 J. Marston, *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (London, 1601).

15 *The Tragicall Reigne of Selimus* (London, 1594).

16 STC, 17634.

17 H. Michelson, *The Jew in Early English Literature* (Amsterdam, 1926). Cited as Ms (*Douce* 234) in Bodleian Library.

ing with the theme of poison and betrayal. In the first, it is the Duke's favorite, disguised as a "Jew Doctor," who poisons him and his duchess. In the second, Jacoppes, the Jew, gives a sleeping draught to Orlanda, the heroine, which is supposed to be a poison. Finally, in the anonymous *Wisdom of Dr. Dodypoll*, Dr. Dodypoll is patterned after Dr. Roderigo Lopez, the Queen's physician, who was a Jew.[18]

The scandal involving Dr. Lopez seemed to justify the ancient prejudice. On February 28, 1594, Dr. Roderigo Lopez, physician-in-ordinary to the Queen, was brought to trial on charges of treason and attempted murder, by poison, of the Queen.[19] Much has been written since, attempting to prove the innocence of Dr. Lopez. Our present concern, however, is with the impact of the event upon Lopez's contemporaries.

The trial was held in February and March, 1594, and Dr. Lopez was executed on June 7, 1594. During the period of the trial and execution it was one of the leading topics of conversation in London, and in short order the hacks were at work making the most of the tragedy. Indeed, almost immediately after the execution there appeared a chapbook entitled *A True Report of Sundry Horrible Conspiracies of Late Time Detected to Have (by Barbarous Murders) Taken Away the Life of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty*, which contains a woodcut purporting to show a meeting between Dr. Lopez and one of the conspirators.[20] Within twenty-four hours of the execution, Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* was on the boards at Newnington Butts.[21] Shortly thereafter, Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* was produced, and the Jew appeared on the English stage once more, after an absence of over thirty-five years.[22]

The Lopez affair had considerable influence outside the realm of literature. It was, in fact, part of the constant

18 STC, 6991.

19 G. B. Harrison, *A Second Elizabethan Journal*. Being a Record of Those Things most Talked of During the Years 1595-1598 (London, 1938), p. 288.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 359. A reproduction of the woodcut facing p. 290.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 304.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 396.

struggle between Essex and Cecil. In this case, the position of Attorney-General was at stake. Essex supported Francis Bacon, and Cecil, Edward Coke.[23] Cecil was successful. Coke became Attorney-General and acted as prosecutor at the Lopez trial. Thus began the career of one of the most brilliant jurists in English history. But Coke, for all his brilliance, was a product of his time. His reactions may be regarded as typical, for in his plea to the jury, he equated perjury, murder, and treason with Jewishness.[24]

During the Age of Elizabeth there was but one departure from this pattern. Robert Wilson, in his *Three Ladies of London,* has Mercator, the Christian, cheating Gerontus, the Jew. First produced in 1584, it was revived in 1592, two years prior to the Lopez affair, and became a popular success.[25]

Though the Jew fared badly at the hands of the Elizabethan playwright, the Jewess was idealized. This tradition was established by Marlowe in his character, Abigail, Barabbas' daughter, and repeated by Shakespeare and others. In this case, the Jewess was always beautiful, wise, in love with a Christian, and, for some reason, motherless. She became a sympathetic figure, giving high contrast to her father's unsympathetic character.

The romantic story of the beautiful Maria Nunez, a Jewess who escaped from Spain, only to be captured by an English ship captain, undoubtedly contributed to this tradition. According to the story, Maria Nunez arrived in London in 1591 in the company of an unnamed English seadog. He persisted in his advances, which the beauteous Maria successfully defied. Queen Elizabeth was so struck by her beauty that she offered Maria a place as a Lady-in-waiting, but when Maria demurred, the Queen permitted her to leave for Amsterdam, unmolested. Indeed, the story

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 288.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[25] Sir Sidney Lee, "Elizabethan England and the Jews," *New Shakespeare Society Transactions* (London, 1892), p. 146.

ends, Maria made a triumphal journey to Dover in the Queen's own carriage.[26]

This ambivalent attitude was accompanied by another, equally curious. The second ambivalence grew directly out of the miracle and mystery play cycles of the Middle Ages. In those productions a sharp distinction was made between biblical and post-Christianity Jews. Biblical Jews were almost without exception "good" and later Jews "bad."

During the Elizabethan period most of the plays on biblical themes were the work of hacks. Of the number listed by Henslow in his *Diary*, almost none have survived. Generally, they are dull, didactic, and pompous. Thomas Rowely's *Joshua*[27] and Michael Drayton's *Moyses in a Map of His Miracles*,[28] are typical. *Moyses* is most unworthy of the man who later produced *Polyolbion* and rose to the office of Poet Laureate. It is, however, a perfect example of its kind.

III

In spite of growing intellectual ferment and the gradual increase of interest in humanistic studies, the organization of the world-picture continued to rest upon the foundations of medieval Catholicism. Everything was explained. All that was perceived was fitted into this planned universe. Everything was classified. Even the Jew.

To understand this process of classification, we must accept the structure as the Elizabethan saw it.

Everything proceeded from God in a descending order. Man was in the Third Order, between the Angels and the Beasts. To a large extent this picture, while purportedly theocentric, is actually homocentric. Everything being created as much for the great glory of mankind as for the greater glory of God, even the Ptolemaic geocentric universe was placed below man in this scheme. This conception of

[26] Cf. H. Graetz, *History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1891-1892), IV, 457. Also A. M. Hyamson, *History of the Jews in England* (London, 1908). Unfortunately, Maria Nuñez is romance, not fact.

[27] T. Rowely, *Joshua* (London, 1602).

[28] M. Drayton, *Moyses in a Map of His Miracles* (London, 1604).

world orderliness was, for the Elizabethan, a principal matter. Only the theological scheme of sin and salvation was equally important.

In a world in which it was far easier to be an atheist and know that you had sinned grievously by denying that there is a God, than to be an agnostic and deny the possibility of sin by doubting God's reality, the existence of an entire people which refused to accept this Aristotelean "either-or" could not be ignored. The Elizabethan assumed *a priori* that all men who lived righteously before the coming of Jesus were saved automatically, because they did not know of his coming and would have received him if he had come. Rejection by their descendants doomed those descendants to eternal damnation unless they repented their evil way and came into the body of the Church. If the Jews persisted in their refusal, they were to be scorned, scourged, and vilified. They were the personification of evil on earth.

The one reason the Jews could not be wholly exterminated was that they had to instruct, by example, in the meaning of evil, for otherwise the Christian could not recognize evil when he saw it. From this it followed that such evils as usury, deceit, falsification, and blasphemy should be ascribed to Jewry and called by its name.

This world-picture permitted the study of Israel prior to the advent of Jesus and the attribution of the quality of goodness to the Israelite. It is not strange, then, that the growing Puritanism should have actively identified itself with Israel, which was always sharply distinguished from Jewry. From this proceeded the belief held by the Puritans and certain separatists that they were now the elect, the chosen of God, the New Israel, who were to establish the New Jerusalem in the New World.

These two figures, Israel and Jewry, marched separately in the mind of the Elizabethan. He knew that they were not the same and could not be parts of one whole. In this manner the Elizabethan Englishman fitted his Israelite and his Jew into the existant world-picture, and for him it was a satisfactory arrangement.

THE JUDEO-TATS IN THE CAUCASUS

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The Name*

According to Vilhelm Thomsen, *Tat* is a Turkish word meaning "les populations qui sont assujetties au gouvernement des Turcs"; it is "le surnom donné aux populations d'origine persane ou kurde dans le Turkestan," which go back to quite remote times.[1] Vsevolod F. Miller found that the term *Tat* "is applied by the Turkic tribes to the settled Iranian population in the Trans-Caucasus."[2] According to V. Minorsky, "in the Caucasus the term *Tat* is applied to the Iranian Muslim peoples speaking the Tati dialect. This peculiar dialect is also spoken by several other communities, Jewish and Armenian."[3] Heinrich Schaeder in his study, "Türkische Namen der Iranier," described the extensive use of the term, which has been applied to non-Turkic peoples, primarily Iranians, by the Turkic-speaking peoples from North Mongolia to Anatolia. In West Turkestan, Azerbaidzhan, the Caucasus region, and in Fars, it is still in use to designate Iranians.[4] Schaeder has also indicated that the name usually has a derogatory connotation.[5]

* For bibliography and abbreviations see at the end of the article. Acknowledgment for contemporary information regarding the Judeo-Tats is due to eyewitnesses who desire to remain unnamed. The author wishes to express his thanks to the members of the staff of Cornell University Library, who arranged for the loan or photostatic reproduction of pertinent literature from other institutions.

[1] *Turcica* (Helsingfors, 1916), pp. 15-16.

[2] Miller, *Materialy*, p. xvii. [3] Minorsky, p. 699.

[4] *Die Welt des Islams, Sonderband, Festschrift Friedrich Giese*, ed. by Gotthard Jäschke (Berlin-Leipzig, 1949), p. 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

The Tats were also called Mountain Jews (Russian: *Gorskie Evrei* or *Evrei gortsy*), but that term is somewhat misleading, for it does not properly distinguish the Tats from other Jewish groups in Georgia and Dagestan. The Turkish name for the Mountain Jews was *Da gh cufuti.*[6]

Historical Background

The Judeo-Tats did not preserve any written records, nor did they have any detailed oral tradition regarding their arrival in the Causasus. They were convinced, however, that they were of Hebrew stock and that they came from Palestine after the first destruction of Jerusalem (586 B.C.E.).[7]

Consistent tradition among the Tats has it that they migrated from the northern part of Persia to the Trans-Caucasus during the Sassanian period (226-637), when the Persians were fighting the Khazars for possession of Derbent. From the Trans-Caucasus they spread northward among the Dagestan mountain tribes. The region was under the domination of the Khazars, who were then at the height of their power (eighth and ninth centuries).

The early Jewish traveler Eldad ha-Dani, a native of East Africa near the Gulf of Aden (c. 880), reported that there were Jews descended from the tribe of Issachar in the Caucasus and that they spoke "the language of Media and Persia."[8] Miller and others claim that these Jews, the later Tats, propagated their religion and that the Khazar royal house and part of the nobility were converted to Judaism.[9]

Eventually the Tats reached Azerbaidzhan. This is corroborated by the Tati language, which could have developed

[6] Nikolai Iakovlevich Marr, *Plemennoi sostav naselenii Kavkaza* [The Nationalities of the Caucasus] (Petrograd, 1920), p. 47.

[7] Miller, *Materialy*, p. xv; *ES*, XI, 464.

[8] Elkan Nathan Adler, *Jewish Travellers* (London, 1930), pp. 7-8.

[9] Miller, *Materialy*, p. xviii. The conversion took place about the year 740 and lasted approximately 100 years. Cf. J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 7-27; Bertold Spuler, "Geschichte Mittelasiens," *Geschichte Asiens* (München, 1950), pp. 321-322.

only in a country in which Iranian, Semitic, and Turkish elements lived side by side.[10] The Tats presumably arrived in Azerbaidzhan at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, when they had to withdraw before advancing Islam.[11]

LANGUAGE

Tati is an Iranian (New Persian) sub-dialect that in 1926 was spoken by 87,020 people, 73,900 of them in the Trans-Caucasus.[12] Judeo-Tati used by the Tats is "spoken with Semitic articulation, the phonetics of which (in part) and the morphology (in part) have been formed on the Turkish model."[13] "Its most characteristic feature is rhotacism . . . As to the articulation, it could be explained by the fact that these Jews had formerly spoken Arabic, or more simply by the proximity of Daghestan."[14]

The Judeo-Tats were, however, not restricted to Tati; wherever they came in contact with the Caucasian Tatars, they spoke Azerbaidzhani, a southern Turkish dialect.[15] The presence in Kuba of a Turkish-speaking group of 631 Mountain Jews was reported in the census of 1897.[16]

The census of 1926 contains figures concerning the Dagestan and Georgian Jews. Not all the former were Tats, nor did all the Tats live in Dagestan; a few of the Jews in Georgia (Gruzia) were Tats and spoke Tati. Nonetheless, the figures are fairly representative. The urban Dagestan Jews constituted 85.4 per cent of the total population; 97

[10] Miller, *Materialy*, p. xvi. [11] *Ibid.*, p. xv.

[12] H. Schaeder, "Türkische Namen," p. 34. In the census of 1939 this ethnic and linguistic group was no longer listed separately.

[13] Miller, *Materialy*, p. xvi.

[14] Minorsky, p. 699. He also mentioned Tati-speaking Armenians. Adolf Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 15, n. 1. referred to an Armenian village in the district of Shemakha, where Tati was spoken.

[15] Waldemar Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia* (New York, 1928), p. 152.

[16] Brutzkus, col. 1103.

per cent spoke their own language, in addition to Tati, and 19.7 per cent were literate in at least one language. The corresponding figures for Georgia are 72.5 per cent, 99.6 per cent, and 32.9 per cent.[16a]

These statistics would indicate that conditions have not changed during the past century. Hahn claimed that illiteracy had been reduced to about 85 per cent, while in the *auls*[17] only two or three persons were able to read.[18] However, he did not specify to what language he referred: Tati, Hebrew, Russian, or all of them.

Illiterate Jews depended on their Mohammedan neighbors to write letters for them in Tati; a Mohammedan *mullah* in the village or a Mohammedan scribe in the city rendered this service for a fee.[19]

Some liturgical and cabbalistic manuscript texts existed even in Tati. The first printed book in that language appeared in 1909.[20] The Soviet government introduced a Latin transcription for Tati in or somewhat before 1930, similar to those of other national minorities.[20a]

Hebrew was known to comparatively few Jews. Chernii gives their number for four communities: Derbent, 200 families (approximately 1,000 individuals), 20 of whom knew Hebrew; Arag, 90 families with 8 persons knowing Hebrew; Kuba, 1,000 families, 25-30 persons versed in Hebrew; Groznyi, 200 families, of whom 5-6 persons knew Hebrew.[21] In the *auls* there was rarely anyone besides the rabbi able to read Hebrew.[22] Miller summarized the situation correctly when he said that for the Tats Hebrew had become a purely

[16a] F. Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union* (Geneva, 1946), p. 55, table 23.

[17] Alfred E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure* (New Haven, 1938), p. 24, defined the Kazak *aul* as a "mobile village" or nomadic encampment; he stated that various writers applied the term to groups of different sizes. In the case of the Tats and of the Judeo-Tats we must consider an *aul* as a settled village.

[18] Hahn, p. 200. [19] Chernii, p. 202.

[20] Yarmolinsky, *UJE*, III, 68; Brutzkus, col. 1104.

[20a] *BSE*, XVIII, 194. [21] Chernii, p. 202. [22] Chernii, p. 202.

religious language.[23] Very few Hebrew books were preserved by the Judeo-Tat communities.[24] But when Elkan Adler visited such communities in 1897, he had no difficulty in conversing with the people in Hebrew.[25] All authors are agreed that most of them knew no Russian.

Population

The population of the Caucasus has increased more than three-fold during the past seventy-five years. In 1873 the total number was 5,370,000; of these 1,849,000 lived in the North Caucasus and 3,521,000 in the Trans-Caucasus. The corresponding figures for 1926 were 14,425,000, 8,363,000, and 5,862,000; the estimates for 1947 were 17,300,000, 9,300,000, and 8,000,000.[25a]

The estimates of the Tat population in the Caucasus cited by Waldemar Jochelson range from 74,000 to 135,000.[26] According to various censuses they numbered 81,490 persons in 1873, all of whom resided in the Caucasus. By 1897 they had increased to 95,000, but about 1900 their number was estimated at 85,000, and in 1926 they had fallen off to 28,705, almost all resident in the Trans-Caucasus, many working in the petroleum industry near Baku.[26a] In

[23] Miller, *Materialy*, p. XIV. [24] *Ibid.*, p. iii; Hahn, pp. 181 ff.

[25] Elkan N. Adler, *Von Ghetto zu Ghetto* (Stuttgart, 1909), p. 123.

[25a] N. v. Seidlitz, "Ethnographie des Kaukasus," *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxvi (1880), 346. The Caucasus was formally taken over by the Russian government in 1864, and the first census was prepared in 1873. It is not very reliable, because only the taxpaying and settled men were counted, while women, children, nobility, military, and migratory people were neglected. Moreover, the administrative districts apparently were larger in 1926 and 1947 than in 1873, especially in the North Caucasus. F Lorimer, *Population*, p. 47, table 21; Theodore Shabad, *Geography of the USSR* (New York, 1951), pp. 501, 503, table 2.

[26] W. Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, p. 150. The Iranian Tats of the Caucasus presumably had an admixture of Turkish blood. They lived scattered all over Transcaucasia, especially in the province of Baku. Like the Persians, they were Shiites, *i.e.*, in contrast to the Sunnites, they recognized Ali as Mohammed's successor.

[26a] N. v. Seidlitz, "Ethnographie," *op. cit.*, p. 346; Gottfried Merzbacher, *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, I (Leipzig, 1901), 217; H. Schaeder, "Türkische Namen," *op. cit.*, p. 34; F. Lorimer, *Population*, p. 58, table 23. In the census of 1939 the Tats were no longer listed separately.

1926, however, Tati was spoken by some 87,020 persons, 85 per cent of whom were living in the Trans-Caucasus.[27] This group evidently included the Judeo-Tats.

The number of Jews in the Caucasus, according to the census of 1897, was 56,783, about 25,000 of whom were Mountain Jews (more or less identical with the Tats); the remainder were Georgian Jews.[28] Gustav Radde estimated the proportion of the Jewish population in the Caucasus at between 1 and 3 per cent in 1873. This estimate was probably correct for certain localities, but the over-all average probably was closer to 0.5 per cent.[29] Anisimov put the number of Mountain Jews in 1886 at 4,090 households with 21,000 people; about 10,000 of them were living in *auls* and 11,000 in cities.[30]

N. I. Marr placed at 21,000 the number of Mountain Jews in 1929, probably basing his figure on Anisimov's data. According to the census of 1926 they had increased to 25,866, including 12,476 men and 13,390 women. The 30,000 figure for 1936 appears to be a rough estimate.[30a]

The geographical distribution of the Judeo-Tats in 1926 was as follows: Makhach-Kala (formerly Petrovsk Port) on the shore of the Caspian Sea, 11.91 per cent; Buinaksk[31] (formerly Temir-Khan-Shura), about 30 miles

[27] H. Schaeder, "Türkische Namen," p. 34.

[28] W. Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, p. 151; Weissenberg I, 237. Hahn, p. 181, n. 2, gave the Jewish population of the Caucasus in or before 1892 as between 38,000 and 50,000. Aleš Hrdlička, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union* (Washington, 1942), p. 20, stated that it was 50,000 before World War II.

[29] "Vier Vorträge über den Kaukasus, gehalten im Winter 1873-74 in den grösseren Städten Deutschlands," *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt* . . . von Dr. A. Petermann, Ergänzungsband VIII (Gotha, 1874), no. 36, p. 63.

[30] Miller, *Materialy*, p. I; *ES*, XI, 464; Weissenberg I, 237.

[30a] N. IA. Marr, *Plemennoi sostav naselenii Kavkaza* [The Nationalities of the Caucasus], (Petrograd, 1920), p. 47. *BSE*, XVIII, 193 various figures for 1926 have been given in other sources: 25,191 (*BSE*, XXX, 506); 28,500 (*MSE*, VIII, 699); and 25,974 Dagestan Jews (F. Lorimer, *Population*, p. 55, table 23.

[31] Nicolaas Witsen, *Nord en Oost Tartaryen*, II, (Amsterdam, 1785), p. 566, reported that the prince of Boinak had 15,000 Jews living in his territory, most of them farmers and artisans.

southwest of and inland from Makhach-Kala, 32 per cent.[32] The Tati-speaking Mountain Jews lived in the Dagestan ASSR in the cities of Derbent and Kuba, in some villages of the Dagestan ASSR, and in some villages of the Azerbaidzhan SSR and the Northern Caucasus region, approximately in the area between Mineral'nye Vody and Baku.[33]

Education

Education among the Tats was on a low level. The rabbi, who likewise functioned as judge (*dayyan*) and performed ritual slaughterer (*shochet*), also was a teacher. His knowledge was very limited. He taught the boys (girls were not instructed) to read and write Judeo-Tati in Hebrew transcription, and for this he was remunerated with gifts, rarely with money. Teacher and pupils sat with crossed legs on a carpet. There were lower and higher schools, the latter for the training of future rabbis and *shochtim*.[34]

There were five or six higher schools, the best one being that of the chief rabbi in Derbent; others were in Groznyi, Khasab-Yurta, Temir-Khan-Shura (now Buinaksk), and in certain villages. All of them were in a pitiable state. By the end of the century some fifty students received their training there;[35] others went beyond the Caucasus. In earlier times the Tats were under the religious influence of Bagdad; but from the nineteenth century on they were trained mostly in Volozhin (Western Russia, formerly Poland).[36] The learning of the students was most superficial. Those who studied in Russia were unable to acquire, within the limited period of their schooling, the necessary linguistic tools for adequate understanding: Hebrew, Yiddish, or Russian.[37] Attendance at school was low, for the people were poor, and the children had to work to help provide for the family.

[32] *BSE*, XVIII, 194. [33] *MSE*, II, 593. [34] Chernii, p. 202.
[35] *Ibid.*, Hahn, p. 200-201. [36] Brutzkus, col. 1104.
[37] Chernii, p. 202.

In 1866 the two districts (*okrug*) of Kiurinsk and Kaitak, with a Judeo-Tat population of 898 households or 5,414 persons, boasted 15 schools with 20 teachers and 201 pupils. Facilities and instruction were, of course, very primitive; nevertheless, the schools and the number who attended them compared favorably with those of the Mohammedan population.[38] In these *okrugs* there was one school for every 154.30 Mohammedan and 59.86 Jewish households. One out of every 66.67 Mohammedans and 26.68 Jews attended school, or one for every 12.55 Mohammedan and 4.46 Jewish households.[38a]

Occupation

Anisimov estimated the occupations of the Mountain Jews in 1886, for the populations of the cities and of the *auls*.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MOUNTAIN JEWS[38b]

	Occupations	*Urban* per cent	*In the auls* per cent
I.	*Agriculture and Gardening*	35.31	33.84
	Farmers 1st class	1.39	4.71
	Farmers 2nd class	1.25	7.30
	Tobacco growers	19.89	15.34
	Sericulturists	0.12	0.74
	Gardeners	12.66	5.75
II.	*Handicrafts and Workmen*	38.15	15.52
	Leather workers (tanners)	5.90	6.10
	Artisans	1.45	0.19
	Working families	30.80	9.23
III.	*Trade and Commerce*	13.76	14.36
	Dry goods	6.56	0.61
	General stores	4.88	5.37
	Peddlers	2.32	8.38
	Total	87.22	63.72

[38] Anisimov, p. 237; Kamsky, p. 508.

[38a] Adapted from Anisimov, p. 237.

[38b] Anisimov, p. 207. The table has been rearranged in order to bring out the trends more clearly. Anisimov prepared the figures for the Mountain Jews (*Evrei gortsy*), but he did not make it clear whether the Georgian Jews were included in his estimates. Nevertheless, the figures give an approximate idea of the socio-economic structure of the Tat population.

As early as 1886, the majority of the Mountain Jews carried on their work in or near urban areas. That applies even to Group I, those occupied in agriculture and gardening. The Tats not only cultivated their own land, but in addition rented other land or did seasonal work.[39] Their main crops were wheat, barley, rice, and corn.[40] P. I. Kovalevskii thus described the working arrangements for the cultivation of tobacco, one of the Tat specialities, among the Jews of Vartashen and the Christian or Mohammedan land owners:

> . . . The owner ploughs and fertilizes the soil. The Hebrew prepares the beds, sets the plants, nurses them until they are harvested, dries them with their roots, and bundles them. The landlord provides the Hebrew with wheat, rice, and money for meat and butter during this whole period . . . The harvest is then equally divided between the owner of the land and the Hebrew.[41]

The Tats also tended fruit orchards and vineyards, some of which they owned. They produced wine.[42] Truck gardening (vegetables were one of their staple foods) was an important part of their agriculture.[43] They also engaged in animal husbandry, although not to a great extent.[44]

They grew Dyers' Madder, the root of *Rubia tinctorum*, from which they made a red dye for their own use as well as for sale.[45] The synthetic production of alizarin, the red coloring ingredient of madder, was a great economic blow.[46] They also made excellent weapons, but this was probably more applicable to the Georgian Jews.[47] The Tats were known for their good craftsmanship as tanners of chamois leather and morocco-dressing.[48] There were also weavers among them.[49]

[39] Katz, p. 13.
[40] Hahn, p. 185; Kurdov, p. 60.
[41] *Kavkaz* [*The Caucasus*], Vol. I, *Narody Kavkaza* [The Peoples of the Caucasus] (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 342-343.
[42] Chernii, p. 187; Kurdov, p. 59; Hahn, p. 185.
[43] Chernii, p. 189.
[44] Miller, *ES*, XI, 464; Katz, p. 13; Yarmolinsky, *UJE*, 68.
[45] Chernii, p. 187; Miller, *ES*, 464; Katz, p. 13; Kurdov, p. 59.
[46] Hahn, pp. 185-186. [47] Katz, p. 13.
[48] Miller, *ES*, XI, 464. [49] Kamsky, p. 508.

In 1886 a little more than 11 per cent of the urban Judeo-Tats and less than 6 per cent of those living in *auls* operated dry good stores and general stores, which also served the rest of the population. Peddling was a minor occupation engaged in by 2.32 per cent of the Tats in the cities and 8.38 per cent in the *auls*. They produced at least part of the goods they sold.

In 1903 about 60 per cent of the Mountain Jews were farmers, but in 1926 this proportion dropped to only 16 per cent.[50] Most of the Tat population were either killed or driven away by the White Guardists during the Russian Revolution of 1917. The survivors had to look for new places of settlement.[51] Meantime, many of them became workers and artisans, but they also kept up their traditional occupations, such as farming, tobacco growing, and tanning.[52] By 1926, 72.5 per cent of the Tats had become urbanized; of the Georgian Jews as many as 85.4 per cent.[53]

Anthropological and Ethnological Aspects of the Judeo-Tats

The assimilation of the Judeo-Tats by the surrounding Mohammedan mountain tribes was noted by the traveler Witsen as early as 1690.[54] The anthropological aspect of the Caucasian Jews has been summarized as follows:

> While somatologically speaking, both Gruzian [Georgian] and Gorsky Jews [Mountain Jews = Judeo-Tats] form one unit, they are ethnographically quite different. Both groups are of medium stature (163.6 cm. and 164 cm.), brachycephalic, and with rare exception, have dark hair, complexion, and eyes.[55]

[50] *BSE*, XVIII, 193. There is no indication how the percentages were computed and whether or not they include the Georgian Jews.

[51] *BSE*, XXX, 506. [52] *MSE*, II, 593; Zarubin, p. 21.

[53] F. Lorimer, *Population*, p. 55, table 23.

[54] *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*, II, 566; cf. C. M. d'Ohsson, *Des peuples du Caucase et des pays au nord de la Mer Noire et de la Mer Caspienne, dans le dixième siècle, ou voyage d'Abou-el-Cassim* (Paris, 1828), p. 179.

[55] W. Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, p. 152; cf. Weissenberg I, 238, tables III and IV; Erckert, pp. 367, 370. Of course, this statement does not apply to the 3,500 Jews who immigrated from European Russia into the Caucasus in recent times.

Miller encountered the Lesgian, Tatar, or general Caucasian type together with the Semitic facial type; this he attributed to intermarriage. He referred to the investigation of Anisimov, himself a Mountain Jew, who, on visiting the Mohammedan and Jewish Tats (1886), found they spoke almost the same dialect and often mistook the Mohammedan Tats for his co-religionists.[56] Weissenberg and Erckert both agreed on the strong representation of the Semitic, especially the Jewish type among the mountain tribes.[57] G. Merzbacher likewise makes several references to the prevalence of the Jewish type among other nationalities in the Caucasus and he points to their almost complete assimilation. But his conclusion, that "the Tats are a people of probably Iranian origin, though their type reveals an admixture of Jewish blood,"[58] for which he cited no source, seems somewhat inaccurate. With Merzbacher's view N. v. Seidlitz disagreed, a lone dissenter. He claimed that the Judeo-Tats were entirely different from their neighbors in customs, religion, and language, and that, though they wore the same dress, they could be easily distinguished from the Mohammedans.[59] The findings of Seidlitz have not been corroborated. Their best refutation are Erckert's anthropometric measurements on more than 800 Caucasians of all nationalities in various localities, definitely establishing that the Jewish type was ubiquitous among the Caucasian mountain tribes.[60] The easy distinction of Judeo-Tats from Mohammedan Tats, assumed by Seidlitz, was therefore impossible. The latter apparently relied on inaccurate information, for he was unable to communicate directly with members of any of these groups. Except with reference to religion, we may therefore disregard his opinion.

[56] Miller, *Materialy*, p. xviii; Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment* (New York, 1911), p. 131.

[57] Weissenberg I, 245; R. v. Erckert, "Kopfmessungen kaukasischer Völker," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XVIII (1888), 263-284, 297-335; XIX (1889), 55-80, 211-230.

[58] *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, I, 217.

[59] "Ethnographie des Kaukasus," *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[60] "Kopfmessungen," *op. cit.*, cf. note 57 above.

Weissenberg strongly differentiated between three Jewish groups, two of which were settled in the Caucasus: (1) the Georgian-speaking Jews in the Christian (Russian Orthodox) western half of the Caucasus bordering on the Black Sea; (2) the Tati-speaking Judeo-Tats of the Mohammedan eastern half of the Caucasus with considerable Iranian admixture; and (3) the Jews of Islamic Central Asia with much Tatar (Turkish-Mongolian) blood. The anthropometric differences among these three Jewish groups he attributed to the assimilation of numerically small groups by the locally stronger element.[61]

Women and Marriage

All domestic work was done by the women, whose position was humble in the extreme.[62] Certain chores were performed on a communal basis, such as the baking of bread, which ordinarily took place once a week before the Sabbath, each woman bringing her own dough and her share of the firewood.[63] Butter and cheese were likewise prepared cooperatively.[64] The Tat women also cooked the meals, carried the water, and chopped the wood. In addition, they made all the clothes for the whole family and even found time to do beautiful embroidery, for which they were famous. Chernii characterized them as kindhearted, hospitable, zealous, and industrious, though somewhat quarrelsome among themselves. Young women often dyed their hair and eyebrows. Their hairdo consisted of a long queue tied in a silken bag that hung from their necks.[65]

The women usually ate together with the menfolk of the family, but when a stranger arrived, they left immediately to eat by themselves. Before the Russian Revolution of 1917 they also wore veils in public.[66] Generally they were not admitted to the synagogue and they could

[61] Weissenberg I, 245; Weissenberg II, 268-269.
[62] Miller, *ES*, XI, 465. [63] Chernii, p. 189. [64] Hahn, p. 212.
[65] Chernii, p. 189. [66] *Ibid.*, p. 188; Katz, p. 14.

not read prayers. On the Sabbath and on religious holy days some pious old women were allowed to enter the ante-room of the synagogue, but the others had to stand near the windows to follow the service. Adler actually saw an old synagogue, in which a passage-like small room was partitioned off by curtains. There about a dozen women were praying.[67]

The beauty of the Tat women is proverbial. Jacob Reineggs stated that many of them joined the harems of Persian nobles.[68] Formerly, the traditional stealing of women was practiced among the Tats and the Mohammedan mountain tribes. This often led to feuds that disturbed relations between them.[69] In any case, intermarriage was not infrequent. Marriages were arranged by the father; the women had nothing to say in the matter. The *kalym* or price for a bride was not less than 150 rubles, with at least another 300 to 400 rubles added for the wedding feast and dresses. That amount, however, was approximately covered by the value of the wedding presents. Children were sometimes married off at the age of ten.[70] Both levirate marriage and polygamy were practiced among the Tats, as among the Mohammedan tribes.[71] About 10 per cent of the men in the *auls* had two or three wives. These lived together or in separate huts with earth roofs, where their husband visited them in turn. At first the Russian government tried to prohibit polygamy among the Tats, but this effort was soon abandoned. It was considered wiser not to

[67] Chernii, p. 201; Hahn, p. 202; Elkan N. Adler, *Von Ghetto zu Ghetto*, p. 122.

[68] *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, ed. by Friedrich Enoch Schröder (Gotha-St. Petersburg, 1795), I, 144.

[69] Katz, p. 15; Kamsky, p. 508

[70] Hahn, pp. 214, 220; Kamsky, p. 508.

[71] Miller, *ES*, XI, 465; Chernii, p. 200; Katz, pp. 14-15; Hahn, p. 205. In this respect they resembled the early Jews in China, who were of Perso-Indian origin and where levirate marriage and polygamy have been recorded. Cf. William Charles White, *Chinese Jews*, III (Toronto, 1942), 24; R. Loewenthal, "The Nomenclature of Jews in China," *Monumenta Serica*, XII (Peking, 1947), 112.

introduce any differentiation in the treatment of the Jewish and Mohammedan mountain tribes in order to convert them both more easily to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Hospitality, Food, Drink, Dress, and Housing

The hospitality of the Tats was very generous; they presented their guests with the most precious things at their disposal. Merchants and other travelers had their special host (*kunak*) outside their own village. This applied not only to the Judeo-Tats, but also in their mutual relations with the Mohammedans. Guests were entertained by the young people; the girls danced and played the balalaika, while the young men held armed contests. The Tats liked to drink, especially brandy and wine. They were hearty eaters, too, but their food consisted largely of bread with onion or garlic and cheese and green vegetables; boiled or fried beef and mutton were their staple meat dishes. Fruit, baked or fried in mutton fat and sugar, served as dessert. They did not wear any distinctive dress, but clothed themselves according to the custom of the tribes among whom they lived, wearing even the veil of the Mohammedan women.[72]

The Tat houses were usually built of stone, clay, and straw in the native fashion, although in Derbent, Kuban, Temir-Khan-Shura (now Buinaksk), and other cities the wealthy Jews had well-equipped European houses. But even in these houses the family occupied a special oriental section, while the European part was reserved for guests. Most houses were divided into three rooms, for men, women, and guests; carpets covered the clay floor, and the guest rooms were decorated with weapons. The upper stories of two-storied houses served as guest rooms. In the *auls* members of the family lived upstairs, while horses, cattle, and other animals were kept on the ground floor.[73]

[72] Chernii, p. 188; Katz, p. 14; Kamsky, p. 508.

[73] Chernii, pp. 187-188; Hahn, pp. 205-206; Kamsky, p. 508.

Social and Legal Status of the Judeo-Tats Before 1917

The treatment of the Mountain Jews by the Tsarist Government compared favorably with that of other Jewish groups. The whole Caucasus was made a Jewish settlement district in 1804, but in 1835 it was withdrawn from Jewish settlement.[74] Gradually the Government abandoned its original intention to deport the Jews from the Caucasus, and this decision was enacted into law in 1857, when it was decreed that those Jews who had lived there before May 12, 1837, who formed whole settlements of their own, and who were engaged in agriculture should be allowed to remain. In 1888, they were given the same rights as the other mountain tribes but were not allowed to reside outside the Caucasus. Only in exceptional cases were other Russian Jews permitted to settle in the region or even to visit it. It was a definite improvement when the Mountain Jews, who for the most part, had been made serfs by the Mohammedan princes in the thirteenth century, were freed at the instance of the Russian Government in 1866; but no land was allotted to them.[75] They were also generally better protected against the more arbitrary actions of those princes.[76] Adler maintained that the Mountain Jews were treated by the Russians almost as well as the Karaites of the Black Sea region, who had been accorded full equality with the rest of the population.[77]

The Jews living in the *auls,* like their Mohammedan fellow-citizens, were under the jurisdiction of the rural law courts; the lower courts dealt with cases not exceeding 100 rubles, the higher tribunals with those above that amount. The judges of the higher courts were both Mohammedans and Jews, who were nominated by the village elders and confirmed by the government. Blood-feuds

[74] *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* VII (1931), 286; Yarmolinsky, *UJE,* III, 69.

[75] Russo-Jewish Committee, London, *The Persecution of the Jews in Russia* (London, 1891), p. 50; *ES,* XI, 458.

[76] Brutzkus, p. 1103. [77] *Von Ghetto zu Ghetto,* p. 124.

existed, but could be settled by public negotiations between the families concerned for amounts ranging from 100 to 600 rubles.[78]

Health and Hygiene

Chernii reported that various kinds of fever and conjunctivitis were the most frequent diseases, while in the villages of the Terek region scrofula and tuberculosis prevailed.[79] According to Pantiukhov, the Judeo-Tats suffered much from *favus,* a chronic filth disease of the scalp, caused by a fungus growth.[80] It may be that this disease was feigned to some extent in the hope of escaping conscription into the Russian army. Eventually *favus* ceased to be a cause for exemption from military service, and it decreased considerably; later authors no longer reported its occurrence.[81]

Religion

The synagogues of the Tats were built in the style of the Tatar mosques. The rabbis prayed facing westward in the direction of Solomon's Temple. During the prayers, which were said twice a day, at dawn and at sunset, those present—women were not admitted—sat in silence. Circumcision took place in the synagogue.[82]

Traces of Islamic and other influences were found in the ideas of the Caucasian Jews regarding immortality and transmigration of souls, heaven and hell, in their belief in good and evil spirits, in the form of their agricultural festivals, and in numerous superstitions.[83] They frequently carried their swords, even while attending religious services,

[78] Katz, p. 21; Kamsky, p. 508. [79] Chernii, p. 200.

[80] Pantiukhov, p. 448.

[81] Cf. M. Fishberg, *The Jews,* p. 317, who investigated these matters.

[82] Chernii, pp. 201-202; Miller, *ES,* XI, 465; Zarubin, p. 21; Kamsky, p. 508.

[83] Chernii, pp. 200-202; Brutzkus, col. 1104.

which was also in keeping with the tradition of the mountain tribes.[84]

Jewish-Mohammedan Relations

The Judeo-Tats were distinguishable only by their religion from the Mohammedan natives of the Caucasus. They were subject to the whims of the local princes, who sorely oppressed them as they did their Mohammedan subjects. After the final annihilation of the Khazars in 1223,[85] the Tats were forcibly converted to Islam, but they returned to their own faith as soon as the pressure ceased.

Russia yielded to Nadir Shah (Persian ruler 1736-1747) when he threatened to join Turkey in the Russo-Turkish war (1736-39) unless he were given the important fortresses of Baku and Derbent. Nadir Shah then converted to Islam some of the Jewish communities in the territory under his control.[86]

Shamyl (1797-1871), a native of Dagestan and from 1834 on the leader of the Mohammedan tribes in their fight for freedom, demanded the conversion of the Mountain Jews. His surrender to the Russians in 1859 and the crushing of the last Cherkess resistance in 1863 completed the Russian conquest of the Caucasus and ended further attempts at Mohammedan conversion.[87]

However, Islam was successful to some extent through intermarriage, as will be explained below. Pantiukhov is even of the opinion that some of the present Mohammedan tribes are partly Jewish in origin.[88]

The Judeo-Tats During World Wars I and II

During the Russian civil war after 1917 the Judeo-Tats suffered severely from the invasion of the White

[84] Isaak Markon, "Kaukasus," *Jüdisches Lexikon*, III, 637.

[85] The last remnants of the Jewish Khazar state were destroyed during the Mongol invasion of 1223.

[86] Brutzkus, col. 1102-1103. [87] Kamsky, p. 508.

[88] Pantiukhov, p. 448.

Guardists. These troops persecuted the Jewish groups or encouraged the Mohammedan population to do so. Consequently, in many instances the Mohammedans appropriated the land of the Mountain Jews and expelled them from their *auls*. The situation was similar to that of the Kalmucks, whose land and other possessions were largely confiscated by the surrounding Russian peasant population. During these troubled times more than 2,000 Judeo-Tats found temporary shelter in Derbent. Here they lived in dire poverty, unsanitary conditions causing a high mortality rate, especially among the children.[89]

According to eyewitness reports, after the German occupation of Nal'chik in the former Kabardino-Balkar ASSR at the end of 1942, some fifteen or twenty shallow mass graves were discovered containing between twenty and thirty corpses each. Mostly Kabardinians and Balkars, but also Russians and Mountain Jews. They had been executed by the NKVD (Russian secret police) before the Russians had withdrawn. This occurrence deeply impressed the native population and strengthened their old longing for independence. Like the Buddhist Kalmucks on the northwest tip of the Caspian Sea, they looked upon the Germans as "liberators" from Soviet oppression. In the Nal'chik region Kabardinians and Balkars formed a local "government" more or less under German auspices and necessarily cooperating with the occupant. The Germans were pleased, of course, to have a friendly population on whom they could rely. Accordingly, they treated them quite well. On the other hand, several hundred Jews in Piatigorsk, who had been left behind by the Russians, were immediately seized by the Nazi troops and shot. The local population, whether Russian, or Terek Cossack, Karachai, and Kabardinian, being usually very anti-Semitic, immediately seized any Jews who had succeeded in hiding and delivered them to the Nazi troops, who then killed them.[90]

[89] *BSE*, XXX, 506; Kamsky, p. 509.

[90] Moses Z. Frank, "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," *The American Jewish Year Book*, XLV (1943), 304, gave the number of Jews killed in Piatigorsk and Kislovodsk as 2,800 and 3,000 respectively.

With the Tats, however, the situation was different. About 3,000 of them lived in Nal'chik and smaller numbers in Piatigorsk and other cities at that time ,and the military began imposing restrictions upon them which usually presaged actual extermination of the Jews by the Germans. As the Tats were assimilated to the mountain tribes in their customs, dress, and language, they found sympathy everywhere.[91] Two Tat representatives, Shabaev and Mizgirev, who at that time lived near Nal'chik, approached a scientist to help them. The facts were presented to the German commander, who was apparently quite humane. He asked for a report, and in this the Iranian descent of the Tats was emphasized. In addition, it was stressed that in the regulations of the governor-general (*namestnik*) of the Caucasus, Vorontsov-Dashkov (1852), and of his successor (1869), as well as in Tsarist legislation (1888), the Tats had not been considered as Jews, but as members of the mountain tribes.[92] The Germans decided to make an investigation on the spot. An elaborate feast with native food, songs, and dances was organized for a group of German officers, who were presented with gifts of homemade carpets, Caucasian papakha-caps (fur caps), silver swords, etc. The Germans were so pleased with the Judeo-Tats that they permitted them to engage in any trade and freed them from the exceptionally high taxes imposed on the "lower races," such as Poles, Jews, and Gypsies.

This situation lasted from October, 1942 to January, 1943, when the Germans were defeated before Stalingrad. About 2,000 of the 3,000 Russian scientists who had taken refuge in the Caucasus, half of the Karachai and Kabardinian population, and part of the Tats followed the retreating Germans. Those remaining were immediately arrested by the returning Russians for "collaboration" with the Ger-

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 303: "In the Kabardin Balkary Soviet Republic in the Caucasian Mountains, the mountaineer Jews and the Balkary refused the Nazi offers to betray one another and joined forces to attack the Germans with knives and daggers."

[92] *ES*, XI, 458.

mans and were deported beyond the Urals to Siberia. There they suffered the same fate as the peoples of the satellite states in the west, the Kalmucks in the north on the shore of the Caspian Sea, and those other nationalities of the Caucasus who were either completely denationalized and deprived of their civil rights or physically annihilated in the slave labor camps.

A Judeo-Tat Remnant in Israel

Before World War I a group of some 560 Jews with their rabbi emigrated from Derbent to Palestine, finding occupation as workmen, watchmen, and small traders. Among them, apparently, were some Judeo-Tats. Another wave of immigrants arrived after the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution.[93] These immigrants are rapidly losing their identity in the young state of Israel and soon their tradition and language will be a thing of the past.

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[93] I. Ben-Zevie, *Shifte Yisraël Birushalajim* [Tribes of Israel in Jerusalem] (Tel-Aviv, 1936), pp. 112-114

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BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Orthodox Jewry

THE HISTORY OF ORTHODOX JEWRY IN GERMANY. By *Hermann Schwab.* The Mitre Press. London, 1951. 159 pp.

THIS book deals with the history of "orthodox" Judaism in Germany (without making any distinction between orthodoxy and fundamentalism) from the time of Mendelssohn to the present.

Special care is devoted to a discussion of Samson Raphael Hirsch, in whose shadow the author grew up, and to Jacob Rosenheim, an older friend of his. In addition, he pays careful attention to organizational questions, particularly to the dispute over the question whether it is a religious obligation to withdraw from Jewish communities that maintain reform synagogues beside the traditional institutions. The author shows at great length how these differences of opinion impeded the organizational unification of orthodox Jewry, since its right wing refused cooperation with those who were not members of the separate orthodox communities. He welcomes the fact that for the representatives of all diverse religious groups a common platform was found in the Agudas Yisroel. He even raises the question whether it would not have been wiser for orthodox Jewry to join the Zionist movement *en masse* at its start so that they might have had a share in molding its religious attitude.

The orthodox movement outside Germany is scarcely touched upon by Schwab, but he discusses in great detail all the non-orthodox groups within the country. He deals with all the non-partisan social and welfare organizations, the development of "Wissenschaft des Judentums," the representatives of the Reform movement and their conventions.

Though never deviating from his own point of view, the author tries earnestly to distribute light and shadow evenly and justly. He does not deceive his readers about the weakness of Hirsch's exegetical method and expresses his sincere appreciation for Marcus Horovitz and Nehemias Nobel, the rabbis of the Frankfurt "Gemeinde." In characterizing Franz Rosenzweig, he does not fail to mention the latter's reserved attitude towards Hirsch. When describing the position of Zacharias Frankel and Abraham Geiger, he does not indulge in emotional outbursts, but quotes their own statements and those of their pupils.

The effect on orthodox Judaism of the surrounding world is scarcely mentioned by Schwab. Only in his introductory remarks does

he point to the influence of Enlightenment. Nothing is said, however, about the ever-increasing intensification of economic competition and the Sunday laws, which rendered the observance of Torah more and more difficult. Neither does he discuss the threat to orthodox conceptions encountered in higher Biblical criticism and the democratic press, nor those "romantic" (in the broadest meaning of the term) trends which led to a better appreciation of the positive religions. For he is less concerned with deepening scholarly insight than with erecting a monument to those men to whom orthodox Judaism owes its ideological preservation and organizational maintenance in Germany. This intention of the author is completely realized by his clear and concise presentation.

Not only the general reader, but the scholar as well, will in many respects profit from a perusal of this volume, which springs from an inner intimacy with its subject and is based on a thorough knowledge of numerous details not available to those outside the realm of orthodox Judaism.

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JEWRY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION. By *Solomon M. Schwarz.* With a Foreword by Alvin Johnson. Syracuse University Press. Syracuse, N. Y., 1951. Pp. xviii + 380.

OUT of the mass of rumor, propaganda, and half-truth that has clouded the problem of the Jews in the Soviet Union, has finally emerged a sober, dispassionate, and documented study. Solomon Schwarz, economist and lawyer, lifelong student of the Soviet Union, and one of the actors in the early history of the Soviet State, has approached his topic with the tools of a statistical economist and with a bias acquired by actual experience with Soviet methods.

In the first part of the study the author investigates the problem of Soviet policy toward national minorities in general and toward the Jewish minority in particular. In the second part he investigates anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union from 1917 to the present. His thesis that "the right of self-determination and self-government supposedly enjoyed by minority nationalities in the Soviet Union is a myth" and that in the Soviet Union "free development of all minority nationalities was increasingly frustrated by the general lack of freedom" (p. 6) is well buttressed by evidence gleaned from Soviet sources, including newspapers, journals, stenographic reports of meetings, and writings by Soviet authorities. Despite the fact that many sources were not available to the author, those that were accessible to and con-

sulted by him made it possible to build up a convincing case for his basic thesis.

After laying the socio-economic foundation for his study through statistical charts on population distribution and occupation changes of the Jews in Russia from 1897 to 1926, the author examines the Communists' theoretical approach to the "national problem" and to the "Jewish people." It becomes clear, in the light of Lenin's and Stalin's basically centralist position, that the Soviet policy of self-determination for national minorities was a tactical and thus meaningless manoeuvre; the right to develop national cultures and cultural autonomy was vigorously denied by Lenin in his polemics against the *Bund*. However, objective conditions—the need to raise the cultural levels of nomadic and "backward peoples" before they can be successfully utilized in an industrialized economy—forced the Communists to espouse the development of minority national culture. But even here there is a limiting proviso—minority groups have a right to develop a culture which is national in form but proletarian in content—meaning that cultural development will be limited to propagandizing in the language of the minority group. As far as the Jews are concerned, they are not a nation for they do not mechanically fit the criteria for nationhood set down by Stalin in 1913, and thus are not entitled to the rights of national development. The solution to the Jewish problem then, according to Lenin, is the establishment of "racial" and national equality and the fostering of cultural assimilation.

Although this theoretical approach to the Jews has never been modified, Communist practice of the last thirty-four years has not always adhered rigorously to it. One of the first problems facing the new Soviet State was the productivization of its population. Since the Jews constituted a large "non-productive" group, it was necessary to create apparatus to proletarianize them. This was done by founding central and local Jewish Commissariats and the infamous Yevsektsiya, whose functions were fourfold: to be Communist apostles to the Jews, to destroy the non-Communist parties in the Jewish community, to destroy the Jewish communities themselves, and to foster industrialization. These Communist organs were successful as far as the first three aims were concerned, but an examination of the statistics on occupational distribution of the Jews in the Soviet Union for 1926 shows that the percentage of wage earners declined 0.3 per cent or from 15.0 per cent in 1897 to 14.7 per cent in 1926. Thus something more had to be done; a specific Jewish solution had to be found.

In 1924 the Soviet State decided that for the Jews proletarianization should proceed through agricultural resettlement. In order to implement this plan, the Soviet Government established Komzet (Komerd) to promote the settlement of destitute town Jews on the land. Until the inauguration of intensive industrialization, Komzet was suc-

cessful in establishing Jewish rural communities in White Russia, the Ukraine, and Crimea and in raising the number of Jewish farmers in the population, thereby leading many Jews to believe that the Soviet Union was interested in establishing Jewish nationhood. This illusion was destroyed by the events that took place after the initiation of the Stalin Five Year Plans. Jewish rural resettlement was halted, and the Jews from the "Shtetl" were absorbed by the urban factories. As a result "by 1939 the process of 'industrialization' or 'proletarianization' had virtually reached its natural limit . . ." (p. 170). This had the effect of scattering the Jewish masses across the Soviet Union, making possible denationalization and cultural assimilation of the Jews.

The author closely examines the development of Birobidzhan, and the evidence at his disposal leads him to conclude that despite the high hopes of Jewish Communists that this would be the beginning of a Jewish nation on Soviet soil, the Jews were, are, and probably will remain a minority in the so-called Jewish Autonomous Province. The author has unearthed evidence to show that even at its inception Birobidzhan was not meant to benefit the Jews, but rather the Jews were meant to benefit the Soviet State by colonizing and thus assimilating this Far Eastern region into the Soviet State, thereby preventing "imperialist neighbors" from plucking this dubious plum from the Soviet tree.

In the first part of the book Dr. Schwarz also considers the problem of the development and decline of Yiddish culture in the Soviet Union, as well as the question of Soviet activity in rescuing Jews during wartime. From the evidence at hand it would seem that developing a Soviet culture in Yiddish facilitated "productivization" of the Jewish masses, that this productivization led to assimilation, and the latter destroyed the need for Yiddish. A casual glance at the population statistics, as well as interviews with and writings of Jewish survivors of Nazi terror, will convince all except a party-liner that no conscious effort was made by the Soviet Union to accord to the Jews any special evacuation privileges, and that those who escaped the Nazi executioners were saved by their own efforts.

The second, and weaker, part of the study (weaker because of comparative lack of primary source materials) investigates the problem of anti-Semitism. The author differentiates between two types of anti-Semitism: the "old" or popular variety which, despite the attempts of the Soviet Union to wipe it out prior to 1936, still exists, and the "new" or subtle type, which manifests itself in the ousting of Jews from many spheres of Soviet life. Evidence for the second type, though not conclusive, is ominous enough to make one question the intent of the Soviet State. Is the Soviet Union using this creeping, stealthy discrimination to foster its avowed plan of forcing a denationalizing or assimilating process on those Jews who still are unassimilated?

Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the legal methods used by the Soviet government to halt popular anti-Semitism. Despite the fact that the first Criminal Code of 1922 and Section 59-7 of the Statute of Crimes against the State, issued in 1927, made "agitation and propaganda arousing national enmities" a crime punishable by two years' imprisonment during peacetime and even by death during wartime, the courts were very lenient in enforcing these laws. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR ruled in 1930 that "attacks on individual members of national minorities following personal conflicts with such individuals" were to be punished under statutes governing insult and abuse or hooliganism. The author finds that "in 38 trials involving 70 defendants [accused of anti-Semitic acts], only 14 out of the 60 persons convicted were sentenced to imprisonment" (p. 277-8). He concludes that it was not any positive action on the part of the Soviet Union—legal, educational, or otherwise—that halted "popular anti-Semitism"; rather, the recruitment of non-European groups into the Soviet industrial economy and the resultant migrations had the effect of replacing the Jew by the Oriental as the foreign element in the eyes of the Russian people.

As far as the "new" anti-Semitism is concerned, all the evidence is not in as yet, and we cannot come to any final conclusion. However, the existence or non-existence of official anti-Semitism is immaterial to the basic development of Soviet policy toward the Jews. This policy, following directly from Communist dialectics, which denies the existence of a Jewish nationality, is best summarized by the author on page 215:

> The suppression of the last Jewish newspaper of any importance, the dissolution of the only noteworthy Jewish publishing house in the Soviet Union, and the impenetrable official silence on all matters of Jewish interest, permit of only one interpretation. Sometime in 1948 it was decided to put an end to everything that in any way could stimulate or keep alive the national consciousness of Soviet Jews, so that they might ultimately disappear as a separate national group. Certainly, Jews will continue to live in the Soviet Union, and Jewish religious congregations may even exist, but there will be no 'Jewry,' no Jewish nation, no Jewish community or culture.

Pessimistic as this statement may be, it is the evidence rather than personal bias that draws the author to this conclusion.

The scholarship, the statistical charts, and the sober manner of presentation make this volume not only an important contribution to modern Jewish history, but also an important case study of national minority rights in a communist state.

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American Jewish History

AMERICAN JEWRY AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *Bertram W. Korn.* The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1951. xii + 331 pp.

THE decade of the 1850's marked the greatest increase in the Jewish population of the United States prior to the 1880's and produced the American-Jewish community. This volume presents a "group biography" of this community during the decade and a half that brought about the crisis over slavery and the final appeal of the sectional conflict to the arbitrament of arms. The life of those American Jews, who did not abandon their Jewish ways altogether, centered around the synagogue, a communal center for education, philanthropy, fraternal and other social activities, as well as religion. Isaac Leeser and Samuel M. Isaacs were among the early leaders of American Jewry for the traditionalists; Isaac M. Wise and David Einhorn represented the reformers. However much they disagreed among themselves because of theology, linguistic and cultural barriers, they, along with an expanding Jewish press, were the chief instruments in building the new Judaism of the eighteen-fifties.

Slavery and secession affected the Jewish community as they did every other native or foreign-born group. Jewry as such took no official stand on the issues; Jews, like their Christian brethren, divided into two opposing camps, quoted from the same Bible to support their conflicting positions, and saw nothing inconsistent about praying to the same God to bless one part of the nation while helping to destroy the other half. Rabbi Einhorn understood the relationship between Negro rights and the rights of all other minority groups; Rabbi Wise, on the other hand, remained a loyal Democrat, hated the abolitionists, and was kept from running for office in Ohio on the Democratic ticket only by the energetic opposition of his Cincinnati congregation.

During the Civil War Jews were active on the home front on both sides of the line. They raised funds for relief purposes through fairs and balls and bazaars, worked with the Sanitary Commission, shipped *matzot* to their soldiers at the front, and converted hospital wards to military use. About 10,000 Jews served in the Union and Confederate armies; it was the experiences of the war years that greatly accelerated the Americanization of the Jewish community and stimulated the growth of its national organizations and institutions.

Unfortunately, the war also aroused the latent Judaeophobia of North and South, as men looked around for a scapegoat for their troubles. The South had always distrusted foreigners, and in an agrarian economy, the storekeeper was viewed with suspicion. The fundamentalist character of Southern Protestantism and the fact that Judah

P. Benjamin was a prominent member of President Davis' cabinet contributed materially to the South's anti-Jewish prejudices. In the North, Jews were frequently referred to as "Copperheads" and accused of getting rich by furnishing the South with the sinews of war. Jews fought back against such unfair generalizations through the press, the pulpit, and protest meetings, but accomplished relatively little at a time when war had unleashed the dormant prejudices of a large part of the American population.

The most dramatic manifestations of anti-Semitism occurred in connection with the recruiting of chaplains for the armed forces and Grant's notorious General Order No. 11 of December, 1862, ordering the expulsion of all Jews "as a class" from his Department of the Tennessee. The Confederacy had stipulated that chaplains must be "clergymen," thus creating no special issue for Jews, but the United States Congress, perhaps quite inadvertently, had specified that only regularly ordained members of a "Christian denomination" could serve the armed forces and had rejected Vallandigham's suggestion to substitute the words "religious society" in the statute. The Jewish community, through all its agencies, protested strongly against a law that virtually made Christianity the sole official religion, and considered the enactment a violation of its constitutional rights. Lincoln agreed when the matter was called to his attention; Rabbi Jacob Frankel became a military chaplain in 1862 and Ferdinand Sarner was elected chaplain of the 54th New York Volunteers.

Grant's order stemmed from the orgy of illicit trading, bribery, and corruption that went on around Memphis during the war. There is no evidence to show that Jews were any worse offenders than other traders and speculators, and indeed, Grant's own father was involved in the shady transactions. The Jewish community quite properly regarded the order as an insult to an entire group of American citizens. It made its attitude known in Washington, and Lincoln immediately instructed Halleck to countermand the order. Dr. Korn has looked into the question of responsibility for the iniquitous order, and though there is some evidence to implicate Halleck and an assistant secretary of war, and we know that Butler and Sherman were equally prejudiced, he concludes that Grant himself must bear the stigma of authorship. Although Grant never sinned again, the Democrats made good use of the issue when he ran for president. Nevertheless, in 1868 and 1872, the Jewish vote was divided between the parties, and there were sycophants among the Jews, as in other groups of American voters, who sought and accepted political plums from the Republican administration.

The final chapter of this interesting study describes Lincoln's relations with several prominent Jews, such as Abraham Jonas, a Whig politician and former Grand Master of the Kentucky Masons, whom he appointed to a postmastership, and Isachar Zacharie, the amazing foot

doctor who trimmed the President's corns and became one of Lincoln's trusted envoys in matters of both war and peace. Dr. Korn rejects Wise's absurd assertion that Lincoln himself was Jewish, but he has no trouble proving that the President was a man utterly without prejudice. Actually, Lincoln never felt at home in any religious denomination, and his great compassion and sense of humor about human frailties made him the friend of all men regardless of race or religion.

This is an excellent book. The narrative would have moved along a little more briskly if the author had reduced somewhat his quotations and philosophizing, but this does not detract from its scholarly merit. The bibliography, appendix, and footnotes add greatly to the value of the book. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that the publisher relegated the footnotes to the back, where they can be used only after a somewhat irritating search. Dr. Korn has given us a segment of American-Jewish history which is as important for the historian of immigration as it is for those with a special interest in American Jewry. We need more of such studies and less of the kind that merely enumerate names with extravagant and dubious claims about individual greatness. This is an honest and superior piece of historical craftsmanship. It deserves to be widely read, and its theme is not without significance for the present day.

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Historia Judaica

TWO STUDIES ON MODERN ANTI-SEMITISM

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I

*THE JEW-HATRED OF MIKHAIL ALEKSANDROVICH BAKUNIN**

ONE looks in vain in Bakunin's writings for an extensive treatment of the Jewish question. All his remarks about the Jews are more or less casual and, most frequently, polemical. They are contained in private letters, political memorandums, and, to a lesser extent, in printed articles and books. A good number of Bakunin's letters and manuscripts have not yet been published, and it is quite possible that they harbor some relevant material. Nonetheless, sufficient statements are available to establish, along broad lines, his ideas about the Jewish people. They are all unsympathetic, and most of them were made in the years 1869 to 1874, i.e., during Bakunin's struggle against Marx and his influence in the International.

It may be recalled in this connection that as far as international Socialism or Anarchism is concerned, Bakunin's most important years are those which he spent outside his native Russia. Born in 1814 of aristocratic parents, he was

* The material contained in these studies was to a large extent collected in the summer of 1949 in Amsterdam (International Institute for Social History) and Bruxelles (Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique). The author was enabled to go to Europe by a research grant of Princeton University whose member of faculty he then was.

intended for a military career, but after a short period of service in the army, he resigned in 1835. The next six years he passed in St. Petersburg and Moscow, where he came in contact with radical circles. In 1840 he left Russia, and in the years following lived in several Western European countries. Arrested for participation in the revolutionary movement in Dresden (1849), he was handed over to the Russian government (1851). In 1861 he escaped from Siberia and was later active in England, Italy, Switzerland, and France. From 1867 on, he lived, except for short intervals, in Switzerland, where he founded the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868). He joined the First International in 1869, but was expelled from it in 1872 by Marx and his adherents. After this split in the International, the followers of Bakunin continued to act in a separate international organization. In 1874, Bakunin withdrew from political life. Two years later he died in Bern, Switzerland.

In his writings, casual remarks about the Jews already occur at the turn of the eighteen-forties. In a letter to Herwegh, written in 1847, Bakunin censured the Polish historian Joachim Lelewel for his friendship with a certain Louis Lubliner, "a Jew who poses as a Pole" and "the most unbearable creature one can imagine."[1] In his famous con-

[1] Marcel Herwegh, ed., *Briefe von und an Georg Herwegh* (2d ed., Munich, 1898), p. 13.

Bakunin's anti-Semitism is best — though not thoroughly enough — discussed by Yurii M. Steklov, *Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin* (4 vols., Moscow, 1926-27), III, 346-350. Important material on the People's Will Party is contained in A. V. Yakimova-Dikovskaia et al., (editors), *Literatura partii Narodnaia Volia* (Moscow, 1930), a volume which reproduces textually all the periodical publications of the party. This material is carefully discussed by A. Linden, "Prototyp des Pogroms in den Achtziger Jahren," *Die Judenpogrome in Russland* (2 vols., Cologne, 1910), I, 46-66, a collective volume prepared by a Zionist committee. The pogromist manifesto of September 1, 1881, was first reprinted by S. Valk, "G. G. Romanenko," *Katorga i Ssylka*, No. 48 (1928), pp. 50-52. Another pogromist leaflet of the People's Will Party, of March 18, 1883, is reproduced — and still others briefly described — by Mikhailo Buzhinskii, in Ukrainskaia Akademiia Nauk, Kiev, Istoriochna Sektsiia, *Zapiski*, XXIX (1928), 123-124. Useful indications are also contained in the standard text on the Socialist movement among the Jews up to 1897, *Historishe Shriftn*, III (Vilna, 1939), edited by several experts and published by the Yiddish Scientific Institute (Yivo).

fession to the Tsar (1851), Bakunin also referred to the German "Kikes" — he used the abusive term *zhidy* — as an element that insulted the Poles in 1848.[2] Symptomatically, in 1860, when he criticized the Poles for their tendency to shut off their national life from world influences and for boasting of a kind of Messianic vocation, he compared them to the Jews. This Jewish presumption, or as Bakunin says, "this Judaism [of the Poles] will ruin them, if we Slavs, and, above all, we Russians do not drag them out of this unhealthy self-contemplation."[3]

Confession of Faith of a Russian Socialist Democrat

While the comments thus far quoted are incidental, those which will be discussed presently bear a more systematic character. It was, in fact, in 1869 that Bakunin, replying to an attack by Moses Hess, started an anti-Jewish campaign. On October 2, 1869, Hess published an article in the Parisian radical newspaper *Le Réveil,* in which he accused Bakunin — the "leader of Russian Communism" and, moreover, "a Russian patriot" — of intriguing against the International and of rendering, unknowingly, a service to the Panslavist movement. Bakunin's "summary" methods, said Hess, would provoke "a social war in Europe that would permit the barbarians of the North to rejuvenate modern civilization, as, at the end of ancient history, they renewed the Roman civilization." Such summary methods, according to Hess, were not suitable to Europeans, who were not eager to descend to the level of Russian society merely to prepare themselves for "a Muscovite and Prussian invasion."

The Hess article enraged Bakunin, and shortly after its publication he began to draft a reply in the form of a letter to the editor of *Le Réveil,* Charles Delescluze. As frequently happened with Bakunin, what was intended to

[2] Bakunin, *Ispoved'*, in Polonskii, *Materiali,* I (Moscow, 1923), 183; cf. also p. 118.

[3] Bakunin to Herzen, Nov. 7, 1860, in Bakunin, *Pisma,* (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 161. See also *ibid.*, pp. 141, 229, on the "Kikes" Rosenthal and Tugendbold.

be a letter grew into a long essay. He sent it to Herzen with a request that Herzen help him to publish it. Reluctantly Herzen submitted it to Delescluze, who, however, refused o print it. It thus remained unpublished until long after Bakunin's death.

The essay, entitled "Confession of Faith of a Russian Socialist Democrat Preceded by a Study on the German Jews," begins with a rhetorical statement that its author is neither an enemy nor a vilifier of the Jews. One may take him for a cannibal, he notes wittily, but he does not push his barbarism that far. In his eyes, one nation is as good as any other. Each is, moreover, "an ethnographically historical product, and consequently is not responsible for its defects nor for its merits. With regard to modern Jews, one may thus [sic] observe that their nature does not lend itself well to free Socialism. Long before the Christian era, their history imprinted upon them an essentially mercantile and bourgeois tendency, [and] that is why, considered as a nation, they are *par excellence* exploiters of others' labor, and have a natural horror and fear of the popular masses, whom, moreover, they despise, either openly or secretly. The habit of exploitation, though it develops the intelligence of the exploiters, gives it an exclusive and baneful direction, entirely opposed to the interests as well as to the instincts of the proletariat."[4]

Bakunin is convinced that he exposes himself to enormous danger by expressing so frankly his intimate thoughts about the Jews. Many people, he says, share his opinion, but do not dare to make it publicly known, because the Jewish sect, more dreadful than the Jesuits, constitutes a real power in Europe. It reigns despotically over commerce and banks and has invaded three quarters of German journalism as well as a large proportion of the newspapers in other countries. Woe to those who make the mistake of displeasing it.[5]

[4] Bakunin, *Profession de foi . . .* , in his *Oeuvres,* (6 vols., Paris, 1895-1913), V, 243.

[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 243-244.

As one sees, this denunciation of the Jews is quite a general one. It is not, however, a total one. To condemn all the Jews, says Bakunin, would be both unjust and foolish. Frequently a social and political environment produces, as an energetic protest against itself, something entirely contrary to its own nature. Thus Judaism produced, in the past, Jesus Christ, St. Paul, and Spinoza, and, in the present, two of the most eminent contemporary Socialists, Marx and Lassalle. But besides these two "giant Jews," there has been and still is "a crowd of pygmy Jews," of whom Moses Hess is one.[6] Concealed behind the scenes of German journalism, they control it collectively and they have corrupted it deeply. Devoid of any moral sense and of personal dignity, they make of calumny a daily pastime.[7]

Compared with other contemporary pronouncements of Bakunin, the language of the essay on the German Jews is less abusive, for the simple reason that the essay was intended for publication. In fact, Bakunin was ready to tone it down even more. He authorized Herzen, who disapproved of his whole racial and anti-Semitic approach, to make certain slight stylistic alterations in the manuscript, which, he suspected, would appear to his friend as "perhaps too crude and of an extreme vulgarity."[8]

Such inhibitions did not exist when Bakunin wrote to political friends from whom he did not expect opposition. His letter to Albert Richard is, in this respect, very instructive. There he speaks of the German Socialist leaders as a group which, to a great extent, is composed of "Jews, i.e., exploiters and bourgeois."[9] All the enemies of the Bakuninist organization, "all these barkers are Jews: Marx, Hess, Borckheim, Liebknecht [sic], . . . Utin and many others are Jews. By tradition and by instinct, they all belong to that restless, intriguing, exploiting and bourgeois nationality."[10] It is well known that Bakunin had no great liking for

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 244.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[8] Bakunin to Herzen, Oct. 18, 1869, in Bakunin, *Pisma*, p. 334.
[9] Bakunin to Richard, April 1, 1870, in *Revue de Paris*, Sept. 1, 1896, p. 128.
[10] *Ibid.*

Marx and that he wrote much against "the dictatorship of the German Jew."[11] Yet what he has to say about Marx is, for our purpose, of interest only because he considers "the modern Moses" as a typical representative of the Jewish people.[12] Marx, says Bakunin, is possessed of great intelligence, but he is a quarrelsome fellow, "a detestable character, vain, irascible, jealous, susceptible, artful, perfidious and capable of great violence and an intriguer in the highest degree, as, moreover, all Jews are."[13] (This, incidentally, was written to a man for whom Bakunin had very little respect at the time of his writing and whom he called an "ignoble villain" and "a traitor" when, in 1872, Richard went over to the Bonapartists.[14])

Several others of Bakunin's letters are written in the same vein. In a letter to the "Brethren of the Spanish Alliance" (1872) he characterizes Marx's vanity as "the true vanity of a Jew."[15] In his letter to Ludovico Nabruzzi (1872) he says that Marx's vile slandering "is the way the Germans, and especially the German Jews, have of fighting against their opponents."[16] In yet another letter, addressed to *La Liberté* (1872), Bakunin maintains that Marx has at his disposal "a kind of Socialist and literary Freemasonry, in which his countrymen, the German and other Jews, occupy an important place."[17]

Marx was not the only *bête noire* of Bakunin. There was also a certain Nicolas Utin (Outine), a revolutionary who, after having fled from Russia to Geneva, was organizing there the Russian section of the International. The

[11] Bakunin, in a memoir to Italian friends (1871), in Max Nettlau, *Michael Bakunin: Eine Biographie,* III (London, 1896-1900), n. 2599. A copy of this rare, mimeographed biography is available at Columbia University Press, New York City.

[12] Bakunin, "Lettres à un Français" (1870), *Oeuvres,* IV, p. 69.

[13] Bakunin to Richard, April 1, 1870, *op. cit.,* pp. 128-129.

[14] Bakunin, "Deux traîtres," *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne,* Feb. 15, 1872, p. 4. (A complete file of this extremely rare *Bulletin* is available at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, which acquired Max Nettlau's invaluable collection of Anarchist publications.)

[15] Bakunin, *Gesammelte Werke* (3 vols., Berlin, 1921-24), III, 115.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 189. Cf. also Bakunin, "Mémoire justificatif" (July, 1874), in James Guillaume, *L'Internationale* (4 vols., Paris, 1905-10), III, 100.

[17] Bakunin, *Oeuvres,* IV, 361.

alleged intrigues for which Bakunin reproaches him do not concern us here. But he also accuses him of passing himself off in Switzerland for a true Russian. This is something Bakunin simply cannot stand. "Utin (is it necessary to state it?) is Jewish by birth, and what is even worse, he is a Russian Jew. He looks it; he has the temperament, the character, the manners, the whole nervous nature, at the same time insolent and cowardly, vain and mercantile."[18]

While Bakunin's statements thus far quoted were posthumously published, there are similar pronouncements of his which he did not hesitate to put in print. Thus, referring to the Circular of the General Council of the International in London of March 5, 1872, Bakunin writes — in the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne* — that it is a collection of absurd and dirty stories spread by "German and Russian Jews" against the comrades of the Jura. And he reminds the comrades that he was the first victim of the "furious synagogue." He does not deny that Marx's coterie is sincerely devoted to the proletarian cause, but at the same time draws attention to their "personal as well as racial" vanity and ambitiousness.[19]

In his *Statehood and Anarchy,* published in 1873, Bakunin presents Marx as "extraordinarily ambitious and vain, quarrelsome, impatient and absolute as Jehovah, the God of his ancestors";[20] in his triple capacity as "Hegelian,

[18] Bakunin, "Outine, le Macchabée et le Rothschild de l'Internationale de Genève" (1871), *Oeuvres,* VI, 266.

[19] "C'est [the Circular] un recueil tant bien que mal systématisé de tous les contes absurdes et sales que la méchanceté plus perverse que spirituelle des Juifs allemands et russes . . . a propagés et colportés contre nous tous, mais surtout contre moi." " . . . Et moi, le bouc expiatoire condamné par la furieuse synagogue à pâtir pour nos péchés collectifs, j'ai été le premier à m'en ressentir. Vous rappelez-vous l'article du Juif allemand Maurice Hess dans le *Réveil* (en automne 1869), reproduit et développé bientôt après par les Borckheim et autres Juifs allemands du *Volksstaat?* Je vous fais grâce du petit Juif russe de l'*Egalité* de Genève [Utin]." "Sans doute à leur grand zèle [i.e., that of Marx and his followers] pour la cause du prolétariat s'ajoute, d'une façon assez déplaisante, une dose considérable de prétentions vaniteuses et de vues ambitieuses, tant personnelles que de race." From "Réponse du citoyen Bakunin," *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne,* June 15, 1872, p. 4.

[20] Bakunin, *Gosudarstvennost' i Anarkhiia,* (2d ed., St. Petersburg, 1922), p. 195.

Jew and German," he is propagating State Communism.[21] Lassalle is "vain, very vain, as is fitting for a Jew";[22] he is, furthermore, "too much a Jew" to feel at ease among the common people.[23] And, speaking more generally, Bakunin observes that the "Judaized ringleaders" of German Social Democracy confuse the workers.[24]

The Jewish "Threat" to Socialism

Bakunin is convinced that the Jew is driven by "that mercantile passion which constitutes one of the principal traits of their national character."[25] He is not fit for Socialism, or at any rate for a leading position in the Socialist movement. The Jew presents a tremendous threat to Socialism because by his nature he is ready and able to exploit it for his own financial benefit. In this respect there is no difference between a Marx and a Rothschild: both come from the same speculating and parasitic stock. There is a statement by Bakunin, written at the end of 1871 or perhaps at the beginning of 1872, which must be quoted *in extenso,* in order to show the importance he attributed to this Jewish peril.

Speaking of Marx, Bakunin notes: "Himself a Jew, he has around him, in London and in France, but above all in Germany, a crowd of little Jews who are more or less clever, scheming, nimble, and speculating, as Jews everywhere are, commercial or banking agents, literati, politicians, correspondents for newspapers of all shades of opinion, in a word, literary brokers, just as they are financial brokers, with one foot in the bank and the other in the Socialist movement and with their posterior planted on the German daily press — they have got control of all the newspapers — and you can imagine what a nauseating literature results from all this.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 196.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 232.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 236.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 250; cf. also p. 96.
[25] Bakunin, *L'Empire Knouto-Germanique* (1871), *Oeuvres,* III, p. 113 (posthumous).

"Now the whole Jewish world — which constitutes one exploiting sect, one people of leeches, one single devouring parasite closely and intimately bound together not only across national boundaries, but also across all divergences of political opinion — this Jewish world today stands in large part at the disposal of Marx on the one hand, and of Rothschild on the other. I am sure that the Rothschilds, on the one side, value the merits of Marx, and that Marx, on the other side, feels an instinctive attraction towards, and great respect for, the Rothschilds.

"This may seem strange. What common ground can there be between Communism and the big bank? Oh! but the Communism of Marx wants powerful governmental centralization, and where this exists, there must nowadays inevitably be a central State Bank, and where such a bank exists, the parasitic Jewish nation, which speculates in the labor of the people, will always find means to exist."[26]

Since there will be several states under the Communist régime, there will also be several national (or central) banks, and international speculation will be perfectly possible. In other words, the future Communist state à la Marx will be for the Jews, lured by the immensity of such a speculation, "a vast field of lucrative jobbery."[27]

It may be noted in passing that some of Bakunin's followers imitated his way of talking about the Jews. James Guillaume, for example, referred to the adherents of Marx as "socialistes hébraïsants,"[28] and to Hess as a "littérâtre juif."[29] The *Bulletin* of the Jura Federation, a stronghold of Bakunin, spoke of Hepner as "one of the Jews of the Marx synagogue,"[30] and another official document of the Federation singled out as "a characteristic detail" the Jewish origin of Marx, Borckheim, Hess, Hepner,

[26] Bakunin, "Rapports personnels avec Marx," *Gesammelte Werke*, III, 208-209 (posthumous).

[27] Bakunin to *La Liberté*, Oct. 5, 1872, *Oeuvres*, IV, 383 (posthumous).

[28] Guillaume, in *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, June 15, 1872, also in his *L'Internationale*, II. 297.

[29] Guillaume, in *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, June 15, 1872, p. 6.

[30] Anonymous, "Le Congrès de la Haye," *ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1872, p. 6.

Fränkel, and Utin.[31] A Bakuninist organ also used such expressions as "Kike" and " a Kikish soul."[32] Whether the anti-Semitism which was later manifest among French anarchists was an independent product, or inherited at least partly from Bakunin, cannot be stated with certainty. Only further research may establish whether there was a link between them.

Hostility to Jews is so obvious in Bakunin's works that no one, except certain interested anarchists, tries to deny or to explain away his anti-Semitism. Those who deny it merely assert that Bakunin attacked individual Jews, not "the Jews as a nation," and that it is simply "ridiculous" to accuse him, the internationalist, of anti-Semitism.[33] Those who try to explain it away maintain that in Bakunin's time there was still no sign of the awakening of the Jewish proletariat — a class of whose existence Bakunin probably knew nothing — and that therefore he could not exclude this class from his general picture of the Jews.[34] These arguments of embarrassed partisans are hardly worth being discussed. It is apparent from the material quoted that Bakunin attacked "the Jewish nation"[35] and not merely some of its members. It is no less clear that a writer must be judged on the basis of what he has written and not on the basis of what he might have written under a completely different set of circumstances.

The discomfiture of the anarchists, incidentally, recalls that of certain followers of Marx who try to explain away the anti-Semitism of their own master.[35a] No keen analysis is required to show that Bakunin's and Marx's opinions on the Jews have much in common. Bakunin

[31] *Mémoire présenté par la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à toutes les Fédérations de l'Internationale* (Sonvillier, 1873), p. 200.

[32] Anonymous, "Rasskaz bivalago cheloveka," *Rabotnik* (Geneva), No. 5, May, 1875, p. 1.

[33] G. Maksimov, in *Golos Truzhenika,* VII (Chicago, 1925), No. 3, Jan. 1925, p. 20.

[34] See Nettlau's comment in Bakunin, *Gesammelte Werke,* II, 217.

[35] See *supra,* note 26. Cf. also notes 4, 13, 25.

[35a] Cf. Silberner, "Was Marx an Anti-Semite?" *Historia Judaica,* XI (1949), 3-52.

speaks of "petty Jews" — to use a rather euphemistic expression — and so does Marx. Bakunin attributes to the Jews an essentially mercantilistic character, and so does Marx. Bakunin refers to the "bourgeois nationality" of the Jews,[36] and for Marx "the *chimerical* nationality of the Jew is the nationality of the merchant, of the moneyed man generally."[37] Bakunin writes of "Kikish Freemasonry";[38] Marx discourses — in the *New York Daily Tribune* (January 4, 1856) — on "the Freemasonry of Jews."[39] Yet Marx's followers usually deny the anti-Semitism of their master, exactly as the anarchists deny that of theirs. The present writer does not know whether the anarchists ever reproached Marx for his anti-Semitism, but he does know, that the charge of anti-Semitism,[40] and even "desperate" anti-Semitism,[41] was raised against Bakunin by distinguished followers of Marx. Incidentally, a similar charge was already made by the organ of the German Social Democratic party in 1872.[42]

It is easier to establish the existence of anti-Semitism in Bakunin than to explain it. He never made pertinent statements, and his biographers did not analyze the problem in any detail. Yet, in broad lines, the origin of his anti-Semitism can be traced with some plausibility. An aristocrat by birth, he most probably absorbed — through early education — a good deal of that Judeophobia which was a not-unheard-of phenomenon among the ruling class of Russia. Later education at the Cadet School in St. Petersburg and a short period as an officer in the army on the Polish frontier offered no environment where his anti-

[36] Cf. *supra*, note 10.

[37] Marx, "Zur Judenfrage," *Gesamtausgabe*, I, Abt., Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 604.

[38] "Zhidovskoe frankmasonstvo," in a manuscript by Bakunin, quoted by Steklov in *M. A. Bakunin* (Moscow, 1926-27), III, 349.

[39] One might add that whereas Bakunin was a Germanophobe (see Steklov, *op. cit.*, III, 335-346), Marx was a Slavophobe.

[40] Steklov, *op. cit.*, III, 346-350.

[41] V. Polonskii, "Bakunin," *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, IV (1926), 449.

[42] "Herr Bakunin kennt keine Spur von Rassenhass: nur 'Juifs allemands' ('deutsche Judenjungen'), wie Karl Marx (den er öfters so titulirt), können derlei von ihm behaupten." [Anonymous], "Die 'Internationalität' des Herrn Bakunin," *Volksstaat*, Aug. 28, 1872, p. 1.

Jewish feelings might have been mitigated. In his later life it so happened that some of his bitterest political enemies, though by no means a majority of them, were Jews. The Russian aristocrat — in spite of opposite inner forces which acted concurrently within him — simply could not tolerate the opposition of the *zhidi.* Thus he started to rationalize his hatred. In the process of rationalization he concluded that the Jews opposed him because by their nature and by their whole history they were a parasitic nation interested in maintaining a society based on the oppression and exploitation of man by man. Consequently, in his eyes anti-Semitism assumed a "revolutionary" character.

A Digression: The Narodnaia Volia and the Pogroms

It may be recalled that, in this respect, Bakunin was not an exception in his country. When, a few years after his death, pogroms broke out in Russia, the *Narodnaia Volia* — a revolutionary and terrorist organization with strong Bakuninist leanings — not only did not condemn the violence against the Jews, but, on the contrary, tried to encourage it to the utmost. The organization bluntly declared that it considered the persecution of the Jews as the beginning of the social revolution, and that its attitude toward this popular movement could only be affirmative.[43] In the eyes of the organization the Jews were a people who reproduced in themselves — in magnified form — all the "vices" and "ulcers" of the surrounding society in which they lived, so that "when anti-Jewish movements begin, one may be convinced that in them is hidden a protest against the whole [social] order, and that a much more profound movement is beginning."[44] It pointed out that such was the case in the French Revolution, which began with the persecution of the Jews,[45] and such was also the current revolutionary movement in Southern Russia, which, "by

[43] *Listok Narodnoi Voli,* July 22, 1881, p. 6; *Narodnaia Volia,* Oct. 23, 1881, p. 14. See also *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), April 6, 1882, p. 1.

[44] *Listok Narodnoi Voli,* Supplement No. 1, August 20, 1883, p. 6.

[45] *Ibid.*

force of local conditions," had taken on an anti-Jewish character.[46] From the humanitarian point of view, *Narodnaia Volia* continued, it was difficult to say what should be the attitude of the revolutionary Socialists towards the pogroms, but the answer was nonetheless clear: The party had to back the pogromist movement.[47] The situation seemed to the *Narodnaia Volia* to be such that a revolution might be expected at any moment. Nothing more was needed than "an accidental spark" to touch off a popular revolt that would spread like a wildfire over the Russian land and cover it with blood.[48] The implication was, of course, that the pogroms might serve as such an accidental spark.

Quite in line with this reasoning, the Executive Committee of the *Narodnaia Volia* issued, on September 1, 1881, a proclamation[49] in the Ukrainian language urging the masses to revolt against the "Jewish Tsar," the Jews, and the nobles.[50] Some "consistently thinking revolutionaries" refused to distribute the proclamation,[51] but it was circulated in a considerable number of localities.[52] It was not the only anti-Semitic proclamation of the *Narodnaia Volia.*

[46] *Narodnaia Volia,* Oct. 23, 1881, p. 11.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 14. Peter Lavrov expressed a somewhat similar point of view. The Jewish question, he writes to P. B. Axelrod on April 14, 1882, "is very easy to solve on paper"; in view of a really popular violent feeling against the Jews, it is, however, "an extremely complicated" problem for a party that wants to have the people on its own side and to rouse the masses against the government (see *Iz Arkhiva P. B. Axelroda* [Berlin, 1924], p. 30). This view was not shared by Peter Kropotkin who, according to a report by M. P. Dragomanov (*Volnoe Slovo,* [Geneva], Feb. 25, 1882, pp. 3-4), seems to have condemned the pogroms. He was also opposed to the assimilation of the Jews and favored preserving the Yiddish language (see his preface to the Yiddish translation of his *Mutual Aid* [New York, 1913], pp. xiii-xiv).

[48] *Narodnaia Volia,* Oct. 23, 1881, p. 14.

[49] Full text reproduced by S. Valk in *Katorga i Ssylka,* No. 48 (1928), 50-52 (available at the New York Public Library).

[50] *Ibid.,* p. 50. "Only blood will wash away the people's affliction. You [Russian peasants] have already begun to rebel against the Jews. You are doing well. For soon over the whole Russian land there will arise a revolt against the Tsar, the lords, and the Jews. It is good that you, too, will be with us." *Ibid.,* p. 52.

[51] Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes,* X (Berlin, 1929), 142.

[52] Cf. S. Valk, *op. cit.,* p. 52. For this and the following reference I am indebted to Dr. M. Buchs.

Several other pogromist leaflets of this organization have been found in various regions of Russia, some of them dating from as late as May, 1883.[53] And there can be no doubt that they were not only printed but also distributed, since they were picked up in different places by the police and preserved in their archives.[54] The fact that the Jewish proletariat — workers and artisans — suffered most from the pogroms[55] did not prevent the anti-Semitic propaganda of the *Narodnaia Volia,* an organization which, incidentally, included not a few Jewish members.

II

*EDMUND PICARD'S "SCIENTIFIC AND HUMANITARIAN" ANTI-SEMITISM**

AT the turn of the century there was, in the Socialist camp of the entire world, only one man who enjoyed a great reputation at home while at the same time openly professing his anti-Semitism. That man was Edmond Picard (1836-1924). A forceful attorney, he pleaded in many causes célèbres. He also taught law at the New University in Brussels. A great jurist — perhaps the greatest Belgium

[53] A leaflet of March 18, 1883, is reproduced by Buzhinskii in Ukrainskaia Akademiia Nauk, Istorichna Sektsiia, Kiev, *Zapiski,* XXIX (1928), 124; later leaflets are briefly described, *ibid.*

[54] Buzhinskii. *ibid.* A few years ago, a leading figure in the Bundist movement told the present writer that when, as a youth, he learned of the existence of these leaflets, he came very close to committing suicide.

[55] *Sozialdemokrat* (Zürich), March 30, 1882, pp. 1-2. See also A. Linden, in *Die Judenpogrome in Russland,* I (Cologne, 1910), 64-65.

* There are only short biographies of Edmond Picard. The best one, with an extensive bibliography, is Alex Pasquier, *Edmond Picard,* (Brussels, 1945). A brief survey — slightly biased but nonetheless useful — of Picard's literary works is given by the strictly Catholic-minded Camille Hanlet, *Les Ecrivains belges contemporains de la langue française* (2 vols., Liège, 1946), I, 95-108. The Jesuit Father A. J. Delattre (*Un Essai biblique de M. Edmond Picard* [Brussels, 1894]; *Le Cerveau picaresque* [Brussels, 1897]) not only attacked Picard's racialism, but also showed his incredible ignorance of biblical criticism. See also Z. Szajkowski's article in *Idisher Kemfer,* 1947, No. 718, pp. 82-84. (A few volumes of the important Belgian Socialist daily, *Le Peuple,* are missing at the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. They are available at the Library of the Belgian Parliament.)

ever had — Picard was more than a scholarly lawyer. He had manifold artistic and literary interests, and, besides his professional works, he wrote poems, novels, essays, plays, travel pieces, etc. Suffering from "a kind of mania" to write on virtually everything, he produced works of very unequal value; some of them, however, are generally recognized as outstanding and of lasting interest.[1] His salon in the capital of Belgium, one of the most famous in the country, was frequented by many celebrities of the time. For several years, his home and his parties displayed ostentatious luxury.[2]

He began to coöperate with the labor movement as early as the eighteen-sixties, and joined the Socialist movement in the eighteen-eighties.[3] From 1893 to 1907 he was one of the most regular contributors to *Le Peuple*, organ of the Belgian Labor party. From 1894 to 1908 he sat in the Belgian Senate,[4] where for several years almost the only representative of Socialism, "he reigned by the magic of his eloquence."[5] Always a rather undisciplined member, he left the party by 1907, but without breaking with the Socialist movement.[6] Even after he withdrew, he was highly esteemed by the party for the services he had rendered to the movement.[7] It considered him "a great man and a great citizen."[8] Vandervelde saw in him "the intellectual flower of the nation,"[9] and *Le Peuple* referred to him as *une âme d'élite*.[10]

[1] Achille Segard, *Edmond Picard* (Paris, [1907]), p. 58.

[2] Alex Pasquier, *Edmond Picard* (Brussels, 1945), pp. 15-16.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[4] Royaume de Belgique, *Almanach Royal Officiel*, 1895, 1908.

[5] Vandervelde, *Journal des Tribunaux* (Brussels, 1925), p. 176.

[6] Pasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 27. *La Petite République* (Feb. 7, 1898, p. 1, col. 1, note) asserts that Picard is not a member of the Belgian Labor party. A glance at the party manifestos, however, shows that among the signatories Picard figures as a Socialist senator (see *Le Peuple*, 1898, March 27, May 24).

[7] Vandervelde, "Une Lumière qui s'éteint," *Le Peuple*, Feb. 21, 1924, p. 1.

[8] Parti Ouvrier Belge, Conseil Général, *Rapports présentés au XXXVI^e Congrès* (Brussels, 1925), p. 6.

[9] Vandervelde, *Souvenirs* (Paris, 1939), p. 36.

[10] Editorial, "Edmond Picard," *Le Peuple*, Feb. 21, 1924, p. 1.

Picard did not become interested in the racial problem until his trip to Northern Africa in 1888.[11] In that year he went to Morocco as a member of a Belgian diplomatic mission to negotiate with the Sultan the construction of a local railway by Belgian capital. The mission was not particularly successful — but Picard returned to Belgium a full-fledged anti-Semite. Observing Arabs and Jews in Morocco, Picard gave much thought to the Semitic civilization, and came to the conclusion that Semites and Aryans were irreconcilable races. During the next fifteen years he produced half a dozen anti-Semitic writings. In his "La Bible et le Coran" (1888) he first announced the importance of "the question of Semitism."[12] In *El Moghreb al Aksa* (1889), a description of his trip to Morocco, he attacked the Jews, "who live on the substance of others, according to the universal law of the race."[13] Two years later he wrote an essay, "Le droit et la race," maintaining that all law, to be just and adequate, has to be based on race. In 1892 he published another anti-Jewish book, *La synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* which was reprinted under the German occupation of Belgium during the Second World War. His next published another anti-Jewish book, *La synthèse de l'antitianisme* (1893) — inspired to a great extent by Tridon's *Le Molochisme juif,* asserted that Christianity could be understood only if one assumed that Christ was an Aryan born by chance in Judea. In 1898 he brought out, in the Socialist daily, *Le Peuple,* a series of nineteen articles under the significant title, "L'Antisémitisme scientifique et humanitaire," republished the next year as a book entitled *L'Aryano-Sémitisme.* Finally, his literary works include at least one outstandingly — and rather vulgarly — anti-Semitic volume, *Jéricho, comédie-drame en trois actes* (1902).

Picard's anti-Semitism was racial and not religious. He was convinced that the antagonism between the Semitic race and the Aryan race is as old as the co-existence of the

[11] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme* (Brussels, 1899), pp. 95-96.
[12] "La Bible et le Coran," *Art moderne,* VIII (1888), 130.
[13] *El Moghreb al Aksa* (Brussels, 1889), p. 90.

two races. From the Median Wars until today, their relations have been characterized by an uninterrupted struggle, caused by racial antipathy and by the danger, vaguely discerned, of one race's being dominated by the other.[14]

According to Picard, the Semite in general, and the Jew in particular, is a parasite. The Jew has an evident inclination to lay hands on the production of others, without himself producing.[15] "He sucks, and swells like a leech, without increasing the common patrimony."[16] He is the chief practitioner — though not the only one — of capitalist piracy through financial means;[17] he is the principal despoiler of large and, above all, small patrimonies.[18] His specialty is "the unconscionable exchange."[19] By introducing the element of usury, the Hebrew has transformed the loan — "an essentially fraternal contract in the Aryan conception" — into an instrument of prodigious exploitation.[20] Israel is the true initiator, propagator, and above all the supreme virtuoso of stock exchange speculation.[21] In monopoly, the Jews are indeed the foremost aristocracy of the world.[22] The Semitic race is thus marvelously incarnated in the Rothschilds.[23]

Picard knew, of course, of the existence of Jewish workers, but was unable to make up his mind about their numerical importance. On page 86 of his *Aryano-Sémitisme,* he maintains that "poor Hebrews" are rather few in proportion to the wealthy Jews who make usury their "triumphant specialty." On page 129 of the same pamphlet he observes, however, that "the existence, in great numbers, of Jewish proletarians" does not change the racial aspect of the Jewish problem.

[14] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme* (Brussels, 1892), pp. 18, 56.
[15] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* p. 76.
[16] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* p. 44.
[17] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* p. 139.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 78.
[19] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* p. 88.
[20] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* pp. 76-77.
[21] *Ibid.,* p. 77.
[22] *Ibid.,* p. 78.
[23] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* p. 45.

Semites, in Picard's view, are not only economically but also intellectually sterile. They are an "inferior race."[24] The limited capacity of their brains is manifest.[25] "The Hebrew does not invent: but he exploits the invention of others."[26] His race contributes nothing to the advancement of mankind. "The Semite is not a civilizer. He seems unfit for progress. He knows how to bestir himself, move about, to enrich himself, but socially he is stagnant. His acts do not aim at any progressive goal. When he becomes agitated, it is a sterile agitation."[27]

"The Jewish peril" should not be underestimated.[28] True, the Jews have no fatherland — *ubi aurum, ibi patria* — but they penetrate everywhere.[29] They are greedy for power, and they get it through money and through stock exchange speculation.[30] They "suck and corrode" Europe[31] and increasingly monopolize journalism and political as well as social leadership.[32] They not only dominate almost the entire European press,[33] but they are moreover, "the masters of the world."[34] They threaten "the Aryan soul in its psychological independence and in its purity."[35] Naturally, there are exceptions among the Jews — one of Picard's anti-Semitic books, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* is even dedicated to such an exception, Madame Léon Claudel née Julia Mullem — but they are as little representative of the race as flying fish are representative of aquatic creatures.[36]

The Aryans must, of course, protect themselves against the Semitic invasion. An exodus of the Jews would obviously be most welcome. They could expatriate them-

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 231. Cf. also p. 105.
[25] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* p. 80.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[27] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* pp. 57-58.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 123.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[33] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* p. 124.
[34] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* p. 81.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[36] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* p. 83.

selves to Palestine and thus show that they are able to live without exploiting others. They prefer, however, "our society, so easy to fleece. . . ."[37] Zionism is a reasonable and realizable project, but it is doubtful whether the Jews will consent to go "by thousands" to Palestine, since that would be equivalent to renouncing their habits as exploiters.[38] If, however, a small but sufficient number of them should go to Palestine and succeed in establishing a nucleus of a colony, a center of attraction, other Jews may possibly imitate the initiators. By the same token, "Europeans" would also press for "the separation," made easier and less inhumane by the existence of an already organized "place of expatriation."[39] Consequently, "the apostles of Zionism are not such dreamers as one might suppose. They are preparing, perhaps better than the official and maladroit philo-Semites, the normal future destined for their tormented race."[40] Yet, desirable as this solution may appear, Zionism does not seem to promise a settlement of the Jewish question in the near future. Therefore, another solution must be sought and found.

Picard takes the position that this solution has to be based on the principle that interbreeding of races is harmful, and that no race should be dominated by another.[41] The principle must be carried out less by laws than by customs, simply by giving preference in everything to Aryans.[42] Jews must be eliminated from governmental functions and from public employment in general.[43] Special legislation specifically directed against them is not necessary. It is indispensable, however, to pass Draconian laws against monopoly and against stock exchange speculation in general.[44] And since, according to Picard, the Jews are the

[37] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* p. 98.
[38] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* p. 107.
[39] *Ibid.,* p. 111.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 112.
[41] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* p. 95.
[42] *Ibid.,* p. 120; Picard, "Le Droit et la race," *Pandectes Belges,* XXXIX (1891), p. L.
[43] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme,* p. 118.
[44] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme,* p. 119.

chief exploiters, they will necessarily be the first to suffer under such legislation. It is also essential that discrimination against them be peaceful and never degenerate into physical violence.

Picard insists strongly on this last point. He asserts most emphatically the peaceful character of his anti-Semitism. "What do the anti-Semites want?" he asks. "To establish a domination of some people over others? No, that is not the aim of thinkers who, free from any feeling of hatred, search only for a scientific and humanitarian solution."[45] Anti-Semitism does not want to reintroduce the ghetto or the Inquisition, but simply to "disentangle" the two antagonistic races, to re-establish each in its own sphere of activity, and thus favor the full, normal, and harmonious development of each.[46] It is therefore not surprising that Picard calls his anti-Semitism "scientific and humanitarian." And so peaceful are his intentions, indeed, that he even prefers to replace the aggressive term anti-Semitism by a "less quarrelsome"[47] and calmer designation, Aryano-Semitism.[48] It is not easy to grasp at first the meaning of this strange term — Picard had a predilection for neologisms and *mots étonnants* — but in his mind it is intended to stand as an equivalent for "the Aryano-Semitic conflict."

Picard is convinced of the ever-growing strength of the anti-Semitic movement.[49] He is convinced that the struggle between the two hostile races will continue until the complete expulsion of the Semite from Aryan civilization.[50] He is sure that those Aryans who support Dreyfus are doing harm to "the almost tri-millenary movement of our race"

[45] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme*, p. 42; also pp. 101, 115.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 51.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[48] Picard, "Jérusalem et Jéricho," *Le Peuple*, Oct. 30, 1904, p. 1.
[49] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme*, p. 66.
[50] Picard, Preface to F. Bournand, *Les Juifs et nos contemporains* (Paris, [1898]), p. 14. The only copy of this book available in this country is in the New York Public Library. For reasons difficult to understand it is not included in the general card catalogue. It is listed, however, in a special catalogue of that library not accessible to the public, a catalogue resembling — I imagine — the famous *l'Enfer* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris. Yet there is hardly anything pornographic in the book referred to.

against the Jews.[51] Finally, he is certain that "Israel," as Drumont has pointed out, is trying to bring Socialism under its own control in order to make it harmless to the Jews.[52] The latter must therefore be distrusted, and anti-Semitism has to be put on the agenda of Socialism.[53]

In Picard's opinion there is no contradiction between Socialism and anti-Semitism. Some people think, says Picard, that since Marx and Lassalle were Jews, it would be better to keep silence on anti-Semitism. This is, of course, puerile, because gratefulness towards even the greatest personalities cannot bring an ineluctable process to a standstill. Moreover, it is far from certain that Marx and Lassalle were racially Jews.[54] Apparently, they were "no more" authentic Jews than Jesus Christ,[55] "the Aryan *par excellence*,"[56] "the greatest of Aryan reformers."[57]

It has also been said that since there are many Jewish proletarians suffering from social injustice and capitalist tyranny, Socialism cannot be anti-Semitic. Such a conclusion is, according to Picard, not correct. He does not deny "the existence, in great numbers, of Jewish proletarians,"[58] but he does not agree that this fact has any bearing on the racial problem. Socialism wants to abolish social injustice with respect to all workers, Aryans, Jews, Negroes, and Mongols. "Scientific and humanitarian" anti-Semitism is not at all opposed to this final aim of Socialism. But the question of the fraternity of all the oppressed does not imply the identity of status of various races within one and the same

[51] See Picard, *Le Peuple*, Jan. 27, 1898, p. 1. "Je l'ai aussi toujours connu furieusement antisémite, au point d'écrire un jour, à propos de l'affaire Dreyfus, cette énormité: 'Nous n'avons pas, nous autres Aryens, à prendre le parti d'un juif, sa cause fût-elle juste' "; Carton de Wiart, *Revue Générale*, CXXXVII (1937), p. 66.

[52] Picard, *Pandectes Belges*, XXXIX (1891), p. XLIX.

[53] *Ibid.*; also Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme*, p. 119.

[54] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme*, p. 128.

[55] Picard, *Pandectes Belges*, XXXIX (1891), p. XLIX. Some time later Picard noted (*Grande Revue*, LIII [1903], 143) that Marx was aided in acquiring his outstanding reputation by "cette singulière conspiration qui soigne dans tous les domaines 'la gloire juive.' "

[56] Picard, *Le Sermon sur la montagne* (Brussels, 1896), p. 5.

[57] Picard, *Synthèse de l'antisémitisme*, p. 102.

[58] Picard, *L'Aryano-Sémitisme*, p. 129.

civilization, nor the admission of one race to the direction of the affairs of another race, nor the assimilation of different races. However important it may seem to Socialism to constitute itself a champion of all the oppressed, its benevolence must not go so far as to permit individuals of one race to influence the direction of the affairs of another race. Therefore no contradiction exists with respect to a Socialist who is, and proclaims himself to be, an anti-Semite in the exact and scientific sense of the term. On the contrary, it must be asserted that Socialists have the duty of being anti-Semites, and that the performance of this duty is no less salutary to the Jews than to the Aryans, since it prevents those deplorable misunderstandings which unavoidably arise when members of one race are allowed to influence the evolution of another race.

"Anti-Semitism as I understand it," says Picard, "is truly scientific and humanitarian, and not a doctrine of hostility and retrogression, as superficial adversaries suppose."[59] True, some say that anti-Semitism is the Socialism of imbeciles; according to Picard, however, it would be more appropriate to designate the philo-Semites as "the imbeciles of Socialism."[60] And it is certainly erroneous to believe that wage earners, as their leaders maintain without proof, are not interested in anti-Semitism. When the true elements of the problem penetrate into the minds of the working masses, they, too, Picard says, will rapidly take part in the anti-Semitic movement, not in order to persecute the Jews inhumanly, but to eliminate them from participation in the management of Aryan affairs.[61]

The writings of Picard — who remained a racialist up to his last days[62] — contain no original ideas on the Jewish question; he simply takes up the usual arguments of the anti-Semites of his time. The only point of special interest is his attempt to synthetize anti-Semitism and Socialism.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 131; also p. 130.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[61] Picard, in Dagan, *Enquête sur l'antisémitisme* (Paris, 1899), pp. 4-5.
[62] Albert Licart, *L'Oeuvre d'Edmond Picard* (Brussels, 1937), p. 29.

The spiritual progenitors of his anti-Semitism are not difficult to trace, although he gives them very little credit. Only occasionally, and rather in passing, does he mention the names of Toussenel, Proudhon, Gobineau, Renan, and Drumont. Tridon is the only author he quotes frequently, but only in his essay on the origin of Christianity. In fact, a critic of Picard has even called him a disciple of Tridon.[63] On the other hand, strangely enough, Picard does not mention the publications of Regnard, not even his "Aryens et Sémites" in *Revue Socialiste* (1887-89).

But whatever the intellectual sources of his anti- Semitic doctrines are, it is quite certain that his Judeophobia had a personal background also. In fact, his biographer alludes to some "personal animosities" which may have accentuated his anti-Semitism.[64] Unfortunately, the biographer does not give any details on the subject.

Two Belgian Socialists, disciples of Picard — Jules Destrée and Léon Hennebicq — were strongly affected by his anti-Semitism. Destrée (1863-1936), lawyer and politician, poet and novelist, orator and eminent member of the Belgian Labor party, was a deputy in Parliament from 1894 to his death. While other Socialist deputies supported the Dreyfusards, he refused to co-operate on the ground that it would be injurious to help "the Jews." He protested that he was not a sectarian anti-Semite. He was convinced, however, that the Jewish race had aptitudes opposed and harmful to the Aryan race. The Jews, he thought, could be assimilated only with difficulty and after a very long period of time. In his eyes, the anti-Semitic movement was essentially a war against money acquired without work, and, in this sense, he declared himself to be a resolute anti-Semite. "The Jew," he said, "has a marvelous gift for enrichment. Speculation is his triumph, that speculation which barrenly displaces wealth, without ever creat-

[63] A. J. Delattre, *Un Essai biblique de M. Edmond Picard* (Brussels, 1894), pp. 22-24.

[64] Pasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

ing it." Anti-Semitism carries anti-capitalism in its womb, a fact which is favorable to the Socialist cause, because it accelerates the expropriation of all exploiters. In discussing anti-Semitism, one must not be carried away by generous enthusiasm because, as Destrée says, "the Jews, when they can not buy men's consciences, have a marvelous skill in appealing for their own profit to the altruistic and noble sentiments of those whom they wish to exploit. We should never forget that they are for the principle of 89, but of 89 per cent!"[65]

Léon Hennebicq (1871-1940), a well-known lawyer, writer, and economist, wrote in the same vein. He explicitly endorsed the views of Edmond Picard, Henri de Rochefort, Maurice Barrès, and Edouard Drumont. For more than twenty years, he added, France, with her thirty million men, had been corrupted, enslaved, and depressed by an infamous gang composed almost exclusively of Jews. "Between these thirty million workers and peasants, and the handful of exploiters, one must choose!"[66] Since France is enslaved by "a conquering race"[67] — the Jews — his choice is, of course, obvious. After having expressed, in 1901, a more balanced view on the racial problem[68], he wrote another book (1913), in which the Jews were presented exclusively as bankers, jobbers, and speculators. "Wherever one can lend, you will find them, and they dominate."[69] Nonetheless, in his own words, he does not intend to propagate anti-Semitism; he is only impartial and pursues none but humanitarian aims.[70] Besides, every nation has the Jews that it deserves.[71]

It must be added emphatically that, though the Socialist press generously printed the anti-Semitic material of Pic-

[65] All quotations in this paragraph: Destrée, "A Emile Zola," *Le Peuple* Jan. 29, 1898, p. 1.

[66] Hennebicq, "Lettre . . .," *Le Peuple*, Feb. 4, 1898, p. 1.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Hennebicq, *L'Orient Grec* (Paris, 1901), p. 509.

[69] Hennebicq, *Genèse de l'impérialisme anglais* (Paris, 1913), p. 204.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

ard, Destrée, and Hennebicq, it not only did not approve their views, but on the contrary denounced them as incompatible with Socialism. *Le Peuple* published not only contributors' articles against the three above-mentioned writers, but also unsigned, i.e., official, editorials condemning anti-Semitism.[72] The first instalment of a series of anti-Semitic articles by Picard was accompanied by an editorial note stating that the editors did not agree with the author,[73] and that the party proclaimed iself to be a representative of all oppressed regardless of their race.[74] A few months later, *Le Peuple* stated, in connection with Picard: "We are less than ever convinced of the scientific value and the moral tendencies of anti-Semitism."[75]

Emile Vandervelde was among the most important leaders who voiced opposition to anti-Semitism within the Socialist ranks. He thought he was "dreaming," he said, when he read in *Le Peuple*, an organ of Socialist democracy, the letters of Picard and Destrée.[76] Not only in *Le Peuple* of Brussels, but even in the Parisian *La Petite République*, he denounced Socialist anti-Semitism. He drew attention to the fact that the resolution of the International Socialist Congress in Brussels (1891) proscribed anti-Semitism; that class and not race struggle is the weapon of Socialism; and that anti-Semitism serves only those parties which dream of plunging the Republic into mud and blood.[77] In his later years —which do not fall within the scope of this study — namely, after the First World War, he not only fought anti-Semitism, but became one of the staunchest supporters of the Zionist cause. In 1928 he joined, together with his

[72] See *Le Peuple*, 1898: A Delporte (Jan. 29). H. La Fontaine (Feb. 1), E. Royer (Feb. 1, Feb. 6), C. Mauclaire (Feb. 2), M. Walczak (Feb. 3), E. Vinck (Feb. 8), L. Soloweitschik (June 26).

[73] "L'Antisémitisme," *Le Peuple*, Feb. 13, 1898; "Drumont fait merveille," *ibid.*, April 8, 1898.

[74] *Le Peuple*, Feb. 3, 1898, p. 1.

[75] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1898, p. 1. (Editorial note).

[76] Vandervelde, "Emile Zola," *Le Peuple*, Jan. 30, 1898, p. 1.

[77] Vandervelde, "L'Antisémitisme et le Socialisme international," *Petite Rêpublique*, Feb. 7, 1898, p. 1.

countrymen Louis de Brouckère[78] and Camille Huysmans,[79] the International Socialist "Pro-Palestine Committee." In fact, political enemies of the right called him a Jew. "Were I a Jew," he retorted, "a half-Jew, or a quarter-Jew, I would be ashamed of concealing it, instead of being proud to belong to the race of Saint Paul, Spinoza, and Karl Marx."[80]

Thus it is clear that, though some leading minds in Belgian Socialism — Picard, Hennebicq, and Destrée — were infected with anti-Semitism, there were other great Socialists in Belgium — like Vandervelde — who, with the official backing of the party, opposed any kind of Judeophobia, including "the scientific humanitarian" anti-Semitism à la Picard. It is nevertheless significant that at the turn of the century the official organ of the Belgian Socialist movement still gave much space in the name of the principle of free discussion to material that could have been printed in any of the current anti-Semitic newspapers. It is noteworthy also that no sanction has ever been imposed on party members who indulged in anti-Semitic propaganda.

[78] Of his pre-war writings on the Jews, I know only his article, "Les Juifs russes," *Etudiant socialiste*, Dec. 5, 1893, pp. 3-5, in which he insists on the poverty of Russian Jews.

[79] For a pro-Zionist statement of his, see Lewis Rifkind, *Zionism and Socialism* (London, 1918), pp. 14-15.

[80] Vandervelde, *Souvenirs* (Paris, 1939), p. 13.

LETTERS ON PALESTINE FROM SAMUEL MONTAGU TO BENJAMIN HIRSCH 1877-1881

By Abraham M. Hirsch
New York City

THE letters published here are part of the correspondence between Samuel Montagu, later Baron Swaythling, and Benjamin Hirsch, my great-grandfather, a Jewish industrialist who lived in Halberstadt, Germany. These letters may possibly be only a small part of the total correspondence; internal evidence points to the existence of others. None of the letters of Samuel Montagu to Benjamin Hirsch has ever been published; a letter from Benjamin Hirsch to Montagu, dated March 25, 1877, appeared in a Hebrew translation in Jerusalem in 1948.[1] At present I am exploring the possibility that other letters may exist, though in view of the events in Germany and throughout Europe, it is almost certain that no other items of the Benjamin Hirsch correspondence have survived.

The subject of the letters is Palestine. In them is discussed the situation of the Jews there, which, owing to the great misery the letter-writers view as serious. They explore the feasibility and plan for the foundation of a secular school in Jerusalem, free from the influence of the rabbis. This was a matter close to the hearts of both men, who, though observant as far as their Judaism is concerned, were also quite progressive in their general outlook.[2]

Neither Montagu nor Hirsch was a Zionist in the accepted sense. Though deeply interested, for religious rather than nationalistic reasons, in the welfare of their Jewish brethren in the Holy Land, and eager to do everything to improve their lot, they viewed with cynicism the resettle-

[1] Joseph Hirsch, *R. Benyamin Hirsch* (Jerusalem, 5708, Hebrew), p. 34.
[2] Hirsch, *op. cit.*; Lily H. Montagu, *Samuel Montagu, First Baron Swaythling* (London, no date), pp. 19-31.

ment of Palestine on a large scale. "The idle people will not starve," wrote Montagu, "they will sooner leave Palestine for more comfortable places."[3] This is a far cry from the views of Sir Moses Montefiore, who, in a spirit of almost naive romanticism, tried to paint the picture in Palestine in a highly messianic hue.[4]

Born in Liverpool in 1832, the son of a small businessman, Montagu was a financier at the age of seventeen. Shrewd in his commercial dealings, he nevertheless made a reputation as a man of honesty and integrity.[5] Furthermore, he became well-known in Jewish circles through his true devotion to religious matters and his untiring efforts on behalf of his fellow Jews, both in England and abroad. This was the period of Moses Montefiore, when British Jewry, led by Sir Moses, took a leading position in the fight to have Jewish rights secured everywhere. Montefiore had begun this activity in 1840, when the blood accusation was levelled against the Jews of Damascus. Montagu himself was very active in many places. On behalf of Jewish interests, he made trips to Palestine (1875) and Russia (1886), as well as several trips to the United States, where he inspected Jewish agricultural colonies.[6] He became important in British life, sitting in Parliament as the M. P. from Whitechapel, the section of London with a strongly Jewish population. Subsequently he was raised to the Peerage and sat in the House of Lords. Politically he was a liberal.

Biographical material on Montagu is exceedingly scarce. His daughter published a small book on his life[7] without much factual content and with no documentation. Sokolow makes hardly any mention of Montagu, except to cite him

[3] Letter 7.

[4] Sir Moses Montefiore, *Narrative of a Fourty Days' Sojourn in the Holy Land* (London, 1877); see especially such passages as on p. 76 and pp. 145-148.

[5] L. Montagu, *op. cit.*, Ch. VI, pp. 56-65.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. IV, pp. 32-46; articles "Montagu, Samuel" in *Jüdisches Lexikon*, IV (Berlin, 1930), 277-278, and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII (New York-London, 1907), 662.

[7] L. Montagu, *op. cit.*

vaguely as a Zionist in several places.[8] As far as his correspondence is concerned, except for his Report to the Testimonial Committee,[9] nothing appears to have been published.

Montagu was a close friend of Sir Moses Montefiore and worked with him on the Testimonial Committee, an organization set up by Montefiore to do relief and rehabilitation work in the Holy Land. Montefiore's outlook was much more positive than Montagu's; he viewed Palestine as a land into which new life and new people could be brought. Montefiore founded the Montefiore quarters in Jerusalem, the first part of the city built outstide the walls and actually the nucleus of what is known today as the New City, the one in Israeli hands. Furthermore, Montefiore was much less a liberal than Montague. Being very friendly with the rabbis in Jerusalem Montefiore would do nothing without their approval.[10]

The recipient of these letters, Benjamin Hirsch, was an important figure in German Jewry. A leading industrialist, he was the owner of a huge metal concern. A public-spirited Jew, he deployed great activity in the non-Jewish as well as Jewish world. As an enthusiastic advocate of bi-metalism he spared no efforts to have his views translated into the policy of the major powers.[11] Among Jews, he strove to strengthen every positive aspect and endeavor. He helped the newly-established rabbinical seminary (*Rabbiner-Seminar*) in Berlin and became a member of its board of directors. He was an active member of many Jewish societies, including the fraternal order B'nai B'rith, for which he did pioneer work. Hirsch became interested in the work of Montefiore's Testimonial Committee, and it was through

[8] Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, I (London, 1919), 231, 239, 250; II, xxxvi, 279-281, 289.

[9] Samuel Montagu, *Report . . . to the Committee of the . . . Montefiore Fund*, 1875. Summarized in Josef Meisl, *History of the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund* (Jerusalem, 1939; Hebrew), pp. 31-34; given almost entirely in M. Auerbach and S. Salant, *Open Letter addressed to Sir Moses Montefiore. Bart.* (London, 1877).

[10] Letter 2.

[11] See Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 38. The present writer intends to work on Benjamin Hirsch's correspondence on the matter, hitherto unpublished.

this organization that he made the acquaintance of Samuel Montagu. He erected several houses in Jerusalem, called *Neve Shalom,* in memory of his uncle Shalom Hirsch.[12]

Hirsch also participated in the policy discussions of the Montefiore group. He favored a reorganization of the Halukah system of charity distribution, and advocated establishment of free schools in Jerusalem, where young Jews could learn a trade and be made self-supporting.[13] The *Jewish Chronicle* of April 6, 1877 published his proposals and endorsed them editorially a week later.[14]

The letters date from 1877 to 1881, only one is from the latter year. Their content is varied and interesting. One was written in Montagu's office at 60 Old Broad Street; the others, with one exception, were sent from his home at 96 Lancaster Gate. They are all written by his own hand.[15]

In commenting briefly on the content of the letters, it may be well to elucidate first the nature of Montagu's antagonism toward the rabbis of Jerusalem. In 1875, Montagu was sent to Palestine on behalf of the Testimonial Committee,[16] together with Dr. Asher, a personal friend of his[17] and also a Committee member. Upon their return, Montagu himself wrote the report, describing what he had seen, and Dr. Asher endorsed it. He commented on everything that had come within his range of perception and on his many conversations with Jews, Turkish officials, members of the consular staffs in Palestine, etc. He flayed the existing Jewish community organization, charging mismanagement, mishandling of funds to strengthen the rabbis' power, lack of adequate education, etc. When, soon thereafter, Montefiore came to pay his seventh visit to the Holy Land, Rabbis Meier Auerbach (d. 1878) and Samuel Salant (d. 1911) presented him with an open letter, decrying Montagu's re-

[12] Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 35; I. Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life* (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 249.
[13] Hirsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
[14] Referred to in letter 2.
[15] L. Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[16] Meisl, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-36.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 31. n. 2; L. Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

port as a treasonable document, charging that he had been motivated by an intent to do harm, that he had "banished from his heart every feeling of nationality," that it was his aim to "lower the honour of Zion."[18]

Because of this, Montagu viewed Auerbach and Salant with disfavor. He charges that their "power is maintained by keeping the people ignorant."[19] Possibly he was not free of the prejudice many Western European Jews had towards Eastern European Jews; he expresses the hope that Turkey may, after the war tension of 1877 (against Russia), expel these "Russian Poles from her dominions."[20] In another letter he complains of "the difficulty in making an impression upon the Jews of Palestine, especially as regards the Poles . . ."[20a] Montagu suggests, in a letter written at the end of 1877, that his firm handle financial transactions with Jerusalem, "as it would make an impression on the Rabbins [sic!] there."[21]

Montagu's strict observance of Jewish law even in business — with respect to interest — appears in two letters. He will not charge brokerage in the transmission of monies to the Holy Land.[22] He respects Benjamin Hirsch's refusal to do so even in a private business transaction.[23]

The subject of education preoccupies Montagu. In his report on his findings in Palestine, he stressed his regret over the fact that Hebrew was the only language taught by the Ashkenazim (according to him, the Sephardim also taught Lingua Franca and Arabic), and, that as far as subject matter was concerned, only religious subjects were on the curriculum. Consequently, Montagu favored the establishment of secular schools, free of religious monopoly, schools similar in nature to those of the Alliance Israélite Univer-

18 Auerbach and Salant, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
19 Letter 2.
20 *Ibid.*
20a Letter 7.
21 Letter 5.
22 *Ibid.*
23 Letter 4.

selle.[24] In fact, Montagu apparently tried, at one point, to enlist the Alliance's aid for his project (the Alliance had previously established an agricultural school at Mikve Israel with the help of Baron de Rothschild).[25] Montefiore was also in favor of teaching Arabic but was unable to convince the rabbis to change their views on this matter;[26] Hirsch, too, supported such an educational reform.[27] But such a school was not established at that time.

To alleviate the misery of the Jews in the cities, Montagu proposes their decentralization. This would have involved radically changing the Halukah system,[28] and would have weakened considerably the hold the rabbis had on their congregations, as the poor were dependent on them for money, and they could withhold it from them at will.[29] Montagu would have "discouraged and sent back immigrants" desirous of going to Palestine.[30]

Montagu's references to Montefiore are not always too favorable. He criticizes the latter's catering to the rabbis, whom Montagu hated so much.[31]

The letters mention a number of persons about whom a word should be said. "Mr. Pinhas"[32] must be J. Michael Pines, the executive director of the Testimonial Committee. Montagu's spelling of the name must be attributed to the Yiddish pronunciation of Pines. On April 6, 1877, the *Jewish Chronicle* published a letter by Hirsch to Montagu, in which he wrote, *inter alia*:

> I know Mr. Pinhas through an introduction of the Rev. Rabbi of Kowno. But before appointing the man definitely [to the Testimonial Committee's directorship] it would be well to look closely into the matter; here the Poles are always regarded with a certain reserve. . . .

[24] S. Montagu, *Report* . . . , quoted in Meisl, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Letter 2; Letter 8.

[25] Letter 8.

[26] Letter 6.

[27] Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 33 ff.; Meisl, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

[28] Letter 7; see also Meisl, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35; Auerbach and Salant, *op. cit.*, p. 31 ff.

[29] S. Montagu, *Report* . . . , Article XXVI.

[30] Letter 7.

[31] Letter 2.

[32] Letters 1 and 2.

No wonder Benjamin Hirsch feared that the unauthorized publication of this letter by the *Chronicle* would have undesired effects![32a] Yet Montagu apparently felt that Pines could not be offended, as the first two letters seem to indicate.

"Dr. Hildesheimer" is Dr. Israel Hildesheimer, whose wife was Benjamin Hirsch's aunt Jetchen.[33] Hildesheimer, president of the *Rabbiner-Seminar* of Berlin, threw his support behind Montefiore's efforts and enlisted for the cause many German orthodox Jews. He, too, became the butt of attacks directed at him by the extreme orthodox of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Saphed. Although the rabbis did not attack him officially, libels were cast at him by their supporters. It was alleged that he wanted to "deprive innocent children of the Torah," all because he, too, favored schools where, in addition to religious instruction, courses in practical subjects would be given. Since Hildesheimer felt that his membership on the Committee contributed to "the desecration of God's name [*Chilul Hashem*]," he retired from the Committee.[34]

"Valero,"[35] whose full name was Joseph Moshe Valero, was *Gabbai* of Jerusalem's Sephardic poor.[36]

The tensions of war in 1877-78 have already been mentioned. Montagu is worried over what will happen to the Jews in the Turkish dominions in the event of hostilities,[37] especially since so many of them are Russians and Poles, and the Turks are called "unspeakable Turks," as Gladstone labelled them after the Bulgarian massacres. Montagu in-

[32a] Letter 2.

[33] Letter 3. He is variously known as Israel, Esriel, and Asriel. Esriel was, indeed, his real name. But as the laws of Austria-Hungary, where he was rabbi of Eisenstadt from 1851 to 1859, did not recognize such a name, he was forced to sign his name there as Israel. See the introduction to Meier Hildesheimer, (ed.), *Rabbiner Dr. Israel Hildesheimer, Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Frankfurt a/M, 1923), vii, n. 2.

[34] On this episode, as well as on Hildesheimer's attitude toward the Palestine question, see his essay, "Die Palaestina Frage und ihre Geschichte," *Gesammelte Aufsätze;* see also Meisl, *op. cit.*, p. 49 ff.

[35] Letters 5 and 7.

[36] Montefiore, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[37] Letter 1.

cludes the Christian minorities in his concern. Yet he regrets Her Majesty's Government's war hysteria: "Nothing can be done," he writes, "in a country where the government can only consider how the Country can be defended against so formidable an enemy as Russia."[38] Incidentally, Montagu's party, the Liberals, were, at that time, Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition.[39]

I have added to these letters one addressed *to* Montagu. Who the author is, I do not know, as I am unable to make out the signature. He is, apparently, an Englishman, in transit in Paris. The contents of this letter are interesting. It refers to Charles Netter's activities on behalf of the Jaffa school, *Mikve Israel,* whose principal he became, and where he died and was buried in 1882. Possibly this is the "enclosed letter" mentioned in Montagu's communication of March 8, 1881.[40] But that is doubtful, first, because of the respective dates of the Paris letter and the 1881 letter; and second, because, in due fairness to my great-grandfather's memory, I must assume that he returned Montagu's enclosure.

The Letters

1

London, April 17th, 1877
96, Lancaster Gate,
Hyde Park

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 13th inst. I have asked the editor of the Jewish Chronicle to apologize in his paper for his mistake in printing your private letter.

I do not however think that any harm has been done because there was nothing in it that could fairly be objected to.

Mr. Pinhas was invited to attend at the next meeting of the Testimonial Committee but owing to the approaching war Mr. Montefiore at my request has telegraphed to him not to come over at present.

[38] Letter 2.
[39] L. Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.
[40] Letter 8.

I shall be very willing to go over to Germany to help any movement that would benefit our brethren in the Holy Land. Awaiting your promised letter and thanking you for your expressions of sympathy and good wishes, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Sam Montagu

Benjn Hirsch Esq.

I am very anxious about the safety of the Jews in the Turkish dominions; the fanaticism aroused by the war preparations may lead to the ill-treatment or massacre of Christians and Jews.

2

April 29th, 1877
96, Lancaster Gate
Hyde Park.

Dear Sir:

I have read with great interest your letter of the 20th inst. and am glad to see that our poor brethren have so good a champion as yourself. I quite agree with you about your private letter; no one could be displeased with it not even Mr. Pinhas. I fear that we must wait for more peaceful times in order to improve the condition of the Jews of Palestine. Nothing can be done in a country where the government can only consider how the Country can be defended against so formidable an enemy as Russia.

I hope they have sent you copies of the *Jewish Chronicle* which contain matters of interest to you.

I quite agree with you that a combination ought to be arranged between the Testimonial Committee and the German societies. It could only be for the advantage of both. Unfortunately Sir Moses Montefiore is very difficult. He is perhaps the only one in this country who objects to the establishment of secular schools in Jerusalem. If he would only encourage or even cease to oppose such a good object the whole of the community would immediately take up the project with eagerness. They all desire it but Sir Moses listens to the interested counsels of Rabbis Auerbach and Salant of Jerusalem whose power is maintained by keeping the people ignorant. If Turkey would only expel these Russian Poles from her dominions all would go well. In the meantime we must agitate and work hard to spread our ideas and a good result is sure to be obtained.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

Sam Montagu

Ben. Hirsch Esq.

3

Saturday night
60, Old Broad Street
London, E.C., Dec. 8, 1877

Dear Sir:

I duly received yours of the 29 of Novr. and am pleased with its contents. I entirely reciprocate your friendship and trust that it will be strengthened by joint service to our brethren. I hope that your letter will soon be published and will effect much good. I had the pleasure of seeing several times your esteemed uncle, Dr. Hildesheimer. I was glad to make the acquaintance of so worthy a man and so renowned a scholar. I was pleased to find that he holds such liberal ideas in secular matters at the same time being perfectly orthodox in religion and strictly observing all our holy laws. I shall expect the pleasure of seeing you soon in London. I am going with my family on the 20th (please God) to Hastings, returning about the 8th of January. So try to come after that date. With best respects to Mrs. Hirsch trusting that she and the children are well, I remain,

Yours truly,

Sam Montagu

B. Hirsch Esq.
My best respects to your brother.

4

Saturday night
96 Lancaster Gate
Hyde Park W.
Decr. 8th, 1877

My Dear Sirs:

I attended yesterday to your request by telegram asking for an offer for silver. I obtained a fairly good bid which I telegraphed. I left early so could not write yesterday. I am glad to see that you wish to do business with our firm and shall at all times do the best for your interests. We should charge you one per mille on current account; this is less than ⅛ percent and as we are generally takers of bills ourselves we would take yours at favorable rates. We have discounted at 3% all the last fortnight till yesterday when we obtained bills at 3¼. We should of course charge only on one side of the account and would make payment on your account without extra charge. As you object to receive interest we could buy and hold for your account American funded 5% or 4½% bonds. For silver business we should charge you nothing as we receive our commission from the buyer (unless of course you should ever want to buy). We could sell the eight tons of silver deliverable in London 1/3 January, 1/3 February, 1/3 March, or perhaps sooner delivery at 54 about per oz. standard 925/000 payment on

arrival. This may suit you better, of course you would then have to pay the freight and insurance from Hamburg and take the chance of the exchanges for London falling. It is all the same to us, only we must get our buyer to agree to receive the silver in the proportions and time which you may require. Our buyer is bound till Monday morning. This is important as the agents for the German Government in London have an immense quantity for sale they ask 54¼ no buyers at that price.

Yours truly,

Sam Montagu

Do not forget that silver and gold are dealt in in troy weight not avoirdupois like lead copper or 1 Kilo = 32 troy oz. 154 German pound or ½ Kilo 16 oz. 077.

5

12 Wellington Sqre.
Hastings, Decr. 27, 1877

My Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 23rd inst and note its contents. I am sorry to hear that the old established house of Hollander and Lehren will liquidate.

I think the best means of transmitting the money for Palestine is to let Valero of Jerusalem draw on London for the different sums he pays out to the poor at Jerusalem and Hebron and a good firm in Beyrout for Safed and Tiberias. In this manner you do not leave sums of money in the hands of the Bankers there who may not be very solid.

If however you wish to send out actual *cash*. The most profitable would be in coin in the following order:

1st Russian Silver roubles
2nd Maria Theresa talers
3rd Ottoman gold
4th French gold
5th English gold.

The first and second would have a very great advantage to the fund, say about 10%, because silver is *low*. Our firm used to be drawn upon for many years from Jerusalem and Beyrout for account of Hollander and Lehren and *free of all charge* of course. I would do the same again if you wish it. I think it would be useful to the Jews if my firm were again the agents as it would make an impression on the Rabbis there and give me influence in acting with you for their benefit. Nothing is yet decided with the Franklin fund. With regards to yourself and family, I remain,

Yours truly,

Sam Montagu

I hope to be in London next week.

6

London, March 14, 1878
96 Lancaster Gate
Hyde Park, W.

My Dear Sir:

I have been waiting in expectation of seeing your promised communication respecting the Jews of Jerusalem. When are you going to issue it. I hear from Jerusalem that Sir Moses Montefiore sent money to Rabbi Samuel Salant to establish teaching of Arabic there but that the "ultras" were opposed to it, and that nothing could be done among the Ashkenasim and the money has to be returned. Have you heard any confirmation of this news.

Also I hear that the Committee in Amsterdam have made some communication about secular teaching in Jerusalem but without effect. Please write to me about these matters. When are you coming to London to pay me a visit?

Yours very truly,

Sam Montagu

My compliments to your wife and brother.

7

April 7th, 1878
96 Lancaster Gate
Hyde Park, W.

My Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 31st ultmo. I quite agree with you on the difficulty of making an impression upon the Jews of Palestine, especially as regards the Poles but it will not do to despair. Improvements to be permanent must come gradually. I have been the means of sending money (about £200) to the starving people. I have sent it through Valero who I think is honest.

The only great improvement which you can help to effect is this.

Select your own agent or agents to distribute the money sent by Holland, Germany, Austria and Russia. Send them out with instructions to help the old and the sick in preference to the young strong men. To advise the latter how to work for their support and if no work can be found to pay for their journey to other cities where they can earn their livelihood. Also to discourage and send back immigrants. There is sufficient money to improve the people thoroughly if properly applied. When you come here I will show you how admirably the poor

are treated here; in the meantime do not lose courage but continue agitating till improvements are made. The idle people will not starve. They will sooner leave Palestine for more comfortable places.

Yours sincerely,

Sam Montagu

B. Hirsch Esqr.

8

March 8th, 1881
96, Lancaster Gate,
Hyde Park

My Dear Sir:

I wrote to you some time ago respecting our school in Jerusalem but have had no reply. There is a chance of our managing the school independently of the Alliance. They only subscribe a yearly sum in aid of it. I quite agree with you that it would be more agreeable to the Rabbis if the Alliance were not to interfere. Please read enclosed and let me hear soon what you propose and return me the letter.

Yours sincerely,

Sam Montagu

9

H. Westminster, Paris
3 Mch. 80

Dear Mr. Montagu:

During the fortnight I have been here, I have had some opportunity of asking what the Alliance I. U. are thinking of doing for the proposed new School at Jerusalem. I cannot get any decided answer fm. anyone except that Mr. C. Netter had recently left for Jaffa and has been commissioned to report on the aspects of the question or in other terms—as to the probability of gn. schls in Jerm succeeding. He is, however, in no way to take any "official" interest in the matter, he being by no means a "persona grata" to the Rabbis. I think the selection of a proper teacher is the first requisite, and he must receive a tolerable sal^{y}. The All^{ce} is doing excellent work in Education in the East, and perhaps supplying wants greater than those of Jerusalem because covering a much larger area. However, altho these proposed schools excite so very great interest here, I am sure the Alliance w^{d} support them with a fair contribution.

Were I in your place, I would have a detailed statement made up as to the cost of the proposed estab^{t}, the subsidy which you may think are to be relied on f^{m} England and what you consider the All^{ce}. I. U. should be asked to contribute. I think all that is required by them is to have a detailed statement of what the cost of the work to be established and of maintaining it, is estimated at, and to be asked to grant so much a year (more or less) for so many years.

I think they fully understand that any teacher who undertakes a post at Jerusalem must necessarily be a man of orthodox habits, and observant even to a point. Even to a far greater degree than is required in most Oriental centres. It is difficult to lay our hands on such a man who is otherwise qualified for the post.

I went over the Ecole Normale (for training Jewh. boys as masters) —and also over the [Versailles?] Instn for training girls, and was very pleased with both, especially so with the latter (girls). If I can do anything more in this matter, or any other while I am here, I shall be happy to do so.

I remain, yours truly,

[Signature not legible]

Samuel Montagu Esq.

I was glad to find the service in the Syne. here on Saty. vy. much better conducted than it used to be.

HUGO GROTIUS' KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW

By JACOB MEIJER
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, Holland

THE basis of the interest in Judaism (different from that in Jews) held by the greatest jurist of his age and one of the greatest jurists of all time, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), was laid in his early youth, under the influence of some of his teachers.

The first of these was Johannes Uytenbogaert (1557-1644), the famous preacher, in whose home young Grotius spent several years until, at the age of eleven, he exchanged The Hague for the university town of Leyden. That Uytenbogaert was largely responsible for his pupil's tolerant religious views is generally accepted.

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), who strongly influenced Grotius as a student, took — as Uytenbogaert did — a favorable stand concerning the admission of Jews to Haarlem: "Les Juifs viendront à Harlem, et y auront Synagogue et privilège des Etats, erit magna in his regionibus commoditas, ils seront plus libres qu'ailleurs." Thus one reads in the *Scaligerana*.[1] Moreover: "Les Juifs seront bien libres en ces quartiers, habebunt Synagogam Harlemi." That Scaliger was familiar with the Jewish community of Amsterdam from his own observation appears from this statement: "Il y a plus de 200 Juifs Portugais à Amsterdam, et vous verrez le samedy les femmes bien habillées s'associer devant leurs portes, sans rien faire."[2] He adds: "Ils ont

[1] For the doubtful authenticity of the *Scaligerana* see Christian Sepp, *Geschiedkundige nasporingen*, III (Leyden, 1875), 55 ff. In 1666 the first edition appeared anonymously as *Scaligerana, sive excerpta ex ore Josephi Scaligeri*, under the editorship of Isaac Vossius, published allegedly from Scaliger's manuscript. Sepp observes wittily: "Een onuitgegeven handschrift *en* Isaac Vossius [An unpublished manuscript *and* Isaac Vossius]," quoted from the second edition (Cologne, 1667).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129. The interchange of Latin and French is customary in the writings of this scholar who originated from Southern France.

enlevé tous les volumes Hébreux qu'ils ont pû trouver, et ont fait venir des Rabins. Il y avoit un R. Ascher qui étoit honnête homme . . . pour un Juif."[3]

The views on the Jews of another of Grotius' teachers, Franciscus Junius, must have contributed substantially to the ideas expressed in the *Remonstrantie nopende de ordre dije in de landen van Hollandt ende Westvrieslandt dijent gestelt op de Joden*, a legal opinion presented by Grotius in 1615 to the States General of Holland, in which he recommended that permission be granted for Jewish settlement under reasonable conditions within the territories of Holland and West Friesland.[4] Franciscus Junius the Elder (1545-1602) came to Leyden in 1592, where he occupied the chair of Theology in the University until his death.[5] He had a profound knowledge of Judaism, stemming from his contact with Immanuel Tremellius, a converted Italian Jew, with whom he did research in Heidelberg and with whom, in 1573, he worked on a Latin translation of the Bible.[6] This contact deepened Junius' knowledge of Hebrew and his understanding of the Jews, on whom this staunch follower of Calvin may originally have held rather rigid views. He became an apostle of peace, preaching universal tolerance in the midst of the tumultuous disputes of the religious

[3] The identity of this "R. Ascher" cannot be established.

[4] See the Dutch text in Jacob Meijer, *Hugo de Groot: Remonstrantie nopende de ordre dije in de landen van Hollandt ende Westvrieslandt dijent gestelt op de Joden, naar het manuscript in de livraria D[avid] Montezinos uitgegeven en ingeleid* (Amsterdam, 1949), pp. 53 ff. The manuscript shows no date but its dedication is dated 1615. Cf. also J. S. da Silva Rosa, *Over de verhouding tussen Joden en niet-Joden in de Republiek* (On the Relation of Jews and Non-Jews in the Republic) (1922), pp. 5-8; Arthur K. Kuhn, "Hugo Grotius and the Emancipation of the Jews in Holland," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXXI (1928), 173-180.

[5] Fr. W. Cuno, *Franciscus Junius der Aeltere* 1545-1602 (Amsterdam, 1891).

[6] Contrary to a persistent legend Junius was not Tremellius' son-in-law. On Tremellius see W. Becker, *Immanuel Tremellius: Ein Proselytenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1890). He edited the *Peshitta* in Hebrew characters (Lyon, 1569). The fifth volume of Junius' and Tremellius' joint translation of the Bible was dedicated to William of Orange. Junius' inaugural address at Neustadt in 1578 was entitled *De linguae hebraeae antiquitate praestantiaque.*

"Truce" and despite his conflicts of opinion with Scaliger at the University of Leyden.[7]

In an opinion as to whether Jews should be tolerated among Christians, he took a favorable stand: "In the first place because they are ignorant and unenlightened men. No man should be extirpated from this earth only on account of religion, since faith is a gift of God. Moreover, the Jews are our brethren. Although the body of the Jews has been rejected by God, we may not conclude from this fact that each and every Jew should be banned from among Christians, for the Church shall be composed of both. They should be tolerated on account of nature and of divine grace. But Christians should keep aloof from their unproductive works. Many rumors are spread about their synagogues, yet nothing can be found there that is offensive to religion."[8]

Junius, who from 1597 to 1601 taught Hebrew also, may have initiated Grotius into this language. In the list of books contained in Grotius' library in 1618, a Hebrew grammar by Franciscus Junius is included.[9] However, since Grotius left Leyden in the same year in which Junius began teaching Hebrew, it is probable that in his Hebrew studies he owed more to another Hebrew scholar, Franciscus Raphelengius (1539-1597). This scholar came from the environs of Lille in Northern France to study in Paris the three classical languages. On his return from a visit to England, he met in Antwerp the printer Christofer Plantijn, who engaged him as a proofreader. In 1565 he married Plantijn's eldest daughter, Margaretha. In 1585 he left for Leyden, where he became manager of the printing press. A year later he succeeded Drusius, who went to Franeker, as "professor linguae Hebraicae," a post which he held until

[7] H. Enno van Gelder, *Vrijheid en Onvrijheid in de Republiek* (Haarlem, 1947), p. 215.

[8] G. Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie*, II, 33-34.

[9] P. C. Molhuysen, "De Bibliotheek van Hugo de Groot in 1618," *Mededelingen der Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen*, N. S., VI, Afd. Letterkunde, 1943, 108, "Fr. Junius, *Grammatica Hebraeae linguae*"; 166, "Een Hebreeus boek" (not further identified); 204, "Cuneus, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617)."

his death in 1597. He is said to have been an expert in Hebrew, Chaldaean, Syrian, Arabic, and Persian.[10]

The question whether Grotius can be regarded as an expert in Hebrew falls into two parts: (1) Did he know classical Hebrew? (2) Was he familiar with the rabbinic sources? In determining to what extent Grotius learned Hebrew from these men — Plantijn, Junius, and perhaps Scaliger — one must consider that full mastery of Hebrew requires years of training. Moreover, as most historians who have written on Grotius were not experts in Hebrew, their views on his knowledge of the language cannot be fully trusted. Unfamiliarity with Hebrew creates a kind of mystic atmosphere about the Hebrew scholarship of others, and the use of a single Hebrew word by an author may stamp him as a scholar in the eyes of some over-awed non-Hebraists. The seventeenth century men of letters were well aware of this fact and liked to make liberal use of such distinctions of learning. The following rancorous remark was once voiced by the polyhistor Claudius Salmasius to Sarravius, one of Grotius' admirers, with regard to the latter's knowledge of Arabic: "There he ostentatiously displayed much Arabic material, though he has had just a first taste of this language, as he confessed to me in a letter, which I am keeping, when I consulted him on an Arabic word that had given me trouble."[11]

To what degree Grotius actually mastered classical Hebrew cannot be established without a thorough study of his three-volume work, *Annotata in Vetus Testamentum* (1644). His emendation of Isaiah 7:8, which states that Ephraim shall cease being a nation after sixty-five years, does no credit to his knowledge of Hebrew. According to Grotius: "There seems to be an error in the Hebrew Scrip-

[10] W. M. C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche Beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1931), pp. 36 ff.; M. Sabbe, *De Meesters van den gulden passer* (Amsterdam, 1937), p. 106.

[11] "Multa ibi signorum Arabica proposuit ad ostentationem, cum ejus linguae rudimenta vix primis labris atigisset ut mihi ipse confessus est litteris, quas servo, cum eum consuluissem de aliqua voce Arabica quae mihi negotium facessebat." Letter from Salmasius to Sarravius, November 20, 1645, from a copy dated July 13, 1677; cf. Meijer, *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 11.

tures." For "sixty and five" he reads "six and five," which is difficult to reconcile with an understanding of the Hebrew idiom.[12] This, however, need not be decisive. For this study it is important only to know whether Grotius was really familiar with the rabbinic sources, which he quotes so liberally in the copious notes of his theological works, notably in *De veritate religionis Christianae* (1622). The scholarly apparatus of this work arouses our skepticism, all the more so since Grotius' theological views on the Jews are supported by numerous quotations from the Talmud and the Jewish Codes.

In a letter to Gerard J. Vossius, of March 13-23, 1633, from Paris, Grotius writes about a Jew, "Michael Gelingus, who, seventeen years earlier, had become a convert to Christianity, bona fide, as can be assumed. I see that he is gifted in the translation of rabbinic literature. I should like him to translate Joseph Albo's *De fundamentis*."[13] It would seem, therefore, that Grotius, like many other contemporary scholars, had contact with Jews who were then much in demand as experts in rabbinic literature. This also applies to Leyden. Grotius' teacher and mentor, Scaliger, had many Jewish friends in Rome and Avignon. For several years in Leyden he studied rabbinic literature "with much profit and no less pleasure," under a Jewish convert Philippus Ferdinandus, who, through his efforts even received a position at the University of Leyden.[14]

Another Amsterdam Jew, who came from Fez and had studied at Leyden, is known to have been a candidate for a professorship at the University. He may have been Mozes son of Joseph and brother of Isaac Pallache.[15]

[12] A. Kuenen, "Hugo de Groot als uitlegger van het Oude Verbond," *Mededelingen der Kon. Academie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, N. S., XII, 319.

[13] "Est in hac urbe [Hamburg?] vir optimus Michael Gellingus ex judaeo factus ante annos hos XVII, bona fide (quantum judicare licet) Christianus. In Rabbinicis scriptis vertendis video eum feliciter versari. Et velim ab eo verti librum Josephi Albi *de fundamentis*." *Hugonius Grotii Epistolae* (Amsterdam, 1687), pp. 111, 311.

[14] "Magno cum fructu, neque minore voluptate." Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[15] Isaac Palache was also a convert to Christianity. On these members of the Palache famliy see Meijer, *op. cit.*, p. 29 f., n. 57.

For the study of Hebrew in the Netherlands Jews rendered important services until the period of Albert Schultens and his school, when the comparative study of Semitic languages made rabbinic aid superfluous.[16] In Grotius' time, however, rabbis and converted Jews still had a preponderant influence on Hebrew studies. In his *Remonstrantie* Grotius even argues that "the Christian religion profits by the Jews. Principally so, because the scholars among them can render us service for the knowledge of the Hebrew language."[17]

In this connection mention should be made of Grotius' relations with Menasseh ben Israel, the many-sided rabbi-diplomat and printer, who was most influential in the Amsterdam of the Golden Age, and whose guidance in Hebrew was sought by many non-Jewish scholars.[18] Besides Caspar Barlaeus and Gerhard Joh. Vossius and his sons, it was Georgius Gentius (1618-1687), a pupil of Constantijn L'Empereur, who had contact not only with Menasseh ben Israel, but also with other Amsterdam rabbis and scholars, such as Isaac Aboab da Fonseca and Moses d'Aguilar.[19] He dedicated his translation of Maimonides' *Hilchoth Deoth* to Gerebrandus Anslo, the same man to whom Menasseh dedicated his *Dissertatio de fragilitate humana* and who wrote a Hebrew poem for another book of Menasseh ben Israel, *De resurrectione mortuorum Libri III.*[20] It was Anslo who induced another Hebraist, Guilielmus Henricus Vorstius (1610-1652) to study the rabbinic sources. As a result, Vorstius published a translation of some sections from Mai-

[16] J. Nat, *De Studie van de Oostersche Talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw* (Purmerend, 1929).

[17] Meijer, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[18] Cecil Roth, *A Life of Menasseh ben Israel* (Philadelphia, 1934).

[19] Isaac Aboab and Moses d'Aguilar wrote Hebrew panegyrics for Gentius' first work, a translation of several chapters of Maimonides' Code: *Hilchoth Deoth sive Canones ethici R. Moseh Meimonidis, Hebraeorum sapientissimi, ex Hebraeo in Latinum versi . . . a Georgio Gentio, ad virum doctissimum praestantissimumque Gerebrandum Anslo* (Amsterdam, 1640). Menasseh ben Israel also advised Gentius to translate Solomon ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehudah*, the first volume of which was titled *Historia Judaica res Judaeorum ab eversa aede Hierosolymitana, ad haec fere tempora usque, complexa. De Hebraeo in Latinum versa a Georgio Gentio* (Amsterdam, 1651).

[20] J. S. da Silva Rosa, *Alfe Menasseh* 1627-1927 (Amsterdam, 1927), No. 25.

monides' *Mishne Torah,* dedicating the volume to his teacher, Anslo, in token of his gratitude for the encouragement he had received from him.[21]

How popular this Amsterdam circle of Hebraists was in the middle of the seventeenth century is proved by the visit there in 1649 of Johannes Leusden (1624-1699), the Protestant theologian who later became a famous Hebrew philologian. Having taught oriental languages at the University of Utrecht "in the smallest auditorium," he again went to Amsterdam to study the Talmudic language.[22]

Did Grotius know Menasseh ben Israel? David Franco Mendes, in his well-known manuscript in the Ets Hayyim Library at Amsterdam (fol. 23 f.), mentions that Menasseh was in contact with Grotius, "advocate and fiscal officer at The Hague," who often consulted him on biblical passages. The only evidence of their contact is Grotius' letters, one of which is addressed to the rabbi. They date from the years when Grotius was preparing his commentary on *De veritate religionis Christianae.* However, these letters do not suggest an intimate friendship between the two.

G. J. Vossius was probably the man who brought them together. In 1637 he secured for Grotius Menasseh's books published up to that time in Spanish. The letters express Grotius' appreciation to the rabbi, although the tone is quite formal. In one of them he voices his regret that Menasseh is considering emigrating to Brazil,[23] and displays no lenient attitude toward the elders of the Amsterdam Jewish community. "Consult Menasseh ben Israel about this point," Grotius writes in 1638, "give him my regards and send me his opinion in writing if it can be obtained." And again:

[21] *Constitutiones de fundamentis legis Rabbi Mosis fil. Maiiemon. Latine redditae per Guilielmum Vorstium* (Amsterdam, 1638).

[22] J. Zwarts, *Hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* (Zutfen, 1929), p. 142.

[23] Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 146 ff., 60, *Grotii Epistolae,* p. 596; " . . . I had always imagined that the members of the synagogue at Amsterdam were both wealthy and liberal. Now, I realize that I was mistaken; but I hardly know whether to believe that they conceal the truth, or that they wish to appear poorer than they are in reality, in order to avoid jealousy."

"My best thanks to Mr. Menasseh, a scholar, as appears from his published works, for the writings in Spanish he sent me."[24]

The only letter known to have been sent directly to Menasseh dates from September 6, 1639 and reads in translation:

Most illustrious and erudite Sir:

I was deeply grateful to receive your reply regarding certain passages of Sacred Scripture and History; for I do not believe that there is any person who could better have answered my inquiries. I have read many commentators; but, numerous as they are, they are few in comparison to those which you have perused, studied and mastered. For this reason, I am highly grateful. Emboldened, moreover, by this courtesy, I will henceforth be the more ready to refer to you should I encounter any other similar difficulties. On my side, I am prepared to return your great courtesy, if I can be of service to you in any manner. Your books, thus far published, are read by many here on my recommendation, to their great pleasure and profit. I earnestly beg you, if you have any leisure, to devote it to unraveling the obscurities of the Law. By this means, you will procure yourself the great gratitude of all lovers of learning.

Your most devoted servant,

HUIG DE GROOT.[25]

Grotius' most popular work, *De veritate religionis Christianae,* appeared in Paris in 1627 and, through Vossius' cooperation in Leyden also. It is a scientific justification of the *Bewijs van den waren Godsdienst* (Proof of the True Religion) which, written at Loevestein in 1620, first was published in 1622. It was not until 1640 that an annotated edition came out. The interval suggests certain problems. It seems that the sources — Roman Catholic, of course — used for the first edition were different from those mentioned in the notes to the book. An examination of the fifth book of *De veritate* shows a discrepancy between the spirit of the text and that of the notes. In some places the *apparatus* is completely at variance with the original argument.

[24] *Grotii Epistolae,* p. 423, April 30, 1638; and p. 454, August 7, 1638. For other letters in which Menasseh is mentioned, see *ibid.,* pp. 390, 452, 467; also Roth, *op. cit.,* p. 326, n. 10. In the last mentioned letter the *Conciliador* is referred to, as well as *De creatione* and *De resurrectione.*

[25] *Grotii Epistolae,* p. 564; Roth, *op. cit.,* p. 147 f., from where the English translation is taken.

The conclusion is obvious: Apparently all rabbinic quotations were taken from works published *after* 1627. It was a time when many rabbinic sources were made accessible to non-Jews by means of Latin translations. In 1632 the first volume of Menasseh's *Conciliador* was published,[26] from which Grotius quotes repeatedly. It was preceded in 1629 by the Latin translation of *Rabbi Mosis Majemonidis liber: More Nebuchim, Doctor Perplexorum* by Johannes Buxtorf the Younger,[27] which was also consulted by Grotius. The same applies to Johannes Coch's translation of the Talmud tractates Sanhedrin and Makkoth of 1629.[28]

Finally, the scholarly activity of Constantijn l'Empereur van Oppijck, an expert on rabbinic literature, during the sixteen-thirties is of great importance.[29] Of his works the following may be mentioned: *Clavis Thalmudica* (Leyden, 1634), the Latin translation of an important methodological talmudic handbook, *Halichoth Olam* by Joshua ben Joseph Halevi; the Latin translation of the Talmudic tractate *Middoth, De mensuris templi* (Leyden, 1630); *D. Isaaci Abrabenielis et R. Mosis Alschechi Commentarii in Esaiae Prophetiam* in Hebrew and Latin (Leyden, 1631); *Jos. Jachiadae Paraphrasis . . . in Danielem cum versione et annotationibus* (Amsterdam, 1633); *Baba Kama De legibus Ebraeorum forensibus* in Hebrew and Latin (Leyden, 1637). Constantijn l'Empereur's works are Grotius' principal treasure house for rabbinic sayings and quotations.

Almost all the Hebrew quotations in Grotius' annotated edition of *De veritate* are incorrect. His method of quoting from the Talmud demonstrates his ignorance of rabbinic

[26] J. S. da Silva Rosa, Alfe Menasseh, No. 15: *Conciliador o de la conviniencia de los lugares de la S. Escriptura, que repugnantes entre si parecen* (Frankfurt; Amsterdam). [Cf. also *Conciliator sive de convenientia locorum S. Scripturae, quae pugnare inter se videntur.* A Dionysio Vossio ex Hispanico sermone Latine redditum. (Amstelodami, 1633). *Editor.*]

[27] Basel, 1629.

[28] *Duo tituli thalmudici Sanhedrin et Maccoth . . . cum excerptis ex utriusque gemara, versa et annotationibus illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1629).

[29] Born in Bremen in 1591, he lived in Leyden as "Hoogleeraar der Joodsche verschilpunten" (Professor in Jewish controversial literature). Cf. *Hoogleeraren,* I (Utrecht, 1844), 47 f.
H. Bouman, *Geschiedenis van de voormalige Geldersche Hoogeschool en hare*

sources. When other Christian scholars of that period refer to the Talmud, they give the page, sometimes even the edition. The latter reference is, of course, superfluous, resulting from their ignorance of the fact that all existing editions of the Talmud are printed uniformly. In contrast to this, Grotius' vague reference to "Thalmud: titulo de Synedrio et titulo de Sabbato" shows not only his lack of knowledge of the subject, but also his dependence on secondary or third-hand sources.[30] Still more obvious proof of his lack of first-hand knowledge in this field is his reference to two talmudic tractates which do not exist: *Rex* and *De ponderibus.*[31] In the first case there is the possibility of confusion with Maimonides' *Hilchoth Melachim;* as for the other, the tractate *Middoth (De mensuris)* may have been cited merely from memory as *De ponderibus.*

What can one think, moreover, of such references as "Similia in Thalmude; titulo Chagiga, in Debarim Rabba, et in Berachoth?"[32] The impression prevails that the much used term, *Rabboth* (collection of midrashim on the Pentateuch) was not very clear to Grotius. The same confusion is found with reference to the words *Talmud* and *Gemara.* When Grotius quotes the last chapter of the tractate *Sanhedrin,* he calls it "*Perek Chelek.*" And elsewhere he writes: "Ut in Thalmude, capite ultimo de synedrio."[33] In another place Grotius considers the halachic rule, "Circumcision has precedence over the Sabbath," a "proverbium."[34]

Similar shortcomings are found in Grotius' quotations from other Hebrew sources. An interesting example is his excerpt from Albo. The author of the book *De fundamentis* is mentioned twice, once with an accurate reference to the

[30] The quotations refer to Hugo Grotius, *De veritate religionis Christianae,* editio novissima cum notulis Joannis Clerici, Hagae — Comitis 1729, p. 227 (III, 8). The Roman numbers indicate the chapters of the fifth book, the Arabic numbers refer to the numbers of Grotius' notes.

[31] P. 247 (IX, 1); p. 276 (XX, 4).

[32] On the value of *De veritate religionis Christianae* cf. Arthur Löwenstamm, "Hugo Grotius' Stellung zum Judentum," *Festschrift zum 75 jährigen Bestehen des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars* [Breslau], II (Breslau, 1929), 295-302.

[33] E.g., p. 258 (XIV, 2); p. 238 (VII, 2).

[34] P. 251 (X, 2).

place and once without a reference.[35] An examination of this seemingly slight discrepancy offers the key to Grotius' use of the sources. The first quotation, which is accurately documented from "Josephus Albo lib. III. Fundamentorum, capite 16," is borrowed from Menasseh ben Israel. The latter's *Conciliador,* quoted by Grotius in another place, contains a note on Genesis 8:22 on the meaning of the word, *leolam.*[36] Menasseh here literally quotes Exodus 21:6, I Samuel: 1:22, and Albo liber III cap. 16. The same reference appears once again with the same quotations.[37]

An example of incorrect taking over is Grotius' observation with regard to the Sabbath. He states that in the Sabbath rest two imperatives are obeyed, *zochor* and *shomor,* remembering and observing. "Distinctio est Mosis Gerundensis et Isaaci Aramae," he adds, following Menasseh's observations on the subject.[38] More serious, however, is Grotius' error in *De veritate,* where he cites as Bible texts at issue, not Exodus 20:8 and Deuteronomy 5:12, but Exodus 20:8 and Exodus 31:13, a text that has something to do with the halachic question as such. The explanation is obvious. Grotius had originally derived his knowledge on the Sabbath from another source. Later he quoted as supporting evidence a statement taken over uncritically from Menasseh. The addition, "Mosis Gerundensis et Isaaci Aramae," again gives evidence of his tendency to cite as many authors as possible, although not even the titles of their works were known to him.

Constantijn l'Empereur in particular was freely drawn on by Grotius. Examples are found in Chapter 19 of the work mentioned. The reference, "De Messia haec explicat Rabboth et Salomon Jarchi; ad gemaram, titulo Synedrio," was uncritically borrowed from Constantijn l'Empereur's Abarbanel translation of Isaiah (p. 54). From the same work (p. 41) stems the explanatory remark: "Voce seminis, quae in Hebraeo est significari discipulos, ait hic Alsech,

[35] P. 236 (VII, 1).
[36] I, 55.
[37] I, 288.
[38] P. 248 (X, 1, 2).

etc." The quotation from the Jerusalem Talmud was taken over rather carelessly. From a passage like this it can again be concluded that Grotius had not mastered the simplest technique of quoting from a Talmud tractate.

Another quotation, "Haec spirituali modo intelligenda, docet gemara Babylonica, titulo *Sota*," is borrowed from the same work (p. 45). Grotius took over even the Hebrew characters of this word, but incorrectly.[39] At the end of the chapter here under consideration a quotation concerning the two Messiahs is found, which is also taken verbatim from Constantijn l'Empereur (p. 21).

A discussion of other sources, Latin translations and Hebrew-Latin editions, which were certainly known to Grotius, may be omitted. They were, among others: Guilielmus Vorstius, *Constitutiones de fundamentis legis Rabbi Mosis filii Maiiemon;*[40] Dionysius Vossius, *R. Mosis Maimonidae de idolatria liber;*[41] perhaps also Georgius Gentius, *Hilchoth Deoth sive Canones ethici R. Moseh Maimonidis in Latinum versi.*[42]

This list need not be amplified. It clearly proves that rabbinic literature was a *terra incognita* for Grotius. His knowledge of Hebrew sources derives from secondary translations and not from the Hebrew originals. His conclusions concerning the Talmud must, therefore, be taken only with great reserve.

[39] P. 272 (XIX, 2); cf. the *editio princeps* of 1640, p. 333.

[40] Amsterdam, 1638.

[41] Amsterdam, 1641.

[42] Amsterdam, 1641.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN JEWRY

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I

NEWLY-FOUND JEWISH TOMBSTONES IN BUDA

IN 1894 the oldest Jewish cemetery in Hungary, the cemetery of the Jews of Buda dating from the time of the Arpad dynasty, was found. At the corner of Alagut and Pauler Streets, on the occasion of the laying of the foundation of a house, three Jewish tombstones were discovered at a depth of four meters. One of them, that of Pesah b. Peter, dating from 1278, is the oldest Jewish tombstone in Hungary. From the standing — *in situ* — position of the stones and the turning up of human bones Professor David Kaufmann rightly inferred that the place was the medieval site of the Jewish cemetery in Buda.[1] The correctness of his supposition was established by the unearthing of three more tombstones of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when excavations were made on neighboring ground.[2] These Jewish tombstones were placed in the Hungarian National Museum, from where that of Pesah b. Peter has recently been transferred to the Hungarian Museum of Cultural History. The site of the medieval Jewish cemetery can now be located by a documentary monument as well.[3]

[1] See his reports in *Archaeologiai Ertesitö*, XV (1895), 219-223, and in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XXXIX (1895), 305-309.

[2] See David Kaufmann, "Die jüdischen Friedhöfe Ofens," *MGWJ.*, XL (1896), 84-87.

[3] See Philip Grünwald, "A buda-varhégyi zsinagóga és zidó metö helye török idökben," *Jubilee Volume in Honor of Professor Bernhard Heller*, ed. by A. Scheiber (Budapest, 1941), p. 168.

The site of the second Jewish cemetery, located by Philip Grünwald between Hunfaloy and Batthyáany Streets, originated in the time of Turkish domination over Buda.[4] After the expulsion of the Turks, Vandal hands tore up the tombstones of the cemetery of the depopulated Jewish community and used them for building purposes. It seems that a large number of these tombstones were used especially in the St. Stephen Chapel of the Coronation Church, for more and more Jewish tombstones came to light during the work of the restoration of the church.[5] All are from the time of the Turkish domination. On the restoration of the mansions at Nos. 4-5 *Disztér* ("Parade Ground") four additional tombstones were found, which had been carried there in 1688,[6] and two stones were unearthed under the floor of the beadle's lodge at the Szilágyi Erzsébet Grammar School for Girls.[7]

Of these tombstones from the time of the Turkish domination two were placed in the Hungarian National Museum, ten — four of which remained unpublished — in the Collection of Stone Monuments of the City Museum,[8] and five, in addition to fifteen — all of which are unpublished, and were temporarily in the Jewish cemetery in Buda — were placed in the Hungarian Jewish Museum. These monuments, numbering thirty-two, are from the period 1577-1683.

Since the end of World War II twenty-one additional tombstones have turned up during the removal of the ruins and the reconstruction of the severely damaged neighborhood of the Coronation Church. With these the number of the Jewish tombstones from the time of the Turkish domination has risen to 53. Of the newly-discovered stones,

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[5] See the reports of Samuel Kohn in *Magyar Zidó Szemle*, IV (1887), 376-377, and D. Kaufmann in *MGWJ.*, XL (1896), 87-90. Cf. also the summary of M. Weisz in *Budapest régiségei*, V (Budapest, 1897), 45-52.

[6] See the reports of M. Weisz, in *Magyar Zidó Szemle*, XXV (1908), 289, and *ibid.*, XXVIII (1911), 36-37.

[7] See the report of the same author in *Egyenlöség*, XLIV (1925), No. 37.

[8] See Henrik Horváth, *A Fövárosi Mùzeum Köemliktaranak leiró lajstroma* (Budapest, 1932), 18-19.

two have been placed temporarily in the basement of the Hungarian Museum of Cultural History and nineteen in the cloisters of the former Convent of the Clarissa Sisters which will henceforth be the premises of the Museum. The dated stones are from the period 1576-1679. As for their style, they all show a uniform pattern, so that little can be deduced from them regarding the Hebrew style.

However, it is interesting to study the names found on these tombstones. In addition to pure Hebrew names, there are German names, but not a single Sephardic one. Among the women's names we find Plimli, Hendil, Jitli, and Schindil, for which there are numerous parallels or variants among the contemporary German-Jewish monuments.[9] One of the tombstones commemorates the little son Isaac of the *shammash* Samuel of the congregation of Buda; another fragmentary stone commemorates the president or lady-president of the matchmaking union (?).

Though we have here stones that are well-nigh uniformly-shaped and identical inscriptional formulas, nevertheless, from the technique of chiselling and the formula of the fragments of text, we can with certainty ascribe one fragment of the newly-found stones, No. 1, to the Middle Ages.

The texts of the tombstones inscriptions follow with their English translation.[10]

A Medieval Tombstone

1

לאל' השי'[1]
ת'נ'צ'ב'ה'[2]

. . . of the 6th millennium. May his soul be bound up in the bond of [eternal] life.[3]

[1] = לאלף הששי. This is similarly found on other medieval tombstones in Buda. See D. Kaufmann, *MGWJ*, XXXIX (1895), 307; XL (1896), 85. On

[9] See L. Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II (Berlin, 1876), 47, 49, 50, 58; *Jüdisches Lexikon*, IV, 394; also B. Klar, *Shemoth B'ne Israel* (Jerusalem, 1950); cf. *Kirjath Sepher*, XXVII (1951), 21, No. 200.

[10] The author wishes to express his thanks to Director Philip Grünwald for his kind assistance in the preparation of the inscriptions for this publication.

medieval tombstones in Wiener-Neustadt see M. Pollak, A zidok Becs-Ujhelyen (Budapest, 1892), pp. 17, 41, 42, 52.

[2] Cf. I Sam. xxv:29. See I.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, I, (Roma-Paris, 1936), p. 474, Nr. 661; L. Blau, *Annuario di Studi Ebraici'* II (Roma, 1938), pp. 68-69.

[3] Hereafter abbreviated: "His soul . . ."

Tombstones from the Period of Turkish Domination

2

חיים לוי
ז"ל ב"ר נתן
הלוי ז"ל
שלז לפק

Hayyim Levi, his memory is blessed, son of R. Nathan Ha-Levi, his memory is blessed. 1576, according to the minor era.

3

[ונפטר]ה ביום
. . . י ימי' בחש'[1]
שלז לפק

Died on . . . day, on the 10th day of Heshvan. 1576, according to the minor era.

[1] בחשון.

4

[בי]ום כ"ח אייר שמט
[וב]תה הנדיל[1] בת צבי

On the 28th of Iyyar, 1589. [And] her daughter Hendil, daughter of Zevi.

[1] See Zunz, *Ges. Schr.*, II, p. 58 (Hindel); Kaufmann, *MGWJ.*, XL (1896), p. 90, Nr. 4.

5

[פה]
[נ]קברת
[בתו]לת ישראל[1]
. . . ה יוכבד
[בת] ר' אלעזר
[ה]י"ד[2] ז"ל בר"ח[3]
. . . שפט

[Here] is buried the virgin of Israel, . . . Yochebed, (daughter) of R. Eleazar, may God revenge his blood. His memory is blessed. On the New Moon of . . . 1629.

[1] Cf. Deut. xxii:19.
[2] Her father, Eleazar, died a martyr's death.

6

פה
נקבר היקר
כר׳ [1] יעקב ז״ל
בן מוהר״ר [2]
יהודא זל״ה [3]
כ תשרי שצד

Here is buried the dear R. Jacob, his memory is blessed, son of our teacher and rabbi, R. Jehuda, his memory [should remain] in eternal life. 20 of Tishri, 1633.

[1] כבוד רבנו.
[2] מורנו הרב רבי.
[3] זכרו לחיי העולמים. See Zunz, *Zur Gesch. und Lit.*, pp. 329-330.

7

(Fragment)

ת״ז לפק

1647, according to the minor era.

8

פה נקבר
הנער יצחק
ב״ר שמואל שמש
ונפטר בקיצור ימי׳ [1]
כ״ח לחדש אייר
שנת ת״ך לפק
[ת׳נ׳צ׳ב׳ה׳]

Here is buried the child Isaac, son of R. Samuel, the *shamash*. Died in his youth, on the 28th of Iyyar, in the year 1660, according to the minor era. [His soul . . .]

[1] ימין.

9

פה נקבר כ[ר]
שלומה ב״ר מרדכי
ונפטר כז ימים

באלול שנת ת"כ
לפ"ק . . .

Here is buried R. Solomon, son of R. Mordecai. Died on the 27th of Elul in the year 1660, according to the minor era . . .

10

פה נטמן כ"ר
חיים ב"ר יוסף
ונפטר כ"ו ימים
בתשרי שנת
תכ"ה לפק ת'נ'צ'
ב'ה'

Here is hidden R. Hayyim, son of R. Joseph. Died on the 26th of Tishri in the year 1664, according to the minor era. His soul . . .

11

[פה נקברת]
מרת פלימלי[1]
בת ר' בנימן ונפטר'
כ"ה אב שנת תל"ה
לפ"ק ת'נ'צ'ב'ה'

[Here is buried] the woman Plimli, daughter of R. Benjamin. Died on the 25th of Ab in the year 1675, according to the minor era. Her soul . . .

[1] = Blumele. See Zunz, *Ges. Schr.*, II, p. 47.

12

[פה]
[נקב]רת לאה
[בת] ר' משה ונפטר'
יד ימים באייר
[שנ]ת תל"ט לפ"ק
[תנ]צב"ה

[Here] is buried Leah, [daughter of] R. Moses. Died on the 14th of Iyyar in the year 1679, according to the minor era. [Her soul . . .]

13

פה
נטמן איש
נאמן הישיש
ר' משה בן

הקדוש ר׳
חיים ז״ל הי״ד [1]
[ונפט׳] כ״א אב
. . . . . .

Here is hidden the man, the faithful, the old R. Moses, son of the saint R. Hayyim, his memory is blessed, may God revenge his blood. [Died] on the 21st of Ab . . .

[1] See above, no. 5.

14

פה
נקברת אשת
חיל [1] מרת יטלי
בת ר׳ יוסף זל
ונפטרת ביום ד׳
. . . בחוד׳

Here is buried the virtuous woman, the lady Jitli, daughter of R. Joseph, his memory is blessed. Died on Wednesday, . . . in the month.

[1] Cf. Prov. xxxi:10.

15

פה נקברת
בתולת ישר
אל [1] שינדיל [2]
בת ר׳ יצחק
ז״ל נפטרה
כא באד[ר]
ראשון שנ[ת]
. . . לפ״ק

Here is buried the virgin of Israel, Schindil, daughter of R. Isaac, his memory is blessed. Died on the 21st of Adar I in the year . . . , according to the minor era.

[1] See above, no. 5.
[2] = Schöndl. See S. Krauss, *Festschrift Armand Kaminka* (Vienna, 1937), p. 143; Zunz, *Ges. Schr.*, II, p. 50 (Schönel, Schönlin).

16

פה
[נקב]ר׳ מרים
[בת] . . . הלוי
[ונפטר]ה י״ב
. . . [א]ב(?)

Here [is buried] Miriam, [daughter of] . . . Halevi. [Died] on the 12th of Ab (?) . . .

17

(Fragment)

. . .
ב' כר'
אברה'
[ש]משון

. . . Son of R. Abraham Samson.

18

פה
נקברת מרת
הדס בת ר' דוד
[ז]"ל כ'[1] ימים בחוד'

Here is buried the lady Hadas, daughter of R. David, his memory is blessed. On the 20th of the month.

[1] Or ב is to be read.

19

(Fragment)

. . .
הכנסות כלה[1]
ביו'[2] ר"ח תשר[י]

. . . Matchmakings. On the day of the New Moon of Tishri.

[1] It appears that the deceased had engaged in giving poor girls in marriage.
[2] ביום.

20

(Fragment)
שנ[ת]
[. . .]א לפ"ק

In the year . . . , according to the minor era.

21

(Fragment)
שנת . . .
תנ[צבה]

In the year . . . His soul . . .

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II

Recent Literature on the Medieval History of Hungarian Jewry

1

The Hungarian Jewish Literary Society published in four volumes documents relating to the history of Hungarian Jewry up to 1740: *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica,* I, ed. A. Friss (Budapest, 1903); II-III, ed. B. Mandl (Budapest, 1937); IV, ed. F. Kováts (Budapest, 1937). A supplementary volume is in preparation. Professor Adalbert Iványi for many decades copied and summarized in *Regesta* hitherto unknown documents relating to Hungarian Jews from Hungarian and foreign libraries and archives. His additions going down 1711 comprise twenty pages. Pending the preparation of the supplementary volume he has published the *Regesta* bearing on the Middle Ages.[1]

[1] *Középkori regeszták a magyar zsidóság multjara vonatkozólag* [Medieval Regesta on the Past of Hungarian Jewry] *IMIT Evkönyve* (Budapest, 1948), pp. 74-88.

Fifty documents from the period between the thirteenth century and 1526 are digested. The most valuable of these is the Jewish oath originating from the fifteenth century (No. 22, p. 81), in the formulary of Matthew Éthy Bene, found in the Batthyány Library of Gyulafehérvár. It is older than the Hungarian Jewish oath that appeared in 1514 in the *Tripartitum* of Stephen Werböczy and that until now was considered the oldest Hungarian Jewry oath formula.[2]

The wording follows:

Juramentum Judeorum

Juras tu Juda in hac forma videlicet per Deum patrem omnipotentem Sabaoth, qui apparuit Moysi in rubo vel per verum *Adonay* patrem, quod respondebis recte et veritatem dices de eo, quod interrogaberis.

Respondeat: Juro.

Et si tu culpabilis eris vel periuraberis, sis dispersus inter gentes et moriaris in terra inimicorum tuorum et sic te terra absorbeat sicut Dathan et Abyron.

Respondeat: Amen.

2

In the neighborhood of Vasvár there is the village of Zsidofölde, which was united with Vasvár in the second half of the nineteenth century. A document of Jewish interest from Zsidofölde has recently come to light. The Provost and Chapter of Vasvár went to court with the citizens of Vasvár concerning the ownership of a piece of property of about 400 acres. In a letter dated Vasvár, May 9, 1393, Royal Chancellor Nicholas Kanizsai reported to King Sigismund that when, in accordance with a royal order, he wished to vest the Provost and Chapter of Vasvár with possession of Zsidofölde, part of the village became the subject of dispute. This part comprised the site of a fortified

[2] See Ernö Winkler, "A zsidó eskü Magyarországen" [The Jewish Oath in Hungary], *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* (Budapest, 1927), pp. 29-47. On the problem of the Jewish oath in general see Guido Kisch, "Studien zur Geschichte des Judeneides im Mittelalter," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XIV (1939), 431-456; G. Kisch, *Jewry-Law in Medieval Germany* (New York, 1949), p. 267 f., under "Jewry Oath"; G. Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 275-287.

castle, eight acres of tillable ground, and the site of the cemetery of the Jews.

. . . quendam locum sepulture Judeorum ad dictam possessionem Sydefeulde vocatam pertinere debere asserentes demonstrassent dominis preposito et capitulo contrarium referentibus.[3]

This is a reference to the Jewish cemetery of Vasvár in 1393 when Jews no longer lived there, the ordinance of expulsion of Louis the Great dating back to about 1360. We do not know when they settled in Vasvár; however, they had been there as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. According to a document of 1263, a certain *magister* Wid from the family of Gutkeled pawned with Farkas, a Jew of Vasvár, the Bible of the monastery of Chatár which he had in his custody as a patron. The Bible had been forfeited to the Jew Farkas.[4] By way of compensation Wid had ceded to the monastery two estates belonging to him.

The *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* does not mention that this Bible has survived in the monastery of Admont, in Austria. It is in two bulky volumes, written on parchment, and contains hundreds of illuminations. Known as the Gebhard Bible, it is one of the finest masterpieces of miniature painting of Salzburg from the twelfth century. The following note from the beginning of the thirteenth century appears on page 1a:[5]

Istum librum cum [?] et alia parte sua magister Wid et Farcasius Judeus deposuerunt in festo beati Nicolai aput nos, tali conditione, quod in octavis Beate Virginis dictus W[id] persolvat predicto F[arcasio] iudeo quatuor marcas et dimidiam. Et si interim abbas tres marcas

[3] *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Archives of the Period of Sigismund], I (1387-1389), ed. Elemer Mályusz (Budapest, 1951), 321, No. 2923. Cf. Fülöp Grünwald, *Uj Élet*, VIII (Budapest, 1952), Nr. 33.

[4] *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, I, No. 25, p. 33: " . . . Wyd, filius Pethed, de genere Gutkeled, . . . librum bibliaticum monasterii sui de Chatár quod in sua custodia et proteccione speciali fuit racione patronatus, obligasset pro septuaginta marcis iudeo Farcasio de Castroferreo, et idem liber in eadem obligacione fuisset amissus."

[5] László Fejérpataky, *Magyar Könyvszemle, Uj folyam*, I (Budapest, 1892-93), 9. It seems that Farkas is the first Jew in Hungary to be mentioned by a Hungarian name. His Jewish name was probably Zeev or Wolf.

eidem F[arcasio] non persolverit, eodem die eas Wid persolvet. Item decem marcas tenetur Wid persolvere F[arcasio] in Carnisprivio, alias decem marcas in festo Johannis Baptiste. Quod si aliquem terminum in solvendo obmiserit, libri reddentur F[arcasio] iudeo.

Subsequently, Wid pawned the Bible for twenty-seven and a half marks. As appears from the document of 1263, this sum meanwhile rose to 70 marks. The Jew Farkas deposited the Bible in the monastery until the term of the loan expired. It is from him that the Bible may have come to Admont.

3

Of the Jewish cemeteries of medieval Hungary only those of Buda, Esztergom, Pozsony, Nagyszombat, Sopron, and Vasvár are mentioned by the authorities. Up to the present, however, tombstones have been found only at Buda and Nagyszombat, six at each place. Not a single one has remained at Sopron[6] where, in 1537 (after the expulsion of the Jews in 1526), the city council had the cemetery dug up and the tombstones destroyed. In the spring of 1944, when the Jews of Sopron were shut up in a ghetto and were preparing for martyrdom, there turned up, on the occasion of the digging of a suburban cave, the tombstone of the martyr Isaac b. Hayyim from 1411-12.[7] The inscription reads:

האבן הזא[ת]
אשר [ש]מתי
מצבה על
ראש ר' יצחק
ב"ר חיים
הנהרג ז"ל
הש' ינקם
ק'ע'ב'ק'

The tombstone is now in the Museum of Sopron.

[6] Miksa Pollák, *A zsidók története Sopronban* [History of the Jews at Sopron] (Budapest, 1896), p. 188; summarized in *Die Geschichte der Juden in Oedenburg* (Vienna, 1929), p. 72.

[7] Fülöp Grünwald, *Darkenu* (Budapest, 5707), pp. 15-16, with a photograph of the tombstone.

III

Some Newly Discovered Hebrew Manuscripts

1

Certain recent discoveries supply new material on the history of Jewish books in medieval Hungary. Alexander Büchler, the late chief rabbi of Keszthely, the historian of the Jewry of Budapest, who died a martyr's death, discovered in the archives of Prince Festetich at Keszthely a fragment of a manuscript on parchment originating from the fourteenth century. It contains two pages of an illustrated codex of the Bible, with I Chronicles 1:7-39. The design, carried out with tiny-lettered biblical verses, shows Eve handing the apple to Adam, only one of whose hands is visible. In the center the serpent coiling himself on the tree is discernible. In Büchler's opinion, this fragment may possibly have come into the possession of the family Festetich in 1686, on the recapture of Buda, together with material plundered from the burning synagogue.[8] Today it is the property of the Hungarian Jewish Museum.

2

It was again Alexander Büchler who found in the Prince Batthyány Archives at Körmend (at present at Keszthely) four parchment leaves of Jacob b. Asher's *Tur*. A manuscript dating from the fourteenth century, it differs in many passages from the printed edition. As early as 1541 it was in the possession of the Batthyánys, who used it to bind the socage conscriptions relating to Dob and Muraszombat. It came there from the library of a large Western Hungarian Jewish community during the persecution of the Jews after the battle of Mohács in 1526.[9]

3

Jewish life in Sopron came to an end with the expulsion of 1526. In vain did the Jews afterwards besiege the city of Sopron for readmittance. In one of their petitions

[8] Sándor Büchler, *Libanon*, VII (Budapest, 1942), 65, with a photograph of the manuscript.

[9] Sándor Büchler, *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, ed. by Alexander Scheiber (Budapest, 1947), p. 311, with a photographic reproduction.

of March 24, 1528 they complained: "Item sinagogam nostram deuastuare, libros Hebraicos exportauere."[10] What has become of these Hebrew books? On part of them the city laid its hands and used the parchment to bind account books, lists of taxes, lists of tithes paid in wine, etc. Chief Archivist Eugene Házy recently removed these bindings. The fragments were examined by this writer.[11] The Hebrew material totaling 72 pages consists of torn-out pieces of eleven Hebrew codices. For the most part the fragments have remained in good condition. They are written on strong parchment calligraphically. One of the fragments came into the possession of the city as early as 1424, another in 1514, the rest after 1526. Among them fragments of the following works were identified: a Mahzor with a portion bearing on Yom Kippur; two copies of the Talmud; a Mechilta; the *Mishne Tora* of Maimonides; and fragments of other codes. Photostats of the entire material are in the archives of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary. They will be published elsewhere.

4

There are three more fragments of medieval codices that were removed from old bindings.[12] From the binding of a Latin manuscript from Northern Hungary, made about 1466 were taken two fragments of a codex of the Torah with Targum, from the beginning of the fifteenth century. From the binding of an incunabulum made at Bártfa in the second half of the fifteenth century, a four-leaf fragment of a manuscript of the Talmud came to light, with parts of *Sotah* and *Nedarim*. Finally, a four-leaf fragment of a Mahzor with part of the Yom Kippur prayers came from a Hebrew print for which it had served as a binding.

All three fragments are in the Department of Manuscripts of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary.

[10] Pollák, *A zsidók története Sopronban*, p. 116; Pollák, *Die* Geschichte *der Juden in Oedenburg*, p. 46; Hazy Jenö, *Sopron . . . története* [The History of Sopron], I, 7 (Sopron, 1929), No. 228, p. 284; *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, II, 547.

[11] A. Scheiber, *Haladás*, V (Budapest, 1949), No. 52; Scheiber, *Uj Élet*, VI (Budapest, 1950), No. 1.

[12] Scheiber, *Uj Élet*, VI (Budapest, 1950), Nos. 43, 44.

REVIEW SECTION

THE JEWS IN SWITZERLAND

By Guido Kisch
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SWITZERLAND, the oldest democratic republic in Western Europe, with an area of 15,737 square miles, includes approximately 21,000 Jews in its population of about 4,700,000 (19,429 among 4,266,000, according to the 1941 census, the latest for which definitive official numbers are available). According to the first Swiss census (1850), the Jews numbered 3,145 persons, or 0.13 percent of the total population. Owing to immigration from Eastern Europe beginning in the eighteen-nineties, and during the First World War in particular, their number had increased to 20,955, or 0.44 percent, in 1920. More than one quarter of the 12,264 Jews counted in 1900 were born in Russia; others had immigrated from Alsace, southern Germany, Flanders, Champagne, and Franche-Comté. In the period between the two world wars a restrictive governmental policy dictated by economic depression caused emigration and a decrease in the Swiss-Jewish population. It numbered 17,973 in 1930 in the then total population of 4,066,000. The largest Jewish communities are those of Zürich, Basle, Berne, Geneva, St. Gallen, Lucerne and Lausanne. All the Jewish communities are united in the Swiss Federation of Jewish Congregations (Schweizer Israelitischer Gemeindebund), founded in 1904.

Jews were living in the present Swiss territory even before the foundation of the confederation of the three *Waldstätten*. In Basle Jews are mentioned in 1213; in Geneva and the west they must have settled much earlier. In the first half of the thirteenth century, Jews are found in several Swiss localities. Except for an expulsion from Berne on account of an alleged ritual murder in 1294, the Jewish communities developed favorably up to the Jewish persecutions which swept all Europe in the era of the Black Death (1348-49). Charged with killing Christians by poisoning the wells, Jews were burned at the stake in most cities, first in Geneva in 1348, and finally in Schaffhausen, Winterthur, and St. Gallen in 1349. "During the Middle Ages the Jews were more oppressed and persecuted in Switzerland than in any other country," writes the historian M. Kayserling, "but on account of their being indispensable during financial difficulties they were more frequently readmitted into Swiss cities than elsewhere." Then the four-

teenth and fifteenth centuries saw new and more numerous Jewish settlements flourish on Swiss territory. However, persecutions for economic reasons were recurring and led to frequent local expulsions. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Jews are mentioned merely sporadically. They lived then outside of the cities, in the country. Only in the second half of the seventeenth century were Jews admitted to the northeastern part of Switzerland, particularly to the county of Baden. They settled especially in the villages of Lengnau and Oberendingen. In 1744 these two villages were designated as their exclusive places of settlement, and this restriction remained in force until 1862.

In the Middle Ages the Jews of Switzerland, like their coreligionists in Germany, were regarded as serfs of the Imperial chamber and stood under the emperor's immediate protection, for which they had to pay annual taxes. In the fourteenth century they came under the protection of the cities of their residence and had to pay them protection money. They were admitted to a kind of citizenship which, however, did not afford full and equal participation in all the rights and duties of Christian citizens. Excluded from commerce and handicraft, they had to live chiefly on moneylending. From the end of the fifteenth century, the Jews were forbidden, however, to accept real estate as pledges. They were also subjected to the restrictive anti-Jwish legislation practiced in other countries including distinctive dress and the ghetto. Gradually they were replaced by Christian moneylenders, the Cahorsins, and, in the end, were reduced to peddling and petty trade. The Jewish communities enjoyed full autonomy including independent jurisdiction and administration according to Jewish law.

No change in the Jewish status took place as a result of the establishment of the Helvetian Republic (1798). Nevertheless, this period proved important for Swiss Jewry, since the ideals of the French Revolution took root in Switzerland, and parts of the country even came temporarily under French control. Emancipation and civil enfranchisement of Swiss Jewry were accomplished only about eighty years later and this after a bitter struggle. Up to that time the *Judengemeinden* of Lengnau and Oberendingen alone enjoyed religious freedom (Jewry Law of May 5, 1809; Corporation Law of June 11, 1824). Legislation concerning the Jewish religion as well as the Jews was left to the individual cantons. Some of them adopted liberal laws: Graubünden (1860), Zürich (1861), Solothurn and Schaffhausen (1865) and Thurgau (1866). In accordance with the revision of the federal constitution (art. 41 and 48), freedom of settlement was proclaimed (1865-66), followed by full religious liberty in 1874. In Aargau full equality was attained only in 1877-79.

Yet later, restrictive laws were sometimes passed. In 1893 Jewish ritual slaughtering was declared illegal, and the prohibition inserted in the constitution (art. 25). In 1921 the City Council of Zürich discriminated against Eastern European Jews by extending the period

of residence necessary for naturalization from ten (generally required) to fifteen years.

Despite their small number the Jews made contributions to the cultural and social life of Switzerland. In the Middle Ages they furnished a number of outstanding physicians, of whom an almost uninterrupted line practiced in Fribourg from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Among the medieval rabbis Moses of Zürich (middle of fourteenth century) was the author of a religious book, the Zürich *SeMaK*. Among the nineteenth century rabbis were noted scholars such as Julius Fürst (not the orientalist of the same name), Meyer Kayserling and Alexander Kisch, founder of the first Swiss-Jewish weekly. The universities of Bern, Zürich and Basle numbered outstanding Jewish professors among their faculties. Jews were active in Swiss industry and commerce, particularly in the textile, silk, clothing and embroidery production. Among their educational institutions, the Jewish Academy (Yeshiva) in Montreux, and among the charitable institutions, the Jewish Tuberculosis Sanatorium Etania at Davos are of more than local significance.

The country in which the idea of the International Red Cross originated offered its hospitality to representatives of the Jewish community at large on several memorable occasions. The first Zionist Congress took place in Basel (1897), and many of the later Zionist congresses were held in various Swiss cities. The constitution for an enlarged Jewish Agency under joint Zionist and non-Zionist control was adopted and signed at Zürich in 1929. The World Jewish Congress organized at Geneva in 1936. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* occupied Swiss courts. It was the court of Berne which, in 1935, in a sensational trial concerning the genuineness of these alleged Protocols declared them to be a forgery. In another such trial in 1936, against David Frankfurter, who assassinated the Swiss Nazi leader Wilhelm Gustloff, a Swiss court condemned the Jewish persecutions in Germany. Although surrounded by Nazi-dominated countries, Switzerland withstood Nazi pressure for the extradition of political refugees and curbed anti-Semitic propaganda within its territory.

During the Second World War Jewish refugees from all parts of Europe found there a temporary haven. They were cared for by the Swiss Govenment and by Swiss, American and British Jewish organizations and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. For obvious reasons the Swiss authorities were anxious, however, to have all refugees speedily repatriated or sent to other countries though offering a permanent home to small numbers of them. The entire population was always sympathetic toward Jewish exiles and aided them generously.

This summary historical survey had to be given in order to understand the statistical and sociological contribution toward the modern

period of Swiss-Jewish history contained in a recent American publication, *The Population of Switzerland,* by Kurt B. Mayer.[1] Although the author's observations are only part of a general treatment of his subject, they are interesting not only for purposes of population comparison but also as a study of sociological trends and developments among Swiss Jews, since the existing literature is extremely scanty.[2]

The Jewish minority in Switzerland shows some of the features that were observed among German Jewry between the wars. On the basis of available statistical data Mayer points out two striking ways in which the Swiss Jews differ from the Protestant and Catholic groups. First, the aging process is so far advanced among the Jews that, the author predicts, the Jewish group "will die out rapidly unless it is replenished by migration."[3] Second, the low fertility rate, in fact the lowest among all religious groups in Switzerland, operates as an additional factor contributing toward the predicted outcome.[4] The latter is also accelerated by mixed marriages.[5]

As to the occupational distribution, the small Jewish minority of Switzerland again presents a picture different from that of the other religious groups. The Jews are highly concentrated in commerce, with almost two-thirds of all the gainfully occupied employed in trade and finance. Only 13 percent of the Jews are manual laborers, while 44 percent are salaried employees, and another 43 percent self-employed, the latter for the most part shopkeepers, wholesalers, and professionals. The Swiss Jews thus have the occupational structure typical of Western European Jewry as a whole, which is not so much an outgrowth of religious predilection as the result of long and painful historical conditioning.[6]

[1] Columbia University Press, New York, 1952; xiv and 336 pp.

[2] In addition to pertinent articles in the well-known Jewish encyclopedias and the literature mentioned in I. Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life* (Philadelphia, 1945), p. 689 n. 37: Augusta Steinberg, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in der Schweiz während des Mittelalters* (Zürich, 1903). — Fritz Wyler, *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der israelitischen Religionsgenossenschaften in der Schweiz* (Glarus, 1929). — *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Bern,* 1848-1948 (Bern, 1948). — *The American Jewish Year Book,* vols. 40-53 (Philadelphia, 1938-1952). — In the list of sources appended to Mayer's volume specifically Jewish books are not mentioned, because no recent literature of this type is available.

[3] Mayer, *op. cit.,* p. 139 n. 9: "By 1941 the age structure of the Jews appeared as follows: under 15: 12.2%, 15-29: 20.3%, 30-44: 25.2%, 45-64: 28.9%, 65 and over: 13.4%."

[4] In 1930, there were 74 Jewish births per 1,000 married women between 15-44 years of age as compared with 129 among Protestants and 185 among Catholics; Mayer, *op. cit.,* p. 111.

[5] For statistical data and more details see Mayer, *op. cit.,* p. 183 f.

[6] Mayer, *op. cit.,* 158 ff.

A study of the further development of the Swiss Jewish community will yield useful and interesting results that may be employed as comparative material for Jewish population research in the future.

History of Russian Jewry

THE JEWS IN RUSSIA. Volume II. By *Louis Greenberg*. Edited by Mark Wischnitzer. Yale University Press. New Haven, 1951. 213 pp.

THE second volume of the late Rabbi Greenberg's chronicle of the Jews in Russia down to 1917 relates a well-known tale of oppression, awakening, and confusion among the subjects of his study. Drawing on his excellent knowledge of Russian history, Rabbi Greenberg integrates the Jewish experience into the Russian story; he does not, as so many Jewish scholars are prone to do, view the history of the Jews in a vacuum.

The author was in the midst of this study when death interrupted his work, and the book was prepared for publication by Mark Wischnitzer. The editor had an almost superhuman task to perform in trying to ascertain the correct citations from the author's hints. Except for the many statements that appear in the text without supporting citations and a direct quotation (on p. 100) that has a footnote reference but no footnote, he has succeeded.

Regrettable is the omission of a list of the sources used by the author for the study. A casual perusal of the footnote citations indicates that he relied too heavily on secondary sources and too little on the primary sources that are available.

The most valuable and the most interesting aspects of the study are the countless personal thumbnail biographies found scattered throughout the text, of leading Jewish actors in the drama. Such men appear as Maxim M. Vinaver, Leonty M. Bramson, and Horace de Günzburg, among the liberals; Paul B. Akselrod, Martov (Y. O. Zederbaum), Arkady Kremer, and Vladimir Medem, among the socialists; Asher Ginzberg (Ahad Haam), Nahum Sokolow, Menahem M. Ussishkin, Chaim Weizmann, and Vladimir Jabotinsky, among the Zionists. Unfortunately, Rabbi Greenberg could not complete the sketches of Nachman Syrkin and Ber Borochov as he had planned.

Apart from these thumbnail biographies and the last two chapters dealing with the Jews in the revolutionary movement and with the origins of Zionism in Russia, the volume adds nothing especially new to our knowledge of Russian Jewish history during the period it investigates. On the whole, however, this book is a well written and judicious retelling of a critical era in Jewish history.

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Anti-Jewish Legislation in Nazi-Germany

DAS AUSNAHMERECHT FUER DIE JUDEN IN DEN EUROPAEISCHEN LAENDERN 1933-1945. I. Teil: Deutschland. [The Discriminatory Laws against the Jews in European Countries 1933-1945. Part I: Germany.] By *Bruno Blau.* Bruno Blau, Sunnyside, L. I., New York (41-29 — 41st St.), 1952. 142 pp.

THIS volume presents for the first time a compilation of 415 laws and ordinances of the period of Nazi rule, which discriminated against the Jews of Germany. Many of the legal texts are given in full, others merely summarized; some regulations are included which were previously not officially published. The material was collected during and shortly after World War II, partly in Germany, partly in New York libraries. Arranged chronologically, it covers the German Reich proper from 1933 to 1944, exclusive of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. A second volume will present the anti-Jewish legislation in the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe.

This comprehensive and—according to the examination of individual instances selected at random—accurate compilation will serve primarily as a reliable basis for research in the history of the Nazi period and its various policies concerning the elimination of Jews from all walks of human endeavor in Germany, their gradual degradation and final extermination. It will also be of great help for those who are at present concerned with German reparations and restitution problems.

As introduction the author wrote an instructive survey of the aims and results of the anti-Jewish Nazi legislation. In an appendix he treated the attitude of the German courts towards the Jews, establishing the complete lawlessness that existed during the Nazi rule in Germany and the degradation and vilification of generally accepted principles of law through those organs of the judiciary to which law enforcement and the upholding of justice was entrusted.

The German wording of this legal material has been retained and the summaries are also written in German. An alphabetical index of subjects facilitates the use of this important source volume. The book ends with a bibliography of National-Socialist literature on race discrimination. The author's list contains the names of notorious war criminals, such as Wilhelm Frick and Wilhelm Stuckart, as well as writers such as Wolfgang Siebert, who are again teachers of law in German law schools.

Guido Kisch

American Jewish History

YAHADUT AMERIKA BE-HITPATHUTAH [The Shaping of American Judaism]. By *Moshe Davis*. The Jewish Theological Seminary of America. New York, 1951. xxvii + 406 pp. (Hebrew).

IN this thoughtful volume, Doctor Davis has given us a careful account of the development of one of the main trends in Jewish religious life in the United States in the nineteenth century. He approaches his subject through a series of brief essays on some of the major figures in American Jewish religious life in the middle of that century. He then proceeds to a consideration of some of the more significant currents in Jewish communal life, including the growth of philanthropic activities and of educational and other institutions. In the course of these discussions, the author traces the gradual formation of a "historical school" of Judaism. The work then goes on to a description of the controversies and internal divisions from which modern Conservative Judaism emerged at the end of the century, when Solomon Schechter was brought to the United States and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America was established. Davis concludes his book with an analysis of the leading religious principles of Conservative Judaism.

The work is written in Hebrew. There must have been good reason for this choice of language, but it is an unhappy one in that it will prevent the book from having as wide an audience in this country as it deserves.

On the whole, the volume is thoroughly competent. It makes good use of the available sources, is well balanced in its treatment of the crucial subjects, and seems accurate in matters of detail.

The most significant problems posed are those of interpretation; and these are important, for they involve judgments as to the nature of the general development of Judaism in the United States. In effect, Davis attributes to American Judaism a consistent development, the logical outcome of which was the definition of Conservative Judaism as it took form after the turn of the twentieth century. By referring to successive individuals as members of the historical school, Davis almost endows them with a common program and with a consciousness of common purpose.

Such a program and such a purpose may have existed in a vague and general way. But other forces of quite another nature were also involved. It was not alone the handful of rabbis and other educated men to whom these questions were of moment. The mass of unlearned Jews in the nineteenth century, preoccupied as they were with the immediate problems of establishing a settlement and earning a livelihood, were also concerned with working out some religious adjustment that would enable them to cling to their Judaism within the framework of American life.

That adjustment, so deeply desired, had to be made in the face of entirely novel conditions. The Jews who came to the United States in the nineteenth century found a Jewish community almost two hundred years old and well established, but one that had, through its whole experience, lacked educated leadership and contacts with the main streams of European Judaism. In the United States, also, the newcomers encountered a society in which they were completely free to be Jews on terms of complete equality with members of other denominations. That status, which, until then, Jews had enjoyed nowhere else, was a blessing and at the same time a challenge. Within it they had to contrive a religious order in which the allegiance of its members would come as the voluntary choice of free individuals rather than as the automatic adhesion of the various parts of a community. Finally, the adjustment had to be made in a society in which leadership and values were increasingly determined by ideals that were secular rather than religious in orientation. It was under the pressure of these difficult conditions that the forms of American Judaism took shape.

We must be grateful to Doctor Davis for having set forth clearly and lucidly the course of the theological aspects of the development. But an understanding of the whole process also calls for a description of its complex social concomitants. Paralleling changes in ideas were changes in the social needs and aspirations of men eager to retain religion as part of their new life. In the process the Jews in the United States, like the other immigrating peoples, learned to accommodate themselves to a New World. It is within that story, fascinating if difficult to tell, that particular role of Conservative Judaism will become fully comprehensible.

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MIDDLE AGES

FESTSCHRIFT EDMUND E. STENGEL ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG AM 24. DEZEMBER 1949 DARGEBRACHT VON FREUNDEN, FACHGENOSSEN UND SCHÜLERN. Böhlau-Verlag. Münster-Köln, 1952. xvi and 592 pp.

AMONG its numerous valuable contributions to the political, constitutional, and local history of Germany and to the historical "Hilfswissenschaften," this remarkable *Festschrift* contains an essay, "Mittelalter und Nürnberger Prozess," by Professor Hermann Heimpel. This essay polemicizes against an article, "A Forerunner of Nuremberg," by George Schwarzenberger, Reader in International Law at the University in London, published in the *Manchester Guardian* of September 28, 1946. There, the criminal trial in 1474 against the provincial Governor (*Landvogt*) of Breisach on the Upper Rhine, Peter von Hagen-

bach, was demonstrated to have been a "precursor" of the Nuremberg war criminal trials. Heimpel brings evidence that in that case the court instituted by Duke Siegmund of Austria was not an international tribunal, nor were the crimes with which the delinquent was charged, violations of human rights, humanity, or divine law. Only one similarity with the modern trials of war criminals is conceded: the defendant's attempt to clear himself of culpability by charging that orders of his superiors were responsible for his criminal conduct. Heimpel considers this shifting of responsibility indicative of the rising autocracy of the modern State of Western Europe, as specifically developed in France and Burgundy, in contrast to the historical idea of the "good old law" and its superiority over State authority.

GUIDO KISCH

AETIOLOGY OF CRIMES AGAINST AND BY JEWS

GESCHICHTE DES VERBRECHENS. Versuch einer historischen Kriminologie. By *Gustav Radbruch* and *Heinrich Gwinner*. K. F. Koehler Verlag. Stuttgart, 1951. 304 pp.

THE eminent Heidelberg criminologist, Gustav Radbruch (1878-1949), who suffered discrimination and persecution by the Nazi regime because of his Socialist conviction, in his last scholarly publication opened a new historical aspect of crime, which he called "historical criminology." The crimes are subjected to scientific inquiry. They are not investigated, however, from a juridical point of view, as punishable transgressions; rather are they considered from the sociological aspect as "social-pathological phenomena, as phenomena naturally resulting from crises in the social, political, and cultural life." "Historical criminology considers its task to be the comparative study of the physiognomics of crime in various ages of civilization in order to show how the *Zeitgeist* and prevailing conditions in a given era influence criminality in that period, whereby the historical preconditions of present-day criminality are revealed in their nature and extent." Thus historical criminology belongs to the vast realm of the history of civilization. Obviously, its various subjects are numerous and diversified.

One of these is the Jews and Jewish persecutions. They are treated in sections IV and XIV, respectively, of this volume, authored by Dr. Gwinner. The historical sketch of the medieval Jewish persecutions (pp. 37-44) is based on Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden*. Even some of the contemporaries, historiographers in particular, did not accept as true the alleged reasons for those early pogroms, such as ritual murder, poisoning of wells, and desecration of hosts by Jews. And this in spite of the fact that trials against alleged Jewish culprits were the first ones in the history of criminal procedure to apply inquisition and torture

that yielded the desired confessions from innocent victims. A Strasbourg chronicle concludes its account of the persecution and burning of Jews as follows: "Jewish debts were considered paid, all pledges and instruments of indebtedness were canceled. The Jews' ready money fell to the municipal council and was distributed among the artisans. Their money was the real reason for killing the Jews; if they had been poor and the rulers not indebted to them, they would not have been burned." The fact that some of the recipients of the loot spent it for alms or charitable purposes upon the suggestion of their confessors indicates that sometimes a sense of moral guilt was felt in those days.

According to the author, medieval Jewish persecutions were thus not provoked by any of the crimes levelled against the Jews, but were set off by religious and economic reasons. The main responsibility, he believes, rests with the rulers. They as well as their governments considered the Jews convenient, because defenseless, objects of extortion. Charles IV was one of the most unscrupulous of these princely extortionists, whereas the Hohenstaufen dynasty treated the Jews, if not with tolerance, at least with some justice.

Chapter XIV, "The Jews," deals mainly with the court Jews of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and with Jewish criminality during the pre-Emancipation period. While the former has more recently received exhaustive treatment by Selma Stern (whose works do not appear in the bibliography), the latter has not yet been given monographic treatment.

In his analysis and sociological explanation Gwinner attributes the greatest weight to the economic conditions generally prevailing in the period, which molded the social and legislative attitude toward the Jews. "Hence, Jewish criminality was not overcome by police measures and the energetic interference of the judiciary, as in the case of gangs of robbers and other criminals, but by means of Jewish Emancipation."

Gwinner's argumentation, though based only in some respects on primary source material, is certainly valid to a great extent. Nevertheless, he makes Jewish religion responsible, although to a very minor degree, for Jewish criminality, for "striving for [material] gain was anchored in the Jewish religion, too" ("Auch in der jüdischen Religion war das Streben nach Gewinn verankert" [p. 143]). This statement obviously shows the influence upon the author of Werner Sombart's *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*. In fact, this is not the only anti-Semitic work referred to in Gwinner's bibliographical appendix. As a pupil and close friend and collaborator of Radbruch, Gwinner is by no means to be suspected of any anti-Jewish leanings. All the more is it regrettable that he did not avail himself of recent publications—historical, legal-historical, and sociological—on the Jews in Germany listed and discussed in this reviewer's *The Jews in Medieval Germany* (Chicago, 1949). This omission, though explained by post-war condi-

tions in Germany, mars the presentation (the so-called "jüdisches Hehlerrecht," for example, would also have appeared in a different light). It is to be hoped that in a new edition the otherwise very interesting chapters on the Jews will be revised and brought to the same level of scholarship as the rest of this valuable work.

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BIOGRAPHY

MAX LEOPOLD MARGOLIS—SCHOLAR AND TEACHER. Alumni Association, Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. Philadelphia 5712-1952. XII and 124 pp.

"WHEN after a lapse of twenty years, mature men holding responsible positions, having obtained stature each in his own field, still feel that they owe a debt of gratitude which must be paid, and prompted by respect or affection, proceed to pay that debt, the memorial they create does great honor, not only to their teacher, but to the men themselves."

With these words his widow introduced the volume intended to revive and perpetuate the memory of Max L. Margolis, for twenty-three years Professor at Dropsie College. The book, though slender, will prove indeed a *monumentum aere perennius*. Genuine love for learning and deep respect for scholarship are responsible for its coming into being and inspired each individual contribution. Professor Abraham A. Neuman's fine Foreword and Professor Robert Gordis' biography, comprehensive in its appreciation and masterful in style, give a lively picture of the man and scholar. His achievements in his main field of learning, the Bible, are appraised by biblical scholars such as Harry M. Orlinsky, Ephraim A. Speiser, and Frank Zimmermann (cf. the fine evaluation of their articles by Henry S. Gehman in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XLIII, 1952, 200-203). Margolis' contributions to Jewish history and the philosophy of Judaism are plastically described by Joshua Bloch, who combines a profound knowledge of his publications, even of the many scattered minor articles, with penetrating analytical force. The volume closes with an excellent sixty-three-page Bibliography which, according to its compiler, Joseph Reider, "is as complete as possible." The titles are frequently provided with summaries. Detailed indexes of subjects, words and phrases, and of special passages discussed make Margolis' life work now fully accessible to scholars. All in all, a worthy memorial volume that can serve as a model for similar publications.

GUIDO KISCH

NECROLOGUE

ISRAEL AVRAHAM RABIN

1882-1951

ISRAEL RABIN, who passed away in Haifa on September 18, 1951, was one of the steadily dwindling group of East-European scholars whose work represents a fruitful synthesis of the traditions of Rabbinic Judaism and the insights of modern scholarship and scientific research.

Born on October 18, 1882, in Proskurow, in the Ukraine, scion of an old rabbinical family, he studied at the yeshivoth of Tels and of Kovno, where he received his rabbinical ordination at the age of seventeen and was graduated simultaneously from the *Gymnasium*. He continued his studies at the universities of Berlin and Bern, receiving a Ph.D. degree from the latter, for which he wrote a thesis on "The Council of the Four Lands in Poland."

From 1909 to 1911 Rabin taught at the Teachers Seminary in Jerusalem and was associated with Eliezer Ben Yehuda and David Yellin in the work of the *Vaad Halashon*. In 1911 he became head of the *Yeshivah Gedolah* of Odessa as Rav Tzair's (Prof. Hayyim Tchernowitz) successor. Caught in Germany at the outbreak of World War I, he worked with Professor Kahle on the publication of *Die Masoreten des Westens* and taught post-biblical history and literature at the universities of Giessen and Frankfort-on-the-Main. In 1922 Rabin succeeded Marcus Brann on the faculty of the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary as Professor of history, Bible, and Hebrew literature. He also held a lectureship in Semitics and post-biblical literature at the University of Breslau. After Prof. Michael Guttman's emigration in 1934, he became the rabbinical head of the Breslau Seminary. Having emigrated to Palestine in 1935, Rabin headed the Mizrachi schools for boys in Haifa, continued his life-long activities in the leadership of the world Mizrachi movement, and rendered significant service as the outstanding member on the commission for technological terminology of the *Vaad Halashon*.

Rabin was a personality of diverse interests and scholarly talents. He combined a dominant concern with Zionism, the Hebrew language, and Hebrew philology with a profound interest in Jewish history, Bible, and rabbinics. He completed and published S. Horovitz's edition of the Mechilta in the *Corpus Tannaiticum* under the sponsorship of the *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Berlin, 1930). Other publications include his "Studien zur vormosaischen Gottesvorstellung" in

Festschrift zum 75 jährigen Bestehen des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars (Breslau, 1929), and especially a number of important historical studies and monographs in which he explored the history of the Jews in Silesia with special emphasis on the influence of legal and economic factors. Among these studies are: "Die Juden in Zülz" (Zülz, 1926), "Vom Rechtskampf der Juden in Schlesien 1582-1713" (Breslau, 1927), "Beiträge zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden in Schlesien im 18. Jahrhundert" (Breslau, 1932), "Stoff und Idee in der Jüdischen Geschichtsschreibung" in the Dubnow *Festschrift* (Berlin, 1930).

Israel Rabin's memory will be perpetuated not only in his succinct contributions to Jewish scholarship, but in the lives of countless students to whom he was a provocative teacher and warm-hearted friend.

ALFRED JOSPE

New York City

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

American Jewish Committee (ed.), *American Jewish Year Book* 1952. The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1952. xii and 608 pp.

The College of Jewish Studies (ed.), *In Memoriam Samuel I. Feigin* 1893-1950. Chicago, 1952. viii and 32 pp.

Ernst Feder, *Die Technische Hochschule von Haifa, ihre Bedeutung und ihre Entstehung*. Bloch Editores Ltda. Rio de Janeiro, 1952. 36 pp.

Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man*. Farrar, Straus and Young, Inc. New York, 1952. 118 pp.

Jewish Book Council of America (ed.), *Jewish Book Annual* 1952-1953. Volume 11. National Jewish Welfare Board. New York, 1952. 212 pp.

Oskar K. Rabinowicz, *Fifty Years of Zionism: A Historical Analysis of Dr. Weizmann's "Trial and Error."* Robert Anscombe & Co. London, 1952. 167 pp.

Michel Roblin, *Les Juifs de Paris: Démographie — Économie — Culture*. Éditions A. et J. Picard & Cie. Paris, 1952. 197 pp.

Salomo Schreiber, *Der dreifache Faden: Leben und Wirken dreier grosser Führer in Israel*. Zum erstenmal ins Deutsche übertragen von Dr. Leo Prijs. I. Teil: Rabbi Moses Sofer (Chasam Sofer). Sepher-Verlag. Basel (Strassburgerallee 90), 1952. 159 pp.

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Abram Spiro, *Samaritans, Tobiads, and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo: Use and Abuse of the Bible by Polemicists and Doctrinaires*. The American Academy for Jewish Research. New York, 1951. Reprint, pp. 279-355.

Richard Willstätter, *Aus meinem Leben: Von Arbeit, Musse und Freunden*. Herausgegeben von Arthur Stoll, Basel. Verlag Chemie. Weinheim, Bergstrasse, 1949. 453 pp.

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