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EDITED BY

I. ABRAHAMS AND C. G. MONTEFIORE.

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ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME I.

I. ABRAHAMS.
CYRUS ADLER.
DAVID CASTELLI.
T. K. CHEYNE.
S. R. DRIVER.
M. FRIEDLANDER.
M. FRIEDMANN.
H. GRAETZ.
I. HARRIS.
J. JACOBS.
D. KAUFMANN.
KATIE MAGNUS.
C. G. MONTEFIORE.
A. NEUBAUER.
I. H. RITTER.
A. H. SAYCE.
S. SCHECHTER.
I. H. WEISS.
L. WOLF.
ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1888.

INTRODUCTORY.

"GOOD wine needs no bush," and a new magazine should require no editorial preliminaries. But since the present venture has had no real predecessor in England, and is not intended to conform precisely to the model of any continental contemporary, a few words of explanation may not be altogether out of place. We cannot attempt to float our new magazine after the fashion of the school-book preface; it would, unfortunately, not be accurate to say that we are about to satisfy an obvious and long-felt want. For that is scarcely a want which is not realized as such; and, though there be no English magazine devoted to the interests of Jewish Literature and Theology, History and Religion, the Jewish Community of England seems, as a whole, to be perfectly satisfied with its absence. Our new quarterly does not, therefore, start with flying colours, and with every anticipation of a brilliant and long-lasting success; it starts tentatively, and not without some misgivings. For it must attempt to create the want which it must also seek to satisfy. It remains to be seen whether the double effort will, or will not, be beyond its strength.

That Judaism in England has but a feeble interest in scholarly investigations of its history and literature, is abundantly clear. That, either from indolence or timidity, it cares little for the philosophic discussion and development of its theology and religion is also evident.

The present Editors are agreed that this lack of interest and care is both discreditable and dangerous. They hope

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that the providing of a medium in which scholars may register the results of their research, and theologians the results of their thoughts, may stimulate the few to work, think, and write, and the many to read. At present there exists no medium through which specifically Jewish research and thought can find expression. It is, therefore, not altogether surprising that neither flourishes.

One prominent portion of our new quarterly, then, will be devoted to the past—to the better knowledge of Jewish history, literature, and theology in bygone days. And here, while the fare we offer will, we hope, be attractive and valuable to the pure scholar, it will also mostly be presented —at least that is the editorial desire—in such a form as to prove interesting as well as novel to the "general reader." These two objects are not by any means necessarily inconsistent. We may, indeed, despair of ever being able to put before our readers such work as that of the great Jewish scholar, Bernays, in which the desired combination has reached, perhaps, an almost unexampled level of perfection. But we hope that our very first number, which contains contributions from some of our ablest Jewish writers, may, in this respect, merit approval.

Our definition of past Jewish literature does not stop short before the Bible, and Biblical exposition and criticism will frequently, it is hoped, find a place in our Review. We cannot here examine the causes. We can only notice the, to us, mournful fact of the neglect which modern Jewish scholarship has shown to that greatest and most vital of all works of Jewish literature, the Bible. If we want instruction on Isaiah, or Job, or Proverbs, it is not from recent Jewish scholars that we can get it. The Hebrew Bible is, indeed, common ground, and the best exegetical criticism of our own day is absolutely without sectarian bias. We owe our grateful thanks to the distinguished Christian scholar who has so materially increased the value of our first number; but we cannot refrain from expressing a hope that our magazine, if it live long enough, may be the means of securing to the subject and the method (both critical and religious!) of Professor Cheyne some Jewish followers and disciples.

While, however, the past will receive its due share of attention, the present, in which we live, and through which the future is determined, must not be neglected. The present and future condition of Jewish religion and theology cannot properly be discussed by those who have not studied their past. Yet rigidly to turn one's eyes away from to-day

and to-morrow and keep them fixed upon the neutral tints of yesterday, may secure, indeed, the doubtful good of temporary tranquillity, but must lead infallibly through stagnation to decay. From time to time, therefore, we hope to receive and print articles which will deal with these grave subjects at once reverently and rationally.

Unlike the few continental Jewish journals in which religious questions have been discussed, our magazine will invite contributions from every section of modern Jewish opinion. The results of original "orthodox" thought, we shall be neither more nor less willing to insert than the results of original "reform" thought. One promise, at least, we may make, in all assurance of its fulfilment,—the promise, that is, of absolute impartiality. The Editors are convinced that the policy of silence and inattention in matters of theology and religion is doomed to failure. Its inevitable issue is ignorance, and ignorance must ultimately bring dissolution in its train. It is not without some sense of responsibility and doubt as to our competence for the task, that the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW has been established. The reasons why its Editors believe, and believe sincerely, in the possibility of its interest and value have now been given. Whether possibility shall be changed into reality, it is for the public, the arbiters of its fate, to decide.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JUDAISM FOR THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

IT is, perhaps, not inopportune to discuss the question as to the significance of Judaism at the present time. Certainly it is a problem which must engage the attention of Jewish thinkers, who cannot live spiritually from hand to mouth, but must desire to account to themselves why they are Jews, and why they remain within the pale of Judaism. Merely regarding it as one of the religious beliefs which are significantly enough called the ruling creeds—quite apart from its rights of primogeniture—the question as to its right to further existence is not a superfluous one. We live in an age of criticism, a fact which some deplore, others praise, and thus every branch of knowledge which claims any rank in the hierarchy of science must justify itself by showing whether it takes a part in general culture, or is an indispensable factor in the intellectual and moral development of humanity, or contributes somewhat to the totality of human effort; or, on the other hand, whether it forms only an isolated, and perhaps moribund, member in the social organism, with an existence only permitted as a matter of custom. Theology itself is required to prove its right to live. Divinity, which in earlier times stood at the summit of all the sciences, held them under control, and defined their place, holds that lofty position no longer; and even if it still takes the first rank in some academic circles, it owes that apparent advantage only to the past, and to a regard for seniority. It must itself recognise that it has no longer any right to the title of queen of sciences. Even philosophy, that claimed the precedence in the last century, must now lay aside royal privilege in favour of the exact sciences. The more cultivated classes who have tasted of the tree of knowledge live no longer in a state of *naïve* faith, ready to accept all that theology teaches as truth, that requires no proof and brings certain salvation. Criticism, which once only whispered its doubts, or was forced to keep silent if it spoke too loud, has nowadays become bold and arrogant. It has usurped the throne, and summoned all the sciences to its

court; it tests all means of ascertaining truth, and allows nothing to pass approved which cannot be rigorously tried or ascertained by facts, or numbers, or undoubted records.

It is true that the ruling religion is not much affected by the attacks of criticism. Although some cultured persons stand in a critical or sceptical attitude towards it, and turn their back on it, it does not find its position very precarious so long as a numerous following, above and below, remain true. Among the upper classes religion is carefully preserved as a means of power even more than ever, at least among the empires of the Continent. Religion has become the close ally of the state, and therefore finds in the state an unassailable support. Among the lower classes, whose powers of thought are poorly developed, and entirely directed to the satisfaction of their present needs, it has still the majority on its side. The ruling religion, whether Catholic or Protestant, United or Orthodox Greek, does not trouble itself about its continued existence, and does not find it necessary to establish scientifically its right to live. This is not even necessary in America, where Rationalism or Atheism has founded a kind of opposition Church of incredulity. The ruling religion has an overwhelming majority, and can rest satisfied with that. Possession gives it nine points of the law.

But how about Judaism? It has no outward means of maintaining itself. It has no hold on the political powers. No minority is so weak as one whose members are scattered through all parts of the world, and live disconnected from one another. Besides this, Judaism has numerous enemies both within and without its ranks. The external opponents who contest its right to existence are by no means its most dangerous enemies.

In consequence of the tragic fate that befell its adherents, who had for centuries to wander here and there in degrading slavery, Judaism has itself adopted a garb which is by no means especially attractive, but which, as a whole, unlike some of its entirely emancipated followers, it has scarcely the power or wish to remove. And yet, notwithstanding this in nowise brilliant exterior, it demands from its adherents more earnest and serious sacrifices than any other religion, though these duties appear to many as externalities—obsolete survivals of a sad past which should be rather laid aside than preserved. The modern finery which the Reforming party in Judaism has introduced into the synagogue and public life has had no influence on that side of Jewish life which has not a synagogal or a ritual character, viz.: on married life, on the family, and on the home; these because they are

matters of conscience, and find their strength in the affections, cannot be so easily transformed. Rigid conservatives say of ritual matters: "*Sint ut sunt aut non sint.*" And it is just on this side of Judaism, in its ritual, that scepticism, not to say scorn, makes its appearance among those who have lost their respect for the past, for criticism is much more sharp and incisive among Jews than elsewhere. Now criticism in Judaism is confined to the cultured, and makes them indifferent to the heritage of many thousand years, if it does not make them despise it. These inner enemies of Judaism are, so far, more dangerous than the others, because the latter, except the rabid anti-semitic *Judenfresser*, who cast scorn on Moses and the Prophets, at any rate show their respect for Jewish antiquities. The opponents of Judaism among its own sons banish all reverence for the long roll of their ancestral heroes of intellect and martyrs of faith. How can Judaism maintain itself if its most distinguished sons, the cultured classes, turn their back on it? Or shall the word of the prophet find fulfilment: "A poor and lowly people shall be left in the midst of thee?" And the fidelity of these lowly ones is not quite assured. They as a rule urge their children to adopt the culture of the time, and these in their turn strive to obtain equality and social position by means of scientific ability. This is the case where Jews exist in large numbers, as in Germany, Austria, Russia and its dependencies, Roumania and the Balkan principalities; this striving after European forms of culture, in its way so praiseworthy, has spread even to the Turkish Orient, and has crossed over into Africa. It is encouraged by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and by the Anglo-Jewish Association. In two generations there must be a relative increase in the numbers, if not of Apostates, at least of Indifferents. How shall the existence of Judaism continue?

Or will it have no further existence? Has it already fulfilled its mission, and is it no longer anything but a ghost longing for the rest of the grave? Must it withdraw from the scene of practical influence because the civilizing element in it has passed over into the general atmosphere of culture, and its principles have become an integral part of public law and justice? Has it done its duty, and may it now retire from the stage?

The question of the function of Judaism in the present and the future has become a burning and vital question for cultivated Jews. Is the ancestral heritage so valuable that for its sake one should put up with a despised position in life, and for ever submit to the ban which the intolerance of Central and Eastern Europe has imposed on the adherents of

Judaism? Is it worth while taking up a martyrdom not alone for oneself but for one's children? It is true the Jews in the most civilised lands, in which the principles of liberty have been carried out to their full consequences—*i.e.*, in England, France, and also in Italy—are more fortunate; they do not suffer any loss through their religion, whether political or social. But Judaism requires even from them sacrifices, if not of a material nature, still sacrifices of blissful sentiments and yearnings.

Readiness of sacrifice for an ideal can only be inspired by the most strenuous conviction of its truth and excellence. But how shall the present generation become possessed of such a conviction? It has grown sceptical under the influence of the exact sciences, and only lays weight on figures and facts.

Perhaps it may be possible to gain such a conviction of the importance of Judaism even at the present day without forsaking the firm ground of actuality. It may be possible to produce proofs that Judaism has pre-eminent value, just because it rests on the solid basis of actual phenomena, and can therefore look forward to the future with equanimity, and needs no material power. It may perhaps be demonstrated that its ideal mission, its capacity of fruitfulness, which is even more or less allowed by its external opponents, and its power of transformation, still continue and must continue. This necessity is easy to recognise if one clearly understands, on the one hand, the essence of Judaism and its characteristic qualities, by which it is distinguished from other forms of religion; and if, on the other hand, one compares with these the prevailing ethical and religious tone, as manifested in society and in the life of the individual.

In order not to mistake the essential characteristics of Judaism, one must not regard it as a *faith*, or speak of it as "the Jewish faith." The application of a word is by no means unimportant. The word often becomes a net in which thought gets tangled unawares. From an ecclesiastical standpoint, the word "faith" implies the acceptance of an inconceivable miraculous fact, insufficiently established by historical evidence, and with the audacious addition, *Credo quia absurdum.* Judaism has never required such a belief from its adherents. When it is said that religion stands in fierce conflict with science or with reason, that only applies to forms of religion whose dogmas and the foundation of whose institutions rest on unprovable facts, which faith alone has raised to certainty. Such a faith must naturally be engaged in an internecine struggle with science.

But Judaism is not a mere doctrine of faith. What is it

then? The celebrated and original French historian Renan, who often gives expression to striking *aperçus*, though he has never entirely freed himself from the memories of priest-craft, has said of Judaism that it is "a minimum of religion." This *aperçu* sounds rather curiously when one thinks of the huge folios which contain the Jewish religious codices, the Talmud and its addenda, Maimonides' *Mishne Thorah* or Caro's *Shulchan Aruch*, with their commentaries and super-commentaries, which offer a boundless extent of religious duties. And yet Renan's utterance is true, as true in reality as it is concisely expressed. It hits the mark not only in the sense that Judaism demands few, or no articles of faith, but also in the sense that its centre of gravity is not to be found in the religious sphere. What then is its essence? It has been characterised often enough, and yet misconceived by friend and foe, as much misconceived as if it were an esoteric mystery or a coarse superstition. When the king of Judah and his people were carried away by such a misconception that they even brought human sacrifices in imitation of foreigners, the prophet Micah said: "Thou askest what the Lord requireth of thee? Only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." That is a minimum of religion, is it not? Similarly, 700 years later, the great Hillel characterised it to a heathen who had asked him what was the quintessence of Judaism: "'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' That is the whole of the law; all the rest is but commentary on this text." So too, 150 years later, an authoritative council also reduced the fundamental duties of Judaism to a minimum. The Emperor Hadrian, who in his own lifetime ordered his worship as a God, had decreed a terrible religious persecution on all the Jews of the Roman Empire, as a punishment for the way in which the Jews of Palestine had fought for liberty and still higher possessions against the Roman legions. The least display of a religious symbol or the slightest sign of religion was to be met by corporal punishment, or even by death. By this means, Judaism was to be driven from the hearts of its adherents, and uprooted from the memory of men. Under these sad circumstances, the Rabbis of the time came together in council in order to provide the people with a rule of conduct. Though they were themselves prepared to undergo a martyr's death for every single precept, yet they did not require the same degree of self-sacrifice from the whole of Israel. In this mournful condition of affairs, the Council of Lydda made a well-weighed distinction between the fundamental provisions

of Judaism and those that merely applied to the ritual. The latter might, under certain circumstances, be transgressed, in order to avoid punishment; but the former, on the other hand, must not be denied even for fear of death in its most horrible shape. The council reduced the fundamental principles of Judaism to three: avoidance of idolatry, avoidance of unchastity, and, finally, avoidance of an attack on human life.

It is easy enough to perceive from all this that Prophets and Talmudists did not regard sacrifice or ritual as the fundamental and determining thing in Judaism, but another and higher element, or, more rightly speaking, two elements which apparently do not belong to one another, but are in reality radically interdependent. We must, to a certain extent, analyse these elements, in order to recognise and to formulate their fundamental constituents. Both elements have a positive and a negative side; the one element is ethical, the higher ethics, including in its positive aspects, love of mankind, benevolence, humility, justice, and in its negative aspects, respect for human life, care against unchastity, subdual of selfishness and the beast in man, holiness in deed and thought. The second element is religious, and in it the negative side is predominant, to worship no transient being as God, whether belonging to the animal kingdom, the race of men, or the heavenly world, and in general to consider all idolatry as vain and to reject it entirely. The positive side is to regard the highest Being as one and unique, and as the essence of all ethical perfections, and to worship it as the Godhead—in a single word, Monotheism in the widest acceptation of the term. The ethical is so far intimately connected with the religious element, because the divine perfection gives the ideal for the moral life. "Be ye holy even as I am holy," is the perpetually recurring refrain in the oldest records of Judaism. On the other hand, idolatry leads to debased acts and feelings, as the history of the world has conclusively proved in the coarsest fashion. The worship of paganism was for the most part orgiastic. If Zeus is a god, licentiousness is no sin. If Aphrodite is a goddess, chastity cannot be a virtue.

To Biblical critics it would be superfluous to prove that these two elements, the ethical in its richness and the religious in its purity, are the fundamental principles of Judaism. The Law, the Prophets, and the other books of the Canon, are full of them. They force themselves on the notice of every reader of the Bible, and the verses which speak of them require no interpretation. The Prophets directed their burning eloquence essentially against transgression of

either element, against vice and against idolatrous worship. They rarely touch on ritual problems. Even in the Decalogue, the foundation of Judaism, the commandments apply to the two elements, and only a single one, the sanctification of the Sabbath, has a ritual character. In Deuteronomy even the Sabbath is based on an ethical principle, viz., that the man-servant and maid-servant may also enjoy rest. The prophet Jeremiah positively depreciated sacrifice, for he makes God say: "I did not enjoin sacrifice at the Exodus from Egypt." The prophets Amos and Hosea establish the same principle, that sacrifice—the chief element in the culture of ancient peoples—and, therefore, that ritual, was of subordinate importance.

The foundation of Judaism has accordingly rested on these two elements since its first revelation. This truth cannot be too often repeated or made known too widely, for it has often been misunderstood and is still misunderstood at the present day. It is the characteristic of Judaism and is its essential difference from all other forms of religion. A profound French thinker and historian, Eugène Burnouf, has demonstrated that no religion, not even Christianity, in its initial stages lays stress on ethics or the theory of morals as being involved in religion. Only gradually does religion become humanised, so to speak, *i.e.*, bring morality within its fold. Classic paganism at first failed to recognise the ethical element and when Marcus Aurelius and Julian the Apostate realised its worth and desired to introduce it into the Roman religious world, it was too late. Christianity was originally only faith and only made ethics its aim after a long development, and then simply because it was a child of Judaism. To the sharp eye of criticism the ethical element, which was added later, is easily to be distinguished from the original dogmatism. The mechanical mixture of the two elements shows its artificial nature. What has the belief that Jesus is the Christ to do with "Christian Charity"? They belong to different orders of thought.

It is not so in Judaism. In it the ethical element and the pure worship of God are clearly the earliest data. Abraham is selected by God as the father of many nations so that he might teach his house and his descendants to keep God's way, to exercise kindness and justice. Thus it is written in the very first book of Holy Writ. The "way of God," or "knowledge of God," is nothing more nor less than what we term "humanity," or morality in the widest extent of the word. That is the essence of Judaism, and does not stand in any conflict with reason or with science. It does not affect this foundation in the slightest whether criticism explains the

stories and miracles of the Scriptures as legends and poetic ornaments or not.

Can this doctrine—Judaism describes itself by this name rather than as faith or as religion, *i.e.*, cultus composed of sacrifice and ritual—can this doctrine, which has worked as an elevating, sanctifying, and enfranchising element for thousands of years, have lost its influence? The religions which have been born in its bosom have only taken a part of the blessings with which this original teaching is gifted. I will only refer to one. The inequality of property threatens to subvert the very foundations of society, and the difficulties cannot be removed from the world by means of force. Judaism suggests a means of avoiding this precipice, a means deduced from its ethical principles. It does not despise mammon, and does not imagine that the rich man cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. It recognises that individual possession is justified, but it sanctifies it by demanding that it should be used and applied in a moral way, and thus overcomes the egoism of possession. It is true that the statutes of the law relating to the sabbatical and jubilee years, in which debts were released in a fixed cycle, and the ordinance that the products of the earth should be accessible to all, even to the penniless—these enactments are not applicable to the economic circumstances of the present day in the same form. But if the ethical principle underlying these laws were always borne in mind and were properly carried out, so that, *e.g.*, the soil of the United Kingdom should not be monopolised by 200,000 owners, but the remaining 35,000,000 inhabitants should also have some small rights in it, this recognition would, at any rate, do something to soften the ever-increasing bitterness of the indigent against the accumulation of riches. On this principle institutions might be established which might avert the chaos with which the European states are threatened. The tender care for the poor which the laws of the Thorah, that is, of Judaism, display in regard to the harvests and the tithes, which were only to the narrowest extent adopted by Christianity, might also be applied to modern circumstances. If Judaism disappeared, the ethical postulates which it includes, and on which the continuance of society and civilisation depend, would disappear also.

More urgently necessary still is the continued existence of Judaism at present and in the future for the preservation of the religious principle. In the strictest sense, absolute monotheism, as Judaism has revealed it, is rationalism; it is the negation of all the absurdities by which the religious views and the cultus of the ancient nations were dominated.

But it required a high stage of cultivated intelligence to arrive at the conviction that the gross fetiches, the deities of wood and stone, that Baal and even Zeus, who stood under the power of Atè, that Jupiter, whose grave was shown in Crete, that Thor with his hammer, that all these gods, and even the luminaries of day and night, were not divine beings, that the goddess of love, under the names Astaroth, Mylitta, Beltis, Aphrodite, Venus, and the worship of Priapus were abominations (תועבה), as Judaism called them. Idolatry, which sanctified immorality, only appears absurd and abominable to the present generation because Jewish rationalism has for centuries arrayed itself against it; because the prophets, with their burning language, struggled against it, because the Jewish Sibyl and the Book of Wisdom, Philo and Josephus and other Jewish thinkers made this offspring of mad fancy food for laughter. The worship of the emperors lasted on even into Christian times, *i.e.*, the emperors, even the most vicious of them, were *divi*, and had to have sacrifices brought to them. The ruling creed is likewise anthropolatry; cathedrals, cloisters, and pilgrims' shrines are dedicated to it. The only defenders of true monotheism, in other words, of rationalism in religion are still the adherents of Judaism. From Zion went forth this rationalistic teaching.

How stands the matter at the present time? Rationalism, which seeks to distinguish the ethical from the mystical in religion, which was all powerful in the last century, and in Germany had no less patrons than the philosophical King Frederick and the king of poets, Lessing, this rationalism has altogether lost its potency in that country, and has become powerless there. The leading spirits in religion scorn rational thought with such audacity that any opposition is despised as heresy. In France the upper classes are either intensely bigoted, or they become atheists in order to avoid becoming clericalists. In England there has arisen a tendency towards Ritualism with a Roman Catholic tinge, because no place is allowed to rationalism in the sphere of religion.

Thus Judaism, which is throughout rationalistic, is the sole stronghold of free thought in the religious sphere. Its mission, to overcome erroneous belief, is far from being fulfilled. There are still enough phantoms in the temples of the nations and in the hearts of men which are by no means innocuous. Millions of men still recognise a representative vicar of God on earth, whose words they credulously accept as an infallible oracle. Such phantoms, to which even the most civilised peoples on earth continue to pray, can only be banished by Judaism, as it destroyed the altars of Baal and Astarti, of Zeus and Aphrodite, and hewed down the trees of Woden and Friga

—for the inspiration came from Judaism, though the agents were Christian iconoclasts. The visionary images which becloud thousands of minds and produce the maddest enthusiasms can only be dispersed by that pure idea of God formulated by Judaism. Rationalism has no other representative but Judaism.

Regarded from this point of view, Judaism has still the same importance for the present and for the future, as it had in the past. Its mission is on this side by no means superfluous. We Jews are the representatives of Judaism and its mission; its ideas and principles pulsate in our veins. If the apostles of the pure monotheistic idea had been destroyed in their conflicts with Assyrians, Chaldæans, Greeks and Romans, the madness of idolatry, with its orgiastic forms of worship, would still exist to-day, and the civilisation of Europe would not have developed itself.

But even on the ethical side Judaism still gives example and impulse. There has been a certain phrase formulated about carrying out practical Christianity. If this phrase is to have any sense, it can only mean that morality should penetrate the institutions of the State; Judaism preached this doctrine thousands of years ago. The ethical principles which it lays to heart were not alone to be carried out by individuals, but were to become the leading principles of government. They had not only to be written on the doors of houses, but at the gates of cities. The King was always to carry with him the Book of the Law, which put the essence of Judaism in the short sentences, "Thou shalt love one God with all thy heart," and "There shall be no poor in thy cities." Methods were also indicated in this Book which might realise the ethico-religious ideals.

Thus Judaism is the source alike of humanity, of monotheism, and of religious rationalism. It has still its function to play, its mission to fulfil, in bringing these ideals to reality. If it vanished from the world, if its adherents, one and all, deserted it, there would be wanting a mighty factor for the progress of ethical and religious civilisation; it would be wanting now, just as much as it would have been wanting of old, if Judaism had disappeared before the rise of Christianity.

Of course, Judaism contains an elaborate ritual besides these ideal principles, which, unfortunately, owing to the tragic course of history, has developed into a fungoid growth which overlays the ideals. But originally the ritual in its pure form had its justification, and was intended to surround and protect ideal sin themselves of an ethereal nature. It must be reserved for a later article to explain the manner in which the ritual was adapted to the ideal.

H. GRAETZ.

WHERE ARE THE TEN TRIBES?

I.

Bible, Talmud, and Midrashic Literature.

The union of the twelve tribes of the House of Jacob, the result of David's conquests and his centralisation of civil government and religious worship in Jerusalem, did not last long. Although Solomon continued the policy of his father by building the great Temple, he unwisely tolerated the cults of Egypt, Moab and Sidon; and consequently the ancient importance of Shiloh, Beth-El, Beer-Sheba, and other places of worship still remained. Ephraim, or the House of Joseph, which would not resign its supremacy to Saul, the son of the little tribe of Benjamin, submitted to the great king, a scion of the rising tribe of Judah, and to his wise son, so long as a centralising policy rendered him powerful. But as soon as he introduced foreign elements by his marriages, intrigues naturally arose, for the jealousy between the northern tribes and their southern masters was by no means yet extinguished. Jeroboam, the Governor of the house of Joseph, and himself an Ephraimite,[1] seized the opportunity, when Solomon was threatened by the Midianites and by the Amorites, to revolt against his master. The prophet of Shiloh, no doubt dissatisfied with the supersession of Shiloh, the place of his birth or adoption, by Jerusalem, encouraged the rebel to take in hand the work of the disruption of the two nations, which were still separated by the names of Judah and Israel. Ahijah, as the prophet of Shiloh was called, venerated David who made the house of Jacob great, but he would certainly claim some independence for the north.

Jeroboam was not successful during Solomon's reign, but he accomplished his work under Rehoboam. The latter had entirely destroyed the prestige enjoyed by David, already weakened as it was by the loss of territory during the last days of Solomon. Ephraim established its supremacy over

[1] II Kings xi. 26.

the northern tribes, they having their own capital in Shechem, and later in Samaria, and introduced a separate cult in Dan and Beth-El, where *Jhwh* was worshipped under the form of a calf. By no manner of effort, neither by political danger, nor by the threatenings of the great prophets, could the two nations be re-united. Then, as in our time, religious differences had more influence in keeping apart than common political danger in uniting. What happened to Israel on the one hand, and to Judah on the other until Tiglath-Pileser succeeded in making the first breach in the Kingdom of Israel, is well known from the Bible:[1] "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon and Abel-beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." According to the book of Chronicles,[2] this Assyrian king, who is rightly called there Pul (Phul) "carried away the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half of Manasseh, and brought them into Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the River Gozan unto this day." It is evident that the chronicler has amalgamated two documents, for the transportation of a part of the Israelites into the above-mentioned places was effected twenty years later, under Sargon, after the capture of Samaria. To this effect is the following passage from the book of Kings:[3] "In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." The identification of these lands, rivers, and towns we shall discuss later on. It is most probable that the two kings of Assyria did not carry away the nation in its entirety, which would not have been an easy task, even for a military power so great as Assyria, but they removed the influential part of Israel, just as the Babylonian king did later, on the occasion of the conquest of Judah. If so, the humbler classes of the ten tribes remained in Palestine under the supervision of the transplanted tribes from Babylon, Cutha, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim,[4] with whom they gradually became amalgamated.

The captives of Israel exiled beyond the Euphrates did not return as a whole to Palestine along with their brethren the captives of Judah; at least there is no mention made of this event in the documents at our disposal. Ezra and Nehemiah give the enumeration only of "the children of the

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[1] II Kings xv. 29. [2] I, v. 26. [3] II Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11.
[4] *Ib.* xviii. 24.

province of Judah, that went up out of the captivity, of those which had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon, and came again unto Jerusalem and Judah, every one unto his city."[1] We have seen that the author of Chronicles, a contemporary of Ezra, says that the captives of Israel are "up to this day" in the lands of their transportation. Such also was the tradition in the time of Josephus, who wrote after the destruction of the second Temple. He says,[2] in speaking of the letters of Artaxerxes to Ezra, granting permission to the Jews to return to Jerusalem:—"So he (Ezra) read the epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there, but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media; and when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God and what kindness he had for Ezra, they were all greatly pleased; nay, many of them took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem, but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country; wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers." It is curious to mention that later books like the book of Esther refer to countries of the Israelitish captivity, and the same is partly the case with the book of Tobit; Tobit himself being of the tribe of Naphtali. We understand from this that it was pleasant to the Jews to have news of their distant and almost lost brethren. Indeed, the fifth vision of the Apocryphal Esdras[3] concerns amongst other things the ten tribes, where we read as follows: "And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the ten tribes, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanasar, the king of Assyria, led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country, where never mankind dwelt, That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood, till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great

[1] Ezra ii. 1; Neh. vii. 6. [2] *Antiq.* XI. v. 2. [3] IV. xiii. 39-45.

way to go, namely of a year and a half, and the same region is called Arsareth." This is the first legend concerning the direction that the ten tribes took. The author of the fourth book of Esdras, whilst copying verses of the Bible, adds details about the narrow passages of the Euphrates, and the duration of a year and a half for the journey to the region of Arsareth, which, as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy rightly suggests,[1] is nothing else but the words אֶרֶץ אַחֶרֶת, the *other land* of verse 40.

In fact, the return of the ten tribes was one of the great promises of the Prophets, and the advent of the Messiah is therefore necessarily identified with the epoch of their redemption. We read in Isaiah:[2] "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of His people which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And He shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." Jeremiah breathes a similar aspiration:[3] "Thus saith the Lord, Sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout among the head of the nations; publish ye, praise ye, and say, O Lord, save Thy people, the remnant of Israel. Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth . . . a great company shall return thither. They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them. I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble, for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn." The great Prophet of the Exile reiterates the promise of the redemption of all Israel in the following passages:[4]—"Thus saith the Lord, In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee, and I will preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth, to cause to inherit the desolate inheritance." "Behold, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of Sinim." And Ezekiel expresses himself in much stronger terms:[5] "The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying, Moreover, thou son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions. Then take another

[1] *The Journal of Philology*, vol. iii. (1871), p. 114.
[2] xi. 11. [3] xxxi. 7. [4] Isaiah xlix. 8. [5] xxxvii. 15.

stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions: and join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand. And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not shew us what thou meanest by these? say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand . . . Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land." In the last chapter the prophet makes a distribution of the Holy Land amongst the twelve tribes.

That the hope of the return of the Ten Tribes with the Messiah did not cease amongst the Jews during the time of the second Temple, an epoch of which we possess very few documents, may be concluded, not only from apocryphal books (the Apocrypha as well as the *Agadah* representing the ideas current amongst the Jewish people, whilst the *Halakah*, or ritual discussion, represents the views of the schools only), but also from the New Testament writings. St. Paul is reported to have said:[1] "And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers. Unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come. For which hope's sake, King Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews." St. James addresses his Epistle to "the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." Finally, in the Revelation,[2] which is now considered to be based upon a Jewish Apocalypse, twelve thousand of each of the Twelve Tribes of the children of Israel are sealed.

We come now to the literature composing the Talmud, many parts of which may be considered older than the New Testament writings, others contemporary, and the greater part much later. We must first consider the passages where the Rabbis identify the localities to which the Ten Tribes were carried away according to the books of Kings. R. Abba bar Kahna[3] explains Halah by *Holwân*, probably in the

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[1] Acts xxvi. 6. [2] Ch. vii.

[3] *La Géographie du Talmud*, *p.* 372. See, however, Dr. A. Berliner's *Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babyloniens im Talmud und Midraschim*, *p.* 17, and Professor M. J. de Goeje's excellent article: *Zur historischen Geographie Babyloniens* in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. xxxix., p. 1, seq. See also Dr. Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopaedie für Bibel und Talmud*, Abth. II., p. 1282.

neighbourhood of Nehawend; Habor is identified with *Adiabene;* the river of Gozan is explained by *Ginzak,* probably Gazaca, in Media. It is curious to mention that R. Aqiba, whose opinion, as we shall afterwards mention, was that the Ten Tribes will never return, visited this last town, and found its inhabitants so ignorant, that the history of the flood and of Job, which R. Aqiba narrated for their edification, was quite new to them. The great doctor of the Mishnah would find similar ignorance in more than one Jewish congregation in our own day, but at that time it was astonishing, and the Jews of Gazaca may have belonged to the Ten Tribes who had never heard of the Law; and if so, this is a strong argument against an early composition of Genesis and Job. The cities of the Medes are identified with *Hamadan,* which is usually taken as Ecbatana, the summer residence of the Persian kings. Others identify them with *Nehawend,* situated south of Hamadan. Ilu, a Babylonian doctor, takes Media in its greatest extent, reaching to the Caspian Sea. He counts among the cities of the Medes, Kherak, probably identical with the ancient *Charax,* and Moshkhi, which seems to be the same as the mountain of the *Moschi,* in Colchis and Iberia. The present Jews at Hamadan, as far as we know, are strict Rabbanites, and scarcely descendants of the Ten Tribes. Neither can we agree with the statement that the Greek Jews in Pontus and Cappadocia, who were more easily converted than those in Palestine, Syria, and Europe, belonged to the Ten Tribes; certainly, St. Paul, who sat at Gamaliel's feet, according to the Acts of the Apostles,[1] was a Rabbanite.

The following passage[2] is the only possible indication of the existence of a remnant of the Ten Tribes in Media, and the adjacent provinces. In order to express the purity of Jewish families in Babylonia, the Talmud says, "Babylon is healthy, Mesa dead, Media ill; Elam (and Gabai) near to die." Of course this is a playing upon words, but the meaning is that, in the Provinces of Mesene, Media, Susiana, and Gabene, the families were much intermixed, possibly with descendants of the Ten Tribes. But if that had been certain, and in the mind of the Talmudic doctors, they would have distinctly said as much. As they did not do so, we may assume that no community of the remnant of the Ten Tribes was known to the Rabbis who lived near the Median provinces, some of whom, indeed, visited the country, whilst others, like Nahum the Median—mentioned even in the Mishnah—must have been natives of it; and had there been

[1] xxii. 3.

[2] *La Géographie du Talmud,* p. 324.

any peculiarity in the Jewish rites in use there, the fact would have been reported in the schools, and discussed.

The other Talmudic sayings concerning the Ten Tribes are of a rather confused character, which proves again that no definite knowledge of the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes was possessed by the Rabbis. Let us begin with the oldest book of the Talmudic literature. According to the Sifra,[1] R. Aqiba said that the passage:[2] "And ye shall perish among the heathen," referred to the tribes who were exiled to Media; others (the Rabbis) say that the word אבד does not mean "perish," but to be "exiled," *i.e.*, with a hope of returning. According to the Mishnah,[3] R. Aqiba said: "As this day goes and returns not, so also they (the Ten Tribes) have gone and will not return"; R. Eliezer, on the other hand, explains it in the following manner: "As the day is sometimes dark and then bright, so the Ten Tribes, with whom is darkness, will see light in future time." Again, the Midrash Rabboth[4] mentions that "the Ten Tribes wandered into exile on the other side of the river Sambatyon, but the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are scattered throughout all lands." The river Sambatyon is itself as mysterious as the existence of the Ten Tribes. It would be lost time, we think, to trouble ourselves about the identification of this stream. The legend concerning it is that its waters run regularly on week days, but rest completely on the Sabbath.[5] Pliny agrees with the Midrash, or perhaps the Midrash with Pliny. Josephus, on the contrary, writes that the Sabbatical river is dry all the week, but runs on the Sabbath-day. The Mahomedans, to this day, affirm the same of the *Nahr-al-Arus*, between Arka and Raphanea; modern travellers report that this river runs every third day. Anyhow, later on, we shall find the Sambatyon in close connection with the reported dwelling-places of portions of the Ten Tribes.

Still more mysterious is the following passage of the Palestinian Talmud:[6] "R. Berechiah and R. Helbo, in the name of R. Samuel ben Nahman, say, Israel wandered into exile in three divisions; the one to the other side of the Sambatyon, another to Daphne in Antiochia, and the third was covered by the cloud which descended upon them. Like them, the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh wandered into three lands of exile, as it is written,[7] 'Thou hast walked

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[1] Ed. Weiss, section בחוקותי, ch. 8 (fol. 112*b*).
[2] Lev. xxvi. 38. [3] *Sanhedrin* x. 3. [4] Gen. lxxiii.
[5] *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 33. [6] *Sanhedrin* x. 6 (fol. 29*a*).
[7] Ezek. xxiii. 31.

in the way of thy sister.' And at the time of their return they will come back out of the three lands of exile, as it is written,[1] 'That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth,' which is said to those on the other side of the river Sambatyon; 'to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves,' which is said to those who are covered in the cloud; 'They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all high places,' which is said of those who were exiled to Daphne in Antiochia." In the Pesikotho Rabbathi[2] this passage reads as follows: "The Ten Tribes were exiled into three parts; the one went to the Sambatyon, the other inside [on the other side ?] of the Sambatyon, and the third to Daphne of Riblathah, where it was swallowed (amalgamated). To those on the Sambatyon the words, 'That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth,' is applied; 'To them that are in darkness, show yourselves,' is said of those who are on the other side of the Sambatyon; and for those who are swallowed in Riblathah, God (the Holy One be blessed) will make subterranean passages until they arrive at the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem; here God will stand upon the mount, which will split, and they will come out of it, as it is written in Zechariah xiv. 4." There are variations. Instead of "the cloud which covers one part of the exiles," we read elsewhere, "inside of the cloud of darkness;" and in another version, "inside the dark mountains."[3] The dark mountains represent Africa, which Alexander the Great, according to a Talmudic legend, had to pass in order to go to Carthage.[4] Of the Sambatyon we have already spoken. All these sayings prove that the dwelling of the Ten Tribes was completely unknown to the Talmudists and Agadic writers, although, as we have seen, Median rabbis are mentioned in the Talmud. The difference between R. Aqiba, who said that the Ten Tribes were completely lost, and will never return, and R. Eliezer, who asserted the contrary, arose from the fact that Aqiba believed Bar-Cochebas to be the Messiah. Now the Messiah, according to the Prophet, would gather together the whole nation of Israel, including the Ten Tribes; but Bar-Cochebas was not able to do so. Hence Aqiba was obliged to give up the Ten Tribes altogether. But in fact, as we shall see, the hope of the return of the Ten Tribes has never ceased amongst the Jews in exile; this hope has been connected with every Messianic rising.

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[1] Isaiah xlix. 9. [2] Ch. 31, Ed. Friedmann, 147*a*.
[3] See Friedmann's excellent notes on this passage.
[4] *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 404.

We have now exhausted the information found in the Talmudic literature concerning the Ten Tribes. But before continuing our subject with the opinions of the post-Talmudic time and the middle ages, we must say a word about the settlements of the Jews which are not so well known as those in Babylonia, Persia, Syria, Asia Minor, and the Greek-speaking countries: in Europe, viz., Italy (and chiefly Rome), Spain, France, and Germany; in Africa, viz., Egypt, Libya, Tunis, and Morocco, settlements which we shall have to mention in a subsequent article.

It is stated that in the year 4250 A.M. (490 of the common era), a certain Joseph Rabban landed with many Jewish families on the coast of Malabar, where they were well received by the King Airvi Brahmin, who granted them portions of land, and allowed them to live according to their own laws and to be ruled by their own chiefs. The first of these chiefs was Joseph Rabban himself. It is most likely that this emigration from Babylonia or Persia took place in consequence of the persecution of King Firuz, about 480, who not only acted according to the vexatious laws of his predecessors, but, like Hadrian after the war of Bar-Cochebas, forced the younger generation to adopt the worship of the Magi. He is styled in the Babylonian Talmud "Firuz the Wicked," like Hadrian in Palestine. Prof. Graetz mentions that the immigrants under Joseph found Jews already settled in Malabar, who had come there as early as the year 231, and from this period Prof. Graetz is inclined to date Jewish colonisation in China. There is, however, no proof of such an early settlement of Jews in countries of the far East. Joseph Rabban enjoyed princely privileges, which became hereditary in his family. It is believed that he was succeeded by seventy-two rulers, till at last serious disputes arose, in consequence of which many Jews were killed, the town of Carangaron destroyed, and the survivors settled at Mattachery (a town near Cochin), which received the name of "Jewish town." The privileges accorded by King Airvi were engraved on a brass-plate in Indian characters, with a Hebrew translation of a peculiar style, of which a facsimile, sent to Europe by Buchanan in the year 1807, can be seen in the library of the University of Cambridge.[1] Most probably the Jewish settlers of white colour had native slaves, whom they converted to Judaism. And, indeed, up to the present time there exist in Cochin both black and white Jews, the latter

[1] See Cl. Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*, 5th. ed. (1819), p. 224, and Graetz, *Geschichte den Juden*, IV., p. 405 (2nd ed.).

of whom call themselves Jerusalem Jews. They still keep aloof from one another, the white considering themselves the superior race. The black Jews know, indeed, little of their religion; they have scanty copies of the Law, and know no history of their race. They now receive instruction in the Jewish religion and the Hebrew language from teachers sent out from Europe. What concerns us most is, that the white Jews believe that they came there at the time of Salmanasser and that they are descendants of the Ten Tribes. They identify the biblical Gozan with the Ganges, and believe the wonderful river Sambatyon to be in the neighbourhood of Calicut (Calcutta). At the present time the Jews in these countries, except the Bani Israel, who are just beginning to be taught the Rabbinical ceremonies and the Hebrew language, follow the Rabbinitical creed. The same is the case with the Jewish colonies in China,[1] to judge from their copies of the Law, which are written according to the Rabbinical precepts. They have, however, by their complete isolation, entirely forgotten the Hebrew language, and even the Hebrew characters. We may observe the same to be the case with the Samaritans at Nablus, and the Copts in Egypt, where only a few priests can read the ancient characters of the language of their race.

The Jewish colonists of Borion, a town in Mauritania (Morocco), had a legend that they settled there in the time of Solomon, and that he in person built their synagogue. It was converted into a church by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. Indeed, a Hebrew inscription in square character was sometimes shown at Saguriah (province of Fez), in which it is said: "Up to this point, I Joab have pursued the Philistines."[2] At present, all the Jews in the *Magreb* (Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco), are Rabbanites; and even the fable of the early Jews in the Sahara is now cleared up by the traveller Mordecai Abi Seroor.[3]

Another early settlement of the Jews in Arabia is reported by Arabic historians.[4] According to some of them, Israelites had settled in the town of Yathrib (called later Medinah), and in the country of Haibar (several days' journey north of Yathrib), when they were sent by Joshua to fight against the Amalekites. According to others, the immigration of the Israelites into these countries took place under King Saul,

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[1] See A. Finn, *The Orphan Colony in China*. See, however, the strange article on "the Jews of the Chinese Empire," by the Rev. Alfred Kingsley Glover, in the American monthly *Menorah*, V., p. 10, *seq.*

[2] *Hal-Lebanon* (Heb. Period.), III. p. 110. [3] *Les Daggatoun*, Paris, 1880.

[4] Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, VI., p. 68 (2nd ed.).

when some of them fell into disgrace, and were forced to leave Palestine, for sparing the young and handsome son of the King of Amalek. It is further reported that many settled in North Arabia at the time when David fled there from his rebellious son. It is certain that Jews were settled in North and South Arabia during the last years of the second Temple, and that in the time of Mohammed they were powerful, more especially in the country of Haibar. The mediæval Jews of Arabia had a tradition from their ancestors, that a great number of them took refuge in North Arabia at the time of the destruction of the Temple of Nebuchadnezzar. The Jews of Haibar even pretended to be descendants of the Rechabites, who, at the command of their ancestor, Jonadab son of Rechab, carried on their Nazarite life after the destruction of the first Temple, until they came to Haibar, a country rich in palm-trees and corn. None of these legends are mentioned in the Talmud, where we find R. Levi and other Rabbis personally well acquainted with Arabia. We shall find later, that the legend of an early settlement at Haibar had its origin in the confusion of Haibar with Chabor, the land mentioned in the book of Kings as one of the places to which a part of the Ten Tribes was carried off by the king of Assyria. The Yemen Jews, with whom we are well acquainted from the time of Maimonides, had no tradition about their descent from the Ten Tribes.[1] The Jews in Arabia, north and south, so far as our knowledge goes, always observed Rabbinical laws, more or less strictly, according to the instruction they received from the Palestinian and Babylonian schools. From them Mohammed received his Biblical knowledge, and more especially the Agadic interpretation, of which he made so profuse a use in the Koran. But we shall find, in the course of this essay, that the Ten Tribes were believed in the Middle Ages to be in Arabia.

The Karaite Jews never asserted that they were descendants of the Ten Tribes; they are Jews, and merely dissentients from the Rabbinical teaching. The Khozars, in Derbend, Georgia, and Armenia, on the other hand, were converted to Judaism in the eighth century, and could not well be taken for sons of the Ten Tribes, although we do find in some accounts that they are so taken. It is on this ground that we mention them here. The Falashas, or the Jews in Abyssinia, according to their own tradition pretend to have come from Jerusalem with the Queen of Sheba on her

[1] For the Bibliography of the various settlements of the Jews, we refer the reader to the excellent article *Juifs*, by M. Loeb, in the *Dictionnaire Universel de Géographie*, by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, Paris, 1884.

return from a visit to King Solomon. They know nothing of the Ten Tribes, but from the fact of their ceremonies being different from those of the Rabbanitic Jews, and their knowing no Hebrew at all, mediæval writers regarded them as descendants of the Ten Tribes.

Finally, we have to notice some traditions which have crept up within the last forty years, concerning the early settlement of the Jews in the Crimea, who are believed to have a connection with the Ten Tribes. In 1840 the famous forger the late Karaite Abraham Firkowitsch, asserted that he had discovered a Hebrew colophon at the end of a Pentateuch scroll, in a synagogue of Derbend, stating as follows: "I Judah, son of Moses, the punctuator Mizrahi (from the East land), son of Judah hag-Gibbor, of the tribe of Naphtali, of the family Shillem, who wandered into exile with the exiles who were carried away with Hoshea, king of Israel, together with the tribes of Simeon, Dan, and some families of the other tribes of Israel. The enemy Salmanasser carried them away from Samaria and the neighbouring towns to Halah, which is Bahlah; to Habor, which is Habul; to Hara, which is Herat; to Gozan, which is Gozna; the province where Pilneser carried captive the children of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh he settled them there, and hence they were dispersed over the face of all the land of the East, up to Sinim. And when I (Judah) returned from my wandering in the land of their exile, and from my travelling in the land of their sojourn, in the land of Krim (Crimea), which is the dwelling-place of the seed of the families of Israel and Judah, driven out of Jerusalem; the latter came out to help their brethren of their towns during the fight for Samaria, when Gedaliah, son of the King Ahaz, was at the head of them. But all in vain, for their measure was full; Salmanasser captured them alive before he captured Samaria, and sent them captive to the interior of the towns of Media, in order to keep them far from their brethren. There they remained until the days of Cambyses, son of Cyrus (peace be with him!), who shewed them favour on the occasion when they, together with the Medes, armed themselves for war, being near to the land of the Shitim, in order to fight against the Queen Talmira, and to avenge on her the blood of her father. When they (Medes and Jews) got the better of her armies, they seized her alive, and brought her before Cambyses their king, who slew her for the blood of her father. When he took her land, they asked him to give it to them for a possession, which he granted to them, in putting governors over them. They then returned in peace. Israel and the Medes, who returned

from the war, took their wives, their children, and their possessions, and settled in the land of Chorshon (Chersonese), where Cyrus, his father, put up a monument for himself; at Solchat and On-Kat, which they had built, and called them Krim; at Sela-ha-Yehudim (rock of the Jews, or Tschufut Kaley), which they fortified; at the town of Sephorad, on the sea of Shitim. From here they row themselves and their cattle (Dr. Harkavy translates, 'they swim across with their cattle') to the great town Matarcha, where my father, one of the exiles under Titus, dwelt. When I arrived in my native town Shomchi, the residence of Darius the Mede in Shirwan, in the fifth year of the reign of the wicked Khosdori, the Persian, which is the year 1300 of our exile, I corrected this scroll for the master Mordecai the Haber (Rabbi), son of Simeon, who received the same title Haber. May God protect him! May he be worthy to read in it, he and his posterity in eternity! Good omen! Amen!"

It would be superfluous to say more than that: this document is a clumsy forgery, as is evident from the Hebrew style, the names of places, and the dates. This has been proved to certainty by Dr. Harkavy, to whose learned essay we must refer our readers.[1] The amplification of this colophon made by the late Firkowitsch in another colophon of the year 986, makes the forgery still more evident, if that be possible. At Madschalis Firkowitsch says he found, in a walled-up place, a scroll, which was at first believed to contain the Book of Esther. But after having cleaned the rotten and obliterated parchment, he found it to be the Derbend colophon, with the following introduction:—"I Joshua, son of Elijah, of the Karaites of the village Mandschlis (*sic*), when I came to the village Tag-Basar, which is near to Derbend, found with Mar Joseph, son of Bakhshi, a copy of the Diary of Judah, son of Moses Mizrahi, copied by Mar Abraham, son of Simhah Sephardi, from an old Pentateuch scroll at Hamadan. I made a copy of it in the year 5273 A.M. (1513), on the third of Siwan, the eve of the Pentecost." [Abraham says]: "I, a faithful Israelite, Abraham son of Mar Simhah, of the town Sepharad, which is situated in the kingdom of our brethren, the faithful proselytes the Khozars, in the year 1682 of our exile, which is the year 4746 of the Creation, according to the reckoning of our brethren, the Jews of the town of Matarcha, the time when the messengers came from the Prince Rosh Meshekh (Russian Moscow), from the town

[1] *Alt-jüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim* (Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg, 1876, vol. xxiv., No. 1.)

of Ziob (Kieff), to our master, David, the Khozaric prince, in order to investigate the [various] religions. [At that time] I was sent by him to the lands of Persia and Media, in order to acquire old copies of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa for the Khozaric congregations. Having heard in Elam, which is Ispahan, that there is at Sushan (Susa), which is Hamadan, an old scroll, I went there, and it was shown to me by our brethren, the children of Israel, when the whole congregation was assembled. At the end of this scroll I found the Diary of Judah, the corrector (Maggiah, who possesses the art of writing scrolls). I was told there that Moses, the Nakdan (punctuator), father of this Judah, was the first who invented the vowel points and the accents, in order to facilitate for students the learning how to read the Scripture. Having entreated them to sell me this scroll, they refused; I therefore copied this diary word by word, since the relations of the corrector (Judah) were dear to me. I have added some explanations, known by me to be true, of some obscure words of Judah. May his merit protect me, and bring me back to my home living and in peace. Amen." Then follows the colophon of Judah, as given above, with the following additions and explanations. After the words "a monument,"[1] follow the words, "At Solchat, *Hebrew*, which they build; at On Khat, *Greek, the ruins of which they restored*, called it Krim . . .;" after "exiles under Titus,"[2] the second colophon has the following words: "These are our brethren, the Jews, the *élite* of the exiles of Jerusalem, whom Titus carried away at first to the Greek cities, to Pisantia (Byzantium) and the surrounding cities, and from where they spread up to the town Tirapez (Trebizond) and the sister congregations. This was in the time of Julian, Emperor of Pisantia, the friend of the Jews, and therefore they still speak Greek up to this day." At the end of the first colophon, after the words[3] "may God protect him," the second adds: "that is to say, the *Habrut* of the men of the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud may he have the merit. . . ."

This second colophon was also minutely examined by Dr. Harkavy with the same result as the first, only that Firkowitsch showed himself in the latter more ignorant and more audacious than in the former.

However, we shall find that there is a late tradition that the Jews in the Caucasus are descendants of the Ten Tribes.

The chief intention of this last colophon was to show that

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[1] Preceding page, line 3. [2] *ib.*, line 10. [3] *ib.*, line 15.

Karaites were the inventors of the Masorah, the vowel points, and the accents. Unfortunately, the historian of the Jews, Professor Graetz, allowed himself to be taken in by this impudent forgery, and built this part of his history upon it.[1] In a new edition he will, we are confident, retract what he has said relating to the priority of the Karaites in the matter of the vowel points. The English translation, which is announced to be out soon, will, perhaps, appear before the third German edition. The era of the Captivity appears in this forged document for the first time, and use was then made of it for the famous Crimean epitaphs, of which the oldest begins with the forged date of 6 B.C., but is in reality of the twelfth century, as shown by Dr. Harkavy from Firkowitsch's note books.

It is worth while, in order to avoid misunderstanding by our silence concerning the *Bani Israel* in the Bombay Presidency, to mention this small and mysterious race, whose early history is as enigmatical as that of the Falashas and the Jews in China. These also probably came from Persia, and, like the Chinese Jewish colony, have forgotten, by isolation, the Hebrew language and the Jewish rites.

A. NEUBAUER.

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[1] Vol. V., pp. 498 *seq.* (2nd ed.).

DESIGN AND CONTENTS OF ECCLESIASTES.

THERE is an old tradition[1] that Ecclesiastes was once suspected of heterodoxy by Jewish authorities. A controversy ensued, which ended in the complete victory of Ecclesiastes. The passages impugned, it was contended, were harmless, because the book opened and concluded with divine teaching. It is impossible to believe that two paragraphs the first and the last of the book, could have saved it from condemnation, if it otherwise deserved it. The sense of the above tradition seems rather to be this: Granted that certain passages, if considered by themselves, detached from the context, are objectionable, this is no reason for rejecting the whole book, as no author can guard against this kind of adverse criticism. Ascertain the task which the author set before himself, his starting point and the conclusion at which he arrived, and if these are approved of, all suspicions of implied heresy will easily be dispelled. Such is the case with Ecclesiastes; it begins with a sound principle, with the enunciation which the author proposes to examine and to prove, and ends likewise with an important lesson as the result of the inquiry.

Whatever may be the historical basis of this tradition, it

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[1] There are various versions of this tradition. See *Babyl. Talm. Shabbath* 30b; *Midrash Rabboth*, Lev. xxviii.; and *Koheleth*, i. 3; *Yalkut*, ibid. i. 3; and Prov. xxv. 1; *Midrash Mishle*, on Prov. xxv. 1; the two recensions of *Aboth di Rabbi Nathan*, ed. S. Schechter, p. 2, and additions, p. 68 and p. 150. According to this tradition, the question whether Ecclesiastes should form part of the Holy Scriptures was first raised by the "Men of Hezekiah" (Prov. xxv. 1), and settled by the "Men of the Great Synagogue." Later on another question was raised, whether it equalled in sanctity the other books of the Holy Scriptures (Mishnah Yadayim, iii. 5). After the decision of the "Men of the Great Synagogue," the former question could not be raised again. The phrase, "they wanted to put aside" (בקשו לגנוז), employed in criticising and explaining certain difficult passages in Ezekiel, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and other books, must not be understood literally. It merely takes the place of the question which in Talmud and Midrash usually serves as an introduction to the succeeding explanation.

certainly shows that Ecclesiastes was considered by the ancient Jews as an organic whole, which in all its parts aims at establishing the same truth and recommending the same principle.

The truth which Ecclesiastes seeks to prove is this: *All mundane affairs are vain; only fear of God and obedience to His commandments are essential elements in the life, mission, and happiness of man.*

In this spirit the Targum paraphrases the book; and although in the interpretation of the single verses it follows the Midrashic method, the fundamental principle of the book is never lost sight of.[1]

Many ancient and modern Commentators have adopted this view;[2] but, on the other hand, there are also many scholars of a different opinion. Some think that the object of Ecclesiastes is to defend just the very heterodox principles which the Midrashic objectors believed themselves to have discovered. Foremost among these is S. D. Luzzatto,[3] who holds that Ecclesiastes recommended enjoyment of earthly pleasures, and rejected the theory of the immortality of the soul. Professor Graetz[4] treats Ecclesiastes as a satire on King Herod and his age. Countless other theories have been suggested, and a passage from Dean Bradley's Lectures on Ecclesiastes, in which he seems to enumerate views rejected by him, may suffice to illustrate the great variety and divergency of opinion held by Commentators of the Bible in respect to this question. "It is not a dialogue, still less a medley of fragmentary and conflicting maxims; not the outcome of a penitent and contrite spirit, not an essay on the nature of happiness, still less a gracious revelation of Christian truths, an invitation to a life of ascetic self-denial, or a

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[1] Comp. *Targum* on i. 2, 3: When Solomon, king of Israel, foresaw in prophetic spirit the division of the kingdom between his son Rehoboam and Jeroboam, the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem, and the exile of the children of Israel, he exclaimed: "Most vain is this world, most vain! all my labours and those of my father David are vain! What remains to man after death of all his labour that he laboured under the sun, in this world? except the labour devoted to the Divine Law, for which he will receive of the Lord of the Universe his full reward in the future world;" i. 15: "A man. whose ways have been crooked in this world, and has not repented before his death, cannot improve his ways after his death; and he who has neglected the Law and the Divine precepts during his lifetime, will after his death not be counted with the righteous in Paradise."

[2] Comp. Comm. of Ibn Ezra, Elisha Galico, Obadiah Sforno, Moses Mendelssohn, etc.

[3] *Ozar Nechmad*, iii. p. 17, 299. Comp. also *Moreh Nebhokhe hazzeman*, by N. Krochmal, p. 121.

[4] *Commentar zum Prediger; Einleitung;* and *Geschichte der Juden*, iii., 4th ed., pp. 237, 299. Comp. ibid., note 3.

contrast drawn between the hollowness of all that is seen and temporal, and the enduring nature of what is spiritual and eternal." His own view, which may be added to the above list of rejected interpretations, the Dean expresses as follows:—

"The book seems to me to paint in dark, yet most instructive colours, an hour in the history of the pre-Christian age when one great article in the simple creed of the early Jewish Church, its belief in a fully retributive system here below, had been shaken to its base. . . . At such a time came a voice evoking from the distant past the name of the great type and master of human wisdom, sharing all the gloom that had settled on the race . . . and yet seeing even behind the darkest clouds some faint gleams of light; especially fanaticism on the one side, denial of God on the other, holding firm in the shipwreck of hope to some fragments of cheerfulness, even in the bankruptcy of faith, to two things which contain the germs of all that is most precious to our race, the belief in God and the belief in Duty."

A careful analysis of the contents of Ecclesiastes shows that this description of the book is a mixture of truth and error. No shipwreck of hope, no bankruptcy of faith, is discernible. Equally wrong is the Dean in recognising in the author the professed and unflinching pessimist, who holds "that human existence is in itself, as compared with non-existence, a pure evil, and that the only cure is death." His inferences drawn from this erroneous theory in reference to the value of the teaching of Ecclesiastes, as compared with other books and creeds, must therefore likewise fall to the ground.

The following analysis of the contents of Ecclesiastes is independent of the question concerning authorship and age, which will be discussed in a second paper. The integrity of the book has been assumed, and the analysis will justify the assumption:—

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF ECCLESIASTES

I. Introduction. The author states the problem he proposes to solve: What is the ultimate lasting object, of man's life and labours? ch. i.

II. Examination of man's actions and their results.

A.—Pursuit of pleasure and earthly happiness as dictated by folly. Ch. ii.-vi.

1. Pursuit of pleasure ends in disappointment, ch. ii.—
   (*a*) Because the pleasures obtained are worthless, ii. 1-16;
   (*b*) Because they produce weariness of life, ii. 17-23.
2. Pursuit of pleasure is superfluous, since man's enjoyments are predestined, ii. 24—iii. 15.
3. Pursuit of pleasure is only justified in the opinion of the multitude, iii. 16-22.
4. Pursuit of pleasure creates desire for wealth, and thus causes moral corruption, iv.-vi.—
   (*a*) Because desire for wealth leads to dishonourable acts, iv. 1-7;
   (*b*) Because desire for wealth develops selfishness, iv. 8—16;
   (*c*) Because it creates hypocrisy, iv. 17—v. 16.
5. Pursuit of pleasure in creating a desire for wealth brings misery, v. 7—vi. 12—
   (*a*) By causing trouble and danger, v. 7-11;
   (*b*) By causing constant fear and anxiety, v. 12-19;
   (*c*) By causing a feeling of uneasiness and discontent, vi.

B.—Man's actions dictated by wisdom, vii.-xii. 7.

1. Wisdom is a source of happiness in man's various conditions, vii. 1-22.
2. Wisdom of man is imperfect when entirely left to itself, vii. 23-29.
3. A guide is given to man's wisdom, viii.-x.:
   (*a*) Confidence in the guide given to him by God ensures lasting happiness, viii.;
   (*b*) Occasional neglect of this guide is followed by serious consequences, ix. 1—x. 11;
   (*c*) Those who altogether ignore it cause harm and mischief, x. 12-20.
4. Wisdom does not demand the abandonment of earthly pleasures, but their regulation by the fear of God; xii. 1—xii. 7.

III. Conclusion. Fear of God and obedience to His commands form in themselves the essential elements in man's life, and the aim and end of his actions, xii. 8-17.

I. Introduction—Ch. i.

Koheleth[1]—the Hebrew for Ecclesiastes—introduces himself in the heading as the son of David, king in Jerusalem. He seems, after years of success and glory, to have met with reverses and misfortune. Meditating, therefore, on the frailties and vanities of human life, he exclaims: Vanity of vanities![2] What does man seek and gain by all his struggles through life? Is there anything that remaineth as the result of his labours (יתרון)? Does man form an exception to the general rule that all is vain? In all things changes and processes are noticed that seem to be purposeless; and nothing is permanent save these constantly recurring changes. One generation departs from the surface of the earth to make room for a succeeding generation, and in this constant change the earth remaineth for ever. The sun sets in the west, only to rise again in the east. The wind passes by, but is sure to return.[3] The river sends its waters down to the sea, but incessantly repeats the same course. Is man, with all his struggles and pretensions, of a different nature? This is the problem which Koheleth attempts to solve. He determined to examine and explore all that is done under the

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[1] *Koheleth.* Partic. fem. Kal of Kahal, "to assemble," "to collect." It is employed as a feminine noun, vii. 27; as a common noun, with the def. art., xii. 8; and as the name of a male person, i. 1, 12; and xii. 9, 10. The feminine form in vii. 27 is by no means accidental; it corresponds to *nafshi* in the succeeding verse, and denotes "experience" or "observation;" also the second half of the verse shows that the author employed here the word *koheleth* in its original meaning, and not as a proper noun. In the other passages, the author personifies his experience or his faculty of "collecting observations," and represents it as his own person.

[2] The Hebrew הבל הבלים expresses, after the analogy of קדש קדשים, a superlative, and signifies "the most vain." One thing or class is singled out as the vainest, whilst the rest is described as "vain." As the book treats chiefly of the life and actions of man, it is likely that the author thought of himself or of man generally when exclaiming: "Vanity of vanities!" The exclamation is repeated at the end (xii. 8), after the description of man's death. The Hebrew הבל, a synonym of רוח, "wind," denotes "breath;" hence also "everything windy, unstable, or unsound." The same is expressed by רעות רוח, "companion of wind," *i.e.*, windy and unstable; and רעיון רוח, "thought of wind," or "windy thought." The opposite notion is expressed by יתרון, "that which remains;" hence "fruit," or "profit."

[3] As to סובב and סביבתיו in verse 6, comp. Job xxxvii. 12.

heavens,[1] in search of *the wisdom*—בְּחָכְמָה[2]— in search of the divine plan in man's life, the object to be attained by man through his labours. Koheleth admits that the task is difficult, since everything that he perceives seems to be vain and of short duration—הֶבֶל וּרְעוּת רוּחַ—but he believes himself to be as well prepared as possible, and having greatly increased the store of knowledge and wisdom which he had inherited from preceding generations, he approaches his task—not, however, without anxiety and fear that he might in the end be disappointed. "For in the multitude of wisdom there is a multitude of anger, and he who increaseth knowledge increaseth pain."

For the purpose of this research Koheleth divides man's actions into such as are dictated by folly (הוֹלֵלוֹת[3]) and such as are dictated by wisdom (חָכְמָה).

II.—Examination of Man's Actions and their Results.

A.—Pursuit of pleasure and earthly happiness as dictated by Folly.

1. Pursuit of Pleasure ends in disappointment—(*a*) Because the pleasures obtained are worthless (ch. ii. 1-16).

Is material pleasure, gratification of the senses, the aim and end of man's labours? Koheleth has himself made an experiment. In possession of the means[4] that enabled him

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[1] The phrases, "under the heavens," and "under the sun," so frequently repeated by the author, seem to indicate that there is another world beyond those limits, which is inaccessible to the searching eye of man. It is opposed to *sheol*, ix. 9.

[2] Comp. vii. 23: "All this have I tried because of *the* wisdom; I said, I will be wise, but it is far from me." By "the wisdom," the wisdom of God is here to be understood, as displayed in His works. חָכְמָה, "wisdom," as applied to man, is that element in his soul that enables him to live and work for a higher aim than the mere momentary gratification of his senses. The opposite of the חָכָם, "wise," is (*a*) the כְּסִיל, the "fool," who cultivates chiefly the growth of his loins or body; (*b*) the סָכָל, the "stupid" (from *sakal*=*sakhar*, "to obstruct"), whose eyes are obstructed from seeing beyond the closest proximity; (*c*) *holel* (from *halal*, "to shine"), the silly boaster, who seeks nothing but outward appearance.

[3] Although the letters *sin* and *samekh* frequently interchange, it is possible that the author distinguished between שִׂכְלוּת (i. 17) and סִכְלוּת (ii. 3), and employed them in the sense of "reason" and "folly" respectively. In that case the translation of i. 17 would be as follows: "And I devoted my heart to know wisdom and to know folly, and with understanding," etc. *Sikhluth* would then be co-ordinate with *libbi*.

[4] Comp. ii. 12: "For what would a person do who comes after the one that has already been king for a long time" (literally, "whom they have made (*scil.* king) long ago")?

to procure whatever pleasure he desired, and gifted with wisdom and knowledge that enabled him to do everything in the best possible way,[1] he yet could only obtain momentary satisfaction, and his pleasure lasted for only a comparatively short period, it was הבל (ii. 11), and not that יתרון, the lasting happiness which he sought. When he paused awhile[2] and reflected on what he had accomplished, he discovered too late that his energies and labours had been spent on a worthless object, on הבל. He admits that there is a great difference between pleasures controlled by wisdom and reason, and pleasures dictated by ignorance and folly. In the end, however, even this difference is found to be הבל (ii. 15): the wise and the fool alike quit these pleasures without any lasting profit.

(*b*) Because they produce weariness of life (ch. ii. 17-23).

On the contrary, harm is frequently the result. A sense of discontent with our life is created, and thoughts like the following suggest themselves to the reflecting mind: Why shall I labour for my enjoyment. Death may soon render all my schemes vain, and all my labour will thus come to nothing (ii. 17). Perhaps I shall not live long enough to finish what I have begun; another may not be capable of finishing it (ii. 18). Even if I complete it, death may prevent me from enjoying the fruit of my labour, and another who had no share in the trouble will have all the benefit (ii. 21). Such reflections, however, are in themselves הבל; they have no sound foundation, and ought not to trouble man in the course of his labours and enjoyments (23).

2. Pursuit of Pleasure is superfluous; Man's Enjoyments are predestined (ii. 24—iii. 15).

There is another reason why labour, for the sake of enjoyment, should be considered as useless. "Man's happiness does not consist in eating and drinking, and enjoying his work," this is not the *summum bonum;*[3] on the contrary, "it is a

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[1] *Velibbi noheg bahokhmah* is equal in sense to the corresponding phrase in the beginning of the verse, תרתי בלבי: "And my heart led *me* in wisdom, even to take hold of folly."

[2] *Panah*, "to turn aside," to turn away from one's work, to pause. Comp. אפנה, Mishnah, Aboth ii. 5.

[3] ii. 24: שיאכל is not the same as משיאכל, and אין טוב therefore does not mean "there is nothing better," but denotes "there is something not good." The author describes it as אין טוב, "if man were only to eat and drink, and be of good humour;" and *even this*, though it is אין טוב, cannot always be obtained by men. Those who explain אין טוב to mean "there is nothing better," ignore the force of the particle גם.

הבל." But even this temporary happiness, vain and windy as it is, is by no means the result of man's labour.[1] It is a gift of God who grants to the good wisdom, knowledge, and joy; and to the sinner the desire to collect and to gather[2] for the benefit of the good. For everything has its season, and everything has its time fixed by the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. If, therefore, happiness and distress are predestined—if joy and mourning, like life and death, success and failure[3] are determined by a superior power, independently of man's labour—all his exertions must be superfluous. "What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboureth"? (iii. 9.) Whatever his industry and skill may be, if he succeeds, he has only gained the exact share allotted to him by Providence.[4] "Nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it, for God hath done it whom people ought to fear"[5] (iii. 14); "it is He who seeketh הנרדף,[6] that which is run after by man" (iii. 15).

3. Pursuit of Pleasure is only justified in the opinion of the Multitude (iii. 16—22).

But if God, whose attributes are kindness and justice, is the cause of man's success or failure in his search after pleasure, why is there unfairness and injustice in the distribution of earthly goods? I said in my heart, says Koheleth, God will judge the righteous and the wicked; for *there*—with God—and not here on earth, "under the sun," will be the time for every

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[1] ii. 25 is a quotation, containing words spoken by God.

[2] The author declares even this idea, that man gathers and collects, as vain and windy. Even this—*i.e.*, the act of gathering and collecting—is not real, because nothing is in reality done by man.

[3] The order in the list of things predetermined by the will of God, is not so arbitrary as it might appear at first. The whole list is divided into two groups (2-4 and 5-8), each concluding with nouns, instead of infinitives with a preposition. The first group includes the chief conditions of man: life, death; illness, recovery; sadness, joy. The second group refers to the actions of man with regard to his family, property, and relations to his fellow-man.

[4] עלם in iii. 11 is derived from "*alam*," "to be hidden," and signifies "that which is hidden" in the heart of man; viz., the thoughts, desires, and intentions. Before נתן supply the relative אשר; the two negatives, מבלי and לא, express an emphatic positive. The verse is to be translated thus: "He hath made everything beautiful in its time, also the thoughts which He hath set in their heart; in such a manner that it is impossible that man should not find the work that God hath made," etc.; that is, whatever man finds out to do, must necessarily be the same that God has already fixed for him to do.

[5] The first syllable in שיראו (iii. 14) is a relative pronoun, and not a conjunction.

[6] *Nirdaf* denotes the thing which is run after by man, in order to obtain it; the aim and the result of his labour.

will and every act. Koheleth here alludes to a future state of man's soul, as if to say that there is something better for man to hope for than all that he can enjoy in this life. It is only, says the author, when I reason according to the speech of the sons of man[1]—man has no pre-eminence above the beast; he is dust, and nothing more—that I find that the best for man is to enjoy here on earth that which he has obtained as his portion, since no one is able to show him what will follow after his death.

4. Pursuit of Pleasure creates Desire for Wealth, and thus causes Moral Corruption—(*a.*) Because desire for wealth leads to dishonourable acts (iv. 1—7).

What are the means employed by man in his search after earthly happiness? Not always such as would really further the object in view. As a rule, wealth and luxury are considered the best means of securing well-being and happiness. How is wealth obtained? Great industry and skill is certainly displayed in the race for wealth, but also much ill-feeling is thereby created. The most successful are not always the noblest and the most righteous. The fortune of the one is the source of misery to many; the weak are oppressed by the strong, and the condition of the oppressed is so bad that they prefer death to life. And yet if one were to keep aloof from this race, being convinced that[2] "a handful with quietness is better than both the hands full, with travail and windy thought" (iv. 6), he would be considered a fool; and it would be said of him, "The fool foldeth his hands and eateth his own flesh" (iv. 5).

(*b.*) Because Desire for Wealth develops selfishness (iv. 8—16).

The race after wealth leads man to selfishness. He plans and acts as if the world belonged to him alone. "There is one alone, and there is not a second; yea, he hath neither child nor brother, yet is there no end of all his labour.

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[1] על דברת (iii. 18) admits of two meanings: "according to the word of," and "after the manner."—לברם (from *barer*) is a contracted form of Inf. Piel for לבררם, and signifies "in their proving," or "purifying." The meaning of the passage is: "When men venture to criticise the works of God, and find that they themselves are as ignorant and stupid as the cattle" (literally, that a multitude—הם, comp. Ezek. xi. 7—of cattle they are to themselves).

[2] iv. 6 contains the thought of the fool, who contents himself with little, and abstains from the race after wealth. נחת, "quietness," or "contentment," is opposed to travail and windy thought; that is, to labouring without the prospect of ever reaching a state of contentment and happiness.

Neither is his eye satisfied with riches that he should say,[1] For whom do I labour, and bereave my soul of good ?"(iv. 8.) He refuses to divide the fruit of his successful labours with any of his fellow-men. But such conduct must ultimately bring great misery and distress. There are circumstances in which wealth cannot replace a companion or friend. The possession of friends that share with us fortune and misfortune, joy and sorrow, is in all conditions of life better than the possession of silver and gold. Let a person be endowed with the greatest influence and power—let old age still increase his authority—if his conduct be foolish and selfish, if he be an old, but foolish king,[2] he is most unhappy ; and a poor and clever child that understands how to win the sympathies of his fellowmen is much happier. Even the hearty welcome given to new kings is soon turned into indifference. For such power is likewise vanity and windy thought.

(*c.*) Because Desire for Wealth creates Hypocrisy (iv. 17—v. 6).

In his race for wealth and luxury man frequently invokes the assistance of God, and on such occasions he is likely to sin in two ways. In the first place, his schemes are not always such as to justify his appealing to the Most Holy for help ; he prays hastily for things, the possession of which is no blessing to him ; secondly, he makes promises and vows which he afterwards regrets or ignores. Koheleth utters a warning against this twofold mistake. " Observe[3] thy foot, when thou goest to the house of God " ; examine thy ways, whether they are right and good, and thy prayer " will then be sooner accepted than the sacrifices of the fools, who are ignorant, and in ignorance do evil."[4] In reference to the second sin, Koheleth says, " Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God, for God is in heaven and thou upon earth ; therefore let thy

[1] The words, "For whom do I labour ?" etc., do not express the actual feeling of the selfish and greedy man described in this verse, but what he ought to consider, according to Koheleth.

[2] The past tense in verses 13, 14, may imply that the author speaks here of a certain king of former days ; but the past tense is sufficiently justified by the fact that the king is imagined to be old, and at the end of his career.

[3] In speaking of offences directed against God, the author is more emphatic and decided, and addresses his audience or readers directly, and tells them clearly what they have to guard against.

[4] The Hebrew expression for "prayer," תפלה, seems to imply this very idea, that every prayer should be based on self-examination and self-judgment ; the word being derived from פלל, "to judge."

words be few. For a dream cometh through the multitude of things, and a fool's voice is known by a multitude of words. When thou makest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it" (v. 1—3); "better not to vow than to vow without fulfilling it" (4).

5. Pursuit of Pleasure, in creating Desire for Wealth, brings Misery.—(*a.*) By causing trouble and danger (v. 7-11).

The author next proceeds to show how little is gained even by those who are successful in this race for wealth. First, the possession of wealth, far from giving satisfaction and establishing happiness, frequently creates discontent, and fills the mind with a desire for additional riches. "If thou seest in a country oppression of the poor and anarchy,[1] be not surprised; although every high one is watched and protected by a higher one, and each of them is endowed with authority,[2] and a king of a field—a village magistrate—has his officers, they cannot prevent the threatening anarchy." Why? Because "He that loveth silver is not satisfied with silver, and he that loveth abundance is not satisfied with the increase." Oppression of the poor increases in the same proportion as the wealth of the few increases; bad feeling is created, which ultimately breaks forth and finds revenge in a state of disorder and anarchy. The rich and mighty then become aware that wealth is not a source of true and lasting happiness.

(*b.*) By causing constant fear and anxiety (v. 12-19).

The possession of wealth deprives the possessor of peace and security; he is in constant fear of losing his property. "Riches are kept for the owner thereof to his hurt" (v. 12). He is afraid lest he become poor: "He hath a son, and there will be nothing in his hand. As he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he return to go as he came, and he, the son, will have nothing of all the labour of the father." It is indeed a sore disease, says Koheleth, that man thus labours for the wind, and in addition, "all his days he eateth in darkness, and hath much sorrow and wrath with his sickness" (v. 16). It is much better for man to be satisfied, and to enjoy heartily what God has granted him, however little that may be; and the more so if he possesses riches which he enjoys in ease and peace. In both cases it is not of frequent

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[1] Literally, "the robbery, or the violent prevention of justice and righteousness."

[2] יתרון (v. 8), "that which remains," "surplus," "pre-eminence." The different degrees of power described in the preceding verse upwards, are described in this verse in a descending order, down to the lowest officer.

occurrence that man recognises the hand of God; "for not often doth man remember, in the happy days of his life,[1] that it is God who made him sing[2] in the joy of his heart" (v. 19).

(*c.*) By causing a feeling of uneasiness and discontent (ch. vi.).

Riches do not make man happy, and are even a source of grief, if the possessor has no children. He is vexed at the thought that a stranger shall inherit all his property. But, on the other hand, a large family is, in a different way, a source of cares and anxieties. "If a man hath many children, and liveth many years, and counteth many happy days," but finds his happiness marred in the end, having not left even so much as would secure a grave for him," I thought," says the author, "that an untimely birth was better than he" (vi. 3). Better not to live at all than to live—be it only the last days —in want and misery. But man, having once come into existence, struggles for life with all his might,[3] "and also the appetite for life is not filled" (vi. 7). For what is it that the wise, the intelligent poor—עני יודע—hath more than the fool? Is it "that he knows how to die[4] in the presence of others that live?" (vi. 8) or rather that he knows how to act according to the maxim, "Better is it to live than to die?" (9) But all such meditations are חבל; because we are not asked whether we like to be born as an untimely birth or with a constitution to live for a thousand years: "We may not contend with him who is mightier than we are" (10), and who has determined our fate. We do not even know the real purpose of life,[5] and are, therefore, not capable of determining what its duration should be.

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[1] The phrases, "the days of his life," "the days of the years of his life," denote the distinguished days, or the happy days of his life. Comp. Gen. xlvii. 9, and *infra* vi. 3.

[2] מענה, from ענה, "to sing." Comp. Ps. cxlvii. 7.

[3] This is the meaning of vi. 6: "And even if man lived a thousand years, twice told, and enjoyed no good, he does not abandon his hopes and his struggle for life; all go to one and the same place;" that is, all aim at the same thing: life. This idea is continued in the next verse: "All the labour of man is for his mouth, to maintain himself; and even the desire to live, if he has no longer strength for labour, will never cease during lifetime." As to תמלא, comp. i. 8.

[4] להלך, vi. 8; and מהלך, ib. 9; from *halakh*, "to go," "to depart," "to die."

[5] מה יותר, vi. 11: "What will remain, as the fruit and purpose of life?" Comp. יתרון, i. 3: vi. 12, ויעשם כצל: "and he shall make (or consider) them as the shadow which is followed by sunshine." אשר אחריו, "after which," the relative referring to צל, "shadow." The sense of the verse is: "Who knows what is good for man to do during his vain or short existence on earth, and who can tell him what can come after it?" The former is compared to the shadow, the latter to the brightness that follows the shadow, being "under the sun."

B. Man's Actions, dictated by Wisdom.

1. Wisdom is a source of happiness in man's various conditions (vii. 1-22).

There is certainly something better in life than wealth and luxury. "Better a good name, acquired by a conduct regulated by reason—חכמה וחשבון—than precious ointment, and the day of death than the day of one's birth" (vii. 1). To him who has acquired a good name by a virtuous life, the day of death is better; he has a good name that cannot be destroyed for ever. To him who has not acquired a good name, the day of death is better, in so far as it puts an end to a useless and bad life. The wise, therefore, does not seek merriment and pleasures; these he leaves to the כסיל, the fool. He prefers earnest and serious reflections;[1] in trying times he preserves equanimity; he is not impatient, nor easily led to anger. He knows how best to enjoy the "day of good," and how to bear the "day of evil." He does not think himself too good to meet with reverses, nor so bad as to be deprived of every hope for better times. He will listen to criticism on his conduct, without admitting everything said against him.

2. Man's Wisdom is imperfect when entirely left to itself (vii. 23-29).

By these instances Koheleth intends to show that there exists in man himself a certain faculty that enables him to live happily with wealth and without it. But, as he has anticipated in the first chapter, he has not succeeded in discovering what is the purpose and the divine plan—the חכמה—in all that is done under heaven. "All this," he says, "have I tried, because of the divine wisdom—בחכמה; I said, I will be wise, but it was far from me (viii. 23). Far off is that which has been far off, and that which has been deep is still deep. Who will find it?" (24) He had to be content with examining the actions of men, and to distinguish between reason—חכמה וחשבון—on the one hand, and folly and wickedness on the other. In discovering the latter Koheleth had no difficulty; folly and wickedness[2] he saw fully deve-

[1] כעס, vii. 3, is different from כעס, vii. 9; the meaning is in either case easily determined by the context.

[2] The greater development of folly is indicated by the numerous terms employed in describing it: רשע, כסיל, סכלות, הוללות; whilst, for the opposite quality, the author had only two nouns: חכמה and חשבון. The latter term denotes the weighing and testing of our actions with regard to their intrinsic value, as well as to their consequences. As to the meaning of the other terms, see p. 34, note 2. הוללות seems here to be used as an adjective describing the three nouns: רשע, כסיל, and סכלות.

loped to its highest pitch, but not so wisdom and virtue. Koheleth personifies wisdom and folly, which are represented here, as in the Book of Proverbs, as women: "I found that which is more bitter than death, the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her" (26). "As to that which yet my soul sought, but I found not, the perfect חכמה וחשבון, one person among a thousand have I found," that may fairly be called אדם—"man;" "but a woman," the personified חכמה, "among all these have I not found." I have not met with a person as perfect in wisdom as I found persons perfect in folly. The cause of this strange fact is not to be sought in a defective creation of man, but in his desire to complicate the conditions of life. "Lo, this only have I found, that God made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions" (29).

3. A Guide is given to Man's Wisdom—(*a*). Confidence in the guide ensures lasting happiness (ch. viii.).

Although reason (חכמה וחשבון) is a better guide to happiness than folly (סכלות והוללות), success depends on Providence. Koheleth is convinced that the gifts of Providence are distributed according as man is good before God or not. But how can man find out what is good before God? What mortal can fathom the wisdom of divine Providence and Justice? "Who is so wise as to know how to solve the difficulty? A man's wisdom would make his face to shine, and the majesty of his face would be doubled" (viii. 1). Human reason being insufficient, Koheleth entrusts himself implicitly to the guidance of a higher authority,[1] whose will he endeavours to perform. "My advice is," he says, "to keep the command of a king, and that in the manner of a divine oath" (2). Man must not be discouraged if the acts of God seem arbitrary and without relation to man's obedience or disobedience to His will. "Whoso keepeth the commandment shall know no evil thing, and a wise man's heart discerneth both time and judgment"[2] (5). He knows that there is time and judgment for everything. When the wickedness of his fellow-men seems great to him, and in disharmony with their prosperity, he will remember that their end is not yet

[1] מלך is here used in the sense of "absolute monarch," whose commands must be obeyed unconditionally. It is without the article, and it is by no means necessary to assume that the author thought of one special king. The term מלך represents figuratively the Divine authority revealed in the Law and through the prophets. The author seems to avoid the distinct mention of Divine revelation, and to found his dicta solely on חכמה, "wisdom."

[2] Comp. iii. 17.

known, and when that comes, no power, no cunning of the evildoers, can save them from the consequences of their conduct (viii. 8). I have seen, the author says, at a time when one man ruled over another to his hurt, wicked people buried, and gone, and they had departed from the place of the holy, and were forgotten in the city where they had ruled in that manner (viii. 10). Their success was only temporary, הבל. Punishment does not immediately follow every sin; but I know, says Koheleth, that good awaits only those that fear God. As in reference to earthly enjoyments he taught that man must try to be happy in the enjoyment of that which God has allotted to him for his life under the sun, so with regard to the present inquiry he counsels man to rest content with that which has been revealed to him, and to bear in mind that he is unable to discover the divine place in everything that is done under the sun.[1]

(*b.*) Occasional neglect of this guide is followed by serious consequences (ix. 1—x. 11).

The experience, however, on which Koheleth founds his theory seems to have been limited; he has seen some wicked people perish, and concludes that when evildoers prosper, their happiness is only temporary, and they will in the end have their full reward. But cannot the same be said about the righteous? Are they not likewise in the hand of the Almighty who determines their fates and even their conduct? Are they not also overtaken by misfortune and death?[2] "It is an evil," says the author, "that one thing—death—happens to all, because the sons of man conceive evil thoughts, and folly is in their heart while they live, for they think after that they will join the dead."[3] They are mistaken, as

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[1] בשל, viii. 17, in error (=*beshal*; comp. 2 Sam. vi. 7, and ib. iii. 27).

[2] The different kinds of divergence in the characters of men, enumerated in ix. 2, seem to have been arranged in a descending order; beginning with the just and wicked, who are diametrically opposed to each other in every respect; next are those who perhaps do not differ so much in outward action, but in thought and speech: the good and pure on the one hand, the impure on the other; the third place is occupied by those who have the same intentions, but not the same willingness to sacrifice part of their own; or the one is more careful and successful in guarding against sin than the other: the good, and he that sins; or more energetic and enthusiastic in doing a noble act than the other: he that swears to do the good thing required, and he who fears to bind himself by an oath.

[3] אחריו, ix. 3, is probably an adverb like *yachadav*, and the affix *av* has not the force of a pronoun. The words, "in their lifetime, and after that to the dead," and the verses which follow (4-10) express the feelings and the arguments which lead "the sons of men" to their follies; viz., The life "under the sun" is only lived once, the dead never again share in its joys and its labours. In this life we must work and enjoy, if God has thus predetermined "the course of our life" (verse 7).

experience teaches. While it may sometimes seem as if people met with failure or success, not only independently of their moral conduct, but also independently of industry and skill, as if man's fate was decided by *chance* alone, it is also[1] an undeniable fact that in many instances reason has proved to be the source of success, and folly that of failure and ruin. "By his wisdom a wise man saved a whole town from destruction." The wise man must only be extremely careful, lest all the good he might be able to do be undone even by a slight mistake (ix. 18). "Where there are dead flies the finest ointment is spoiled; so doth a a little folly outweigh wisdom and honour" (x. 1). A wise man must always have his head in the right place. Especially careful ought one to be who desires to rule or guide others,[2] because in his case negligence entails serious evils (x. 4—9). Furthermore, a wise man must always be prepared and ready to make use of his wisdom.[3] "If the serpent bite because there is no enchantment, then there is no profit to the charmer" (11). What is said here of wisdom applies with equal force to virtue and goodness. A pure life is easily corrupted, when concessions, however small, are made to temptation. The argument implied in these remarks is—We cannot correctly estimate another man's moral conduct and accordingly criticise God's justice?

(*c.*) Those who altogether ignore the Guide cause harm and mischief (x. 12—20).

Although the wise do harm by slight mistakes, the mischief done by foolish and wicked people is still far more serious. This is illustrated by the evils caused through foolish talk[4] and through misgovernment. With regard to the latter, the author exclaims, "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a lad, and thy princes eat in the morning!" (x. 16). "By much slothfulness the building decayeth, and through idleness

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[1] The force of the phrase, *gam zo*, "even so," is this: "Even granted that we notice occurrences which appear to us the outcome of mere chance."

[2] Literally, "If the spirit of the ruler cometh over thee" (x. 4).

[3] יתרון הכשיר חכמה: "And the advantage of preparation is wisdom;" or, "Wisdom consists in the advantage of preparing for eventual emergencies."

[4] x. 14: "And the fool increaseth words; man—*i.e.*, he who listens to the fool—knoweth not what shall be; and who can tell him what shall be the consequence of following him (מאחריו)? He can neither learn from the fool what the latter desires him to do; nor, if he understands what the fool desires him to do, can he foresee the evil consequences of such conduct." "He who does not know the way to the city, will be much wearied by the labour of the foolish, if he happens to have them as guides" עמל (x. 15)=דרך עמל, "laborious way;" hence the feminine in תיגענו.

of the hands the house droppeth through (18). A feast is made for laughter, and wine maketh merry; and money answereth all things" (19). The people feel unhappy and are in constant fear. "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bed-chamber, for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter" (20).

4. Wisdom does not demand abandonment of earthly pleasures, but their regulation by the fear of God (xi. 1—xii. 7).

Reflecting on the diverse theories above-mentioned—on the one hand that man is the master of his fate, that he has it in his power to be a blessing or a curse to himself and others, and on the other hand that his fate is determined by a superior power without his consent and knowledge; on the one hand that it is good for man to enjoy life, and on the other that all enjoyment under the sun is vain (הבל) without any reality—Koheleth gives to his fellow-men this practical advice: Make these views, however contradictory they may seem to be, the basis of your conduct. This lesson is given in a figurative speech as follows: Cast thy bread[1]—which thou mayest want at present—upon the waters; for thou shalt find it after many days. But do not cast all thy bread upon the waters; reserve sufficient for seven months—till the usual time of harvest—and also something for the eighth month, as the harvest may be delayed. Take notice of rain and wind[2] for thy sowing and reaping, but do not thereby neglect the necessary work; sow in the morning and sow in the evening, if it is uncertain which will succeed better. This figurative lesson is followed by a second one: "The light is sweet, and it is good for the eyes to behold the sun" (xi. 7). And yet it would not be good always to behold the sun; there must be shadow and darkness; so also "if man[3] hopes to live many years let him rejoice in all of them;" but "every one that has come into this transient existence" must also remember that the days of darkness

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[1] "Thy bread;" *i.e.*, thy corn. The seed is thrown "upon the waters;" that is, after the rain of Heshvan or Kislev.

[2] The meaning of xi. 3 is: "When clouds are noticed, it may be assumed as probable that it will rain, and the work may be arranged accordingly; in the same manner, when the trees are observed to begin to incline in a certain direction, it may be assumed as probable that a wind in that direction will prevail; yet (says the author) he will never do his work who is guided exclusively by these observations." יהוא, "it will blow." Comp. Job xxxvii. 6.

[3] אם...יחיה (xi. 8), "If he will live," *scil.* in his thought or imagination. Let man rejoice in the idea and hope that he will live many years; but he must also be prepared that these years will include days of darkness and misfortune.

will be many (8). Koheleth in a similar manner exhorts man to take the two opposite views as the basis for his conduct: The pleasures of life are given us for our enjoyment, and Our will is to be directed after the will of a higher Being. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thine heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but, at the same time, know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment (xi. 9). And remove anger and regret from thine heart and evil from thy flesh, for childhood and youth are quickly over[1] (10). Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth[2] before the evil days come, and the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them" (xii. 1). The author then describes in a vivid manner, in three different figures,[3] the gradual decay of the body of man, till at last dust returns to dust, and the spirit returns unto God who gave it. Pointing to the lifeless body, Koheleth exclaims, Vanity of vanities! source of man's vanities, of his ambition, greediness, sensuality, and luxury! all this has ceased; all this has been הבל, vanity! But there is still one element in man's life that is not הבל: the *spirit* "that returns to God" (xii. 7).

III.—Conclusion, xii. 8—14.

The task which the author has proposed to himself is accomplished. He has demonstrated the vanities of man: but he has done more; being a wise man, he has at the same time given certain positive knowledge to the people in the form of proverbs and sayings,[4] carefully weighed and examined. These are words of importance, words of truth, words of the wise, which in some cases drive on "like goads," and encourage to actions; in others check and restrain, like

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[1] The days of youth are soon over, and the consequences of folly and excess cannot be remedied. They are avoided if man during the earlier period of his life follows the Divine guide given him for his conduct throughout his life.

[2] בחרותיך, "thy youth," not as opposed to manhood, but to old age. The term is therefore to be understood in the sense of "thy strength."

[3] (*a*) The change of sunshine into cloudiness; (*b*) the change of the stir and bustle in a castle into stillness and lethargy; (*c*) the destruction of the means of supplying the oil to the lamp, or the water to the bucket. גלת (xii. 6) is the oil reservoir for the lamp. Comp. Zech. iv. 2.

[4] These either refer to sayings and lessons included in Koheleth, or to other collections of proverbs.

"the stakes of the folds," or fences by which the sheep are kept together,[1] and prevented from running further. They all come from the same shepherd, originating in the same source, viz., the desire to teach and benefit the people. He could say far more, but all is included in the maxim: *Fear God, keep His commandments, for that is the whole man* (xii. 13); *man is responsible to God for his actions as well as for his innermost thoughts.* "*God shall bring every action into judgment, with every secret thought, whether it be good or whether it be evil*" (14).

M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

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[1] בעלי אספות (xii. 11) is not an attribute to חכמים, but to משמרות נטועים.

THE DOGMAS OF JUDAISM.

THE object of this article is to say about the dogmas of Judaism a word which I think ought not to be left unsaid.

In speaking of dogmas it must be understood that Judaism does not ascribe to them any saving power. The belief in a dogma or a doctrine without abiding by its real or supposed consequences (*e.g.* the belief in *creatio ex nihilo* without keeping the Sabbath) is of no value. And the discussion about certain doctrines is not whether they possess or do not possess the desired charm against certain diseases of the soul, but whether they ought to be considered as characteristics of Judaism or not.

It must again be premised that the subject, which occupied the thoughts of the greatest and noblest Jewish minds for so many centuries, has been neglected for a comparatively long time. And this for various reasons. First, there is Mendelssohn's assertion, or supposed assertion, in his *Jerusalem* that Judaism has no dogmas—an assertion which has been accepted by the majority of modern Jewish theologians as the only dogma Judaism possesses. You can hear it pronounced in scores of Jewish pulpits; you can read it written in scores of Jewish books. To admit the possibility that Mendelssohn was in error was hardly permissible, especially for those with whom he enjoys a certain infallibility. Nay, even the fact that he himself was not consistent in his theory, and on another occasion declared that Judaism *has* dogmas, only that they are purer and more in harmony with reason than those of other religions; or even the more important fact, that he published a school-book for children, in which the so-called Thirteen Articles were embodied, only that instead of the formula "I believe," &c., he substituted "I am convinced,"—even such patent facts did not produce much effect upon many of our modern theologians. They were either overlooked or explained away so as to make them harmonise with the great dogma of dogmalessness. For it is one of the attributes of infallibility that the words of its happy pro-

prietor must always be reconcilable even when they appear to the eye of the unbeliever as gross contradictions.[1]

Another cause of the neglect into which the subject has fallen is that our century is an *historical* one. It is not only books that have their fate, but also whole sciences and literatures. In past times it was religious speculation that formed the favourite study of scholars, in our time it is history with its critical foundation on a sound philology. Now as these two most important branches of Jewish science were so long neglected—were perhaps never cultivated in the true meaning of the word, and as Jewish literature is so vast and Jewish history so far-reaching and eventful, we cannot wonder that these studies have absorbed the time and the labour of the greatest and best Jewish writers in this century. Indeed, we cannot be grateful enough to such scholars as Zunz and Graetz, who have furnished us with the history of the Jewish literature and people. For what use is it to have a literature embracing all branches of human thought without understanding it in the right way, and how shall we recognise Judaism in all its glory and significance for the world so long as its history remains a secret to us?

There is, besides, a certain tendency in historical studies that is hostile to mere theological speculation. The historian deals with realities, the theologian with abstractions. The latter likes to shape the universe after his system, and tells us how things *ought to be*, the former teaches us how they *are* or *have been*, and the explanation he gives for their being so and not otherwise includes in most cases also a kind of justification for their existence. There is also the *odium theologicum*, which has been the cause of so much misfortune in the history of the world that it is hated by the historian, whilst the superficial, rationalistic way in which the theologian manages to explain every thing which does not suit his system is most repulsive to the critical spirit.

But it cannot be denied that this neglect has caused much confusion. Especially is this noticeable in England, which is essentially a theological country, and where people are but little prone to give up speculation about things which concern their most sacred interest and greatest happiness. Thus

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[1] *Jerusalem*, in Mendelssohn's *Sämmtliche Werke* (Vienna, 1838), especially from page 264 onwards, and a letter by him published in the *Monatsschrift*, 1859, p. 173. For Mendelssohn's position, see Graetz, *Geschichte*, xi. 86 *seq.*, especially p. 88 and note 1; Kayserling, *Leben und Wirken* of M., 2nd ed., p. 394; Steinheim, *Moses Mendelssohn* (Hamburg, 1840), p. 30 *seq.*; Holdheim, *Moses Mendelssohn* (Berlin, 1859), p. 18 *seq.*; L. Löwe's pamphlet, *Jüdische Dogmen* (Pest, 1871).

whilst we are exceedingly poor in all other branches of Jewish learning, we are comparatively rich in productions of a theological character. We have a superfluity of essays on such delicate subjects as eternal punishment, immortality of the soul, the day of judgment, &c., and many treatises on the definition of Judaism. But knowing little or nothing of the progress recently made in Jewish theology, of the many protests against all kinds of infallibility, whether canonised in this century or in olden times, we in England still maintain that Judaism has no dogmas as if nothing to the contrary had ever been said. We seek the foundation of Judaism in national economy, in hygiene, in everything except religion. Following the fashion of the day to esteem religion in proportion to its ability to adapt itself to every possible and impossible metaphysical and social system, we are anxious to squeeze out of Judaism the last drop of faith and hope, and strive to make it so flexible that we can turn it in every direction which it is our pleasure to follow. But alas! the flexibility has progressed so far as to classify Judaism among the invertebrate species, the lowest order of living things. It strongly resembles a certain Christian school which addresses itself to the world in general and claims to satisfy everybody alike. It claims to be socialism for the adherents of Karl Marx and Lassalle, worship of men for the followers of Comte and St. Simon; it carefully avoids the word "God" for the comfort of agnostics and sceptics, whilst on the other hand it pretends to hold sway over paradise, hell, and immortality for the edification of believers. In such illusions many of our theologians delight. For illusions they are; you cannot be everything if you want to be anything. Moreover illusions in themselves are bad enough, but we are menaced with what is still worse. Judaism, divested of every higher religious motive, is in danger of falling into gross materialism. For what else is the meaning of such declarations as "Believe what you like, but conform to this or that mode of life," what else does it mean but "We cannot expect you to believe that the things you are bidden to do are commanded by a higher authority; there is not such a thing as belief, but you ought to do them for conventionalism or for your own convenience."

But both these motives—the good opinion of our neighbours, as well as our bodily health—have nothing to do with our nobler and higher sentiments, and degrade Judaism to a matter of expediency or diplomacy. Indeed, things have advanced so far that well-meaning but ill-advised writers even think to render a service to Judaism by declaring it to

be a kind of enlightened Hedonism, or rather a moderate Epicureanism.[1]

I have no intention of here answering the question, What is Judaism? This question is not less perplexing than the problem, What is God's world? Judaism is also a great Infinite, composed of as many endless Units, the Jews. And these Unit-Jews have been, and are still, scattered through all the world, and have passed under an immensity of influences, good and bad. If so, how can we give an exact definition of the Infinite, called Judaism?

But if there is anything sure, it is that the highest motives which worked through the history of Judaism are the strong belief in God and the unshaken confidence that at last this God, the God of Israel, will be the God of the whole world[2]; or, in other words, Faith and Hope are the two most prominent characteristics of Judaism.

In the following pages I shall try to give a short account of the manner in which these two principles of Judaism found expression, from earliest times up to the age of Mendelssohn; that is, to present an outline of the history of Jewish Dogmas. First a few observations on the position of the Bible and the Talmud in relation to our theme. Insufficient and poor as they may be in proportion to the importance of these two fundamental documents of Judaism, these remarks may nevertheless suggest a connecting link between

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[1] This hygienic explanation of the dietary laws is not at all modern. It is refuted already by an author who wrote at about the end of the 13th century. See Jellinek's Appendix to the Dialogue of R. Shem-Tob Palquera (Vienna, 1875). As a modern refutation, we shall only mention here that of Reggio, in his book התורה והפילוסופיאה (Vienna, 1827), p. 156 *seq.* See also Joel's *Beiträge*, I., p. 99, note 2. We cannot here enlarge on this subject, which deserves a special study, but shall only direct attention to two passages in works of the 13th century. The *Zohar*, IV. 221a (ed. Krotoschin), runs as follows:—אנן (הגוים) אכלינן כל מה דבעינן ואנן תקיפין בחילא בבריאותא ואתון דלא אכלין חלשין כלכו במרעין בישין ובתבירו יתיר מכל שאר עמין:... Compare the commentaries on the Haggadoth by R. Salomon ben Addereth, edited by Dr. Perles, in his biography of that Rabbi (Breslau, 1863), p. 31a, where the following passage occurs:—וחלק הקדושה שאמרת גם המניעה מן המאכלים האסורים נכנסת באותו חלק ועליו אנו נקראים קדושים:

[2] This is the explanation given by the *Sifré* (ed. Friedmann, p. 73a) on the verse "Hear, O Israel," Deut. vi. 4. Compare Rashi's remark on this verse. We venture to suggest that on this passage from the Sifré, is founded the prayer from the תנא דבי אליהו (I. 21), which forms part of the daily Liturgy, and in which occur passages relating to the belief in the final recognition of God by all mankind, and also to the sanctification of His name throughout the world. See Oppenheim in *Beth Talmud*, I., p. 373, on the high antiquity of this prayer.

the teachings of Jewish antiquity and those of Maimonides and his successors.

We begin with the Scriptures.

The Bible itself hardly contains a command bidding us *to believe.* We are hardly ordered, *e.g.*, to believe in the existence of God. I say hardly, but I do not altogether deny the existence of such a command. It is true that we do not find in the Scripture such words as: "You are commanded to believe in the existence of God." Nor is any punishment assigned as awaiting him who denies it. Notwithstanding these facts, many Jewish authorities—among them such important men as Maimonides, R. Jehuda Halevy, Nachmanides—perceive, in the first words of the Ten Commandments, "I am the Lord thy God," the command to believe in His existence.[1]

Be this as it may, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the Bible, in which every command is dictated by God, and in which all its heroes are the servants, the friends, or the ambassadors of God, presumes such a belief in every one to whom those laws are dictated, and these heroes address themselves. Nay, I think that the word "belief" is not even adequate. In a world with so many visible facts and invisible causes, as life and death, growth and decay, light and darkness; in a world where the sun rises and sets; where the stars appear regularly; where heavy rains pour down from the sky, often accompanied by such grand phenomena as thunder and lightning; in a world full of such marvels, but into which no notion has entered of all our modern true or false explanations—who but God is behind all these things? "Have the gates," asks God, "have the gates of death been open to thee? or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death? . . . Where is the way where light dwelleth? and as for darkness, where is the place thereof? . . . Hath the rain a father? or who hath begotten the drops of dew? . . . Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? . . . Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?" (Job xxxviii.) Of all these wonders, God was not merely the *prima causa;* they were the result of his direct action, without any intermediary causes. And it is as absurd to say that the ancient world believed in God, as for a future historian to assert of the nineteenth century that it believed

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[1] See commentaries to Maimonides' ספר המצות, I., especially R. Simon Duran in his זוהר הרקיע; cf. also old and modern commentaries to Ex. xx. 2, and the treatises on the division of the Decalogue.

in the effects of electricity. We see them, and so antiquity *saw* God. If there was any danger, it lay not in the denial of the existence of a God, but in having a wrong belief. Belief in as many gods as there are manifestations in nature, investing them with false attributes, misunderstanding God's relation to men, lead to immorality. Thus the greater part of the laws and teachings of the Bible are either directed against polytheism, with all its low ideas of God, or rather of gods; or they are directed towards regulating God's relation to men. Man is a servant of God, or his prophet, or even his friend. But this relationship, man obtains only by his conduct. Nay, all man's actions are carefully regulated by God, and connected with his holiness. The 19th chapter of Leviticus, which is considered by the Rabbis as the portion of the Law in which the most important articles of the Torah are embodied, is headed, "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy." And every law therein occurring, even those which concern our relations to each other, is *not* founded on utilitarian reasons, but is ordained because the opposite of it is an offence to the holiness of God, and profanes his creatures, whom he desired to be as holy as he is.[1]

Thus the whole structure of the Bible is built upon the visible fact of the existence of a God, and upon the belief in the relation of God to men, especially to Israel. In spite of all that has been said to the contrary, the Bible *does* lay stress upon belief, where belief is required. The unbelievers are rebuked again and again. "For all this they sinned still, and believed not for His wondrous work," complains Asaph. (Ps. lxxviii. 32.) And belief is praised in such exalted words as, "Thus saith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown." (Jer. ii. 2.) The Bible, especially the books of the prophets, consists, in great part, of promises for the future, which the Rabbis justly termed the "Consolations."[2] For our purpose, it is of no great consequence to examine what future the prophets had in view, whether an immediate future or one more remote, at the end of days. At any rate, they inculcated hope and confidence that God would bring to pass a better time. I think that even the most advanced Bible-critic — provided he is not guided by some modern Aryan reasons—must perceive in such passages as, "The Lord will reign for ever and ever," "The Lord shall

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[1] *Sifra* (ed. Weiss), pp. 86b and 93b.
[2] *Baba Bathra*, 14b. Compare Fürst, *Kanon*, p. 15.

rejoice in his works," and many others, a hope for more than the establishment of the "national Deity among his votaries in Palestine."

We have now to pass over an interval of many centuries, the length of which depends upon the views held as to the date of the conclusion of the canon, and examine what the Rabbis, the representatives of the prophets, thought on this subject. Not that the views of the author of the "Wisdom of Solomon," of Philo and Aristobulus, and many others of the Judæo-Alexandrian school would be uninteresting for us. But somehow their influence on Judaism was only a passing one, and their doctrines never became authoritative in the Synagogue. We must here confine ourselves to those who, even by the testimony of their bitterest enemies, occupied the seat of Moses.

The successors of the prophets had to deal with new circumstances, and accordingly their teachings were adapted to the wants of their times. As the result of manifold foreign influences, the visible fact of the existence of God as manifested in the Bible had been somewhat obscured. Prophecy, as the highest degree of direct communion of God with man, ceased, and the Holy Spirit (רוח הקדש) which inspired a few chosen ones took its place. Afterwards this influence was reduced to the hearing of a Voice from Heaven, which was audible to still fewer. On the other hand the Rabbis had this advantage that they were not called upon to fight against idolatry as their predecessors the prophets had been. The evil inclination to worship idols was, as the Talmud expresses it allegorically, killed by the Men of the Great Synagogue, or, as we should put it, it was suppressed by the sufferings of the captivity in Babylon. This change of circumstances is marked by the following fact:—Whilst the prophets mostly considered idolatry as the cause of all sin, the Rabbis show a strong tendency to ascribe sin to a defect in, or a want of, belief on the part of the sinner. They teach that Adam would not have sinned unless he had first denied the "Root of all" (or the main principle), namely, the belief in the Omnipresence of God.[1] Of Cain they say that before murdering his brother he declared: "There is no judgment, there is no judge, there

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[1] *Synhedrin*, 38b. The phrase כפר בעיקר occurs for the first time in the *Sifra*, 111b. See also *Pessikta* (ed. Buber), 163b, and *Mechilta* (ed. Friedmann), 22b. In this last case it is doubtful whether we should read כפר or וכפר. In another version of this Baraitha, the whole passage is wanting. Compare Hofmann, *Magazine*, xiii. 192.

is no world to come, and there is no reward for the just, and no punishment for the wicked."[1]

In another place we read that the commission of a sin in secret is an impertinent attempt by the doer to oust God from the world. But if unbelief is considered as the root of all evil, we may expect that the reverse of it, a perfect faith, would be praised in the most exalted terms. So we read: Faith is so great that the man who possesses it may hope to become a worthy vessel of the Holy Spirit, or, as we should express it, that he may hope to obtain by this power the highest degree of communion with his Maker. The Patriarch Abraham, notwithstanding all his other virtues, only became "the possessor of both worlds" by the merit of his strong faith. Nay, even the fulfilment of a single law when accompanied by true faith is, according to the Rabbis, sufficient to bring man nigh to God. And the future redemption is also conditional on the degree of faith which will be shown by Israel.[2]

It has often been asked what the Rabbis would have thought of a man who fulfils every commandment of the Torah, but does not believe that this Torah was given by God, or that there exists a God at all. It is indeed very difficult to answer this question with any degree of certainty. In the time of the Rabbis people were still too simple for such a diplomatic religion, and conformity in the modern sense was quite an unknown thing. But from the foregoing remarks it would seem that the Rabbis could not conceive such a monstrosity as atheistic orthodoxy. For, as we have seen, the Rabbis thought that unbelief must needs end in sin, for faith is the origin of all good. Accordingly, in the case just supposed, they would have either suspected the man's orthodoxy, or would have denied that his views were really what he professed them to be.

Still more important than the above cited Aggadic passages is one which we are about to quote from the Tractate Synhedrin. This tractate deals with the constitution of the supreme law-court, the examination of the witnesses, the functions of the judges, and the different punishment to be inflicted on the transgressors of the law. After having enumerated various kinds of capital punishment, the Mishnah adds the following words: "These are (the men) who are excluded from the life to come: He who says there is no

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[1] *Targum Jerushalmi*, Gen. iv. 8.

[2] *Mechilta*, 33b. Innumerable passages of a similar character occur in the Rabbinic literature.

resurrection from death; he who says there is no Torah given from heaven, and the Epikoros."[1] This Mishnah was considered by the Rabbis of the Middle Ages, as well as by modern scholars, the *locus classicus* for the dogma question. There are many passages in the Rabbinic literature which exclude man from the world to come for this or that sin. But these are more or less of a poetic legendary (Aggadic) character, and thus lend themselves to exaggeration and hyperbolic language. They cannot, therefore, be considered as serious legal dicta, or as the general opinion of the Rabbis.[2]

The Mishnah in Synhedrin, however, has, if only by its position in a legal tractate, a certain Halachic character. And the fact that so early an authority as R. Akiba made additions to it guarantees its high antiquity. The first two sentences of this Mishnah are clear enough. In modern language, and, positively speaking, they would represent articles of belief in Resurrection and Revelation. Great difficulty is found in defining what was meant by the word *Epikoros*. The authorities of the middle ages, to whom we shall again have to refer, explain the Epikoros to be a man who denies the belief in reward and punishment; others identify him with one who denies the belief in Providence; while others again think the Epikoros one who denies Tradition. But the parallel passages in which it occurs incline one rather to think that this word cannot be defined by one kind of heresy. It implies rather a frivolous treatment of the words of Scripture or of Tradition. In the case of the latter (Tradition) it is certainly not honest difference of opinion that is condemned; for the Rabbis themselves differed very often from each other, and even mediæval authorities did not feel any compunction against explaining Scripture in variance with the Midrash, and sometimes they even went so far as to declare that the view of this or that great authority was only to be considered as an isolated opinion not deserving particular attention. What they did blame was, as already said, scoffing and impiety. We may thus

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[1] The words מן התורה are undoubtedly a later interpolation, though it is not impossible that Rashi had them in his text of the Mishnah. See Rabbinowitz, *Variae Lectiones*, IX., p. 247, note 1. The Cambridge MS., published by Mr. Lowe, also omits these two words. See also Weiss, *Beth Talmud*, II., p. 287.

[2] A collection of such passages may be found in Schlesinger's notes to his German translation of the *Ikkarim* (Frankfurt, 1844), p. 677 *seq.*; but his list is incomplete, and might be largely extended by quotations from the *Sifré*, etc.

safely assert that reverence for the teachers of Israel formed the third essential principle of Judaism.[1]

I have still to remark that there occur in the Talmud such passages as "the Jew, even if he has sinned, is still a Jew," or "He who denies idolatry is called a Jew." These and similar passages have been used to prove that Judaism was not a positive religion, but only involved the negation of idolatry. But it has been overlooked that the statements quoted have more a legal than a theological character. The Jew belonged to his nationality even after having committed the greatest sin, just as the Englishman does not cease to be an Englishman—in regard to treason and the like—by having committed a heinous crime. But he has certainly acted in a very un-English way, and having outraged the feelings of the whole nation will have to suffer for his misconduct. The Rabbis also did not maintain that he who gave up the belief in Revelation and Resurrection, and treated irreverently the teachers of Israel, severed his connection with the Jewish nation, but that, for his crime, he was going to suffer the heaviest punishment. He was to be excluded from the world to come.

Still, important as is the passage quoted from Synhedrin, it would be erroneous to think that it exhausted the creed of the Rabbis. The liturgy and innumerable passages in the Midrashim show that they ardently clung to the belief in the advent of the Messiah. All their hope was turned to the future redemption and the final establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. Judaism, stripped of this belief, would have been for them devoid of meaning. The belief in reward and punishment is also repeated again and again in the old Rabbinic literature. A more emphatic declaration of the belief in Providence than is conveyed by the following passages is hardly conceivable. "Everything is foreseen, and free will is given. And the world is judged by grace."[2] Or "the born are to die, and the dead to revive, and the living to be judged. For to know and to notify, and that it may be known that He (God) is the framer and He the Creator, and He the Discerner, and He the Judge, and He the Witness," etc.[3]

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[1] Besides the ordinary commentaries to the Mishnah, account must be taken of the remarks of Chasdai Crescas, Duran, Albo, and Abarbanel on the subject. Of modern writers, I mention Kämpf, in the *Monatsschrift*, 1863, pp. 144 and 376; Oppenheim, *ibid.*, 1864, p. 144; Friedmann, *Beth Talmud*, I., pp. 210 and 296. Compare also Rapoport, *Erech Millin*, p. 181, and Talm. dicts. sub voce אפיקורוס. The explanation I have adopted agrees partly with Friedmann's, partly with Oppenheim's view.

[2] *Aboth*, III., 9.

[3] *Aboth*, IV., 22.

But it must not be forgotten that it was not the habit of the Rabbis to lay down either for conduct or doctrine rules which were commonly known. When they urged the three points stated above there must have been some historical reason for it. Probably these principles were controverted by some heretics. Indeed, the whole tone of the Mishnah is a protest against certain unbelievers who are threatened with punishment. Other beliefs, not less essential, but less disputed, remain unmentioned, because there was no necessity to assert them.

It was not till a much later time, when the Jews came into closer contact with new philosophical schools, and also new creeds, that were more liable than heathenism was to be confused with Judaism, that this necessity was felt. And thus we are led at once to the period when the Jews became acquainted with the teachings of the Mohammedan schools. The Karaites came very early into contact with non-Jewish systems. And so we find that they were also the first to formulate Jewish dogmas in a fixed number, and in a systematic order. It is also possible that their separation from the Tradition, and their early division into little sects among themselves, compelled them to take this step, in order to avoid further sectarianism.

The number of their dogmas amounts to ten. According to Jehuda Hadassi (1150), who would appear to have derived them from his predecessors, their dogmas include the following articles:—1. *Creatio ex nihilo;* 2. The existence of a Creator, God; 3. This God is an absolute unity as well as incorporeal; 4. Moses and the other prophets were sent by God; 5. God has given to us the Torah, which is true and complete in every respect, not wanting the addition of the so-called Oral Law; 6. The Torah must be studied by every Jew in the original (Hebrew) language; 7. The Holy Temple was a place elected by God for His manifestation; 8. Resurrection of the dead; 9. Punishment and reward after death; 10. The Coming of the Messiah, the son of David.[1]

How far the predecessors of Hadassi were influenced by a certain Joseph Albashir (about 950), of whom there exists a manuscript work, "Rudiments of Faith," I am unable to say. The little we know of him reveals more of his intimacy with Arabic thoughts than of his importance for his sect in particular and for Judaism in general.[2] After Hadassi I shall mention

[1] I have followed the exposition of the late Dr. Frankl, the greatest Karaitic scholar of our time. See his article "Karaiten" in the *Encyclopädie* of Ersch and Gruber, section II., vol. 33, p. 18. Compare Jost's *Geschichte*, II., ch. 13, where the articles of Bashazi are given.

[2] Concerning this author see Frankl's *Ein Mutazilitischer Kalam*, and his *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Karäer* (Berlin, 1887).

here Elijah Bashazi, a Karaite writer of the end of the 15th century. This author, who was much influenced by Maimonides, omits the second and the seventh articles. In order to make up the ten he numbers the belief in the eternity of God as an article, and divides the fourth article into two.[1] In the fifth article Bashazi does not emphasize so strongly the completeness of the Torah as Hadassi, and omits the portion which is directed against Tradition. It is interesting to see the distinction which Bashazi draws between the Pentateuch and the Prophets. While he thinks that the five books of Moses can never be altered, he regards the words of the Prophets as only relating to their contemporaries, and thus subject to changes.[2] As I do not want to anticipate Maimonides' system we must refrain from giving here the articles laid down by Solomon Troki in the beginning of the 18th century. For the articles of Maimonides are copied by this writer with a few slight alterations so as to dress them in a Karaite garb.[3]

We must dismiss the Karaites with these few remarks, my object being chiefly to discuss the dogmas of the Synagogue from which they had separated themselves. Besides, as in everything Karaitic, there is no further development of the question. As Bashazi laid them down, they are still taught by the Karaites of to-day. We return to the Rabbanites.

As is well known Maimonides (1130—1205) was the first Rabbanite who formulated the dogmas of the Synagogue. But there are indications of earlier attempts. R. Saadjah Gaon's (892—942) work, "Creeds and Opinions," shows such traces. He says in his preface, "My heart sickens to see that the belief of my co-religionists is impure and that their theological views are confused." The subjects he treats in this book, such as creation, unity of God, resurrection of the dead, the future redemption of Israel, reward and punishment, and other kindred theological subjects might thus, perhaps, be considered as the essentials of the creed that the Gaon desired to present in a pure and rational form. R. Chananel, of Kairowan, in the first half of the 11th century, says in one of his commentaries that to deserve the eternal life one must believe in *four* things: in God, in the prophets, in a future world where the just will be rewarded, and in the advent of the Redeemer.[4] From R. Jehuda Halevy's "Kusari,"

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[1] See אדרת אליהו, (Goslow, 1835) p. 48, where whole passages are verbally copied from Maimonides.

[2] *Encyclopädie*, p. 16.

[3] See אפריון, p. 17a, edited by Dr. Neubauer, and our Appendices A and B.

[4] Rapoport, *Bikkure Haittim*, XII., p. 48.

written in the beginning of the 12th century, we might argue that the belief in the election of Israel by God was the cardinal dogma of the author. Abraham Ibn Daud, a contemporary of Maimonides, in his book "Emuna Ramah," speaks of *rudiments*, among which, besides such metaphysical principles as unity, rational conception of God's attributes, &c., the belief in the immutability of the Law, &c., is included.[1] Still, all these works are intended to furnish evidence from philosophy or history for the truth of religion rather than to give a definition of this truth. The latter task was undertaken by Maimonides.

I refer to the thirteen articles embodied in his first work, "The Commentary to the Mishnah." They are appended to the Mishnah in Synhedrin, with which we dealt above. But though they do not form an independent treatise, Maimonides' remarks must not be considered as merely incidental.

That Maimonides was quite conscious of the importance of this exposition can be gathered from the concluding words addressed to the reader: "Know these (words) and repeat them many times, and think them over in the proper way. God knows that you would be deceiving yourself if you think you have understood them by having read them once or even ten times. Be not, therefore, hasty in perusing them. I have not composed them without deep study and earnest reflection."

The result of this deep study was that the following Thirteen Articles constitute the creed of Judaism. They are:—

1. The belief in the existence of a Creator. 2. The belief in his Unity. 3. The belief in his Incorporeality. 4. The belief in his Eternity. 5. The belief that all worship and adoration are due to him alone. 6. The belief in Prophecy. 7. The belief that Moses was the greatest of all Prophets, both before and after him. 8. The belief that the Law was revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. 9. The belief in the Immutability of this revealed Torah. 10. The belief that God knows the acts of men. 11. The belief in Reward and Punishment. 12. The belief in the coming of the Messiah. 13. The belief in the Resurrection of the dead.[2]

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[1] See אמונה רמה, pp. 44 and 69. Compare Gutmann's essay on this author in the *Monatsschrift*, 1877-8, especially 1878, p. 304.

[2] For the various translations of the Thirteen Articles, which were originally composed in Arabic, see Steinschneider, *Cat. Bod.*, p. 1887, where references to modern literature may be found. Compare Rosin, *Ethik des Maimonides*, p. 30, note 4. In Appendix A will be given the version of Alcharizi from an Oxford MS. See also Chajoth, תורת נביאים, and his תפארת למשה, p. 17a. His reading of Article 13, given on De Rossi's authority, is an interpolation from Maimonides' מאמר תחיית המתים. See מאור עינים ed. *Cassel*, p. 93. Compare Weiss, *Beth Talmud*, I., p. 330, *Ben Chananjah*, 1863, p. 942, and 1864, pp. 648 and 697. See also Dr. N. M. Adler's Introduction to נתינה לגר, ch. 4.

The impulse given by the great philosopher and still greater Jew was eagerly followed by succeeding generations, and Judaism thus came into possession of a dogmatic literature such as it never knew before Maimonides. Maimonides is the centre of this literature, and I shall accordingly speak in the remainder of this essay of Maimonists and Anti-Maimonists. These terms really apply to the great controversy that raged round Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed," but I shall, chiefly for brevity sake, employ them in these pages in a restricted sense to refer to the dispute concerning the Thirteen Articles.

Among the Maimonists we may probably include the great majority of Jews, who accepted the Thirteen Articles without further question. Maimonides must indeed have filled up a great gap in Jewish theology, a gap, moreover, the existence of which was very generally perceived. A century had hardly elapsed before the Thirteen Articles had become a theme for the poets of the Synagogue. And almost every country where Jews lived can show a poem or a prayer founded on these Articles.[1] R. Jacob Molin (1420) speaks of metrical and rhymed songs in the German language, the contents of which were the Thirteen Articles, and which were read by the common people with great devotion.[2] The numerous commentaries and homilies written on the same topic would form a small library in themselves. But on the other hand it must not be denied that the Anti-Maimonists, that is to say those Jewish writers who did not agree with the creed formulated by Maimonides, or agreed only in part with him, form also a very strong and respectable minority. They deserve our attention the more as it is their works which brought life into the subject and deepened it. It is not by a perpetual Amen to every utterance of a great authority that truth or literature gains anything.

S. SCHECHTER.

[*To be concluded.*]

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[1] In Appendix B will be given a collection of such poems both from MSS and rare printed books. Appendix A will contain a bibliographical account of the commentaries on the Thirteen Articles from similar sources.

[2] See Maharil, ed. *Sabionetta*, 113a. Compare Landshut, *Amude Ha-Aboda*, p. 231.

THE NEW YEAR AND ITS LITURGY.

I.

THAT portion of time which we call a year is in Hebrew denominated *Shanah* (שנה) or *Yomim* (ימים). The former of these terms is a singular noun, derived from the root *shanah*, to repeat. The substantive *Shanah* accordingly connotes the repetition or recurrence of the phenomena that take place in a definite period, such as the relative length and shortness of day and night, cold and heat, summer and winter. *Yomim* is the plural of *Yom*, day or period. The Hebrews understood by the word *Yom* the interval between sunset and sunset. Several of such periods are called *Yomim*, but the term is, at the same time, used to express the notion of a year.

A close examination of these terms shows that *Shanah* refers to the solar, and *Yomim* to the lunar year. The latter term also designates age, as well as a period roughly covering an indefinite number of years without regard to the exactitude of the calendar.

The last clause of the text (Gen. i. 14), in the history of the creation, "Let there be light, etc., to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons, and for *Yomim* and *Shanim*" should be translated "for lunar and solar years." The rendering "for days and years" is incorrect, for the verse has previously said "to divide between day and night." The measure of the day, moreover, had already been determined. That *Yomim*, besides its ordinary sense, also signifies a year lexicographers have indeed recognised. What, however, they have failed to perceive is that the word implies a lunar year, *i.e.* twelve moons.

(Gen. xxiv. 55): "Let the damsel abide with us Yomim=[a year], or עשר, ten [months]." This last word was implied, not expressed, because it can be inferred from *Yomim* in the previous phrase.

The Pentateuch is thus acquainted with two systems of reckoning time; that of the solar and of the lunar year. We

shall, accordingly, be also justified in supposing that the intercalation of a thirteenth month is of very ancient origin.[1]

II.

The New Year began with the spring month of Nissan. (Exodus xii. 2): "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be to you the first month of the year." A new era was inaugurated in connexion with the Deliverance from Egypt. Occasionally, the earlier system, which was still in practical use, is mentioned. We find, for instance, such allusions as (Ex. xxiii. 16): "And the feast of ingathering, at the going out of the year (בצאת השנה), when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field." (Ex. xxxiv. 22): "And the feast of the ingathering, at the turn of the year" (תקופת השנה). These texts refer to the Feast of Succoth, the celebration of which begins on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. The New Year is here clearly regarded as commencing in the autumnal solstice, a style of reckoning most convenient for an agricultural people. The same system was followed in the proclamation of the jubilee, which took place on the tenth day of the seventh month. The prescription (Deut. xxxi. 10) to read the Law "at the end of seven years (מקץ שבע שנים), about the time of the year of release on the Feast of Tabernacles," presents some difficulty. According to Rashi, the text means the beginning of the eighth year, at the conclusion of the Shmittah. But why should a working year be appointed for a general gathering of the people? Ibn Ezra explains it therefore as תחלת השנה, the beginning of the seventh year. This removes the difficulty, but at the expense of the literal sense; for מקץ means "at the end of," and the Targum also renders it מסוף. I venture to suggest that the phrase "at the end of" is used with reference to the political year, which began in Nissan. When the Feast of Tabernacles arrives, namely, in the seventh month, the first half of the year is already over; and the term מקץ is a suitable one. It should, therefore, be rendered "towards the end of." From the agricultural point of view this would be the commencement of the Shmittah year. The term מקץ may, however, refer to the pilgrimages. The third and last pilgrimage of the seventh year at the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles is at the same time, the

[1] According to the Agadists, Jacob's twelve sons correspond to the twelve months (cp. Psikta Rabbathi 13a). The thirteenth child, Dinah, would then symbolize the embolismic month.

last in the Septennial cycle. It was to be a universal pilgrimage; men, women, and children were to take part in it (Deut. xxxi. 12). This prescription is introduced with the phrase "at the end of the septennial cycle of pilgrimages." The phrase מקץ שבע שנים בחג הסוכות is complete in itself. The clause במועד שנת השמטה is in parenthesis, and leads us to infer that the Shmittah year was to be devoted to the instruction of the people. The proper method of writing and translating the text is accordingly מקץ שבע שנים—במועד שנת השמטה—בחג הסוכות. "Towards the end of seven years—for the feast of the Shmittah year—on the Festival of Succoth." Again, in the text (Deut. xv. 1)—"At the end of seven years thou shalt appoint a Shmittah," the political year is meant.[1] Here, too, the rendering should be "towards the end." The Shmittah year is the seventh agricultural year. But counting by the political era, it falls partly in the seventh and partly in the eighth year. The winter belongs to the seventh; the summer to the eighth year. These two modes of reckoning are differentiated in Scripture by the use of prefixes whose force, however, exegetists have overlooked. In Exodus xxiii. 11 we have והשביעית תשמטנה and not ובשביעית, because, like the preceding ושש שנים תזרע, it refers to the agricultural year. On the other hand, the phrase ובשנה השביעית in Leviticus xxv. 4 indicates the political year, and in order to show that the entire agricultural year is included, the words שבת שבתון יהיה לארץ are added. This last sentence is no idle or merely emphatic reiteration, as Ibn Ezra thinks.

The Jubilee year, according to the Scriptural ordinance, constituted the close of the seventh septennial cycle. The forty-ninth agricultural year passes into the fiftieth political year. This fiftieth year is the jubilee, and is described as שנת החמשים שנה (Lev. xxv. 10, 11). If the fiftieth year simply was meant, the second שנה would be a pleonasm. The Jubilee immediately follows the Year of Release, so that both combined consist of a winter, a summer, and a second winter. As the Jubilee is a year of freedom, attention had to be paid to the political era.[2]

III.

During the first kingdom, the new moons were, like the other festivals, marked by a cessation from labour. In the

[1] Cp. Ibn Ezra and Ramban.

[2] In the promise of a blessing for three years (Lev. xxv. 21, 22) Scripture already takes notice of the Jubilee. Cp. Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Ramban.

first book of Samuel (xx. 19) the working day and the new moon are contrasted by the phrase ביום המעשה, which the Targum renders ביומא דחולא. In the prophets we read, "When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?" (Amos viii. 5). From this, as well as other passages, it would seem that the people esteemed the sabbath and new moon equally (cp. 2 Kings iv. 23; Isaiah i. 13; lxvi. 23; Ezekiel xlvi. 1 and 3; xlv. 17). In the last of these texts the new moon is included with the feasts under the general name of מועדים. With regard to offerings, the new moon was placed on a level with the feasts (Num. xxviii. 11-15.) But in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, where the laws relating to abstinence from work are dealt with, no sacredness is attached to the new moon. The custom of suspending work on Rosh Chodesh was, in later times, only observed by the women. Many of the Codists require, however, that severe tasks, such as the operations of agriculture, should be remitted on this day. (See *Tur* and *Orach Chayyim*, ch. 417.)

There are grounds for believing that in pre-Mosaic times it was usual to keep the new moon as a strict feast, and that the Mosaic Law, while dispensing with its general observance for reasons of political economy, retained it among the festivals, so far as ritual was concerned. The people, nevertheless, clung to their ancient usage.[1]

The months had proper names, but only a few of these have come down to us. The second month was called Ziv (1 Kings vi. 1); the seventh, Yerach ha-Ethanim (ib. viii. 2); the eighth, Yerach Bul (ib. vi. 38). The historiographer who has preserved these names for us always adds in explanation the number of the month. At that time, it would seem, those proper names had already become obsolete. Presumably, they are of ancient Semitic origin, connected with the cult and religious ideas of antiquity, and therefore willingly suffered by monotheism to lapse into oblivion. Later on, the use of names for the months was reintroduced. These will be discussed further on.[2]

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[1] The fast on the eve of the new moon, called יום כפור קטן, which, through the influence of the Kabbalists, obtained universal recognition, and which, as regards its origin, is connected with the waning of the moon (Responses of R. Menachem Azariah, 79), may also, before its revival by the Kabbalists, have been dormant among the people from early Semitic times. The month dies—a fast; the month is born again—a feast.

[2] Very probably the days of the week had separate names, which have been dropped for the same reason.

IV.

The seventh new moon, which terminates the agricultural year, is distinguished in the Mosaic Code as a solemn feast. Special festive sacrifices were to be brought on it, in addition to those for the ordinary new moon (Num. xxix. 1-6). It is mentioned in the list of feasts on which no work may be done (Lev. xxiii. 24). Its special character is stated in the following terms: "It shall be a day of sounding of the trumpets," or "a memorial of blowing of trumpets." The precise significance of this memorial Scripture does not explicitly tell us; but from Numbers ix. verses 9 and 10, we may conclude it to mean that the sounding of the trumpets would cause God to remember Israel. The next prescription explains why this remembrance was particularly needed at this particular period of the year: "On the tenth day of the seventh month is the Day of Atonement." It is clear from the context that this memorial was appointed by the Law-giver in connection with the Atonement on the tenth of the month. If we divest the text of its obscure form, its import is evident. The seventh new moon is to be announced to the people by a special sounding of the trumpets, in order that they may begin to prepare for the coming Day of Atonement. The work of atonement commences, so to speak, on the new moon, and concludes on the tenth of the month. This is the character which, in fact, belongs to these ten days at present, and they are known as the ten days of Repentance and Return to God.

The selection of the last month of the agricultural year as the season of expiation is due to the circumstance that the glad feast of the Ingathering of the Harvest falls in this month. On that feast a particularly large number of offerings were brought (Num. xxix.). Now, if the people were to appear before God, the Lord of the land, joyously, they would have to prepare themselves by atonement; after which they might give themselves up to joy and festivity with pure hearts.

V.

In the brilliant period of the monarchy, the seventh month was invested with a national and historical importance. Solomon took advantage of this happy season, when all field-work was over, to institute a grand fête and to dedicate the Temple, which double event the chronicler describes with all

the vividness of which he is capable (1 Kings viii. 63-66; 2 Chron. i. 3-9).

Henceforth the Feast of Succoth stirred the national life more profoundly than the Mosaic institution of assembling the entire people on this festival for popular instruction and promulgation of the Law was, of itself, capable of doing. Jeroboam was, on this account, forced to shift the feast to the eighth month. By the time the State was re-established under Ezra, the seventh month had grown to be of such importance that it entered into successful rivalry with the spring month of Nissan, and was appointed the beginning of the year.

In Babylon the people had accustomed themselves to call the months by their Babylonian names. Ezekiel still uses the ancient designations and order of months (cp. ib. xlv. 18); but Nehemiah employs the Babylonian nomenclature (Nehem. i. 1; ii. 1). Ezra, retaining the old fashion, gives the number of each month, and omits the name. This also is the practice of the prophet Haggai. Zechariah, on the other hand, adds the name of the month in explanation of the number (Zech. i. 7; vii. 1; in i. 1 the name has apparently dropped out). In the Book of Esther as well the name is added throughout in explanation of the number. The reason is that given by R. Moses ben Nachman, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch (Ex. xii. 2), and R. Joseph Albo, in his Ikkarim (Part III., 16 and 22). The seventh month was instituted the new year, to commemorate the Return from Exile; and hence arose the necessity of adopting names for the months. The beginning of the year might fall in Tishri, but clearly not in the *seventh* month. As a new year, Tishri would, logically, have to be the first month. That month was selected for the commencement of the year because the settlement of the colonists began therein. On the first of Tishri the first offerings were brought (Ezra iii. 1, 16). On the first of Tishri, after Ezra's arrival, a solemn assembly of the people took place (Nehem. viii.).

The change may, perhaps, also have had a deeper political significance. The object of the returned exiles in completely giving up the old calendar may have been to deprive their opponents of every pretext for suspecting that they cherished the design of regaining political independence. In forming a new almanac, they aptly associated it with the Temple, the dedication of which, in Solomon's reign, took place in the seventh month; and this new calendar had, accordingly, a religious character. And so the Mosaic Feast of Trumpets was transformed into a New Year's Feast.

VI.

To obtain an insight into Israel's inner life at that time, to understand the emotions that then filled the people's hearts, we must review the hopes and strivings for which the prophets had given the impulse. The grand political ambition of founding a universal empire, by which Sennacherib, the Assyrian monarch, was ruled, led to the breaking up of all the ancient nationalities and their religions. This disruption the Mishnah characterises as follows: "Sennacherib, King of Assyria, arose and confused the nations" (Jadayim iv. 4). The idea of uniting mankind into one nation, under one king, excited the imaginations of later conquerors, as they are portrayed in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan. ii.); and though dormant after the death of Alexander the Great, the enterprise was resumed later on by Rome.

This political movement was paralleled by a sublime spiritual conception among the Hebrew prophets—the Messianic range of ideas. The destruction of distinct nationalities, the obliteration of the lines of demarcation that divided one people from another, must, it was thought, inevitably lead to the brotherhood and unity of mankind. The national deities shattered, there would necessarily ensue a universal faith in the Eternal Unity, the acceptance of monotheism. From Isaiah to Malachi this is the burden of the prophetic utterances.

"Therefore, wait ye upon me, saith the Eternal, until the day that I rise up to the prey; for my determination is to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kingdoms to pour upon them mine indignation, even all my fierce anger; for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy. For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve Him with one consent" (Zeph. iii. 8, 9). "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: In those days it shall come to pass that ten men shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you" (Zech. viii. 23).

Monotheism, in reality, did win its way to recognition among the Asiatic peoples. The Israelites, too, were acknowledged to be peculiarly God's people. Ezekiel rebukes the people for desecrating God's name by their conduct; for, says the prophet, the nations cry out: "Is this the people of God?" (Ezek. xxxvi. 20). Malachi, the prophet of the Restoration,

could declare, "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and, in every place, incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering. For my name is great among the nations, saith the Lord of Hosts." (Malachi i. 11.) A psalmist of that age gives similar expression to this revolution in men's religious views (Ps. cxiii. 3). The addresses in the second part of Isaiah sufficiently exhibit the decline in the religious cults of those days. Zechariah foresees that Tabernacles will become a universal feast which all nations will celebrate in unison with Israel, and that "the Lord will become King over the whole earth. On that day the Lord will be One, and His name One" (Zech. xiv. 9). This ideal was fostered by the Agadists, and the seventy steers offered upon this festival were to them symbolic of the seventy nations to be brought near to God. With this Messianic feast of Succoth, the preparatory days, the 1st and 10th of Tishri, had to be harmonised. The circumstance that the first of Tishri formed the new year in the new era, also contributed to the awakening of these hopes.

VII.

After this exposition, we can clearly see how the Day of the Sounding of Trumpets suddenly came to be significant of universal salvation. The *Shofar* of *Rosh ha-Shanah* was regarded as foreshadowing the great trumpet of the future, which will proclaim universal salvation, and the end of Satan, of Death, and of all human ills. The sound of the Sinaitic Shofar, by which the Lord announced Himself as Israel's God, will pass into the tones of the Messianic Shofar. Then will the Lord be King of the whole earth; He alone will rule; all creatures will worship Him only; and His heavenly kingdom will be firmly established on earth. Jerusalem will then constitute God's throne; unto it all nations will flow (Jer. iii. 17); and Israel will be reverenced as the princely people.

These thoughts form the subject matter of the Liturgy for the day. It is needless to quote illustrations. The *Amidot* of the morning and additional services are nothing else than the expression of these ideas.

With these Messianic notions of the kingdom of heaven and the sovereignty of God was coupled the picture of יום הדין the Day of Judgment, the so-called Last Judgment, which will

precede the universal redemption, when God will summon all before His tribunal.[1]

The reasons for the special selection of the lessons from the Pentateuch and the Prophets, read on this day, will become evident if notice is taken of a poetical metaphor current in Scripture.

Any central town, in relation to the surrounding villages, was termed their mother; those places being styled her daughters (cp. 2 Sam. xx. 19; Num. xxi. 25, etc.). The royal city was simply the "Mother." The prophets frequently use the metaphor, and with various applications. Isaiah calls Jerusalem the desolate—the barren woman—and predicts that she will bear many children. In the Psalm above quoted (cxiii.), the same figure is employed: "He maketh the barren woman to keep house, and be a joyful mother of children Hallelujah!"

While thinking of Jerusalem's restoration, or perhaps picturing the notion in the abstract as a woman become fruitful —an image in frequent use among the later Agadists—there floated before the mind Hannah, Samuel's mother.

Nothing, too, was more natural than to regard our ancestress, Sarah, barren, and yet, remembered by God in her old age as a prophetic type of the destiny of her descendants. The Agadists, in this spirit, paint Isaac's birth in quite Messianic colours. All human infirmities disappeared at his birth; mankind became free, and the universe was flooded with light from a higher world (cp. Pesikta Rabbathi, 177*a*, and note 55).

After these considerations we can quite imagine how powerfully these ideas must have wrought on the popular imagination on the new year. And this was expressed in the fact that Sarah and Hannah became the patronesses of the day. Hence, too, the accounts of the birth of Isaac and of Samuel were chosen as lessons for the New Year.[2]

VIII.

Everything that had been gained by the prophets—all the results of their labours which had been favoured by the

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[1] This is the subject of the *Zichronos*, if we disregard Rav's later interpolation, which will be discussed further on, and which is already indicated in the sentence צופה ומביט עד סוף כל הדורות. The original text read: כי תבוא חוק זכרון וכל ומלפנים אותה חלית כי זכר כל היצור לפניך בא וכו׳. Cp. Aruch sub vocem ערב, and Tosafot Rosh ha-Shanah, 10 b.

[2] 1 Sam. i. and ii. Cp. also Pesikta Rabbathi, sections 42 and 43, and notes i. p. 164; 1 p. 179.

Persian rulers and had justified the hope that it would be possible to establish the kingdom of heaven upon earth—collapsed when Hellenism usurped universal sovereignty. There was a terrible struggle between Shem and Japheth for the spiritual supremacy. The peoples of Asia and Africa, not yet completely weaned from heathendom, were more attracted by the æsthetic Greek cult than by the Jewish ethical religion. Hellenism, moreover, had larger material forces at its disposal than Judaism.

And so, not only Judah's acquisitions were annihilated, but Mosaism itself was threatened with destruction. It was sought to wipe Israel's name out of history. It became therefore necessary to fight, not for mere existence, but also for the preservation of the law. If ever the apophthegm, "What shall a man do to live? Let him slay himself" (Tamid 32), was justified, it was certainly at the period when that half religious and half political contest was being fought out. The following new principle was, as it were, created: "It is not enough to live according to the law. The Israelite must also be prepared to lay down his life for the law." And so martyrdom arose.

From that age date the narratives of the Book of Daniel. A justification for this refusal to look upon self-preservation as the highest rule was found in the account of Isaac's sacrifice. And thus that narrative obtained a place in the New Year's liturgy. It was generally felt that if the ideals, so powerfully evoked by this day, are to be realised, there must be a readiness—like that exhibited by the Patriarch—to sacrifice oneself for their sake. This conviction naturally suggested the prayer: "May God remember the Martyrs whose first exemplar was Isaac."

IX.

After the dissolution of the Jewish state in the days of the Tanaim, these two New Year dates, in the spring and autumn—belonging respectively to the first kingdom and the Restoration—gave rise to a controversy in cosmology. The question was propounded: How was the Creation to be conceived? Did plants, animals, and man come from God's hands fully developed? or were they created in the form of germs awaiting future development? In the latter case, Nature must, at the Creation, have presented the aspect of spring; in the former, of autumn. One Rabbi was, accordingly, of the opinion that the world was created in Nissan;

the other pointed to Tishri as the month of the Creation. Imagination seized upon these diverse views; and the births and deaths of patriarchs and prophets were brought into connection with these two dates.[1] But as, at the time of these disputations, the custom of counting the New Year from Tishri was already firmly established, that view necessarily prevailed, according to which the Creation took place in that month.

The New Year now had a meaning. It was accepted as the actual beginning of the world's history, and regarded as the Memorial Day of the Creation. Practical necessity also dictated the reckoning of the New Year as from the Creation. After the dissolution of the state, the Seleucidean and Maccabean eras had no ground for continuance. And if an era was to be chosen, which in religious matters at least should serve the whole body of dispersed Jews, what could be more convenient than to adopt one dating from the Creation? With this new era Judaism left its narrow bounds, and took up a universal standpoint completely in harmony with the Messianic character of the feast.

It would certainly have been possible for the whole diaspora to have reckoned, after Ezekiel's example, from the Fall of the Kingdom. But this would have given a prominence to the national aspirations, and forced the universal ideal into the background. It would, moreover, have been impolitic, assuming that a desire existed to secure rest for Israel in its dispersion. Already, at the time of R. Jehudah ha-Nasi, author of the Mishnah, a universal character was attributed to the New Year, and the original motive for its present date, the Restoration under Ezra, was quite forgotten. The agricultural year was put back a month, to make it correspond with the accepted New Year, and it opened with the first of Tishri. The second Halacha in the tractate Rosh ha-Shanah reads: "The first of Tishri is Rosh ha-Shanah for determining the year, Shmittah and Jobel, and for plants." On the results of the agricultural year hung the fate of individuals and nations. Pestilence, exile (galuth), and even war, were, in the then state of civilization, the inevitable consequences of an unfavourable year. Take, in conjunction with these natural circumstances, the current belief that the creation of man began at this time, and the following Halacha need cause no surprise: "On Rosh ha-Shanah all who are born into the world pass before Him (God) to receive their sentence, as it is said, 'He who hath formed their

[1] Cp. Rosh ha-Shanah, 10b. 11a.

hearts, considereth all their works.' R. Jehudah regards the New Year as the judgment-day for the whole universe." The conception of the Yom ha-Din (יום הדין), the last judgment, which accompanied the Messianic idea was anticipated and transferred to the New Year. On this day, it was believed, all men are annually judged.

The narrative in the prologue to the Book of Job (i. 6) was thus referred by the Targum and later commentators to the New Year. The Agadists in the Midrash and Psikta lay particular stress on this feature in the narrative. There is another factor that must not be left out of consideration. Astrological beliefs had their share in giving this new moon its important *rôle*. Ibn Ezra, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch (Levit. xxiii., xxiv.), assumes this to be the true reason why the New Year's Day has so decisive an influence on human destinies in the coming twelvemonth. In the Psikta, 172*a*, the fact of the zodiacal sign of the Scales ruling the month of Tishri is adduced as a proof that all human actions are then weighed in the balance.

This conception of Rosh ha-Shanah did not, however, at first gain universal recognition,[1] nor did it receive immediate expression in the Liturgy. The Day continued to be a Yom Zikkaron, and was nowhere designated as the Yom ha-Din. The term Yom ha-Din was understood to apply to the Last Judgment of the Messianic age. This is clear from Rosh ha-Shanah (16*b*). Rashi's note is "To the Day of Judgment, when the dead shall live."

It was at a later period that the New Year was, through Rav's influence in Babylon, recognised in the Liturgy as the first day of creation, and the decisive Day of Judgment. The portion כהיום הזה till זה היום תחילת מעשך was interpolated, and is known in the original authorities under the name of "Tkiotha d'Rav." [2]

It is not improbable that political reasons gave Rosh ha-Shanah its new character. There was a desire to thrust the Messianic idea into the background, and so to check all thought of a national rising. In favour of this view, we may quote Rav's saying (Maccot, 54*a*), "I dread the text, 'You will perish among the nations.'" So slender, we see, must have been his hope of a re-established Jewish kingdom. The same authority also strove to make Babylon regarded by its Jewish inhabitants as a permanent home, and placed on

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[1] Cp. Talmud, Rosh ha-Shanah, 16*a*.

[2] Jerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah, I. 3. Babli, 27*a*, Psikta Rabbathi, 186*b*.

the same level, in all respects, with Palestine.[1] His disciple, R. Jehuda, taught explicitly, "Not even for Palestine ought one to leave Babylon." (Berachot 24*b*). The Agadists, the popular preachers of those days, must also have had in view the object of keeping national aspirations in the people dormant, when they so continuously dwelt on Rosh ha-Shanah as the Day of Judgment.[2]

X.

This last conception of Rosh ha-Shanah is peculiarly calculated to evoke feelings of sadness and depression. The worship of Nature inclined its followers to regard this solstice, on account of the waning of its days, as especially the season of mourning. To oppose this tendency, the Mosaic Law appointed Succoth a feast of gladness. With the same motive, an effort was made later on to infuse a spirit of cheerfulness into these austere days, Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. Ezra already, on seeing the people plunged in melancholy at the reading of the Law on the first day of the seventh month, encouraged them with the speech, "This day is holy unto the Lord your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept when they heard the words of the Law. Then he said unto them, Go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared, for this day is holy unto our Lord; neither be ye sorry; for joy in the Lord is your strength." (Nehem. viii. 9, 10).

The same spirit prompted the introduction of popular recreations on the Day of Atonement. The Mishnah reports, in the name of Rabon Shimeon ben Gamliel, that the maidens were wont to entertain themselves on the Day of Atonement with dances among the vines. There the young bachelors would select their brides, and that day was the most joyful of feasts. There was, of course, some preparation for this gladsome event. The maidens arrayed themselves in white, and every girl had to borrow her costume from one of lower degree. The princess was thus placed under an obligation to the high priest's daughter; the latter, in her turn, to the daughter of the deputy high priest, and so forth. The stir of the preparation must already have begun on the New Year's

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[1] Cp. Bava Kama, 80*a*. Gittin, 6*a*.

[2] Cp. Mechilta, 50*b* and 51*a*. The Last Judgment has also been termed Dinah schel Gehinnom, דינה של גיהנם. Sabbath, 118*a*: Mechilta, 51*a*; Pesachim, 54*b*; Bereschit Rabba, 65.

Day; and the happy tone of this feast is particularly commended by an Agadist in Jerushalmi Rosh ha-Shanah i. 3.

With the fall of the Jewish State these days became more gloomy. They were, henceforth, not merely solemn, but depressing and terrifying days. What will the New Year bring forth? was the thought uppermost in every mind. What fate will be decreed on Rosh ha-Shanah? The same Rabon Shimeon who tells us how joyous was the celebration of the Day of Atonement in earlier times, continues: "And ever since the Temple was destroyed there is no day on which some divine curse is not fulfilled." Rabba adds, in explanation, "And every succeeding day is marked by severer calamities than its predecessor" (Sotah towards the end). Characteristic of this mood is the legend of the devotee who spent the New Year's Eve in the graveyard, and learned from the conversation of two maiden-spirits the misfortunes that the coming year would bring (Berachot, 18b).

This sense of depression grew intenser with the increase of oppression and suffering. The Talmud relates (Gittin, 58a) that R. Jehoshuah ben Chananiah went to Rome, on one occasion, to ransom a Jewish lad. When he arrived there, he questioned the young captive in Isaiah's words, "Who gave Jacob for a spoil and Israel to robbers?" (Isaiah xlii. 24). The child answered by continuing the quotation: "Was it not the Lord against whom we have sinned?" In the same way the Jews accounted for the persecutions inflicted upon them in the middle ages, when they suffered death for religion's sake. What wonder that, on these days of Atonement, their spirits rose to a pitch of ecstasy. "O our Father, O our King, do it for the sake of them that were slain for Thy Holy Name, that were butchered for testifying to Thy unity, that went through fire and water to sanctify thee."

These prayers were the utterances of those who had witnessed martyrdoms with their own eyes, and who were many of them the martyrs' kindred. "And all this God has done to us, against whom we have sinned." Was not the imagination here astray? At all events, these cheerful, if earnest, feasts changed into "awful days" (ימים נוראים).

With the improvement in Israel's position that modern times have witnessed, these feasts are regaining the blitheness that belonged to them in the days of old.

M. Friedmann.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

It is astonishing how critics of the Old Testament can go on studying the different books singly, overlooking the manifold points of connection between them, especially between those of the prophetic literature. Isaiah has been commented upon by, one is afraid to say, how many critics. But who has thrown any real light upon its composition except Ewald, who was more thoroughly possessed of the literary spirit than any other special student of the prophets? I do not know whether the same can be said of Ewald with regard to Zechariah. At any rate, much remains to be done, both in the Book of Isaiah and in that of Zechariah, towards determining the period and the inner meaning of the different parts of these prophecies. The problems are complicated, and no critic can safely propound a theory who is not prepared to show how it agrees with his general view of the growth of the prophecies. In other words, it is in a history of the prophetic literature that a theory on the composition of either Isaiah or Zechariah finds its best justification.

The ablest English survey of the critical problems of Zechariah is perhaps that of Dr. Perowne in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. The author is a full adherent of the doctrine of development as applied to the prophecies (though doubtless he would qualify it by considerations of a different order), and does not allow his theological conclusions to influence his criticism. Dr. C. H. H. Wright, the Bampton Lecturer for 1878, much as he desires to be impartial, is far indeed from approaching these problems in the same liberal spirit as Dr. Perowne. It seems time, however, for the question to be re-opened, and treated, if possible, from a wider point of view.

Dr. Küper, in his work on the Prophecy of the Old Testament, asserts that the two parts of the Book of Zechariah form a harmonious whole, which corresponds throughout to the circumstances of the post-exile period, and implies the

authorship of a single person. Historical, linguistic, and stylistic peculiarities converge, he thinks, to prove this, and the fundamental ideas of the first portion are also those of the second. This is indeed a bold statement. By such a method it would be easy to prove that the whole of the Old Testament had but one author. The kernel of truth in it is that each of the three portions into which the Book of Zechariah falls, have some points in common; but as Bleek has well remarked, of what two prophetical works could the same not be affirmed? For instance, there is in all the three parts of the book an attitude of expectation, a hope of better things to come, which may, in the looser sense of the word, be called Messianic, but when we come to compare the various statements we find them very far from uniform.

In the first part of the book the religious horizon is bounded by the end of the exile, after which the prophet appears to expect the Messianic bliss (chaps. i., ii.); this may also perhaps be the case in the second part; but according to the third the Messianic age is unmistakably preceded by a painful process of purification and punishment (xiii. 9, xiv.). In the first, the Messiah is referred to as "the Branch" (iii. 8, vi. 12); in the second, as a lowly but victorious king (ix. 9, 10); in the third, not at all, for Yahveh himself is the king (xiv. 16). In the first two parts, the description of the future is comparatively simple; in the third, it is highly imaginative and obscure. Among minor details, the different attitude towards the horse is remarkable. In the first part, the horse is accounted worthy of being used as a symbol (vi. 1-7); in the second, he is to be cut off from Jerusalem (ix. 10); in the third, he is to be adorned with bells bearing the inscription, "Holiness (*i.e.*, a holy thing) unto Yahveh" (xiv. 20).

Nor if we compare the phraseology of the three parts, is the result more favourable to unity. Stähelin, a unitistic critic, mentions the following parallels[1]:—(*a*) vii. 14, comp. ix. 8; (*b*) ii. 14, comp. ix. 9; (*c*) ii. 13, comp. xi. 11; (*d*) viii. 10, comp. xi. 6; (*e*) iii. 4, comp. xiii. 2; (*f*) iii. 9, iv. 10 (the "eyes of God"=Providence), comp. ix. 1, 8. But what poor parallels they are! An examination will show that the combination of verbs in (*a*) also occurs in Exod. xxxii. 27, Ezek. xxxv. 7; that (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) relate to what may not irreverently be denominated prophetic commonplaces; that though a verb in (*e*) is used in the uncommon sense "to put away," there are parallels for this in 2 Sam. xii. 13, 2 Chron. xv. 8, and elsewhere; and that (*f*) is based on a pure mistake of Stähelin's,

[1] *Specielle Einleitung*, p. 323.

the "eyes of God" in iii. 9, iv. 10 being used in a different sense from "the eye" and "the eyes of God" in ix. 1, 8.

But let us examine the two latter parts of the book separately. The question of their date is a most difficult one, and has been considered too prematurely as settled by the majority of philological critics, who have referred chaps. ix.—xi. to a contemporary of Isaiah, and chaps. xii.—xiv. to a contemporary of Jeremiah.

Here is the argument on both sides, for the pre-exile date, and for the post-exile, so far as it concerns chaps. ix.—xi. First, for the pre-exile date. (*a*) The kingdoms of Judah and Israel must have been both still in existence when ix. 10 was written. It is true that x. 6, 9, 10 at first sight seem to imply that the northern kingdom had been destroyed, but the expression "bring them again and place them" may only allude to the captivity of the east and north of Israel under Tiglath-Pileser, and not to the complete extinction of the state under Sargon; this is confirmed by the reference to Gilead and Lebanon in x. 10. (*b*) The foreign nations threatened in ix. 1-7 are Damascus, Hamath, Tyre, and Sidon, the Philistines, Assyria, and Egypt (ix. 1-7). This agrees with the political horizon of the age of Isaiah. (*c*) Assyria and Egypt are specially mentioned as powerful and independent states in x. 11. (*d*) Soothsaying and the worship of household gods were prevalent, comp. Isa. ii. and vii. (*e*) The author of chapter ix. looks forward to the coming of the Messianic king; comp. ix. 9, 10 with Isa. ix. 7, Mic. v. 4. (*f*) There are also several points of contact between Zech. ix.—xi., and Amos, Isaiah, and Micah; comp. ix. 10 and x. 4, 5 with Mic. v. 10, Isa. ix. 5, 6; ix. 1-7 with Amos i. 3, etc.; x. 10 with Mic. vii. 12, 13.

For a post-exile date it may be argued as follows:—(*a*) It is not the practice of the older prophets to threaten punishment (as in ix. 1-7) without announcing the cause (comp. Amos i. 3, etc.). (*b*) The hostility manifested towards the Philistines suits a post-exile date (comp. Sirach l. 26), and the particular woe denounced against the Ashdodites even seems to require it, unless we maintain a view of revelation which disregards psychological points of contact. During the captivity, an Arab population had occupied the south of Palestine, and especially Ashdod. Hence the dialect of Ashdod became unintelligible to the Jews (Neh. xiii. 24), and the Arabians and the Ashdodites were natural allies against Nehemiah (Neh. iv. 7). (*c*) The reference to Javan (ix. 13) favours, if it does not require, a later date anyhow than Isaiah. The only other places where Javan is mentioned are

Ezek. xxvii. 13 (exile), Isaiah lxvi. 19 (at earliest, end of exile), Gen. x. 2 (not improbably post-exile), Joel iii. 6 (probably post-exile), Daniel viii. 21 (Maccabean). (*d*) The strong expressions used respecting the dispersion of the Jews are most easily explained by a post-exile origin (see ix. 11, 12, and comp. xlii. 7, xlix. 9 in the Second Isaiah; also x. 9, and comp. the statements of Jos. *Antiq.* XII. ii. 5, and Syncellus, p. 486). (*e*) Soothsaying and the worship of household gods were prevalent, comp. Mal. iii. 5, Jos. *Antiq.* VIII. ii. 5. (*f*) There are points of contact with writings of the Chaldean period, the occurrence of which was the main inducement to De Wette to return to the traditional opinion of the late date of the whole of Zechariah. (For these points of contact, it can be shown, are traceable in chaps. xii.—xiv., as well as in ix.—xi.) The following are some of those given by Stähelin:—Zech. ix. 2, comp. Ezek. xxviii. 3; Zech. ix. 3, 1 Kings x. 27; Zech. ix. 5, Zeph. ii. 4; Zech. ix. 12, Isa. lxi. 7; Zech. x. 3, Ezek. xxxiv. 17; Zech. xi., Ezek. xxxiv.; Zech. xi. 3, Jer. xii. 5, xlix. 19; some will venture to add with me, Zech. ix. 1-7, Joel iii. 4 (Persian period).

Summing up, I am bound to say that the arguments on both sides appear to me exceedingly strong. On the pre-exile side (*d*) is neutralised by (*e*) on the post-exile; and (*a*) and (*f*) partly so by (*d*) and (*f*). It is true that (*f*) on the post-exile side melts down to very little, but that little is not without value. The coincidences pointed out are not by any means all equally important. Bleek will only admit a clear influence of the one passage on the other in the case of Zech. ix. 10 (12?), and xi. 3 with their parallels; on which side the originality lies, he leaves undecided. I have not time to discuss the other passages with Bleek, but think it important to notice that the sentiment of Zech. ix. 12, and Isa. lxi. 7 is specially characteristic of the periods *subsequent* to Isaiah. The philosophy which these passages suggest of the restoration of Israel is evidently based on a view of the philosophy of Israel's punishment which we find first in Jeremiah (xvi. 18). Notice also under (*d*) an important parallel between Zech. ix. and II. Isaiah.

Here are the current arguments for a pre-exile date for chaps. xii.—xiv. (*a*) There is a reference to the king (xiii. 7). (*b*) The earthquake in Uzziah's reign can still be remembered (xiv. 5). (*c*) The death of Josiah is still fresh in memory. There is a touch of passion in xii. 11. (*d*) There is an allusion to the hostile attitude of Egypt towards Judah in the reigns of Josiah and Jehoiakim (xiv. 18). (*e*) Also to a persecution such as took place under Manasseh (xii. 10). (*f*) Also

in xii. 10 to Amos viii. 10, and in xi. 3 to Jer. xii. 5, xlix. 19. (*g*) The author complains of the prevalence of idolatry and false prophecy (xiii. 2-6).—And here those for a post-exile date. (*a*) There is no allusion to the kingdom of Israel; Judah is the sole subject of the prophecy, and is even called Israel, for lack of other claimants of the title, in xii. 1. (*b*) Nor to a king of Judah, except in xiii. 7-9, which Ewald supposes (and in my opinion rightly) to have been misplaced. (I may here by anticipation state my belief that though xiii. 7-9 did in some shape originally stand at the end of xi. 15-17, it was moved to its present position by a post-exile writer, the same who brought the section containing chaps. ix.—xiv. into its present form. This, I hope, meets Dr. Kuenen's objections, *Onderzoek* ii. 390.) On the other hand, the "House of David" receives respectful mention, so far at least as was consistent with the dignity of a messenger from God (xii. 7—xiii. 1.) Stähelin reminds us that this tone of respect entirely accords with what Jewish tradition relates of the position of the Davidic family after the Exile. (*c*) Nor to the Chaldeans. In fact, the description of the siege of Jerusalem in chap. xiv. is not at all like the prophecies on this subject prior to the Exile. (*d*) The prominence given to the feast of booths or tabernacles (xiv. 16) points to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. For though it was probably always customary to keep some days of rejoicing in the open air, living in booths, or arbours, after the autumnal ingathering (comp. Hosea xii. 9), yet Neh. viii. 17 distinctly affirms that this feast had not been observed (in the formal way prescribed by the law) 'since the days of Jeshua, the son of Nun, unto that day.' (*e*) The imaginative colouring of the description of the latter days in chap. xiv. is without a parallel in pre-exile prophecy, except it be Isa. xix. 18-25, which is unique in the genuine Isaiah, and is regarded by many critics as post-exile. Bleek, indeed, tries to parry this argument by referring to the imaginative passages of Joel and Micah, while the post-exile prophets, he says, especially Haggai and Zechariah (i.—viii.) are by no means distinguished in this respect. But the reply is obvious:—1. Joel is either post-exile, or verges closely upon the exile—a very early date is untenable; 2. Micah has very little eschatology; 3. Haggai and Zech. i.—viii. only represent a small portion of the post-exile period. Zech. xiv. reminds us strongly of the predictions in the Book of Daniel (Maccabean, even according to Bleek), and Isaiah lxvi. (late in the exile, according to Bleek), not to mention Joel and Isa. xxiv.—xxvii. (*f*) According to Stähelin, there are the following references to prophecies of very late origin:—Zech. xii. 1,

comp. Isa. li. 13; Zech. xii. 6, comp. Ob. 18; Zech. xiii. 8, 9, comp. Ezek. v.; Zech. xiv. 8, comp. Ezek. xlvii. 1-12; Zech. xiv. 10, comp. Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 16-19, comp. Isa. lxvi. 23. We may also compare Zech. xii. 2 and xiv. with Joel iii. (Heb. iv.); Zech. xiv. 12 with Isa. lxvi. 24; and Zech. xiv. 17 with Isa. lx. 12; and Dr. Graetz sees a striking resemblance between chap. xiv. and Isa. xix. 16-25.

Comparing these two sets of arguments, it will be clear, I think, that the case for a post-exile date is much stronger than the other. The argument (*a*) in the first set is partly met under (*b*) in the second. As for (*d*) in the former series, it will not bear the weight placed upon it. Stähelin has pointed out[1] how the repeated attempts of Egypt to throw off the Persian yoke must have involved Judæa in trouble, if not in hostilities, Judæa being resolutely faithful to Persia. (This is the key to Joel iii. 19.) As to (*g*) in the second series of arguments, it can be amply proved that polytheism and soothsaying, and the lower type of prophets did not become extinct after the Restoration. Still (*b*), (*c*), (*e*), and, perhaps, (*f*), in the first series remain unaffected by anything advanced on the opposite side. Of the arguments in the second series, the only weak one is (*f*), but it is only weak through Stähelin's want of discrimination. Bleek himself admits that the parallels to Zech. xii. 1 and xiv. 16 and xiv. 16-19 are sound, and this is enough for the purposes of the argument. The thought of the Divine creatorship, and the hope of the conversion of a part of the Gentiles after the great judgment, are specially characteristic of the later prophecy. The two parallels which I have added seem to me, however, of still greater importance.

Can we wonder that, in view of all these conflicting phenomena, Dr. Perowne should pronounce that "it is not easy to say which way the weight of evidence preponderates."[2] How, indeed, are we to account for this apparent mixture of the characteristics of different ages? Next to the problem of what English critics persist in calling the second Isaiah, there is nothing more surprising in the prophetic literature than the problem of the so-called pre-exile Zechariah or Zechariahs. Are we to infer interpolation? But with, perhaps, one or two exceptions, chaps. ix.—xi. and xii.—xiv. are so closely welded together that analysis is impossible. De Wette is the only critic known to me who has offered a theory. He changed his opinion, however, between the third

[1] *Specielle Einleitung*, p. 328.
[2] *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Zechariah*.

and fourth editions (4th edition, 1833) of his *Einleitung*, and from a decided separatist became as decided a maintainer of the unitistic view of the Book of Zechariah. He still admitted that there was much in chaps. ix.—xiv. which pointed to a pre-exile date. But he thought he could account for this as an affectation of archaism somewhat in the spirit of the Book of Daniel. The prophet lived, according to him, in difficult times, and had to care for the safety of his person and of his discourses. It was only his enemies who would be led astray by the want of consistency in the details. This is, I admit, a tenable view, but only so long as we do not insist upon the unity of the book. A critic has no right to apply principles to the explanation of one part of a book which are not applicable to the rest. Now in the first part of Zechariah, the authorship of which is entirely free from doubt, the prophet is as far as possible from concealing either his person or his age. It is unreasonable to imagine that a passion for secrecy suddenly came upon him when composing his second part. But suppose that the Book of Zechariah is not homogeneous, then it is quite possible that a later writer should have indulged in an affectation of archaism. It was a mark of respect for the venerated writers of antiquity, and an evidence of one's own familiarity with the Scriptures, to insert as many words, phrases, or descriptions as possible, which might remind the reader of the great ages of religion.

My conclusion is that both Zech. ix.—xi. and xii.—xiv. in their present form proceed from a post-exile writer, and, probably, as the phenomena of xiii. 7-9 suggest, from the same hand. He was not, however, the same person who wrote Zech. i.—viii. (he has no visions, and his temperament is quite different), but lived nearer to that apocalyptic age of which the most noted representative is the author (if we should not rather say the authors) of Daniel. In the former part, the writer availed himself very largely of a prophecy or prophecies of pre-exile origin—hence that predominance of pre-exile phenomena which has been noticed above. In the latter, he depended more upon himself — hence in these chapters a superabundance of post-exile indications. It is to this latter part that we must go for the special characteristics of this writer (supposing that both parts came from the same pen). He has a much greater interest in the details of the future than the principal writer of chaps. ix.—xi., but, though more imaginative, he is less fervid, less impulsive, less natural. See how realistically he interprets the works of later writers, more or less similar to himself. Compare, for instance, Zech. xiv. 9 with Joel iii. 12,

Zech. xiv. 12 with Isaiah lxvi. 24, and Zech. xiv. 17 with Isaiah lx. 12 (same verb in different sense). He is, in a word, an apocalyptic prophet, which does not, of course, prevent him from possessing deep convictions, noble principles, and a real though less immediate prophetic inspiration. He his a near kinsman in spirit of the post-exile author of Isaiah xxiv.—xxvii., like him an anonymous writer, like him an imitator and an "over-worker" (if this barbarism may be allowed), inconsistent, inquisitive, and, above all, apocalyptic. It is also worthy of remark that the last verse of the latter prophecy contains a striking parallel to x. 10*a*, so difficult a verse on any of the ordinary hypotheses.

I am happy to think that critics of various antecedents are tending in the same direction as myself. Geiger regarded Zech. ix.—xiv. as a later appendix to Zech. i.—vii. (*Urschrift*, p. 55, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, xi. 40). Riehm (*Messianic Prophecy*) has also a suggestive remark on the apocalyptic character of the latter part of the book. Delitzsch, too, frankly admits that the author of Zech. ix.—xiv. may reproduce older prophecies, though he believes that in their present form both parts of the book came from one writer, a sacrifice to an uncritical tradition, in which I am unable to follow him.

T. K. CHEYNE.

CRITICAL NOTICE.[1]

The Book of Psalms. A new Translation, with Commentary. By the Rev. Prof. CHEYNE, Canon of Rochester. London, 1888.

PROF. CHEYNE'S translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library must have caused many a student to await the larger work, which was known to be in preparation, with considerable impatience. The volume now before us will not disappoint them, but they will find that the story is still "to be continued." The Professor's exposition of the Psalms will not be complete till after the publication of a subsequent volume (the Bampton lectures for 1889), for which, as he tells us, "the higher criticism and the consideration of Psalm theology" have been reserved. This method of dealing with his subject in two divisions has obvious advantages, but it is not altogether without inconvenience. Of many psalms, for instance, the full meaning cannot be grasped unless they are viewed in relation to their date of composition. But questions concerning date belong to the "higher criticism," and therefore they are usually studiously put aside in the present commentary. Sometimes Prof. Cheyne will give two explanations of a particular verse, the one suitable for an earlier date, the other for a later one. It is true that his own view is frequently indicated, either directly or by implication; but the full bearing and value of some psalms as wholes, or of individual passages, when regarded in the light of the circumstances under which the commentator supposes them to have been written, are not put before us in Prof. Cheyne's present volume. Let us hope that the Bampton Lectures will, in their published form at any rate, be detailed enough to supply all that now is wanting. Where theological questions are involved, Prof. Cheyne seems inclined to hold that the first business of a commentator is to explain the actual wording with emphatic clearness, and thus to render the student subsequently more prepared to draw independent conclusions on matters relating to the higher criticism. Perhaps that is the reason why, for instance, his precise views as to the date of many portions of Isaiah are not to be found in his commentary, but in his article upon Isaiah in the Encyclopædia Britannica.

Prof. Cheyne's book is not only intended for the scholar, but also for the general reader, who may be supposed to have either a slight and superficial knowledge of the original text or to be quite ignorant of Hebrew. Both divisions are represented in the Jewish community, and it is greatly to be hoped that many will take the trouble to read the new translation and commentary. What Prof. Cheyne, quoting the late Prof. Brewer, fears of Christians is equally true, we should imagine, of Jews, that "the present generation, almost too familiar with the Church versions, 'has broken down the strong meaning of the Psalmist's words into the devotional dust of vague generalities.'"

Prof. Cheyne's translation has already stood the test of criticism, since

[1] In 1889 a Bibliography of the most important Biblical and Rabbinical works will be given. A section will also be devoted to "Notes and Discussion."

the edition in the Parchment Library made its appearance some four years ago. That translation is repeated in his larger work, but with frequent modifications, nearly always, as we think, for the better. Its great object is its great merit : clearness and accuracy. So far as (even apart from textual emendations) the Psalmist's words can be immediately understood by a close and clear English rendering, the general reader will obtain this desideratum in the translation before us.

Prof. Cheyne is never vague, and his choice of words, where it lies outside the vocabulary of the A. V. or the R. V., adds almost invariably a required conciseness and precision to the translation. We think also that, from a literary point of view, he has been more successful than in the Parchment Library. His English reads now more smoothly. Considerations of space forbid quotations of excellences which we trust all readers of this review may find out and enjoy for themselves. If we now proceed to make a few objections and cite some few lines where improvement seems desirable, it is with the hope that we may thereby, possibly, in some slight degree, contribute to the improvement of an admirable work in a subsequent edition.

To begin with, Prof. Cheyne's rendering is occasionally all too literal. The old "Avert thy frown, that I may *gleam* again," has now been changed to "that I may *smile* again" (xxxix. 14) ; but "*roll* (the care of thy way) upon Jehovah" (xxxvii. 5 ; cf. xxii. 9) still remains. "Pouring out my soul *upon* me" (xlii. 5 ; cf. xlii. 6 ; xliii. 5 ; cxxxi. 2 ; cxlii. 4) follows a Hebrew idiom, but not an English one. Metaphorical usages of words, such as we find in sentences like "God, who *lops off* the passion of princes" (lxxvi. 13), "when the promise of the Lord had *assayed* him" (cv. 19 ; cf. xvii. 3), or "I *rent wide* my mouth and panted" (cxix. 131), are scarcely allowable in English. The literal rendering of the metaphor in the verb נבע is permissible in such verses as xix. 3, and cxix. 171 ; but "the fame of thy abundant goodness shall they send as from a well-spring" (cxlv. 7) sounds exceedingly strange.

Sometimes, but very rarely, a more elegant choice of words would seem desirable. The following are cases in point : xviii. 45 ; l. 21c ; lxxiii. 4b and 27b ; lxxvii. 17b ; lxxx. 7b ; cxvi. 2b ; cxxvii. 2c. In a few instances, again, the order and cadence of the older versions seem unnecessarily disturbed. See, for instance, xix. 6b and 12 ; xxxiii. 13a ; xxxiv. 10b ; cxiii. 3b ; cxvi. 4a. In xci. 6, is "the pestilence that *darkling roams*" an improvement over "the pestilence that walketh in darkness" of the A. V., R. V., and Book of Common Prayer? Again, in cxlviii. 12, Prof. Cheyne's version, "Youths in their prime and damsels too, aged men by the side of boys," does not compare favourably with the older and simpler, "Both young men and maidens, old men and children."

There are four Hebrew words constantly occurring in the Psalter, the English rendering of which by Prof. Cheyne seems open to objection. The first is the verb מוט, which the Professor usually translates by "totter." This word, instead of the somewhat colourless "to be moved" of A.V. and R. V., may perhaps be applied to a city or a kingdom, as in xlvi. 6 and 7, but the "earth" or the "world" as a whole, is too large a thing to "totter" (lx. 4 ; lxxxii. 5 ; xciii. 1 ; xcvi. 10). Twice, moreover, is "totter" applied to men, and in neither case with propriety. "He will not always appoint tottering for the righteous" (lv. 23 ; cp. cxl. 11) reads very awkwardly. Secondly, why should Prof. Cheyne, who, as a rule eschews archaism, translate אוֶן by "naughtiness" instead of "iniquity" ? Though the rendering be etymologically more accurate, it makes the general reader think of the petty wrong-doings of the nursery, rather than of the full-blown crimes of manhood. (For another, as it seems to us, unnecessary archaism, cp. ix. 9 ; lxxii. 2 ; xcvi. 10.)

Nor, thirdly, is the advantage clear in substituting "ungodly" for "wicked," as the equivalent of the Hebrew רשע. Prof. Cheyne himself tells us in his note on i. 1, that "whatever be the root meaning of רשע, the word is certainly the opposite of צדיק," and moreover that "there is no occasion (except in Ps. cxix.) to assign to רשע, 'the ungodly,' the sense which ἀσεβής has in Josephus, ἄνομος in 1 Macc., viz., 'one unfaithful to the true religion.'" By rendering the word "ungodly" instead of "wicked," the fact of its exact opposition to צדיק, is, as it seems to us, obscured, and its connotation suggests precisely the very sense which Prof. Cheyne himself tells us it is unnecessary, except in Ps. cxix., to assign to it. Lastly, it would be a boon if the Professor could think of another rendering for the troublesome root רנן. This verb and its derivative noun occur over thirty times in the Psalter. Prof. Cheyne has an interesting note on its first appearance in v. 12, and refers for further details to a critical note which, however, we have failed to discover. He usually renders the verb by such expressions as "ring out one's joy," "ring out one's gladness," "give a ringing cry," "ring out," and the like. The noun is rendered by "ringing cry." It is, however, very rarely that these renderings seem in place, and Prof. Cheyne has twice at least to abandon them (lxiii. 8; cxlix. 5). "My tongue shall ring out thy righteousness" (li. 16; cxlv. 7), sounds very strange; not less so, perhaps, "let all the trees of the forest give a ringing cry." But readers will most object to "ringing cries," when they find them substituted for the familiar though less exact "joy" of the A. V. in such a passage as cxxvi. 5, "They that sowed with tears shall reap with ringing cries" (cp. xxx. 6). Will not the Professor have pity upon us, and in his next edition restore us our "joy"?

All these points, however, are merely details. The great merits of the Professor's book remain untouched by them. After having outstripped all previous English Commentators on Isaiah, he has now done the same with the Psalms. Those who have time and opportunity will do well to follow Prof. Cheyne's advice, and compare with his own other independent versions of the Psalter. But those who can only buy or read one translation and commentary will do foolishly if they let that single one be another than Cheyne's.

For the first time, moreover, in any English translation, those frequent absurdities and puzzles are removed, which must so constantly have annoyed and perplexed any ordinarily and intelligent reader of the Authorised, or even the Revised, Version. Prof. Cheyne has introduced a considerable number of textual emendations. These emendations have been most judiciously chosen, and have been culled from a variety of sources. In fact, Prof. Cheyne's work is the only one, so far as we are aware, in any language which gives a complete translation of the Psalter from a text revised by the best emendations of all European scholars. In Prof. Graetz's edition the emendations are so numerous, and frequently so unnecessary, that its use would be highly misleading for the general reader. "The truly felicitous suggestions," which, as Prof. Cheyne says, he has "now and then made," will be found duly utilised and acknowledged in the present edition. The reader may be assured that in every case where Prof. Cheyne has admitted an emendation, the corruption of the received text is a matter of almost absolute certainty. A considerable number of Prof. Cheyne's emendations are due to Bickell, and the Professor's book has the advantage of putting before English readers, for the first time, some of the happiest results of that scholar's criticism, as well as of those of Baethgen, Dyserinck, and Graetz. Prof. Cheyne tells us in his preface that, out of regard for his readers and his printers, he has limited the amount of his critical notes, which account for and explain

his innovations, to the most essential points. These notes are, however, by no means the least interesting portion of his book, and it were to be wished that more space should be assigned to them in a second edition. We may notice here that critical notes are referred to in the Commentary on the following passages, but are not to be found: v. 12; xvi. Introd., fin.; xix. 14; xxxi. 22; xl. 18; lxv. 10; cxxvii. 2; cxxxix. 14, and cxliii. 8.

Turning now to the Commentary, it has already been noticed that it must, to some extent, have suffered, as regards completeness, from the restriction which the author imposed upon himself in matters of "the higher criticism and psalm theology." Nevertheless it seems to us that it is precisely on theological or spiritual points where the Commentary is most fresh, valuable, and suggestive. Prof. Cheyne has certainly won from the great Ewald "the secret of the reconciliation of faith and criticism" (Preface, p. xvii.). He is sympathetic to spiritual utterances from whatever source, and a valuable feature in his commentary is the frequent citation of appropriate parallel passages from Assyrian, Egyptian, and other literatures, as well as from the Koran. His commentary is thoroughly up to date on all details of philological and theological inquiry; but his learning and his knowledge of origins do not make him the less susceptible to the full meaning of the deeper utterances of the Psalmists. While he does not read modern notions into ancient texts, he nevertheless does full justice to the wealth of spiritual teaching which the Psalter contains. Note the manner in which he explains the mythological basis and subsequent spiritualisation of various metaphors and phrases (cp. xvii. 15; xxii. 4; xxiv. 10; xxxvi. 10; xlix. 15; lxv. 10; cx. 3). He throws considerable fresh light upon the Angelology of the Psalter, and gives very strong reasons for his unusual rendering of Psalms lviii. and lxxxii. (cp., besides those two psalms, his notes on xxix. 1; xxxiv. 8; lxxxix. 6, 7; xcvi. 4; xcvii. 7; and civ. 4). The two fundamental ethical and religious conceptions of the Psalmists, חֶסֶד and צֶדֶק are most interestingly dealt with by Prof. Cheyne. He shows clearly their relation to the covenant of God with Israel, and the manner of their ethical and religious fusion. All his notes, and they are many, upon these words should be very carefully worked through by the student. His translation of חסיד by "man of love" (xii. 1; xxxii. 6), or "loving ones," is bold, but certainly to be commended. We may notice here that the national view of the Psalms has never been better worked out and explained than by Prof. Cheyne. Several passages receive a new or more adequate meaning when explained from this point of view (cp., for instance, li. 6; xxv. 7; cxxvii. 1). Occasionally, perhaps, the fusion between individual and national meanings is explained too subtly, as, for instance, in li. 13. (Over-subtlety, that bane of the German commentator, is conspicuously wanting in Prof. Cheyne's book. We have only noted, besides li. 13, l. 16, 17, xciv. 10, and cxxxiii. 3.)

We are glad to notice that in the vexed verses respecting "immortality" or "resurrection," in Psalms xvi., xvii., xlix., and lxxiii., Prof. Cheyne argues forcibly that the words of the Psalmists must not be whittled down to a mere expectation of "deliverance from death." He very properly stigmatises this view, herein, if we remember rightly, following Calvin, as "the weakest of explanations." In the Bampton Lectures we hope that more upon this deeply interesting question will be forthcoming for us. Valuable as the note on xvi. 10 is, it is not quite sufficiently definite. But its subject belongs to "the higher criticism and psalm theology," and we must therefore be content to wait for a fuller and more definite exposition.

In all the other portions of the Commentary the reader will find there

great features of excellence equally well represented. All the information given is clear, sober, and up to date. In very few passages only might it be desirable that the Commentary — even after one has "worked" at it conscientiously, and allowing for a proper amount of "Orientalism" (Preface, p. x.)—should be rather clearer or more explicit (cp. xviii. 26, lxxvii. 10, cxxxix. 16). One word more, as to typographical arrangement. Would it be asking too much to suggest that, in the next edition, the book should be printed after the manner of Prof. Jebb's edition of Sophocles? The critical notes are there printed immediately below the text and translation, and the commentary is placed in double columns below that. At a single opening you have text, translation, critical notes and commentary all before you. With Prof. Cheyne you have to keep looking from the translation to the commentary, and then on to the critical notes at the end of the book—to say nothing of keeping half an eye upon the Hebrew text in another volume. If the translation on each page corresponded with the commentary below, and the critical notes were inserted in smaller type between the two, the study of the book (even without the insertion of the revised text) would be greatly facilitated. Again, it would be an advantage were Prof. Cheyne to prefix an explanatory letter to each verse—not, as in the Parchment Library, to each psalm—where the received text has in any way been changed. A "*t*" might stand for a transposition, "*o*" for an omission, "*a*" for an addition, "*p*" for a change in the pointing, "*l*" for a change of a single letter, and "*e*" for an emendation of a whole word. The general reader would then be able to see at a glance the nature and extent of the textual changes adopted.

In a review published in a specifically Jewish magazine, it should possibly be mentioned that Prof. Cheyne's commentary never receives a definitely Christian or perhaps, we should say, Christological character. (The fuller consideration of the Messianic utterances of the Psalmists is naturally reserved for the second volume.) Only, perhaps, in the introduction to Psalm xxii. would the Jewish prepossessions of the present writer (for there are Jewish prepossessions in exegesis just as there are Christian prepossessions) take exception to any explanation of the Professor's. That Psalm, he tells us, it is important to compare with other Psalms, "some of which may be adequately explained as utterances of pious Israel, while others (as xxxv., I hesitate to add lxix.) seem to have a fuller significance." He considers that "Psalm xxii. is most probably a description, under the form of a dramatic monologue, of the ideal Israelite, called by a kindred writer 'the covenant of the people,' and the 'light of the nations' (Isa. xlii. 7), who shall rise out of the provisional church-nation, and, identifying himself with it, lead it on to spiritual victory." When, however, we refer to the introduction of Psalm xxxv., which is the other Psalm mentioned as possessing "a fuller significance," we find Prof. Cheyne inclined to think it "safer to regard the individualising features as a poetical ornament." If Psalm xxii. did not possess peculiar historical and traditional importance in Christian theology, it is, we cannot help thinking, likely that Prof. Cheyne would also hold it safer to regard "its individualising features as poetical ornament." We doubt, at all events, whether he would construe it prophetically as a description of the ideal Israelite, who had not yet appeared when the Psalmist wrote.

In conclusion, we have only to urge upon all readers of this review the importance and excellence of Prof. Cheyne's work, and the necessity which every student of the Psalms is under to make himself thoroughly familiar with the whole of its contents.

C. G. Montefiore.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1889.

FOUR OF THE OLDEST EPITAPHS AFTER THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND.

In the cemetery that lies at the back of the Beth Cholim, the Jewish community of London preserves the graves of the men and women who originally founded it. The tombstones cover those in whom English Judaism has to recognise the corner-stones of its restoration. The task of science is to charm up the picture of those days in which a handful of faithful men, by constancy and confidence in God, compassed the glory of causing the light of Judaism, which they had borne safely over a sea of trouble, unextinguished by the storms of persecution or by the blasts of the Inquisition, to shine again on the friendly shores of England after an interval of many hundred years. When, however, the student of history—the custodian of the cemetery of the past—standing in the still precincts of the Beth Cholim, would fain ask of those heroes of faith what stone-cut messages their contemporaries delivered to posterity about them, then the historian finds for the most part only sunken graves and defaced inscriptions. History speaks, but the stones are silent.

It, therefore, came as a pleasing surprise to me when, far from London, I discovered the epitaphs of four of the chief members of the London Jewish community. Through one of those accidents on which the fortune of historical science depends, a small 4to. MS. page in the Leipsic Rathsbibliothek (B.H. 18) preserves a copy of these very London inscriptions. Johann Christophorus Wagenseil, whose collections and Hebrew papers are contained in that codex, must be credited with the honour of causing these copies to be made. When the pious Christian Professor of Altorf, untirably energetic in the service of Jewish literature, conceived the plan of working at Jewish epitaphs and laying them before the learned world, he took advantage of his wide acquaintance with scientific

men to obtain copies of Jewish inscriptions in different lands. Such men as Magliabechi, of Florence, strove zealously to enrich the collection of the Polyhistor of Altorf. It was in 1682 that the harvest of the Italian churchyards was gathered in at Altorf. It may well have been at the same date that the Professor of Hebrew in Upsala, Gustav Peringer de Lilienblad, whom Charles XI. of Sweden afterwards sent to the Karaites, kindly copied for the use of his German friend four of the most important of the London epitaphs. We know from Wagenseil himself ("Benachrichtigungen," Leipzig, 1705, p. 31), the cordial relations that subsisted between the two scholars. At the end of the transcript appears the following note in Wagenseil's hand:—

Inscriptiones Londinenses communicatæ a Cl[*arissimo*] *Peringero.*

In keeping with the general character of the learned studies of the age, Wagenseil was moved to collect Hebrew epitaphs in the interest, not of history, but of philology. He was quite indifferent to dates and names, which are the chief interest of modern research into these subjects; his sole concern was with the Hebrew lines in praise of the dead, the turns of expression, the verses, and the rhymes. Hence it follows, what seems to us a piece of naïve simplicity, that the names and dates are dismissed with a mere "etc." That, notwithstanding this omission, I am able to add the necessary particulars, I owe to the readiness of Mr. Lucien Wolf, who has supplied the dates from the death-register of the Portuguese congregation in London. Peringer himself gave the name only in the first epitaph; in the other three cases I have supplied the names and have placed them in brackets.

All four inscriptions are composed in metrical form. Like a breath from the good old Spanish time when a new spring-tide of Hebrew song blossomed on Andalusian soil, there hovers over the epitaphs of the Portuguese Jews, even in exile, a spirit fragrant with poetic beauty and ancient rhyme. The exigencies of metrical form explain all seeming anomalies. On this ground, and in order to lend a helping hand, I have added an occasional vowel-point; in the original there is no attempt at punctuation.

I.

Londinensis.
In Sepulcrum Josua di Silva, Rabbini.
[Carrera III., 30; 17 Iyar 5439.]

Metre: – – – | – ∪ – – | – ∪ – –

שמש בגבעון דום וגם ירח
בי נאסף וה"ד [זהר] מאורותים
לבשו מעיל קדרות בעוד זורח
שמש יהושע ברום שמים

Stand still O sun, as once before in Gibeon, and thou too O moon ;
In me is extinguished the brightness of the two lights,
They clothe themselves as in a robe of darkness,
While the sun of Joshua still shines in heaven above.

In these distichs, the fullest expression is given to the respect in which the famous and learned Chacham of the Portuguese congregation in London was held by his contemporaries. As at Gibeon the victorious hero had caused the heavenly lights to stay in their courses, so Joshua di Silva had done the like in his death. (The word וחד is to me incomprehensible. I regard it as an error of the copyist for זהר.)

II.

[Abraham Israel de Sequeira. Carrera III., 31 ; 21 Kislev 5439.]

מצבת

קבורת איש חי רב פעלים זקן ונשוא
פנים תם וישר ירא אלהים הנכבד
אברהם ישראל דסיקירא נפטר שנת וכו"

Metre : (–) – – | – ∪ – – | – ∪ – –

איש חי אשר יבטח בתבל הבל
יזכר מעונתו בבוא עתו
רמה ותולעה ותבל הבל
יראה בעין שכלו תמורתו

The Tombstone
of an active man, rich in deeds, old and respected, blameless, upright and God-fearing, the honoured Abraham Israel di Sequeira, who died in the year, etc.

A man who in his life trusts in this world,
In vain will remember that home when his time comes ;
But maggot and worm and a world of nothingness,
He will see in its stead with his spiritual eye.

Abraham Israel de Sequeira, by whose side Joshua di Silva was buried, was one of the oldest and most respected members of the community. He was one of the elders who aided in acquiring the cemetery for the newly-settled congregation. His name appears in the purchase-deed of the burial ground in which he was placed for his eternal rest (I. Davis in the *Jewish Chronicle*, November 26, 1880). His will, according to Mr. Lucien Wolf's communication, was proved in December, 1678. The esteem in which he was held may be learnt from the titles which precede his name on the tomb. His epitaph has no individual colour, but is rather an epigram expressing a general thought. The rhyme is based on the Portuguese pronunciation of the Hebrew.

III.

[Rahel Gomes Serra Carrera III. ; 4 Heshvan 5439.]

מצבת

קבורת רחל בת הגביר יעקב גומיץ סירא
ויהי בצאת נפשה כי מתה ויבכו אותה אביה ואמה
ויקוננו עליה בקול מר וקרא זה אל זה ואמר

Metre : – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – –

איכה מנורת זיו וציץ פורחת
איכה צבית חן יפת עינים
היתה מנת עפר חמה זורחת
אך נפשה עלתה לרום שמים

Tombstone

of Rachel, daughter of Jacob Gomes Serra. When her soul left her and she died, her father and her mother bewailed her and mourned over her with voice of grief and each cried to the other :

How has the shining light, the blooming flower,
How has the graceful gazelle with beauteous eyes,
How has the shining sun become a clod of earth.
———But her soul went up to the heights of heaven.

In the third line חמה is used as an iambus against the grammar.

IV.

[Abraham Fernandez Caravajal ; 24 Heshvan 5420.]

Metre : – – – ⏑ | – – – – – –

עדה המצבה ועד הגל
על איש קבור בזה נָשוא פנים
מעלות מדות טובות אשר סגל
לפני עליון בעדו יָהו עונים
ביתו פתוח הוא ליד מעגל
להיות חונן דלים ואביונים
נשא גם נתן בָּאמת רָגל
על פיו ודבריו נמצאו כנים
אברהם חזקיה וְקארוא(נ)נזל
הוא זה זכור לטוב בָּרוך בנים
יום כ״ו מרחשון שלָחו מגל
בקציר חיין כי בשלו שנים
בשנת ת״ך עינו כהתה ויגל
עיני נפשו לראות במעדנים

The stone is witness, as also the heap
To the honoured man who is buried here.
The good qualities which he made his own
Will speak for him before the Most High.
An open house he kept by the way,
For he was generous to the needy and the poor.
His doings and his dealings with men were truth,
Truth was familiar in his mouth, his words ever pure.
Abraham Chizkiah Caravajal,
His memory is honoured, blessed with children.
On Heshvan 26 he was mown down
In a ripe old age, for his years were full.
In the year 420 his eye was dim,
And the eye of his soul rejoiced to see realms of bliss.

Thus has been preserved for us the memorial-stone that was intended to hand down the admiration and honour in which the great man who helped to found the London congregation was held. His virtues were too prominently in all mouths for it to be necessary to dilate upon them in his epitaph. But two of his virtues were especially insisted upon —his princely liberality and his unqualified honesty as a merchant. By these means he convinced Cromwell that a free State like England could derive nothing but advantage from granting rights of residence to men of his stamp, even although they were Jews. We learn from the terms of the epitaph that the reaper Death mowed down a ripe life, for Caravajal was an old man when he was called away. He must, indeed, have been already in the prime of his life when he reached England. (Lucien Wolf, "Resettlement of the Jews in England," p. 4.) He, Abraham Israel di Sequera, and some others, were the most conspicuous figures among the founders of the London community, and Caravajal also exerted himself energetically towards the purchase of the cemetery. It was thus a just chance that preserved his epitaph at a time when his tombstone still stood erect, and announced in clear fashion the character of the man who lay beneath.

The inscriptions collected by Wagenseil were arranged in October, 1730, by George Jacob Kehr, of Schleusingen, Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Leipsic. He also added an index at the head of the folio volume in which he had the papers bound. Delitzsch, in his Catalogue of the Leipsic Library, has already condemned the work of the industrious compiler. The London epitaphs, which appear as the fifteenth item in the volume, he arranges as follows:—

15. Londinenses Anglicanæ in sepulcris :
    1. Josuæ Silva, Rabbini Londinensis ;
    2. Abrahami Israelis di Sikira ;
    3. Rahelis, filiæ Jacobi Gomitz Sira ;
    4. Abraham Hiskia, anno 1660.

Thus Caravajal's tomb was again defaced. The ו which, for the sake of the metre, was prefixed to the family name in the inscription, prevented Kehr from recognising who was meant. A mere glance at the prevailing rhyme גל, would have led to the correction of Peringer's error. The date of the death which appears in the epitaph, and which exactly agrees with that given in the London register, added to the contents of the verses themselves, which unroll a characteristic picture of the man, leave no atom of doubt that in the inscription on the tomb of Abraham Chiskiah Caravajal we possess the epitaph of the man who bore in Anglo-Jewish history the proud name of Antonio Fernandez de Caravajal.

APPENDIX.

As I thought it likely that there might be some yet unpublished manuscript notices about Peringer in the Archives of the Royal Record Office at Stockholm, I applied to the Director, Mr. C. T. Ohner, on the subject. I am indebted to that gentleman for the following biographical details about the man whom Zunz thought worthy of mention in his book "Zur Geschichte und Litteratur der Juden" (Abschnitt I).

"G. Peringer, born in Sweden in 1651, devoted himself with success to oriental studies while still a student at Upsala. Through the publication of a treatise 'De Messia Judaico a Rabbinorum maxime Commentariis' (Holmiæ, 1675) he became in a position to start upon a lengthy journey in the prosecution of his work. He visited Kiel, Hamburg, Jena, Oxford, Cambridge and Paris. He was about to accompany the Syrian Archbishop Timotheus to the East, when his intention was put a stop to by illness. After his recovery he went to Rome and then to Venice, and finally studied at Altdorf under the celebrated scholar Wagenseil. It was there that he published two Talmudic codices 'Aboda Sara' and 'Tamid' (1680). After some stay at Frankfurt, where he worked with that great master of Ethiopic, Ludolf, he finally betook himself to Amsterdam, where amid his studies of Jewish antiquities he had considerable intercourse with the Jews of that city. Upon his return to Upsala, he was appointed Professor of oriental languages at the University. In 1693 he was ennobled under the name of Lilienblad, and afterwards made Censor Librorum and Royal Librarian. In the year 1690 he was sent by Charles XI. to Lithuania and Poland to study the ceremonies, customs and writings of the Jewish sect of Karaites. His experiences and investigations during this journey are chronicled by himself in a letter to his friend Ludolf, and printed in Tentzel's 'Monatliche Unterredungen,' 1691. (Epistola de Karraitis Lithuaniæ ad J. Ludolphum.) Peringer also published a number of academic Disputations and 'Programs.' (See Liden Catalogus Disputationum in Academiis et Gymnasiis Sueciæ. Upsala, 1778-1780.) Of Peringer's stay in London there are no further details obtainable. It is probable that he also visited London upon his return journey between 1675 and 1680, and on that occasion wrote to Wagenseil from that city."

DAVID KAUFMANN.

WHERE ARE THE TEN TRIBES?

II.

ELDAD THE DANITE.

IT seems as if the mystery of the whereabouts of the *Ten Tribes* were not sufficient to engage imagination and speculation, as we find springing up under the name of the *Children of Moses* an additional and most important Tribe of Levi. This is only natural, for as Levi originally formed one of the Ten Tribes, it ought also to be found amongst them. The date of the first mention of these Children of Moses cannot be fixed with certainty, but at all events it was not later than the middle of the eighth century, about the time when the Talmud was closed.

It is reported in Arabic sources[1] that Aboo Isa (Obadiah), son of Isaac of Isphahan, one of the many opponents of the oral Law embodied in the Talmud, declared himself the fifth and perfect ambassador (Elijah) of the Messiah; for he believed in five ambassadors of the Messiah, one more perfect than the other. The Mohammedans had and have a similar belief in their seven Mahdi.[2] Aboo Isa also called himself the *Daî* (the caller, prophet), for he believed that God had chosen him to deliver Israel from the yoke of the nations.

This is not the place to describe Aboo Isa's anti-Talmudical theories, or to give an account of his military exploits in the dispute between the Khalifs of the Omayyads and the Abbasides. In short, Aboo Isa had according to

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[1] Sharestani's *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects* (in Arabic), edited by W. Cureton; German transl. by Dr. Th. Haarbrücker, I., p. 254. See also Dr. H. Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v. (2nd ed.), p. 438, sqq., to which we shall generally refer.

[2] See James Darmesteter, *The Mahdi, Past and Present* (translation by Miss Ada S. Ballin), London, 1888.

Maimonides,[1] more than 10,000 Jewish warriors at his disposal, and stood his ground for nearly four years (750 to 754 A.D.). Being hard pressed in Persia, he had to retire toward the north, to the neighbourhood of Raï, pretending that he was going to summon the Children of Moses, who inhabited this country, to participate in the war of deliverance. But he and his army succumbed on the defeat of Sinbad by the army of Almansur. The narrative of Aboo Isa's end is embellished with miraculous incidents. His adherents said that their chief with a staff of myrtle drew a circle round his army, telling them that so long as they remained inside this circle, they would not be vanquished. But he himself crossed the traced lines on horseback, killed many Mohammedans, and then fell, about 755.

Aboo Isa was not an impostor, but he believed in himself and in his mission to deliver Israel, and it seems that the Jews in Babylonia and Persia had full confidence in him. He is perhaps alluded to in a messianic Apocalypse, composed, according to Professor Graetz,[2] at this time, an opinion which we believe justifiable. It will perhaps interest our readers to have an abstract of this Apocalypse, which is the first of its kind, and of which all later Jewish writers on messianic predictions made use. Of course, as with most texts, there are some corruptions in it, and more especially in the proper names, which Professor Graetz, whom we follow, has happily emended.

The chief person[3] is the famous doctor of the Mishnah, R. Simeon ben Johai, who had to hide away from the persecution of the Romans. In his hiding-place he composed the famous *Zohar*, according to those who believe this book to be old; the critical school however regard it as a fraudulent concoction of the end of the thirteenth century. Anyhow, R. Simeon was regarded very early as the representative of mysticism, and the apocalypse is introduced by the words: "These are the mysteries which were unveiled to Simeon ben Johai."[4] After having fasted forty days and forty nights, and made prayer for accomplishment of the mystery of the "term" (קץ, the time of the arrival of the Messiah), he had a revelation that Edom (Rome) would have a strong enemy in Ishmael (Arabs). Khalifs from Omar I, who built the mosque on the

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[1] Graetz, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 441, sqq.

[3] See Dr. A. Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch*, Part III., p. 78, sqq., and IV., p. 117. The first Apocalypse has a short passage alluding to the time of the Crusades; whilst the second is, on the contrary, short on our epoch, and much more extended on that of the Crusades.

[4] The second is headed *Prayers of R. Simeon ben Johai.*

site of the Temple in Jerusalem, down to Merwan[1] the last of the Omayyads, are revealed to Simeon ben Johai. And after mentioning more messianic signs, and the wicked Kingdom (Byzantium) which would have dominion over Israel during nine months, the revelation continues that then the Messiah, son of Joseph,[2] will appear, carry Israel to Jerusalem, build the Temple, and institute the sacrifices which the holy fire will consume as in the time of grace (which was to be towards the end of 751). Then the bad King Armilos (Romulus)[3] will make war against the Messiah of the tribe of Ephraim, and drive him out together with Israel from Jerusalem. After forty-five days' wandering in the "desert of the nations," when Israel will be "proved and cleansed" by bad food and other torments, the Ephraimitic Messiah will be killed, and Israel will weep for his death. Then the true Messiah, the son of David, will appear, but he will be rejected by the suffering nation and be called an impostor, the Messiah having just perished. Then God in his mercy will show the true Messiah in a cloud. He will overpower Armilos, gather together scattered Israel and bring them to Jerusalem. The holy city, rendered unclean by the sojourn of the heathen, will be consumed, but God will send down from heaven a new city with the Temple ready built, in which all the nations will find delight. This happy messianic period will last 2,000 years, at the end of which time the day of judgment will come. The wicked will be thrown into Gehenna for twelve months, after which they will be brought to dwell in the garden of Eden and enjoy its fruits, as it is written: "Thy people *shall be* all righteous" (Isa. lx. 21).

Aboo Isa has probably a place in this apocalypse (composed between the fifth of August and October 750)[4] as one of the two Messiahs. The legend that a sudden recovery from leprosy made Aboo Isa believe in his high vocation, coincides with one of the names of the Messiah, reported in the Talmudic literature as "the leprous one."[5] Be that as it may, in Aboo Isa's time the Children of Moses were known to be somewhere in northern Persia; but the legend must be older.

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[1] מרוון in the second Apocalypse, corrupted in the first in מריאו, Dr. Graetz corrects (2nd ed., p. 443) מעויאו, unnecessarily, since there is anyhow a lacuna in the enumeration of the Khalifs.

[2] Dr. Jellinek, *op. cit.*, III., p. xix., considers wrongly, we believe, the Messiah son of Joseph, and the Messiah son of Ephraim, as two different Messiahs, and consequently mentions three Messiahs.

[3] See Dr. Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud*, etc., a. v.

[4] See Graetz, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[5] See *The fifty-third of Isaiah according to Jewish Interpreters*, by R. S. Driver and A. Neubauer, text, p. 8, translation, p. 7.

We shall find them mentioned later on[1] in a Midrash, and we have a description of their kingdom by a traveller whom we are about to introduce.

Towards the end of the ninth century[2] speculation concerning the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes was changed into a certain fact, the traveller Eldad pretending to have communicated with members of four of the Ten Tribes. The name Eldad was never employed by the Jews in the East, whom we find using strange names, both biblical and non-biblical. Eldad calls himself a Danite, and his pedigree which we find at the end of his diary[3] is startling. Moreover, he speaks only Hebrew, and employs unknown Hebrew words in the ritual rules which he brings with him from the Tribes; these rules, mostly concerning the ceremonies of slaughtering animals and the examination of their state of health,[4] are different from those in the Talmud. The ritual is introduced in the name of Joshua son of Nun, in one text of Eldad's diary, and in the name of the Judge Othniel, son of Kenaz, in another. These astonishing facts made the Rabbis of Kairowân (in Tunis), where at the time of which we speak there was a great school, doubt as to the veracity of Eldad's narrative. They indeed addressed themselves to the Gaon Zemah in Babylonia, asking his opinion about our traveller. We shall see[5] that this head of the school, provided his answer is genuine, blindly believed in Eldad; his strange words are used by grammarians and lexicographers for explaining passages of the Bible,[6] and authorities, Karaites[7] as well as Rabbanites,[8] quote as arguments these ritual rules of Eldad. His diary, which it is a mockery to call the Odyssey

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[1] See below, p. 113.

[2] The reason for this date may be seen below, p. 108.

[3] See below, p. 103.

[4] הלכות שחיטה וטריפות.

[5] See below, p. 106.

[6] By Judah ben Koreish, a contemporary of Eldad (our statement in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, II., p. 206, has to be corrected according to Dr. P. F. Frankl, in Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1873, p. 482), according to R. Jonah ibn Jannah, passage given in Hebrew by David Kamhi (Kimhi), radix שנה; it was only the sceptical Abraham aben Ezra who doubted Eldad's veracity (see his commentary on Exodus ii. 21). In modern times the modest but profound critic, Jacob Reifmann, considers, perhaps rightly, the whole story of Eldad (whose description of the manners of the Tribes may be modelled on Philo's description of the Essenes), and of the Gaon's answers as spurious (see Hak-karmel, VIII., pp. 109, 254). Dr. Ginsburg (Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, I., p. 756 of the 2nd edition) believes in Eldad, as he did during three weeks at least in Shapira's Deuteronomy.

[7] Judah Hedassi, in his *Eshkol hak-kofer*, sec. 60, צ, and sec. 62, ק.

[8] The Gaon and the Rabbis mentioned below, p. 104; Rabenoo Hananel of Kairowân. See Dr. Steinschneider's *Schlachtregeln in Arabischer Sprache*, in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, 1862 and 1863 (especially p. 311); R. Baruch mentioned in the מרדכי, as quoted by Dr. Graetz, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

of Eldad, soon spread, and became the Arabian Nights of the Jews. As is the case with most popular romances, we may expect to find different adaptations and different texts of Eldad's little book; indeed we possess at least three versions of it with substantial variations, and it forms even a part of a Midrash. It was translated into Arabic, Latin and German,[1] and most probably there were also Spanish and Italian translations, now lost. We shall see[2] that Eldad's diary not only reached Spain (it is not unlikely that through it the Jews there became acquainted with the Judæo-Khozaric Kingdom), but that he himself went to Spain by way of Kairowân and Morocco. The Spanish Jews were as yet little acquainted with the Talmud, and knew little of the condition of their brethren in Asia; they therefore listened to Eldad's stories with great curiosity. But before discussing Eldad's native country and the object and veracity of his narrative, we must give a free translation, according to one text[3] of his diary, together with the Gaon's answers to the Rabbis of Kairowân.

In the name of the Lord, the God of Israel. Praised be the name of the King of kings, the Holy One; blessed be he who has chosen Israel out of all nations, who has given them the Law and the Commandments; who has separated them from the seventy tongues,[4] and who has ordered them to keep the 613 precepts. So long as Israel fulfilled the will of God no nation could subdue it, until Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, rose, sinned, and made Israel sin, by making two golden calves. Then the kingdom of the house of David divided, and Jeroboam gathered together the Ten Tribes, and told them: "Rise up and make war against Rehoboam and Jerusalem." They, however, answered: "Why should we fight against our brethren and against the son of our master David, the King of Israel and Judah?" The elders of Israel said, "There are no more valiant warriors in all the tribes of Israel than in the tribe of Dan"; therefore Jeroboam ordered the children of Dan to make war against Judah. They, however, said: "By the life of our father's son we will not fight against our brethren, and shed their blood for nothing."

And they gave themselves up to death, took their swords, spears, and bows, in order to make war against Jeroboam; but God saved them from shedding the blood of their brethren. For they proclaimed throughout the whole tribe, saying: "Fly to Egypt!" And they took counsel to destroy Egypt, and to kill all its inhabitants. But their princes said to them, "How could you go to Egypt? Is it not written in the Law: 'Ye shall see them again no more' (Exodus xiv. 13)?" Then they took

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[1] See the Bibliography on p. 110 *seq.*

[2] Below, p. 99.

[3] Text C. See below, p. 112.

[4] This number is usually given in the Midraschic literature, of course as a round number. We hope it will not be used for the purposes of philology or folk-lore.

counsel to fall upon Edom, Amalek, and Ammon, when they heard that it was written in the Law that God had forbidden Israel to possess their territory (Deut. ii. 9, 17). Finally, God gave them good courage and advice, viz., to go up the river Pishon, to continue their wandering on camels, and to encamp, until they reached the land of Cush (Ethiopia), which they found fertile, with numerous vineyards and gardens. The Danites settled here, made a covenant with the children of Cush that they should pay tribute to Israel. Thus the Danites dwelled here for many years, multiplying and increasing greatly. They were then followed by three other tribes—Naphtali, Gad and Asher—who crossed the desert and encamped, until they came to the territory of the Danites. In their wanderings they slew many Cushites in a territory extending four days' journey in each direction, and they have been fighting with seven kingdoms up to this day. And these four tribes—Dan, Naphtali, Gad and Asher—and those who dwelt in the ancient Havilah, where there is gold (Gen. ii. 11), trusted in the Lord, who helped them against the kingdom of[1] . . . and these tribes put their hands on the neck of their enemies.

They make war every year with seven kingdoms and seven languages; the following are their names[2] . . . . who are on the other side of the river of Cush. Thus the words of the Prophet—"From beyond the river of Cush my suppliants—even the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering" (Zephaniah iii. 10)—are fulfilled. These tribes possess much gold, silver, and precious stones, as well as sheep, oxen, camels, and asses. They sow and reap, dwell in tents and encamp in a land extending four days' journey, pitching their camps only in fertile places. The name of their king is Uziel, son of Malchiel, the name of their prince is Nicolay,[3] of the children of Ahliab, and the name of their judge is Abdan,[4] son of Michael of the tribe of Asher. They inflict capital punishment in the four modes prescribed in the law.[5] When going out to war, the trumpet is blown, and 120,000 horsemen and 100,000 foot soldiers gather round their chief. Every tribe goes out for a month's service, and remains three months, and when they return after the three months the spoil is divided amongst them all. The tribe of Dan, of the sons of Samson, is numerous as the sand of the sea, and their land extends four days' journey; they are very brave, and when going to war they are wont to say: "It is not good for the valiant to fly. The young man dies and does not fly, for his heart is

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[1] A. has here no name at all, but has further on another name, viz., והם חונים בחומה הנקרא הב דכי. B. has וקיימים במלכות פרויים ממשלת הורינוס. C. ובעזורים במלכות פרוים ממלכות הורינות. The Arab translation has not this passage at all.

[2] We can only give these names according to the various texts, without attempting any identification :—

A. ארדא ותיסקט וסרמ' וקאקא והוהם ורומרים ולודים; B. מוסינא וקמתו תוסינא וקמטוא וקובא ומראוגיא; C. וקובא ותריאוג ותקולא וכרמא וקאלום ותקוב ובכמא וקאקוא. St. Petersburg MS., according to Dr. Harkavy's kind communication, reads like C.— תקול . מסאוניא . קובא . קמטנא . תוסינא . כבמא . קאקוא.

[3] ניקולי מבני אליהב; for variations of the other texts, see p. 111 *seq.*

[4] Text has אבדין, but surely a misprint. See also p. 111.

[5] ארבע מיתות בית דין סקילה שרפה הרג וחנק. See p. 107.

strong in God. My strength and my confidence lie in my weapon ; my heart will rejoice in the sharpness of my sword and in showing my delight in my horses. How many times hast thou made prisoners the women of Cush ? "[1] In this way they exult in the time of war.

And thus they do for the entire three months, when they return and bring all their spoil to the King Uziel, who divides it amongst all Israel who dwell in the land, devoting a part to the Lord. The tribes of Naphtali, Gad, and Asher take, each of them, three months in their turn.

There is also the tribe of Moses, our just master, which is called the tribe which flees,[2] because it fled from idol worship and clung to the fear of God. A river flows round their land for a distance of four days' journey on every side. They dwell in beautiful houses provided with handsome towers, which they have built themselves. There is nothing unclean among them, neither in the case of birds, venison or domesticated animals ; there are no wild animals, no flies, no foxes, no vermin, no serpents, no dogs, and in general nothing which does harm ; they have only sheep and cattle, which bear twice a year. They sow and reap, there are all sorts of gardens with all kinds of fruit and cereals, viz., beans, melons, gourds, onions, garlic, wheat and barley, and the seed grows a hundred fold. They have faith ; they know the Law ; the Mishnah, the Talmud, and the Agadah, but their Talmud is in Hebrew. They introduce their sayings in the name of the fathers, the wise men, who heard them from the mouth of Joshua, who himself heard them from the mouth of God. They have no knowledge of the Tanaim (doctors of the Mishnah) and Amoraim (doctors of the Talmud) who flourished during the time of the second Temple, which was, of course, not known to these tribes. They speak only Hebrew, and are very strict as regards the use of wine made by others than themselves, as well as the rules of slaughtering animals ; in this respect, the Law of Moses is much more rigorous than that of the Tribes. They do not swear by the name of God, for fear that their breath may leave them, and they become angry with those who swear ; they reprimand them, saying, "Woe, ye poor, why do you swear with the mention of the name of God upon your lips ? Use your mouth for eating bread and drinking water.[3] Do you not know that for the sin of swearing your children die young ? " And in this way they exhort every one to serve God with fear and integrity of heart. Therefore the children of Moses, the servant of God, live long to the age of 100 or 120 years. No child, be it son or daughter, dies during the lifetime of its parent, but they reach a third and fourth generation, and see grand-children and great grand-children with their offspring. They do all field-work themselves, having no male or female servants ; there are also merchants among them. They do not close their houses at night, for there is no thief or any wicked man among them. Thus a little boy might go for days with his flock without fear of robbers, demons, or danger of any other kind ; they are indeed all holy and clean. These

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[1] These verses are certainly later additions, and we consider it scarcely worth while troubling ourselves with the variations of the other texts.

[2] ינום, from נום. The Arabic translation reads ינום, but translates ינום אלהארב. Possibly this name is connected with the legend of Jannes and Jambres, the two sorcerers who tried to imitate the miracles performed by Moses. *Midrash Rabboth*, Exodus vii. 2, 11, and elsewhere. See Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopædie*, II., p. 435.

[3] Perhaps more intelligible in the other texts, which have, "Is it bread to eat or water to drink ? "

Levites busy themselves with the Law and with the commandments, and they still live in the holiness of our master Moses, therefore God has given them all this good. Moreover they see nobody and nobody sees them, except the four tribes who dwell on the other side of the rivers of Cush; they see them and speak to them, but the river Sambatyon is between them, as it is said, "That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth" (Isaiah xlix. 9). They have plenty of gold and silver; they sow flax, and cultivate the crimson worm, and make beautiful garments. Their number is double or four times the number of those who went out from Egypt.

The river Sambatyon is 200 yards broad, "About as far as a bowshot" (Gen. xxi. 16), full of sand and stones, but without water; the stones make a great noise like the waves of the sea and a stormy wind, so that in the night the noise is heard at a distance of half a day's journey. There are sources of water which collect themselves in one pool, out of which they water the fields. There are fish in it, and all kinds of clean birds fly round it. And this river of stone and sand rolls during the six working days and rests on the Sabbath day. As soon as the Sabbath begins, fire surrounds the river, and the flames remain till the next evening, when the Sabbath ends. Thus no human being can reach the river for a distance of half a mile on either side; the fire consumes all that grows there. The four tribes, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, stand on the borders of the river. When shearing their flocks here, for the land is flat and clean without any thorns, when the children of Moses see them gathered together on the border, they shout, saying, "Brethren, tribes of Jeshurun, show us your camels, dogs, and asses," and they make their remarks about the length of the camel's neck and the shortness of the tail. Then they greet one another and go their way.

To us came the pious man Eldad, of the tribe of Dan, to bring good tidings to scattered Israel. When he left the land on the other side of the rivers of Cush, he travelled with a man of the tribe of Asher in a small boat, with the intention of doing some commerce with the crew, more especially to buy cloaks and jewellery. A great storm wrecked the boat in the middle of the night, but God prepared a plank for him and his companions, on which they kept floating, until they were thrown up amongst the tribe called Amarnum;[1] they are black as a raven, of high stature, and are cannibals. They seized at first the man of the tribe of Asher, who was fat and healthy, and devoured him alive. He cried out and said: "Woe to my mother who has borne me; woe to the Creator who has handed me over to a cruel death, for the Cushites eat my flesh." After having devoured this pious man they put a collar on Eldad's neck, intending to keep him until he became fat and healthy (for at present he was ill and lean) and gave him food. Thus he remained with the cannibals until God by a miracle saved him. Armed men from another place came upon the Cushites, took them prisoners, and slew them. Amongst the captives was this just Danite, and he remained with these fire-worshippers during four years, when they brought him to the province of Sin,[2] where a Jew paid the price for his ransom—thirty-two

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[1] A. has אמרנום; B. רומרנום; C. אמרנים; a St. Petersburg MS. (according to the kind information of our friend Dr. Harkavy) has מדרינות אימה; and so also in the German translation of 1700. Dr. Harkavy identifies this name without doubt with Yemama.

[2] China. We read with the St. Petersburg MS. and the German translation צין; B. and C read אציץ, probably a corruption of אלצין.

pieces of gold. Eldad then continued his journey on sea until he reached dry land, and fell in with the tribe of Issachar, who dwell in high mountains near to the land of the Medes and Persians. They keep to the saying, "The Book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth" (Joshua i. 8). No worldly yoke is upon them, but only that of heaven; they are not at war with anybody, but their energy is devoted to the discussion of the Law; they are at peace with all, and have no enemy; they inhabit a land extending ten days' journey on every side. They possess much cattle, as well as camels and asses, and also male and female servants. The only weapon they possess is the knife for slaughtering animals. They are men of good faith, and in their hands is nothing stolen or robbed, and even their servants behave in the same faithful way, so that if on their way they come across much money they would not stretch out their hand to take it. Amongst them are fire-worshippers, who marry their mothers and sisters. They do not cultivate land or vineyards, but they do buy all for ready money. Their judge and prince is called Nahshon, and they use the four methods of capital punishment. They speak Hebrew, Persian, and Tatar.[1]

The children of Zebulon dwell in the mountains of Paran,[2] and their tents are planted from the Province of Armenia[3] to the river Euphrates.

The tribe of Reuben faces them behind the mountains of Paran; there is peace between these two tribes; they go together to war, make together the roads, and divide with one another the spoil. They travel through Persia and Babylonia, and pay two pieces of silver for a camel's load of food.[4] They speak Tatar, and they possess the Bible, the Mishnah, the Talmud, and the Agadah. Each Sabbath they study the Law, beginning with a Hebrew text, and commenting on it in Tatar.[5]

The tribes of Ephraim and half of Menasseh dwell in the Southern mountains in the province of the fool (Mahommed); they are of a horrid[6] mind and always on horseback, cut the roads, and have no mercy upon men; they have no other means of living than by spoil. They are valiant warriors; one of them will vanquish a hundred.

The tribe of Simeon and the other half of Menasseh[7] are in the land of the Khozars[8] and of infinite number; they take tribute from twenty-eight kingdoms, and many of the Ishmaelites are also subjected to tribute.

Now the name of this pious man who came to us is Eldad, son of Mahli, son of Ezechiel, son of Hezekiah, son of Elon, son of Abner, son of Shemaiah, son of Hefer, son of Hur, son of Elkanah, son of Hillel, son of Ephraim, son of Tobiah, son of Pedath, son of Onan, son of Naaman, son of Taam, son of Taami, son of Onam, son of Saul, son of Sheled, son of Keleb, son of Amram, son of Doros, son of Obadiah, son of Abraham,

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[1] קדר could also mean Arabic, but is used mostly for Tatar.

[2] A. has פריאן, which Dr. Graetz (*op. cit.*, p. 475) emends in כראסן, Khorassan.

[3] ארמיניא in B.; C. has אניימיאה, which the late Carmoly revises by *Adjemi*, viz., the province called *Irac-Adjemi*.

[4] The passage is not very clear.

[5] C. has here "Hebrew," which is a copyist's mistake. See p. 111.

[6] This passage is not very clear; it certainly does not refer to the Mohammedans.

[7] C. has Judah, which is impossible.

[8] A. קדריים (ed. princeps כדריים); B. כישדים; Petersb. אבריים (for which Dr. Harkavy suggests Iberia?). A. B. confirm our text כזריים.

son of Joseph, son of Moses, son of Jacob, son of Kafur, son of Ariel, son of Asher, son of Job, son of Shalem, son of Elihu, son of Ahliab, son of Ahisamach, son of Hushim, son of Dan, son of Jacob our father. The Holy One, blessed be he, who made us to know good tidings concerning our brethren, the Ten Tribes, he will gather our scattered ones from the four corners of the earth to the Temple together with all Israel's brethren. Amen.

These letters this Mar Eldad sent to Spain (Sepharad, Andalusia) in the year [46] 43 (=883). Mar Eldad was full of the Law and the Commandments, and if some one was sitting with him from morning to evening his tongue would not cease from explaining the Law in Hebrew. His words are sweeter than honey and the honeycomb. May the Holy One, blessed be he, give him a good reward in this world and in the next.

The other two texts give almost the same facts, but in a different order; the most important variations we shall give later on, preferring this method to loading the footnotes. It would, perhaps, have been better to let these differences of the texts follow here, but as we do not like breaking our text in two parts, the substance of the questions put by the Rabbis of Kairowân to Zemah, and his answer will follow next. We purposely omit any abstract of Eldad's ritual rules, which would be tedious, and of no relevancy in our essay on the Ten Tribes.

"This is the letter of inquiry which the men of Kairowân have sent to R. Zemah, the Gaon of Jacob, concerning the reports of Eldad, the Danite, about the tribes which are hidden in the ancient Havilah in the land of Cush."

After the preamble, which is chiefly in praise of the Gaon in the diffuse oriental style, they write as follows:—"We beg to acquaint our master that a man named Eldad the Danite, of the tribe of Dan, was for a time amongst us, and told us that the four tribes, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher are all at Havilah, where the gold is to be found. They have a judge called Abdin, and they use the four modes of capital punishment; they dwell in tents, travel from place to place, and fight with the five kings of Cush.[1] The extent of their country is seven months' journey, but the five Cushite kings surround them on three sides and wage constant war against them, and whosoever is weak-hearted is given up to the inheritance of the Lord. These tribes possess the entire Scripture, they do not read the roll of Esther (not having been included in the miraculous salvation mentioned in it) nor the Lamentations, in order not to be disheartened.[2] In the whole of their teaching they mention no wise man, but refer all their

[1] In our text there are seven kings.

[2] These two statements are not found in our texts, an omission which is one of Reifmann's arguments to prove the forgery of this document.

sayings to Joshua, who had received them from Moses, who in his turn had heard them from the Almighty. Every strong man gives himself up to military service, and every one of the four tribes attends to his department, the one to the war, and the others to the study of the law. They do not go to war mixed; the warriors of Dan serve their three months on horseback; they do not come down all the week, but on Friday they leave their horses, which remain saddled and ready; if no enemy appears, the Danites keep the Sabbath according to the statutes; in the contrary event, they go out armed and slay their enemies with the might of God, which is in them. There are also strong men of the children of Samson and Delilah, who rush into the war, and the smallest of them pursue many of the enemy; they each lift their voice and announce the victory with a lion's voice, saying: 'Salvation belongeth to the Lord, and upon Thy people, the tribes of Jeshurun, thy might, Selah'; so they continue for three months, when they return with all the booty to the King Uziel, who divides it equally amongst all Israel; the king gives his part to those who busy themselves with the Law. The same is the case with Gad and Asher, until the twelve months of the year are over. They speak only Hebrew, and Eldad himself understands not a word of Cushite (Ethiopic) or Ishmaelitic (Arabic), but only Hebrew, and he employs Hebrew expressions which we have never heard. For instance, he calls a pigeon תינתרא, a bird ריקות, pepper דרמוש; we show him the objects and he gives the names which we write down; after some time we repeat the same questions, and he gives the same words as before. The Talmud (the teaching) of these tribes is in Hebrew, and they do not mention any wise man, neither doctors of the Mishnah, nor of the Talmud, but they say for each Halakah, 'This is the tradition we have from the mouth of Joshua, from the mouth of Moses, from the mouth of the Almighty.' Eldad explained to us the ritual about slaughtering animals and examining their state of health, whether the meat is fit to be eaten or not,[1] which we saw to be the same as that prescribed in the Law, but with some differences. We have thought it necessary to put before you, our master, some parts of their Talmud, *verbatim;* there are many astonishing rules as our master will see on examining them."

Here follow the rules for slaughtering animals, which incline more to the Karaitic *Halakah,* if we may employ this expression, than to the directions of the Talmud.

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[1] איסור והיתר.

The letter then continues, "Eldad has told us the following story. When the temple was destroyed and Israel had to go to Babel, the Chaldees asked them to sing the song of Zion. The children of Moses stood up, cried in their sorrow to the Holy One, blessed be he, and broke their fingers with their teeth, meaning to say, How can we strike an instrument in an unclean land with the same fingers which we used in the Temple? Then a cloud came and carried them with their tents, sheep, and oxen to Havilah, and brought them down there during the night." The question ends with the history of the Sambatyon, with slight variations the same as given above. We should have expected that a scholar like the Gaon Zemah, even if he did not find out the charlatanism (perhaps the credulity) of Eldad, ought at least to have had some hesitation in believing all that he reported. Zemah's answer, as will be seen, gives Eldad the highest testimonial for veracity. He says, "As to the matter of Eldad, about which you have written to me, I can affirm that some of the Rabbis have told me that they heard from the mouth of R. Isaac ben Mar and R. Simhah,[1] who knew Eldad personally, the same that you have heard from him; they also were astonished to find that in some parts his teaching agrees with the Talmud, and in others it differs. We find, indeed, in Scripture passages justifying some of Eldad's narrative. For when Sennacherib carried into exile the tribe of Zebulon in the fifth year of King Ahaz, from the foundation of the Temple to the eighth year of Ahaz, which makes about twenty-six years, the Danites, who were great warriors, seeing that the king of Assyria was going to get dominion over Israel, went to Cush and encamped there, in a large land with gardens of every kind, fields and vineyards, in one word, full of all good things; they gave their heart to serve God in fear, and to observe all his commandments, and thus they received two crowns, the crown of the Law and of the Kingdom;[2] that is exactly what Eldad told you. Elsewhere our Rabbis say that Israel was led into exile ten times, viz, four times by Sennacherib, four times by Nebuchadnezzar, once by Vespasian, and once by Hadrian;[3] Dan is, however, not men-

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[1] It is not necessary to place these two Rabbis outside of Babylonia, as Prof. Graetz is inclined to do (*op. cit.*, p. 478), since it is really proved that Eldad was in Babylonia. See below, p. 108.

[2] The third crown is the priesthood. Comp. *Aboth* (Saying of the Fathers), IV. 13.

[3] Compare the *Midrash of Exile* in Dr. Jellinek's Bet ha-Midrasch, V., p. 112, and Abraham ben David's Chronicle of the Kings of the Second Temple, ed. Amsterdam, 1711, p. 77b.

tioned in these ten exiles, because the tribe went away of their own accord into Cush 135 years before the destruction of the Temple. Therefore it seems to me that there is no fault to find with Eldad, since it is possible that Dan departed only during the third exile. Eldad reports that the tribes use the four modes of capital punishment, viz., stoning, burning, slaughtering, and strangling. It is true that the last is not mentioned in the Law, but the Rabbis inferred it, saying that wherever in the Law we find capital punishment mentioned without specification, strangulation is intended. As to the children of Moses, who are with the tribes, and are surrounded by the Sambatyon, we find the same in the Midrash,[1] where it is said, that when Nebuchadnezzar made captive sixty myriads of Levites, it happened to the children of Moses as related by Eldad, when they came with their harps to the rivers of Babel.

"Before the arrival of our fathers in Canaan, they had been so much occupied with wars, that they had forgotten the Mishnah (teaching) which they received from the mouth of Moses and from the mouth of Joshua (peace be with them), who according to some had many doubts after the death of Moses. The tribes which remained in the Holy Land, viz., Judah and Benjamin, held firm to the Law. After all there is nothing astonishing in finding differences and changes in our teaching, and that which you have heard from Eldad, for the same is the case with the Mishnah, which was handed down by the Babylonian and Palestinian doctors with great accuracy, without addition or diminution, and yet variations crept into it through the teachings of the pupils, who gave various explanations, just as would be the case with two Hakhamim (orders of the Mishnah) in explaining differently passages of Scripture or Mishnah. Why, even in Scripture of which the text has been fixed, we find the Babylonian and the Palestinian schools varying as regards *scriptio plena* and *defectiva*, the spaces between the sections, the accents, and the division of verses; why should we then not admit variation in the Mishnah, which is too deep a subject to be easily understood? Excuse may be found for that; in the troubles and misfortunes of travelling, Eldad may have unintentionally reported a Halakah in another sense than that usually known. However, the second Law (the Talmud) is one, it is not permitted to add to it nor to take from it, and there is moreover no variation in it whatever, small or great; only that the Talmud was composed in

[1] Compare *Midrash of Exile*, p. 115, and Abraham ben David, *op. cit.*, p. 78[b], and below, p. 113.

Aramaic in Babylonia, in the dialect of the Targum in Palestine, and in Cush in Hebrew, the only language known by the exiles there. That in this last Talmud no authority of the Rabbis is mentioned, is to be explained from the fact that the Mishnah taught in the Temple was anonymous, as there were no wise men to explain it. Anyhow, the Law is the same in the Mishnah as in the Talmud, for they flow both from the same source; and it is wrong to explain everything, for it is written, 'It is the glory of God to conceal a thing' (Prov. xxv. 1). As to Eldad's words that the tribes pray first for the wise men in Babylonia and then for the rest of the exiles, I think that they do rightly, for the stem of the wise men and the prophets was exiled to Babylonia; it is they who fixed the Law, and founded a school on the river Euphrates in the time of Jehoiachin, King of Judah.[1] And up to this day there is in Babylonia the chain of wisdom and prophecy, and from here the Law goes forth to the whole nation of the Jews. I have made known to you that we all drink of the same source; keep firm in what the wise men teach you, and do not deviate to the right or to the left from their words, as it is written: 'According to the sentence of the Law which they will teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do'" (Deut. xvii. 11). The belief in Eldad by such an authority as the Gaon, can only be explained by the delight which he and the other Rabbis must have felt on hearing of the prosperous state of the lost tribes, coupled, perhaps, with the hope of a sudden restoration of the Jewish nation.

The late Dr. P. F. Frankl[2] has, by an ingenious conjecture made it certain, in our opinion, that Eldad was in Babylonia, where he saw R. Isaac ben Mar and R. Simhah, most probably in the year 4640 (880).[3] At that time he had already his new ritual with him, of which R. Hai ben Nahshon could take no copy because Eldad was "in a hurry to continue his travels." Was that really the reason? Certainly not, for a couple of hours would have been sufficient to make a copy of it. Later on we find him at Kairowân, and then in Spain, about 4643 (883). This date is not only fixed by MSS. and the editions of Eldad's diary, but its correctness is also proved by the following passages in the letter of the Prince Hasdai ben Shaprut (or Saport), minister of Abdu-l-Rahman in 940, addressed

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[1] Compare R. Sherira's letter (ed. Oxford, 1887), p. 26.

[2] Dr. Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1878, p. 423, sqq.

[3] According to Ibn Yahya's *Chain of Tradition*, Venice, 1587, fol. 37[b].

to the King of the Khozars: he says,[1] "And in the days of our fathers a wise man of Israel fell in with us, of the tribe of Dan, whose pedigree reached back to Dan the son of Jacob; he spoke pure Hebrew and gave a Hebrew name to each object. No matter was hidden from him. And when he got up to teach a Halakah, he introduced it with the words: 'Othniel, son of Kenaz, received it from Joshua, from Moses, from the Almighty.'" This passage refers, no doubt, as Professor Graetz says,[2] to our Eldad, who was in Andalusia in the time of Hasdai's grandfather. Had Eldad been a *bonâ fide* traveller, he would have given an account of the cities he visited along with his fabulous account of the tribes, just as Benjamin of Tudela, whom we shall have to mention in the course of our essay, has done in his diary. The date of 880 for Eldad's appearance is also corroborated by a Karaitic document,[3] on which, perhaps, we may place more reliance than we usually can on exaggerated dates in Karaitic authors. And if this date is accurate, and we believe it is, then the Gaon Zemah, provided he is the author of the famous answer which goes under his name, would be Zemah son of Hayyim of Sura (889-896).[4] No doubt Eldad's story is fanciful throughout. The name Eldad, as we have already said, is unusual. Moreover Eldad is not given as a Danite in the Bible. The names of the countries which our traveller gives, if we admit that they are corrupted by copyists, are not to be identified at all.[5] His capture by cannibals, and his landing in China belongs to romance. And Professor Graetz is certainly on the right side when he says that Eldad heard in Egypt of the existence of the Falashas in Abyssinia; in Constantinople of the Khozars on the Volga; and in Palestine or Babylonia of the Jews at Haibar in Arabia; and from these *data* he placed the Ten Tribes in these countries. From the Midrash or a current oral legend he knew of the children of Moses whom he depicts in such heroic form. In one word, he was a daring impostor crowned with an unexpected success. Now, the question arises, Did he deceive without any aim, or had he some objects in view? The former opinion is maintained with great skill and learning by the late Dr. Frankl.[6] He even suggested that Eldad came from a Greek-speaking country (Constantinople ?), for

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[1] Edition of Buxtorf in his translation of the *Kusari*, pp. *b* 4 and *c* 4.
[2] See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, V., p. 476.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 477.
[4] Zemah ben Kafnai would be too late. See Dr. Steinschneider's *Catal. Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, col. 2726.
[5] See the variations above, p. 100.
[6] Dr. Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1873, p. 481, sqq.

the new Hebrew words which he introduces are Greek.[1] This we cannot admit, even if we have to give up our suggestion that they are Hebraized forms of Arabic words.[2] We are rather inclined to hold with Professor Graetz[3] that Eldad was a cunning emissary of the Karaites. His ritual rules, as Professor Graetz has shown, incline in many respects to Karaitic interpretation. His emphatic mention that the tribes quote no names of the doctors of the Mishnah as authors of the ritual rules, but say they have them handed down from Joshua and Moses,[4] and, much more, his statement that the tribes have no Talmud,[5] point to Karaitic teaching. Of course, in order not to betray himself, Eldad shows great respect for the Gaonim,[6] the conservators and continuators of the oral tradition. The Karaites indeed followed step by step Rabbanitic congregations wherever they settled. They originated in Persia, installed themselves in Babylonia, formed congregations in Palestine, were very numerous in the Byzantine empire and Egypt, and from there they went to Morocco and Spain.[7] Karaites are mentioned in Dra[8] and Fez. Here the Danite tradition seemed to continue; we find there indeed in the tenth century a certain Abudani and his friend David, the deaf, or the smith.[9] In the eleventh century we hear of a great movement of Karaitic propaganda in Spain by Ibn Altaras and his wife, called the Teacher,[10] and in order to produce such a movement, Karaites must have been settled in Spain long before that time.

For completeness sake, we may be allowed to give here the outlines of the bibliography of the texts containing Eldad's memorable narrative, which are three.

A. The text printed in Dr. A. Jellinek's "Bet ha-Midrasch," part I., pp. 102 to 106, which is followed by the question of the

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[1] תנתירא, "pigeon," would be derived by Eldad from *τονθορίζω*, "to speak inarticulately, mutter, babble," and דרמוש, "pepper," from *δριμύς*, "sharpness." Why did Eldad, as a Greek-speaking Jew, not use the common words like *τρυγών*, *περιστερός*, and *πέπερι*. Is it not a strange idea to take Eldad as a common impostor, and to credit him in the meantime with philological innovations?

[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, II., p. 206.

[3] *Geschichte der Juden*, V., p. 473, sqq.

[4] See above, p. 101. [5] See above, p. 101. [6] See above, pp. 108.

[7] See A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, pp. 55 sqq.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 22, and Graetz, *op. cit.*, V. p. 477.

[9] אבודני ודוד החרש (*Litteraturblatt des Orients*, 1845, p. 563). These two cannot be identified with Eldad and his companion of the tribe of Asher. Abudani is a contemporary of R. Saadiah Gaon (920-980). Curious it is that they are from Fez, and come from Palestine. Was it the case with Eldad also?

[10] Abraham ben David's *Book of Tradition* (ed. Oxford, 1887), p. 79.

Rabbis of Kairowân, and Zemah's answer, pp. 106 to 113. It contains also Eldad's ritual. The order of the diary is as follows:—1st. The journey of the tribes and their wars, in which the king is called Uziel, son of Michael, but no prince and judge are mentioned (page 100 of our translation). 2nd. The history of the Children of Moses (p. 101). 3rd. The story of the cannibals and Eldad's arrival in China (p. 102). It is introduced by the words: "Behold, there came to me a pious man of the tribe of Dan"; consequently this text was not written down by Eldad. The dwellings of the tribes of Issachar in the mountains on the border of the sea, towards the land Persia and Media; their judge and prince is called Nahshon, and they speak Hebrew, Persian, and Kedar (Tatar); Zebulun dwells on the mount פריאן, which Dr. Graetz emends into כרכאן, Chorassan. Near to this mountain dwells Reuben; they both speak the language of Kedar, but their teaching (Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, and Agadah) is in Hebrew. Ephraim and half Manasseh dwell in the mountains towards the town (read מדינת for מדינות, as in the editio princeps[1] and German translation) of the Ishmaelitic prophet (ed. prin. מדינות המשוגע in the German translation, "where the Ishmaelitic prophet is buried"), called Mekka, and in their language Kaba (קיאבע). Simeon and half Manasseh are in the land of the Tatars (קדריים, ed. princ. כדריים, probably כזריים, Khozars), six months distant from Jerusalem; the Ishmaelites pay them tribute. The compiler goes on to say: "And the man who reported all this belonged to the tribe of Dan."

Then follows Eldad's pedigree (with many variations) from the patriarch Jacob. Next come the questions of the Rabbis of Kairowân, with the text of Eldad's ritual, given in the name of Joshua, son of Nun—and Zemah's answer. The text is given from the edition printed at Zolkiew, 1772, which is erroneously given by Dr. Jellinek, as a reprint of the edition of Constantinople, 1516. It is a reprint of the editio princeps (Mantua, before 1480). The German translation (Jesnitz, 1743) has, after the pedigree, the passage beginning in our translation with the words: "And the pious Eldad reported much concerning the four tribes who dwelt in Havilah" (p. 103), and ending with the following: "The pious Eldad knew no other language than Hebrew (p. 105). And thus he related as you have read." (The last sentence is evidently added by the translator.) The German translator

[1] Mantua, before 1480.

continues with the passages concerning the tribes which we find in Benjamin of Tudela's diary (ed. Asher, pp. 83 and 90), but given here as if Eldad were the author, followed by the postscript of the translator.

B. A second text (part II., pp. 6 to 11), reprinted from the Constantinople edition of 1519. It contains polemics against the Christians and the Mohammedans. It begins with a part of the prologue (p. 99), and introduces Eldad's narrative (in which Eldad speaks in the first person), with the following sentence: "And now we shall tell the story of our brethren, the tribes of Jeshurun, according to Eldad; how he travelled from his own tribe; the wonders by which God saved him from many calamities which befell him on his journey to announce good tidings, to the children of Israel scattered in the captivity." The narrative begins with the incident of the cannibals and China (p. 102). Issachar's dwelling is in the mountains of the deep (תהום), and they speak only Hebrew and Persian. Zebulun dwells in the mountains of פארן, and they use for their tents hairy material coming from Armenia, and they extend to the Euphrates. The Reubenites, who conform to the habits of the King of Media and Persia, speak Hebrew and Persian, and their explanations of the Law are in Persian.

Ephraim and half of Manasseh dwell in the mountains towards Mekka, and Simeon and the other half of Manasseh in the land of Kasdim (כזריים Khozars). Then comes the following in the name of Eldad: "We say in our land that we have a tradition that you children of the captivity, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, are scattered under the dominion of the Romans (who destroyed the house of our God), the Greeks (Byzantium) and the Ishmaelites." Next comes the story about Dan refusing to fight and settling in the land of Cush (p. 99). Then followed the history of the wars of the other tribes (carried into captivity by Sennacherib in two conquests) against the seven adjacent nations. The king is called here Uziel, the great prince Elizaphan of the children of Eliahab of the tribe of Dan, on whose white flag is inscribed in Hebrew, in black letters, the verse: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord" (Deut. vi. 4). This is followed by the story about the Children of Moses. Two words in this text seem to be Latin, or at least of a Romance language, the word הלפנט, *elephant-*, and פרינסיף, *princeps* (p. 10 in the text, our translation p. 101). The pedigree which follows differs from that given in A.[1]

[1] There exists a MS. of this text in the British Museum, Add. 27, 119, of which we have made use, and another in Parma Dr. Rossi, 424.

C. The third text, part V., pp. 17 to 21, is a reprint from the Venice edition of 1544, which is most likely a reprint of the edition of Constantinople, 1516. On this text our translation is based; we found it, with Dr. Jellinek, to contain the most logical text, and the best style; it contains moreover the important date of Eldad's sending his letter to Kairowân and Spain.[1]

This text was translated into Latin by G. Genebrard,[2] by an anonymous translator into Judæo-German,[3] and also anonymously into Arabic.[4] The extracts given by Bartolocci[5] and Eisenmenger[6] are equally taken from this text.

Besides these three recensions there must have existed at least one other containing the passages given by Judah Hedassi,[7] and most likely a fifth in which the passage in regard to the Rabbis of Kairowân, that the Tribes do not read the book of Esther and Lamentations,[8] ought to be found. In fact Eldad most probably wrote nothing except the ritual, and it was one of his audience who put together the story, which was perhaps told differently by Eldad, either from a bad memory or from his purposely modifying it to suit his audience.[9] This would best explain the existence of various texts, which we do not find in the case of the other few Jewish diaries[10] we possess.

A sixth text of the history of the Ten Tribes and the Children of Moses,[11] which does not mention the name of Eldad, is to be found in the famous *Midrash Major*, attributed by Raymundus Martini to R. Moses har-Darshan of Narbonne.[12] This text

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[1] Of this text there is a MS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 2585 of the new Catalogue, which is, however, only a copy of the Venice edition. The St. Petersburg fragments seem also to belong to this recension. We have mentioned a few variations communicated to us by our friend Dr. Harkaway.

[2] *Chronologica Hebræorum Major*, op. 5.

[3] According to Dr. Steinschneider (*Catal. Bodl.*), Dessau circa 1700.

[4] MS. St. Petersburg, 2nd Firkowitz collection, fragments in Nos. 674 and 703, with some variations from our text.

[5] *Bibliotheca Rabb.* I., p. 100.

[6] *Entdecktes Judenthum*, II., p. 539.

[7] *Eshkol hok-Kofer*, secs. 60 and 61.

[8] See above, p. 104.

[9] Dr. Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrasch V., p. x., note 2.

[10] For instance, Pethahiah of Regensburg, Benjamin of Tudela, and the travellers in the Holy Land.

[11] Published in Dr. Jellinek's Bet ha-Midrasch VI., pp. 15 to 18. The title of אגדתא דבני משה is the editor's invention, which might be misleading for bibliographers.

[12] See the recent discussion on the authenticity of this Midrasch, called מדרש רבתי (in the Prague MSS.), and מדרש רבה דרבה in the Oxford fragment (MSS. No. 2399 of our catalogue); Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's article in the *Journal of Philology*, Cambridge, vol. XVI., No. 31, p. 130 *sqq.*; our essay in the *Expositor*, February-March, 1888, pp. 101, *sqq.* 299, and Herr A. Epstein's able paper in the *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, XV. (1888), pp. 65 to 99. The Oxford MS. has better readings than the MSS. of

goes mostly with C, and in the beginning of it we find the legend about the Levites breaking their fingers in order not to play the harp in a foreign country. This legend is introduced with the words: "Our Rabbis say, just as reported by the Gaon Zemah." Perhaps this Midrash is the oldest of all the Eldad texts, which was later enlarged with Eldad's story as an introduction or a postscript. It is, however, possible that the compiler of the Midrash has left out the Eldad legend, which had no importance for his Midrashic explanation of Genesis xxx. 24.

It is our painful duty to mention the text edited[1] with a French translation and notes by the late C. Carmoly, from a copy made by Ephraim Adamar of a MS. in the library of R. Eleazar ben Hazan at Morocco, sent to the editor by R. David S'bah. That this is a forgery has been strikingly proved by Rapoport,[2] chiefly from the contradictions in the dates; we could add further proofs from the style and the divisions of the chapters. Dr. Graetz did not make use of it in his excellent history, and does not even mention it. We, too, should have preferred doing the same, only that we wish to be bibliographically complete. Who the forger of this text was it is not our duty to investigate.

A. NEUBAUER.

[*To be continued.*]

Prague, *e.g.*, the passage in Jellinek's, p. 17, שכורתין בדרך מדות ודרך בבל··· משא גמל עין which is quite unintelligible, reads in the Oxford MSS. (fol. 46b) בדרך מכות (Mekka) ודרך בבל··· משא גמל מן מאכל.

[1] *Relation d'Eldad le Danite*, Paris, 1838.

[2] In the letter addressed to the editor of Solomon Parhon's lexicon, and printed in the preface to the edition, p. xi.

THE DOGMAS OF JUDAISM.

[*Concluded from page* 61.]

THE Anti-Maimonists can be divided into two classes. The one class categorically denies that Judaism has dogmas. I shall have occasion to touch on this view when I come to speak of Abarbanel. Here I pass at once to the second class of Anti-Maimonists. This consists of those who agree with Maimonides as to the existence of dogmas in Judaism, but who differ from him as to what these dogmas are, or who give a different enumeration of them.

As the first of these Anti-Maimonists we may regard Nachmanides, who, in his famous "Sermon in the Presence of the King," speaks of three fundamental principles: Creation, Omniscience of God, and Providence. Next comes R. Abba Mari ben Moses, of Montepellier. He wrote at the beginning of the 14th century, and is famous in Jewish history for his zeal against the study of philosophy. We possess a small pamphlet by him dealing with our subject, and it forms a kind of prologue to his collection of controversial letters against the rationalists of his time. He lays down three articles as the fundamental teachings of Religion: 1. Metaphysical: The existence of God, including His Unity and Incorporeality; 2. Mosaic: *Creatio ex nihilo* by God—a consequence of this principle is the belief that God is capable of altering the laws of nature at His pleasure; 3. Ethical: Special Providence—*i.e.*, God knows all our actions in all their details. Abba Mari does not mention Maimonides' Thirteen Articles. But it would be false to conclude that he rejected the belief in the coming of the Messiah, or any other article of Maimonides. The whole tone and tendency of this pamphlet is polemical, and it is therefore probable that he only urged those points which were either doubted or explained in an unorthodox way by the sceptics of his time.[1]

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[1] See pages 1—19 of his polemical work מנחת קנאות (Presburg, 1838). Compare Renan-Neubauer, *Les Rabbins Français*, p. 679.

Another scholar, of Provence, who wrote but twenty years later than Abba Mari—R. David ben Samuel d'Estella (1320)—speaks of the seven pillars of religion. They are: Revelation, Providence, Reward and Punishment, the Coming of the Messiah, Resurrection of the Dead, *Creatio ex nihilo*, and Free Will.[1]

Of authors living in other countries, I have to mention here R. Shemarjah, of Crete, who flourished at about the same time as R. David d'Estella, and is known from his efforts to reconcile the Karaites with the Rabbanites. This author wrote a book for the purpose of furnishing Jewish students with evidence for what he considered the five fundamental teachings of Judaism, viz.: 1. The Existence of God; 2. Incorporeality of God; 3. His Absolute Unity; 4. That God created heaven and earth; 5. That God created the world after His will 5106 years ago—the latter (1346) being the year in which Shemarjah wrote these words.[2]

In Portugal, at about the same time, we find R. David ben Jom Tob Bilia adding to the articles of Maimonides thirteen of his own, which he calls the "Fundamentals of the Thinking Man." Five of these articles relate to the functions of the human soul, that, according to him, emanated from God, and to the way in which this divine soul receives its punishment and reward. The other eight articles are as follows: 1. The belief in the existence of spiritual beings—angels; 2. *Creatio ex nihilo;* 3. The belief in the existence of another world, and that this other world is only a spiritual one; 4. The Torah is above philosophy; 5. The Torah has an outward (literary) meaning and an inward (allegorical) meaning; 6. The text of the Torah is not subject to any emendation; 7. The reward of a good action is the good work itself, and the doer must not expect any other reward; 8. It is only by the "commands relating to the heart," for instance, the belief in one eternal God, the loving and fearing him, and not through good actions that man attains the highest degree of perfection.[3] Perhaps it would be suitable to mention here another contemporaneous writer, who also numbers twenty-six articles. The name of this writer is unknown, and his articles are only

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[1] *Hebräische Bibliographie* (VIII., 63 and 103). Compare Neubauer, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, IX., 215. See also Appendix A.

[2] See אוצר הספרים, p. 41, No. 781, and Steinschneider, *Cat. München*, No. 210. But from the ליקוטי ר' יוחנן אלימנו, p. 133a (Cat. Neubauer 2,243) it would seem that R. Shemarjah considers the belief in *Creatio ex nihilo* as the most important article. Compare also Graetz, *History*, VII., 299, where the date 5106 is questioned; Neubauer, *Revue*, X. 68.

[3] See the collection דברי חכמים, by Ashkenasi, pp. 56b, etc.

gathered from quotations by later authors. It would seem from these quotations that the articles of this unknown author consisted mostly of statements emphasizing the belief in the attributes of God: as, His Eternity, His Wisdom and Omnipotence, and the like.[1]

More important for our subject are the productions of the 15th century, especially those of Spanish authors. The fifteen articles of R. Lipman Mulhausen, in the preface to his well-known *Sefer Nizzachon* (1410), differ but slightly from those of Maimonides. In accordance with the anti-Christian tendency of his polemical book, he lays more stress on the two articles of Unity and Incorporeality, and makes of them four. We can therefore dismiss him with this short remark, and pass at once to the Spanish Rabbis.

The first of these is R. Chasdai Ibn Crescas, who composed his famous treatise, "The Light of God," about 1405. Chasdai's book is well known for its attacks on Aristotle, and also for its influence on Spinoza. But Chasdai deals also with Maimonides' Thirteen Articles, to which he was very strongly opposed. Already in his preface he attacks Maimonides for speaking, in his "Book of the Commandments," of the belief in the existence of God as an "affirmative precept." Chasdai thinks it absurd; for every commandment must be dictated by some authority, but on whose authority can we dictate the acceptance of this authority? His general objection to the Thirteen Articles is that Maimonides confounded dogmas or *fundamental* beliefs of Judaism, without which Judaism is inconceivable, with beliefs or *doctrines* which Judaism inculcates, but the denial of which, though involving a strong heresy, does not make Judaism impossible. He maintains that if Maimonides meant only to count fundamental teachings, there are not more than seven; but that if he intended also to include doctrines, he ought to have enumerated sixteen. As beliefs of the first class—namely, fundamental beliefs—he considers the following articles: 1. God's knowledge of our actions; 2. Providence; 3. God's omnipotence—even to act against the laws of nature; 4. Prophecy; 5. Free will; 6. The aim of the Torah is to make man long after the closest communion with God. The belief in the existence of God, Chasdai thinks, is an axiom with which every religion must begin, and he is therefore uncertain whether to include it as a dogma or not. As to the doctrines which every Jew is bound to believe, but without which Judaism is not im-

[1] Albo, *Ikkarim*, ch. iii.; probably the same author that is mentioned by Duran in his book אוחב מישפט, 13b.

possible, Chasdai divides them into two sections: (A.) 1. *Creatio ex nihilo*; 2. Immortality of the soul; 3. Reward and Punishment; 4. Resurrection of the dead; 5. Immutability of the Torah; 6. Superiority of the prophecy of Moses; 7. That the High Priest received the instructions sought for from God, when he put his questions through the medium of the Urim and Tummim; 8. The coming of the Messiah. (B.) Doctrines which are expressed by certain religious ceremonies, and on which belief these ceremonies are conditioned: 1. The belief in the efficacy of prayer—as well as that the benediction of the priests has the power of conveying to us the blessing of God; 2. God is merciful to the penitent; 3. Certain days in the year—for instance, the Day of Atonement—are especially qualified to bring us near to God, if we keep them in the way we are commanded. That Chasdai is a little arbitrary in the choice of his "doctrines," I need hardly say. Indeed, Chasdai's importance for the dogma-question consists more in his critical suggestions than in his positive results. He was, as we have seen, the first to make the distinction between fundamental teachings, which form the basis of Judaism, and those other simple Jewish doctrines, without which Judaism is not impossible. Very daring is his remark, when proving that Reward and Punishment, Immortality of the soul, and Resurrection of the dead must not be considered as the basis of Judaism, that the highest ideal of religion is to serve God without any hope of reward. Even more daring are his words concerning the Immutability of the Law. He says: "Some have argued that, since God is perfection, so must also His law be perfect, and thus unsusceptible of improvement." But he does not think this argument conclusive, though the fact in itself (the Immutability of the Law) is true. For one might answer that this perfection of the Torah could only be in accordance with the intelligence of those for whom it was meant; but as soon as the recipients of the Torah have advanced to a higher state of perfection, the Torah must also be altered to suit their advanced intelligence. A pupil of Chasdai illustrates the words of his master by a medical parallel. The physician has to adapt his medicaments to the various stages through which his patient has to pass. That he changes his prescription does not, however, imply that his medical knowledge is imperfect, or that his earlier remedies were ignorantly chosen; the varying condition of the invalid was the cause of the variation in the doctor's treatment. Similarly, were not the Immutability of the Torah a "doctrine," one might maintain that the perfection of the Torah

would not be inconsistent with the assumption that it was susceptible of modification, in accordance with our changing and progressive circumstances. But all these arguments are purely of a theoretic character; for, practically, every Jew, according to Chasdai, has to accept all these beliefs, whether he terms them fundamental teachings or only Jewish doctrines.[1]

Some years later, though he finished his work in the same year as Chasdai, R. Simon ben Duran (1366-1444), a younger contemporary of the former, made his researches on dogmas. His studies on this subject form a kind of introduction to his commentary on Job, which he finished in the year 1405. Duran is not so strongly opposed to the Thirteen Articles as Chasdai, or as another "thinker of our people," who thought them an arbitrary imitation of the thirteen attributes of God. Duran tries to justify Maimonides; but nevertheless he agrees with "earlier authorities," who formulated the Jewish creed in Three Articles—The Existence of God, Revelation, and Reward and Punishment, under which Duran thinks the Thirteen Articles of Maimonides may be easily classified. Most interesting are his remarks concerning the validity of dogmas. He tells us that only those are to be considered as heretics who stick to their own opinions, though they know that they are contradictory to the views of the Torah. But those who accept the fundamental teachings of Judaism, but are led by their deep studies and earnest reflection to differ in details from the opinions current among their co-religionists, and explain certain passages in the Scripture in their own way, must by no means be considered as heretics. We must therefore, Duran proceeds to say, not blame such men as Maimonides, who gave an allegorical interpretation to certain passages in the Bible about miracles, or R. Levi ben Gershon, who followed certain un-Jewish views in relation to the belief in *Creatio ex nihilo.* It is only the views that are condemnable, but not those who cherish them. God forbid, says Duran, that such a thing should happen in Israel as to condemn honest inquirers on account of their differing opinions. It would be interesting to know of how many divines, as tolerant as this persecuted Jew, the 15th century can boast.[2]

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[1] See אור ה', Ed. Johannisberg, in the preface, pp. 20a, 44b, 59b, and 61a and 62b. The style of the author is very obscure, and the book is full of misprints. See also Joel's essay on this author (Breslau, 1866).

[2] Of Duran's many works, we have here to consider his commentary אוהב משפט on Job, pp. 13 *seq.*, and the first pages of his book כגן אבות (Leghorn, 1758). See also Dr. Jaulus' essay in the *Monatsschrift*, 1874.

We can now pass to a more popular but less original writer on our theme. I refer to R. Joseph Albo, the author of the Ikkarim, who was the pupil of Chasdai, a younger contemporary of Duran, and wrote at a much later period than these authors. Graetz has justly denied him much originality. The chief merit of Albo consists in popularising other people's thoughts, though he does not always care to mention their names. And the student who is a little familiar with the contents of the book Ikkarim will easily find that Albo has taken his best ideas either from Chasdai or from Duran.[1] As it is of little consequence to us whether an article of faith is called "stem," or "root," or "branch," there is scarcely anything fresh left to quote in the name of Albo. Dr. Löw, of Szegedin, was indeed right, when he answered an adversary who challenged him—"Who would dare to declare me as an heretic as long as I confess the three Articles laid down by Albo?" with the words "Albo himself." For, after all the subtle distinctions Albo makes between different classes of dogmas, he declares that every one who denies even the immutability of the Law or the coming of the Messiah, which are, according to him, articles of minor importance, is a heretic who will be excluded from the world to come.[2] But there is one point in his book which is worth noticing. It was suggested to him by Maimonides. Still Albo has the merit of having emphasised it as it deserves. Among the articles which he calls branches, Albo counts the belief that the perfection of man, which leads to eternal life, can be obtained by the fulfilling of *one* commandment. But this command must be, as Maimonides points out, done without any worldly regard, and only for the sake of the love of God.[3] When one considers how many platitudes are repeated year by year by certain theologians on the subject of Jewish legalism we cannot lay enough stress on this article of Albo, and we ought to make it better known than it hitherto has been.

Though I cannot enter here into the enumeration of the Maimonists, I must not leave unmentioned the name of R. Nissim ben Moses of Marseilles, the first great Maimonist, who flourished about the end of the thirteenth century, and

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[1] See Schlesinger's introduction and notes to *Ikkarim*, and Dr. S. Back's lecture on Joseph Albo. For the relations of Chasdai and Duran, see Joel's Essay, p. 82, and Jaulus, *Monatsschrift*, p. 463. For his plagiarisms from Rabbi Nissim, see Brüll, *Jahrbuch*, IV. 52.

[2] *Ikkarim*, I., ch. 23.

[3] Ibid., I., 23, and III., 29, and Maimonides' Commentary to Mishnah, end of tractate Makkoth.

was considered as one of the most enlightened thinkers of his age. From the extracts I shall publish in Appendix A from his *Sepher Hanissim*, contained in MS. in Oxford and the British Museum, it will be seen that he greatly influenced his successors, and perhaps also suggested their systems to them, though he himself adhered to the Thirteen Articles of Maimonides. Another great Maimonist deserving special attention is R. Abraham ben Shem Tob Bibago, who may perhaps be regarded as the most prominent among those who undertook to defend Maimonides against the attacks of Chasdai and others. Bibago wrote "The Path of Belief" in the second half of the 15th century, and was, as Dr. Steinschneider aptly describes him, a *Denkgläubiger*. But, above all, he was a believing Jew. When he was once asked, at the table of King John II., of Aragon, by a Christian scholar, "Are you the Jewish philosopher?" he answered, "I am a Jew who believes in the Law given to us by our teacher Moses, though I have studied philosophy." Bibago was such a devoted admirer of Maimonides that he could not tolerate any opposition against him. He speaks in one passage of the prudent people of his time who, in desiring to be looked upon as orthodox by the great mob, calumniated the teacher (Maimonides), and depreciated his merits. Bibago's book is very interesting, especially in its controversial parts; but in respect to dogmas he is, as already said, a Maimonist, and does not contribute any new point on our subject.[1] To return to the Anti-Maimonists of the second half of the 15th century. As such may be considered R. Isaac Aramah, who speaks of three foundations of religion: *Creatio ex nihilo*, Revelation (?), and the belief in a world to come.[2] Next to be mentioned is R. Joseph Jabez, who also accepts only three articles: *Creatio ex nihilo*, Individual Providence, and the Unity of God. Under these three heads he tries to classify the Thirteen Articles of Maimonides.[3]

The last Spanish writer on our subject is R. Isaac Abarbanel. His treatise on the subject is known under the title "Rosh Amanah," and was finished in the year 1495. The greatest part of this treatise forms a defence of Maimonides, many points in which are taken from Bibago.[4] But in spite of this fact, Abarbanel must not be considered a Maimonist. It is

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[1] Part 5 of Bibago's דרך אמונה (Constantinople, 1521), treats exclusively of the Thirteen Articles. Compare Steinschneider in *Monatsschrift*, 1883, p. 79.

[2] See עקידת יצחק, section 55. The meaning of the word תורה in this passage is not quite clear.

[3] See his יסוד האמונה and מאמר האחדות.

[4] Steinschneider, *Monatsschrift*, etc., p. 95.

only a feeling of piety towards Maimonides, or perhaps rather a fondness for argument that made him defend Maimonides against Chasdai and others. His own view is that it is a mistake to formulate dogmas of Judaism, since every word in the Torah has to be considered as a dogma for itself.[1] It was only, says Abarbanel, by following the example of non-Jewish scholars that Maimonides and others were induced to lay down dogmas. The non-Jewish philosophers are in the habit of accepting in every science certain indisputable axioms from which they deduce the propositions which are less evident. The Jewish philosophers in a similar way sought for first principles in religion from which the whole of the Torah ought to be considered as a deduction. But, thinks Abarbanel, the Torah as a revealed code is under no necessity of deducing things from each other, for all the commands came from the same divine authority, and, therefore, all are alike evident, and have the same certainty. On this and similar grounds Abarbanel refused to accept dogmatic articles for Judaism, and he thus became the head of the school that forms a class by itself among the Anti-Maimonists to which many of the greatest Cabbalists also belong. But it is idle talk to cite this school in aid of the modern theory that Judaism has no dogmas. As we have seen it was rather an *embarras de richesse* that prevented Abarbanel from accepting the Thirteen Articles of Maimonides. To him and to the Cabbalists the Torah consists of at least 613 Articles.

Abarbanel wrote his book with which we have just dealt at Naples. And it is Italy to which, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, we have to look chiefly for religious speculation. But the philosophers of Italy are still less independent of Maimonides than their predecessors in Spain. Thus we find that R. David Messir Leon, R. David Vital, and others were Maimonists.[2] Even the otherwise refined and original thinker, R. Elijah Del Medigo (who died about

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[1] See Duran אוהב משפט, 14b, where this view is already hinted at, Compare R. Solomon ben Addereth, as quoted above, where he speaks of כוללת מן העיקרים תרי"ג תורה שלמה ; but it is not probable that he uses עיקרים in the philosophical sense.

[2] A list of the Maimonists will be found in Appendices A and B. But I must remark that, owing to the kindness of Dr. Gaster, who allowed me to have a glance at the library of the Ramsgate College, I was able to examine there a MS. by R. David Messir Leon, which throws a fresh light on the life and views of this scholar. His views on dogmas, as given in this MS., are widely at variance from his opinion, known to us from his printed book תהלה לדוד. His relation to Abarbanel deserves closer examination. Hoping to publish soon a monograph on this author, I defer the treatment of these points for that occasion.

the end of the 15th century) becomes almost rude when he speaks of the adversaries of Maimonides in respect to dogmas. "It was only," he says, "the would-be philosopher that dared to question the articles of Maimonides. Our people have always the bad habit of thinking themselves competent to attack the greatest authorities as soon as they have got some knowledge of the subject. Genuine thinkers, however, attach very little importance to their objections."[1]

Indeed, it seems as if the energetic protests of Del Medigo scared away the Anti-Maimonists for more than a century. Even in the following 17th century we have to notice only two Anti-Maimonists. The one is Rabbi Tobjah, the priest (1652), who was of Polish descent, studied in Italy, and lived as a medical man in France. He seems to refuse to accept the belief in the Immutability of the Torah, and in the coming of the Messiah as fundamental teachings of Judaism.[2] The other, at the end of the 17th century (1695), is R. Abraham Chayim Viterabo, of Italy. He accepts only six articles: 1. Existence of God. 2. Unity. 3. Incorporeality. 4. That God was revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai, and that the prophecy of Moses is true. 5. Revelation (including the historical parts of the Torah). 6. Reward and Punishment. As to the other articles of Maimonides, Viterabo, in opposition to other half-hearted Anti-Maimonists, declares that the man who denies them is *not* to be considered as a heretic; though he ought to believe them.[3]

I have now arrived at the limit I set to myself at the beginning of this essay. For there is, between the times of Viterabo and those of Mendelssohn, hardly to be found any serious opposition to Maimonides worth noticing here. Still I must mention the name of R. Saul Berlin (died 1794); there is much in his opinions on dogmas which will help us the better to understand the Thirteen Articles of Maimonides. As the reader has seen, I have refrained so far from reproducing here the apologies which were made by many Maimonists in behalf of the Thirteen Articles. For, after all their elaborate pleas, none of them was able to clear Maimonides of the charge of having confounded dogmas or fundamental teachings with doctrines. It is also true that the Fifth Article—that prayer and worship must only be

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[1] See בחינת הדת, ed. Reggio, p. 28.

[2] See מעשה טוביה (Venice, 1707), 16a and 23a. His language is very vague.

[3] See אמונת חכמים in collection טעם זקנים, by Ashkenasi, p. 29b. We think this a very important work, and we must strongly recommend it to the reader.

afforded to God—cannot be considered even as a doctrine, but as a simple precept. And there are other difficulties which all the distinctions of the Maimonists will never be able to solve. The only possible justification is, I think, that suggested by a remark of R. Saul. This author, who was himself like his friend and older contemporary—Mendelssohn, a strong Anti-Maimonist, among other remarks, maintains that dogmas must never be laid down but with regard to the necessities of the time.[1]

Now R. Saul certainly did not doubt that Judaism is based on eternal truths which can in no way be shaken by new modes of thinking or changed circumstances. What he meant was that there are in every age certain beliefs which ought to be asserted more emphatically than others, without regard to their theological or rather logical importance. It is by this maxim that we shall be able to explain the articles of Maimonides. He asserted them, because they were necessary for his time. We know, for instance, from a letter of his son and other contemporaries, that it was just at his time that the belief in the incorporeality of God was, in the opinion of Maimonides, a little relaxed.[2] Maimonides, who thought such low notions of the Deity dangerous to Judaism, therefore laid down an article against them. He tells us in his "Guide" that it was far from him to condemn anyone who was not able to demonstrate the Incorporeality of God, but he stigmatised as a heretic one who refused to believe it.[3] This position might be paralleled by that of a modern astronomer who, while considering it unreasonable to expect a mathematical demonstration of the movements of the earth from an ordinary unscientific man, would yet regard the person who refused to believe in such movements as an ignorant faddist.

Again, Maimonides undoubtedly knew that there may be found in the Talmud—that bottomless sea with its innumerable undercurrents—passages that are not quite in harmony with his articles; for instance, the well-known dictum of R. Hillel, who said, there is no Messiah for Israel—a passage which has already been quoted *ad nauseam* by every opponent of Maimonides from the earliest times down to the year of grace 1888. Maimonides was well aware of the existence of this and similar passages. But, being deeply convinced of the necessity of the belief in a future redemption of *Israel*—in opposition to other creeds who claim this redemp-

[1] See בשמים ראש, p. 251. [2] Weiss, *Beth Talmud*, I., 291.
[3] *Guide*, I., 35, 36.

tion solely for themselves—Maimonides simply ignored the saying of R. Hillel, as an isolated opinion which contradicts all the feelings and traditions of the Jews as expressed in thousands of other passages, and especially in the liturgy. Most interesting is Maimonides' view about such isolated opinions in a letter to the wise men of Marseilles. He deals there with the question of free will and other theological subjects. After having stated his own view he goes on to say: "I know that it is possible to find in the Talmud or in the Midrash this or that saying in contradiction to the views you have heard from me. But you must not be troubled by them. One must not refuse to accept a doctrine, the truth of which has been proved, on account of its being in opposition to some isolated opinion held by this or that great authority. Is it not possible that he overlooked some important considerations when he uttered this strange opinion? It is also possible that his words must not be taken literally, and have to be explained in an allegorical way. We can also think that his words were only to be applied with regard to certain circumstances of his time, but never intended as permanent truths . . . . No man must discard his own opinions. The eyes are not directed backwards but forwards." In another place Maimonides calls the suppression of one's own opinions—for the reason of their being irreconcilable with the isolated views of some great authority—a moral suicide. By such motives Maimonides was guided when he left certain views hazarded in the Rabbinic literature unheeded, and followed what we may perhaps call the religious common-sense of his own time. We may again be certain that Maimonides was clear-headed enough to see that the words of the Torah: "And there arose no prophet since in Israel like unto Moses" (Deut. xxxiv. 10), were as little intended to imply a doctrine as the passage relating to the king Josiah, "And like unto him was there no king that turned to the Lord with all his heart . . . . neither after him there arose any like him" (2 Kings, xxiii. 25). And none would think of declaring him a heretic who should believe another king as pious as Josiah. But living among the "imitating confessions," who claimed that their religion had superseded the law of Moses, Maimonides, consciously or unconsciously, felt himself compelled to assert the superiority of the prophecy of Moses. And so we may guess that every article of Maimonides which seems to offer difficulties to us, contains an assertion of some relaxed belief, or a protest against the pretensions of other creeds, though we are not always able to discover the exact necessity for them. On the

other hand, Maimonides did not assert the belief in free will, for which he argued so earnestly in his "Guide." The "common man," with his simple unspeculative mind, for whom these Thirteen Articles were intended,[1] "never dreamed that the will was not free," and there was no necessity of impressing on his mind things which he had never doubted.

So much about Maimonides. As to the Anti-Maimonists it could hardly escape the reader that in some of the quoted systems the difference from the view of Maimonides, is only a logical one not a theological. Of some authors again, especially those of the 13th and 14th centuries, it is not at all certain whether they intended to oppose Maimonides. Others again, as for instance R. Abba Mari, R. Lipman, and R. Joseph Jabez, acted on the same principle as Maimonides urging only those teachings of Judaism which they thought endangered. One could now, indeed, animated by the praiseworthy example given to us by Maimonides, also propose some articles of faith which are suggested to us by the necessities of our own time. One might, for instance, insert the article, "I believe that Judaism is, in the first instance, a divine religion, *not* a mere complex of racial peculiarities and tribal customs." One might again propose an article to the effect that Judaism is a proselytising religion, having the mission to bring God's kingdom on earth, and to include in that kingdom all mankind. One might also submit for consideration whether it would not be advisable to urge a little more the principle that religion means chiefly a *Weltanschauung* and worship of God by means of holiness both in thought and in action. One would even not object to accept the article laid down by R. Saul, that we have to look upon ourselves as sinners. Morbid as such a belief may be, it would, if properly impressed on our mind, have perhaps the wholesome effect of cooling down a little our self-importance and our mutual admiration that makes every progress among us almost impossible.

But it was not my purpose here to ventilate the question whether Maimonides' articles are sufficient for us, or whether we ought not to add new ones to them. Nor did I try to decide what system we ought to prefer for recitation in the Synagogue—that of Maimonides or that of Chasdai, or of any other writer. I do not think that such a recital is of much use. What I intended by this sketch is rather to make the reader *think* about Judaism, by proving that it

[1] Abarbanel, ראש אמנה, ch. 21.

does not only regulate our actions, but also our thoughts. We usually urge that in Judaism religion means life; but we forget that a life without guiding principles and thoughts is an existence not worth living. At least it was so considered by our greatest thinkers, and hence their efforts to formulate the creed of Judaism, so that men would not only be able to do the right thing, but also to think the right thing. Whether they succeeded in their attempts towards formulating the creed of Judaism or not will always remain a question. This concerns the logician more than the theologian. But surely Maimonides and his successors *did* succeed in having a religion depending directly on God, with the most ideal and highest aspirations for the future; whilst the Judaism of a great part of our modern theologians reminds one very much of the words with which the author of "Marius the Epicurean" characterises the Roman religion in the days of her decline: a religion which had been always something to be done rather than something to be thought, or believed, or to be loved.

Political economy, hygiene, statistics, are very fine things. But no sane man would for them make those sacrifices which Judaism requires from us. It is only for God's sake, to fulfil his commands and to accomplish his purpose, that religion becomes worth living and dying for. And this can only be possible with a religion which possesses dogmas.

It is true that every great religion is "a concentration of many ideas and ideals," which make this religion able to adapt itself to various modes of thinking and living. But there must always be a point round which all these ideas concentrate themselves. This centre is Dogma.

S. SCHECHTER.

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASSORAH.—I.

In the preamble to his *Analysis of the Political Constitution of the Jews*, Philo asserts:—"And though many years have passed—I cannot tell the exact number, but more than two thousand—the Jews have never altered one word of what was written by Moses."[1] In a similar strain writes Josephus (*Against Apion*, I., 8):—"During so many ages as have elapsed, no one has been so bold as to add anything to the words of Scripture or to take anything therefrom." Again, it is related in the Talmud (*Erubin*, 13 *a*; *Sota*, 20 *a*) that R. Ishmael (first century C.E.) exhorted R. Meir, a contemporary scribe, "My son, take care how thou doest thy work, for thy work is a divine one; lest thou drop or add a letter, and thereby becomest a destroyer of the entire world."

If these statements present some exaggeration, they likewise contain much that is true. They reflect, not unfaithfully, the religious reverence which Jews have invariably paid to the word of Scripture, and the jealous care with which, as a rule, they have guarded its text from corruption. This care exhibited itself in two ways: (1) In the multiplication and faithful transcription of copies of the Bible; and (2) in the development of a complete apparatus of critical notes on the external form of the sacred text. It is more particularly to the second of these functions that the term Massorah is applied; although it is not always possible to separate them, inasmuch as they were sometimes performed by one and the same person, and always stood closely related to each other.

Massorah originally signified "tradition" in its widest sense.[2] Subsequently its significance was restricted to a particular kind of tradition. It came to connote that vast system of literary labours carried on between the second and tenth centuries C.E. by the *Soferim*, or Professional Scribes and their successors, the Massorites proper, in connection with the transcription and critical annotation of the Scriptures. These labours were of a varied character, and their object was to establish a standard and infallible text of the Sacred Writings in conformity with "traditions" which had been

[1] Quoted from his lost works in Eusebius' *Preparation of the Gospel*, Book VIII. ch. 6, *fin.*

[2] See *Mishna Shekalim*, vi. 1.

"handed down" (מסר)[1] by Scriptural experts from early times. The literary guilds of Scribes and Massorites collated MSS., by the aid of which they corrected faulty readings. They established a system of marginal notes and variants. They purified the text of unseemly expressions. They introduced a graphic system of vocalization, accentuation, and punctuation. They fixed the Biblical books, and their division into sections, paragraphs, and verses, in the order and external form in which we at present possess them. They likewise took careful note of every peculiarity of construction, and of all anomalies relating to the spelling, vocalization, and accentuation of words—anomalies which would be likely to mislead the copyist unless attention was directed to them. They calculated the number of sections, verses, words, and letters contained in the different books of Scripture, and they compiled statistics relating to almost every feature of orthographical and grammatical interest presented by the text. In connection with these varied labours they contrived a system of mnemonical and technical signs which was often ingenious and beautiful, and which, if it has added to the difficulty of deciphering their meaning, possessed the important advantage of brevity.

These annotations have come down to us in various forms. In the Rabbinical Bibles they are disposed partly as marginal glosses, which constitute the *Massorah marginalis* or *textualis*, and partly as separate lists and compendia at the close of the Bibles, forming the *Massorah finalis* or *maxima*. Moreover the *Massorah textualis* is of two kinds. It comprises the *Massorah parva* and *Massorah magna*. The former consists of such curt notes as the marginal readings (קרי וכתיב), statistics of the number of times a particular form is found in Scripture, indications of full and defective spelling (מלא וחסר), and references to abnormally written letters. It is placed in the perpendicular space between the text and the Targum. The latter is of a more copious character, being ranged in the upper and lower margins. The quantity of notes it contains is conditioned by the amount of vacant space on each page. In the MSS. it varied also with (*a*), the rate at which the scribe was paid, and (*b*) the fanciful shape he gave to his gloss. The Massorah at the end of these Bibles (which is a part of the *Massorah magna*) comprises all the longer rubrics for which space could not be found in the margin of the text, and is alphabetically arranged in the form of a concordance.

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[1] Luzzatto, in his *Additamenta* to הפלאה שבערכין (Vienna, 1869, p. 119, *b*), has rejected the current derivation of Massorah. He explains it to mean "signs" (סמנים), *i.e.*, the vowels, accents, and entire technical apparatus introduced by the Massorites.

A profound interest must necessarily attach to questions like the following: Who were the authors of this stupendous system? When and where did they live? Under what circumstances was their work carried on? And how did it stand related to other departments of Scriptural exegesis? Some of the most momentous processes in history (it has often been remarked) have been the most silent. They have been carried on, if not in secret, in so inconspicuous a manner, that they have scarce attracted the attention of those in whose midst they were developing, while events of infinitely less significance have had the full light of history let in upon them. Thus it is with the Massorites. Though we owe to their labours nothing less than the condition in which the text of Scripture has been handed down to us, and through us to the world at large, and for all that Hebrew grammar and lexicography are based on the foundation at which they have toiled, history takes but incidental and confused note of their momentous undertaking. The object of this paper is to attempt to give something like a connected account of the rise and development of these labours. But no one knows better than the writer how incomplete and unsatisfactory this attempt must prove. In the present state of our knowledge, the subject is everywhere beset with hypothesis and conjecture. Upon many vitally interesting points, indeed, even this feeble resource fails us, and we are left to grope our way in utter darkness. The history of the Massorah, even in outline, has yet to be written. At the present moment, it is nothing better than a *rudis et indigesta moles.* Many of the observations that we shall have occasion to make must therefore be viewed as suggestions rather than ascertained facts; as intended to stimulate rather than to satisfy inquiry; as pointing to what we do not know rather than to what we know.

Our sketch may be conveniently divided into three parts: (I.) The rudimentary development of the Massorah in the age of the Talmud; (II.) From the close of the Talmud, in the commencement of the sixth century, to Aaron ben Asher, by whom the Massorah was brought to a completion in the middle of the tenth century; (III.) Later additions to the Massorah, and the subsequent development of Massoretic studies down to our own day.

I.

The labours of the Massorites (understanding the term in a sense wide enough to include their precursors the Soferim) may be said to date from the close of the first or the com-

mencement of the second century of the common era.[1] It would seem that up till that time (the statements of Philo and Josephus notwithstanding) the copyists were in the habit of dealing with the text in a somewhat arbitrary fashion. The readings followed in the LXX. and Samaritan Pentateuch are evidence of this. Even when due allowance is made for theological bias, caprice, and carelessness on the part of the Hellenistic Jews and Samaritans, their divergencies from the *textus receptus* point to the prevalence in early times of widely differing *recensions* of Scripture, both in Palestine and Alexandria.[2]

Already during the existence of the Second Temple, serious efforts had been made to introduce uniformity into the text. We have it on the authority of the Talmud (*Chetuboth*, 106 *a*) that among the officers of the Temple there were paid readers, whose business it was to revise errors in Biblical scrolls. It was deemed a transgression of the Scriptural admonition, "Let not iniquity reside in thy tents" (Job xi. 14), to retain an imperfect copy of any book of the Bible. Consequently all scrolls had to be brought to the Temple for the purpose of being revised by a standard copy deposited in the forecourt (ספר עזרה).[3] Again we are told (*Jer. Taanith*, ch. iv. § 2, etc.)

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[1] The Massorah is carried back to the same date in a well-known table, which has been found in various forms, Chaldaic and Hebrew, in different works—in the Halle MS. of the אבלה ואבלה; in the *Dikduké Hateamim* of Ben Asher; at the end of a codex of Massecheth Kallah; in a Pentateuch MS. in the Synagogue Sicilia at Rome, etc. (see R. David Oppenheim, *Zur Geschichte der Massorah*, in Berliner's *Magazin*, 1875, p. 31, *sq.*, and Graetz, in *Monatsschrift*, 1887, p. 32, *sq.*). The following is the text of the passage, in Hebrew, as given in a *Seder Olam* (*Med. Jewish Chronicles*, ed. A. Neubauer, p. 174):—

המסורה הזו שמסר דוסא בן אלעזר בנו של ר' אפס שקבל מר' יהודה הבבלי שקבל מר' שמעון אביו שקבל מר' אדא ור' אדא היה באותו שעה גדול במקרא שקבל מר' המנונא שהוציאה מנהרדעי ור' המנונא ור' אדא קבלו שניהם מבקי שגלה מארץ ישראל לבבל שהגלוהו רופוס וכו'

The Rufus here referred to is no doubt the T. Annius Rufus (called by the Rabbins Turnus or Tyrannus Rufus) who perpetrated atrocities on the Jews of Palestine during the insurrection of Bar Cochba. R. Hamenuna, of Babylon, is specially referred to in *Jer. Taanith*, iv., § 2 as a teacher of Scripture and a contemporary of Jehudah the Prince. Other names in this list are also more or less known. Instead of בקי, the other recensions read מנקרי, מנקדי, מנקיי הדעת, or מנקיי, on which slender basis Oppenheim (*l. c.*) builds his remarkable theory of an early Massoretic school, identical with the Talmudical נקיי הדעת! On the other hand, Graetz (*l. c.*) supposes the entire list to be a Karaite fabrication.

[2] See Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 8-19 and pp. 231-259; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Lectures III. and IV.; Dillmann, in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, 2nd edit., Art. *Bibel-text des A. T.*, pp. 386-7.

[3] Rashi on Mishna, אין כותבין, *Moed Katan*, 18 *b*.

that three MSS. were once found in the Temple forecourt, which differed as to their readings. In the one they found (Deut. xxxiii. 27) the reading מעון, and in the two others מעונה. They accepted the latter reading and rejected the former. Again, in one of the scrolls they discovered the reading זעטוטי (Ex. xxiv. 5) as against נערי in the other two, and accepted the latter. Finally they preferred the reading היא to הוא (Gen. xxxii. 23), because it had two of the MSS. in its favour.

Despite these efforts, the Scriptural codices continued to differ from each other in important details until after the destruction of the Second Temple, when the Rabbinical authority became consolidated, and so was able to exercise an increasingly effective control over the text. The exact language of Holy Writ, and the precise spelling of words, more especially the question whether they were to be spelt with or without the quiescent letters (א, ה, ו, י), now began to receive critical attention.

The central figure of the new movement was the celebrated Akiba, who is said to have attached importance to every particle and grammatical peculiarity (אך, את, and the ו *conjunctivum*) in Scripture, and who takes a prominent part in discussions which turn on the traditional mode of writing and pronouncing certain words.[1] Its immediate outcome was the word-for-word Greek translation of Scripture executed by Akiba's pupil, the proselyte Aquila—a version which, besides being excessively literal, was based upon readings which came nearer to the Massoretic text than those which the translators of the LXX. and Samaritan Pentateuch had before them.

The *Ethics of the Fathers* (iii. 17) record a famous saying of this illustrious teacher, which throws a side-light on the principles which dominated his exegetical system—מסורת סייג לתורה "The traditional spelling of the Scribes is a fence to the law"; for important exegetical inferences are to be deduced therefrom. The term מסורת is of frequent occurrence in the Talmud in connection with the well-known discussion—יש אם למקרא יש אם למסורת—"whether the Halacha is to be based upon the generally received pronunciation of a word (מקרא); or whether it is to be conformed to the *traditional*, consonantal spelling of the Scribes

[1] It is significant in this connection that *Pesachim*, 112 *a*, represents Akiba advising his disciple Shimon ben Jochai to teach his son from a revised text of Scripture (ספר מוגה).

(מסורת)."[1] Akiba usually maintains the principle that we are to be guided by the current pronunciation (יש אם למקרא); but at times he bases his exegesis on the consonantal spelling, and it is to this, his exceptional procedure,[2] that his maxim in the *Ethics* must be referred. מָסוֹרֶת or מַסּוֹרֶת is the only form of the word that occurs in the Talmud. מסורה and the technical significance which this form acquired are both post-Talmudic.

While we can thus trace a definite beginning of the Massoretic labours in the age of Akiba, other ancient references point to the same conclusion. R. José (probably José the Galilean, the colleague of Akiba[3]) takes note in *Mishna Pesachim* (ix., § 2) of a point above the suspected ה of רחקה (Numbers ix. 10). The Sifri, which is almost contemporary[4] with the Mishna, enumerates (*in loco*)[5] the ten instances of "extraordinary points" which occur in the Pentateuch. This José likewise makes mention (*Beraitha, Berachoth*, 4*a*) of the only case of these points to be found in the Hagiographa.[6]

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[1] מקרא and מסורת thus correspond to קרי and כתיב. The explanation given above substantially agrees with that of Hupfeld (*Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 556 *sq.*) and Geiger (*Jüdische Zeitschrift*, i., pp. 290, 291). Other writers incorrectly explain in a reverse sense, rendering מקרא "consonantal spelling," and מסורת "traditional pronunciation." See *Sanhedrin*, 4 *a*; *Kidushin*, 18 *b*; *Pesachim*, 86 *b*; and several other Talmudical passages. The expression יש אם is usually explained to mean, "there is a well-grounded reason," and is connected (Saadja, *Commentary on* ספר יצירה—see Geiger, *loc. cit.*) with אום (*Mishna Negaim*, i., § 5) = עיקר. Rapoport, in his *Erech Millin*, connects אֵם with the *matres lectionis*, interpreting the formula to mean "We must be guided by the presence or absence of the quiescent letters in the accepted pronunciation; by their presence or absence in the consonantal spelling." Hirschfeld (*Halachische Exegese*, § 290, pp. 305, 306) takes אם (= "mother") to signify that form of the word which *contains* or *involves* the correct Halacha. Landau (ערוך Note *s. v.* אם [3]) relates אם to אמות הספים (Isaiah vi. 4). H. Pollack, in קבוצת חכמים (Vienna, 1861), renders אם "teaching of the sages," and explains thus:—"The teaching of the Sages requires us to interpret according to the accepted pronunciation—according to the writing of the Scribes." Mordecai Plungian (אור בוקר, pp. 1-6), deriving מסורת from אסר, to bind (see Ezekiel xx. 37), translates יש אם למסורת—"In explaining a word, we should be guided by its context (מסורת)," and יש אם למקרא—"We should expound the word itself, without reference to its context." Luzzatto (*l. c.*), consistently with his explanation of מסורה previously mentioned, understands מסורת סייג לתורה to refer to *memoriâ technica*, and יש אם למסורת to mean, "There are well-established reasons for the signs that have been handed down to us in regard to full and defective spelling."

[2] See *Rosh Hashana*, 25 *a*, אתם אתם אתם גי כתיב.

[3] Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 298.

[4] In its earlier recension. In the form in which it has come down to us it contains additions belonging to the fourth century.

[5] Cf. *Nazir*, 23*a*, *Baba Mezia*, 87*a*, *Menachoth*, 87*b*, etc.

[6] Psalm xxvii. 13, לולא. There are four such points in the Prophets (Massorah on Numbers iii. 39), none of which are referred to in the Talmud, making in all fifteen cases.

As it was not permitted to add marginal glosses to the Torah rolls, these diacritical marks were originally employed to "stigmatise" letters which it was thought ought to be elided, or which were omitted in some MSS.[1] This may be inferred from (*a*) the analogous significance of such points in Samaritan MSS., and (*b*) the fact that many of the words so pointed in the Hebrew Scriptures are actually wanting in the oldest translations (LXX., Samar., Syr.). R. José suggests a fanciful interpretation of the punctuated ה of רחקה. This would imply that the original significance of these points had been forgotten even in his time, so that they must have been introduced in a previous age. They appear to have been among the earliest of the written Massoretic signs. Their origin must certainly have been lost in obscurity when the Rabbins framed the following rule for their exposition:—"When the punctuated letters exceed the unpunctuated, interpret the former; when the punctuated are outnumbered by the unpunctuated, interpret the latter.[2]

One of the most eminent of Akiba's pupils, R. Meir, may likewise be ranked among the earliest Massoretic students. We often read of a codex written by R. Meir, who followed the profession of a Scribe.[3] This codex is variously referred to as תורתו של ר' מאיר, תלים של ר' מאיר, ספרא דר' מאיר. We are also informed of certain marginal glosses and variations from the *textus receptus* which it contained. Thus, at Gen. i. 21 there was appended the note והנה טוב מות.[4] Gen. iii. 21 read כתנות עור instead of בתנות עור.[5] At Gen. xlvi. 23 it furnished the more correct reading ובני דן חשים for ובני דן חשים.[6] At Isaiah xxi. 11 it had the marginal gloss רומי (רומה).[7] In his

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[1] Hüpeden (*Neue wahrsch. Muthmassung v. d. wahren Ursache u. Bedeutung d. ausserordentlichen Punkte*). Cf. Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, 19, § *d*, 8th ed.; Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 257, and Schorr in החלוץ (Lemberg, 1856), pp. 99 and 100. *Aboth de R. Nathan* (Schechter, xxxiv., נ"א) and the Midrash (*Bamidb. Rab.* iii., § 13, etc.), practically recognise the critical value of these points in the following *apparently* Hagadic explanation: — למה נקוד? אלא כך אמר עזרא אם יבוא אליהו ויאמר למה כתבת אותן (?) אומר לו כבר נקדתי עליהן, ואם יאמר יפה כתבת כבר אמחוק נקודותיהם מעליהן. Others regard the points as equivalent to our modern italics.—See Moise Schwab's Monograph, *Des Points Voyelles dans les Langues Sémitiques*, p. 26.

[2] *Ber. Rab.*, xlviii., § 17.

[3] *Erubin*, 13 *a*; *Sota*, 20 *a*; *Gittin*, 67 *a*.

[4] *Ber. Rab.*, ix., § 9; Maimonides, *Moré Nebuchim*, iii., ch. 10.

[5] *Ber. Rab.*, xx., § 29. Onkelos appears to have had the same reading, for he translates לבושין דיקר.

[6] *Ib.*, xlv., § 8.

[7] *Jer. Taanith*, i., § 1.

recension of the Psalms, הללויה was written, in opposition to the opinion of some of the Rabbins, as one word.[1]

Of considerable antiquity[2] also must have been that method of (critical) emendation denominated *Keri* and *Chetib*—the substitution in public worship (and subsequently in the form of marginal scholia) of readings other than those found in the text. These Keris must have had various origins. Some of them, no doubt, originated from variants in the ancient MSS.[3] Others arose, from the necessity of replacing (*a*) erroneous, (*b*) difficult, (*c*) irregular or provincial, (*d*) archaic, (*e*) unseemly or cacophonous expressions by (*a*) correct (*b*) simpler, (*c*) regular, (*d*) current, (*e*) appropriate or euphonious readings.[4] A third class may have been designed to call attention to some mystic meaning or homiletical lesson supposed to be embodied in the text.[5]

While it is impossible to assign a date for the introduction of *Keri* and *Chetib*, it is evident that the contrast implied by these terms could not have arisen until after the text had assumed a settled form. Before that time the Keris would have been embodied in the text itself, as was done with the *Tikuné Soferim*. On the other hand, as Frankel[6] has shown, many of these variations must have been known to the authors of the LXX., who usually exhibit a preference for the *Keri*.

The simplest cases, and therefore perhaps the earliest, were the variant spellings of לא and לו. The Mishna (*Sotah*, v., § 5) records an instance (Job xiii. 15) in which considerable doubt is felt in regard to the correct form of this word—an ambi-

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[1] *Jer. Succah*, iii., § 12.—See on the subject of R. Meir's variations the important article of A. Epstein in the *Monatsschrift*, 1885, p. 337 *sq.* Another important gloss of R. Meir, on Gen. xlv. 8, is given in an ancient recension of *Ber. Rab.*, quoted by Epstein (p. 342):—בספרו של ר' מאיר כתוב וישני לאב שנאמר אשר ישה ברעהו.

[2] הלכה למשה מסיני. *Nedarim*, 37 *b.*

[3] Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, § 148; Cf. Kimchi, Introduction to *Commentary on Joshua*. Joseph Ibn Wakar (fourteenth century) likewise denominates them "variæ lectiones" (נוסחאות).—Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 270, note 15.

[4] See Abravanel, Introduction to *Commentary on Jeremiah;* and on this subject generally Ginsburg's article "Keri and Kethiv," in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.*

[5] This last explanation of the origin of *Keri* and *Chetib* may not infrequently be applied to other portions of the Massoretic system. As it was not permitted to commit the Oral Law to writing in early times, we may suppose that the Soferim (who, besides being the precursors of the Massorites, were likewise the Fathers of Tradition) employed the phenomena of *Keri* and *Chetib*, *Scriptio plena et defectiva*, etc., together with various calligraphic signs, as *memoriâ technica* of Halachic and Hagadic teachings (see Krochmal: *Moré Nebuché Hazeman*, ch. xiii.).

[6] *Vorstudien*, p. 220 *sq.*

guity which is subsequently reflected in the Massoretic *Keri* and *Chetib* in this passage. Variations of לא and לו are elsewhere (*Chullin*, 65 *a*, and *Erechin*, 32 *a*[1]) explained by R. Eliezer, the son of the R. José whom we have already met with; whence it appears that the critical studies of R. José were carried forward by his son.[2]

Several of the Keris noted in the Talmud are of a euphemistic character, being based upon the Rabbinical principle (*Megillah*, 25 *b*), "All expressions in Scripture which are unseemly are to be altered in reading." The mode of pronouncing the name of the Deity may be considered as a special kind of euphemism, and is referred to at *Kidushin*, 71 *a*, and *Pesachim*, 50 *a*.

Although the majority of the Keris and Chetibs must have had a critical origin, the Talmud seldom or never concerns itself with this aspect of the subject. Its object being to develop the Hagada and Halacha, it often adopts both readings, which it seeks to combine in a Hagadic or Halachic interpretation. Thus it explains that ואכבד (Hag. i. 8) is read ואכבדה because of the five things which were to be found in the First Temple but were wanting in the Second (*Joma*, 21 *b*).[3]

A further trace of the labours of the early Massorites is to be found in the various references embodied in the Talmud and Midrash to those Scriptural passages in regard to which the Rabbins entertained doubts whether they should construe certain words with the preceding or subsequent clause.[4]

The Talmud has, moreover, much to say (*Shabbath*, 115 *b*) about the inverted נ which precedes and follows Numbers x.

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[1] Here the two readings are merged, as they are in the Massoretic text at Gen. xxxi. 35.

[2] See Geiger, *Zur Geschichte der Massorah* (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii. p. 80).

[3] Cf. *Zebachim*, 37 *b* and 38 *a*, אהני מקרא ואהני מסורת. Very often the reason why both readings were adopted and a mystic explanation sought for the composite form was that the variant readings, having been found in different MSS., were assumed to be of co-ordinate inspired authority.—The variation of *Keri* and *Chetib* should be distinguished from the Talmudical formula אל תקרא כך אלא כך ("Read not so, but so"). This had no critical value whatever, and was never intended to be taken *au sérieux*. Yet it has occasionally misled copyists to make absurd alterations in the text. Some Kennicott MSS., *e. g.*, read וישתבחו in Ecclesiastes viii. 10 because, forsooth, the Talmud (*Gittin*, 56 *b*) had playfully remarked אל תקרא וישתכחו אלה וישתבחו (Cf. *Minchath Shai*, *in loco*).

[4] *Joma*, 52 *a*, *b*; *Shabbath*, 30 *b*; *Jerushalmi Aboda Zara*, ii., § 7; *Chagiga*, 6 *b*; Cf. *Ber. Rab.*, lxxx., § 5; *Shir Hashir. Rab*, i., § 7; *Tanchuma* פ׳ בישלח, No. 26; Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 443; Graetz, in *Monatsschrift*, 1882, p. 388; *Minchath Shai* on Ex. xxiv. 5, and the *Massorah Magna* on Deut. xxxi. 16. Most of the above enumerate the following five passages: Gen. iv. 7 (שאת), xxxiv. 7 (כשמעם), Ex. xvii. 9 (מחר), xxiv. 34 (משוקדים) and Deut. xxxi. 16 (וקם). The *Jerushalmi* (*l. c.*) adds Gen. xlix. 7 (ארור); *Chagiga* (*l.c.*) refers to the doubtful construction of Ex. xxiv. 5.

35 and 36. The explanation of this phenomenon offered by the Rabbins—that these verses have fallen out of their original place[1]—finds some confirmation in the LXX., which places them *before* the 34th verse. R. Jehuda Hanassi,[2] on the contrary, discovers in these signs a hint that the verses form a book by themselves, so that the Law would comprise seven instead of five books.[3] Adopting Jehuda's view as the more likely one, we may regard these couple of verses as the remnants of a lost book which gave a detailed account of the battles waged by the Israelites during the forty years of their wanderings, and of the songs in which they celebrated their victories; to which book reference is made in Numbers xxi. 14, under the title of "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah."[4] On the other hand, the former theory must be adopted for Psalm cvii. 23-31, which is also marked, according to the Massorah, with inverted *Nuns*;[5] although the Talmud explains them, hagadistically, to have a qualifying significance.[6]

The pendent letters (תלויות) likewise come under the notice of the Talmud, and are homiletically interpreted. The suspended נ in מנשה (Judg. xviii. 30) is taken to imply (*Baba Bathra*, 109 *b*) that though Jonathan was the grandson of Moses, his idolatrous actions befitted a descendant of the wicked Manasseh.[7] The ע of מרשעים (Job xxxviii. 13 and 15) is understood to teach that they who are poor below are likewise poor above (*Sanhedrin* 103 *b*).[8]

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[1] Cf. *Sifri* פ׳ בהעלותך No. 84, נקוד עליו מלמעלה ומלמטה מפני שלא היה זה מקומו; *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. xxxiv., נ״א. Hamburger (*Real-Encyclopädie*, ii. p. 1215, note 10) is clearly wrong in referring נקוד עליו מלמעלה to the *puncta extraordinaria*.

[2] Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 81), regards this as a mistake for José the Galilean.

[3] So also *Soferim*, vi. 1; *Ber. Rab.*, lxiv., § 7; *Vayik Rab.*, xi. § 3; *Jalkut Mishlé*, No. 9.

[4] Hochstädter, in *Ben Chananja*, 1865, No. 39, p. 689; Joel Müller, *Mas. Soferim*, p. 85.

[5] To show that verses 23-31 should be inserted between verses 32 and 33.

[6] באכין ורקין שבתורה (*Rosh Hashanah*, 17 *b*.).

[7] Omitting its homiletic element, this view of the Talmud may be interpreted to mean that some ancient scribe, doubting whether the idolatrous Jonathan could possibly have been a grandson of Moses, inserted the נ conjecturally, as a "suspended letter." The Targum and LXX. read מנשה, Hieronymus reads מושה.

[8] The simplest account of the "pendent letters" is that they were inserted by way of correction, in the same way as we should insert an omitted letter nowadays. See W. Robertson Smith's *Lectures on the Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, iii., p. 70.—The Massorah on Job xxxviii. 13, as also *Vayik. Rab.*, xiii., § 5, *Shir Hashir. Rab.*, iii. § 4, Midrash on Psalms lxxx. 14, *Jalkut ib.*, and *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. xxxiv (נ״א) regard the ע in מיער as a suspended letter, as if the word were another reading for מיאר "from the river." But this is an error. The ע of מיער was originally a majuscular letter, being the middle letter of the Psalms (*Kidushin*, 30 *a*)—Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 258-9.

Other abnormal forms of letters discussed in the Talmud are the final *Mem* in לִמְרִבָּה[1] (Is. ix. 6, *Sanhedrin*, 94 *a*), the initial ה of "חלח (Deut. xxxii. 6, *Jer. Megillah*, i. 9),[2] the large ו of ויזתא (Esther ix. 9, *Megillah*, 16 *b*), and the broken or shortened ו (ויו קטיעא) in שלום (Num. xxv. 12, *Kidushin*, 66 *b*.).

We may now consider the famous passage in *Nedarim*, 37 *b sq.*, which has an important bearing on our subject. Commenting on Nehemiah viii. 8, ויקראו בספר בתורת האלהים מפרש ושם שכל ויבינו במקרא—the Talmud observes that the expression ושם שכל refers to the versual divisions (הפסוקים), while ויבינו במקרא relates to the pausal divisions (פיסוק טעמים), and some think to the מסורות.

It is of importance to inquire (this importance will be made apparent later on) what the Talmud precisely means by "versual divisions," pausal divisions, and מסורות. Obviously the Talmud is not referring to written signs of any kind, for Nehemiah viii. 8 is describing a public recital of the Law. The divisions spoken of must therefore be of the nature of elocutionary pauses. As for the term מסורות, in this connection it can only mean "received pronunciation," but this significance is exceptional.[3]

The passage continues, R. Isaac (second century) asserts that כתיבן ולא קריין ולא כתיבן, עטור סופרים, מקרא סופרים and קריין are all of Sinaitic origin.[4] By מ"ס we are to understand

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[1] For a possible explanation of this phenomenon see Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 295.

[2] The direction of the Talmud is that the ה shall be written below the ל; that of *Mas. Soferim* (ix., § 6) and the Massorah, that it shall be written as a separate word. Geiger (*Zur Geschichte der Massorah*: *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 89) connects this direction of the Talmud with the rule that if a mistake be discovered in a scroll in the transcription of the Divine Name, neither the Name, nor its prefixes nor suffixes, may be erased, but its surroundings must be altered; and if necessary, a letter may be introduced above or below the line. This ה, Geiger thinks, may have been omitted by some copyist by mistake, or added subsequently for the sake of explicitness; and in consequence of the stichometrical arrangement of the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy not allowing the previous word to be erased to make room for it, it had to be inserted *below* the ל. But *Mas. Soferim* and the later Massorah, in order to mark more emphatically the interrogative significance of the ה, wrote it as one of the *majusculæ* and a separate word too (cf. Graetz, in *Monatsschrift*, 1872, p. 8 *sq.*; Menachem di Lonzano, אור תורה *in loco*; J. B. De Rossi, *Variæ Lectiones*, ii., p. 66; *Eben Sappir*, i., p. 16, note).

[3] Geiger supposes (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 84) that וי"א אלו המסורות may be a later addition to the Gemara, made at a time when the word "Massoreth" had acquired a more extensive signification than it bears in the Talmud.—*Jer. Megillah* (*loc. cit.*) reads ושום שכל אילו הטעמים ויבינו במקרא זה המסורת וי"א אילו ההכריעים וי"א אילו ראשי פסוקים הכריעים [= the syntactical grouping of words].

[4] This is not to be understood literally, for several of the examples subsequently quoted are not from the Pentateuch.

the "received pronunciation" of words like שָׁמַיִם, אֶרֶץ and מִצְרַיִם which are to be read with *Kamez* in pause.[1] ע"ס signifies the removal in a number of cases (five only of which are mentioned) of a ו which had crept into the text, possibly through a vitiated, provincial pronunciation.[2] ק"כ denotes words which are read though not found in the text, and כ"ק words which, although found in the text, are omitted in reading.[3]

Not less valuable and interesting is the information which *Kidushin*, 30 *a*, furnishes with respect to another branch of the labours of the early Massorites. The passage is to the following effect:—"Therefore were the ancient sages styled סופרים, because they numbered all the letters in the Law,[4] and noted that the ו of גחון (Lev. xi. 42) was the middle letter of the Pentateuch. Further, they computed that דרש דרש (Ib. x. 16) were the middle words; that Lev. xiii. 33 (והתגלח, etc.) was the middle verse,[5] that the ע in מיער (Psalms lxxx. 14) was the middle letter of the Psalms, and Psalm lxxviii. 38 the middle verse. By "middle" in this connection is not to be understood the middle of an odd, but of an even series of letters and verses. Accordingly, the Talmud asks whether the ו of גחון belongs to the former or latter half of the letters of the Pentateuch. To this question the Rabbins of that age are unable to return an answer, because they are not as well versed as their predecessors were in the subject of full and defective spelling (אינהו בקיאי בחסירות ויתרות אנן לא בקיאינן).

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[1] Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 251) explains that אֶרֶץ is changed into אֶרֶן after an article, and that the other two words have a dual form without a dual significance.

[2] Rashi and Tosephoth understand ע"ס to mean a stylistic improvement in the use of אהר. Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 8, note) thinks the expression may denote small circular marks placed above words.—Under the head of מטעין (mistakes) or סבירין (conjectures) the Massorah has elided a ו in several additional cases, the letter being retained in the ancient translations: the LXX., the Samaritan Pentateuch, and even the Jerusalem Targum. See *Minchath Shai* on Gen. xxxi. 36, etc.; Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 251-253; and for other authorities on the subject, Strack, *Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, p. 86.

[3] The above passage is remarkable for containing *lists* of the principal alterations of the Scribes. These lists may be regarded as a kind of rudimentary *Massorah finalis* (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 5).

[4] Cf. *Sanhedrin*, 106 *b*; *Chagiga*, 15 *b*; איה סופר כל אותיות שבתורה.

[5] According to *Soferim*, ix., § 3, Lev. viii. 15 is the middle verse, while the Massorah (without assigning any calligraphic distinction to it) marks Lev. viii. 8 as the half of the Pentateuch (חצי פסוקים של תורה ויישם עליו את החשן). These different results apparently correspond to three separate systems of computation—the Babylonian the Palestinian, and the Karaite (assuming the Karaites to have been the authors of the written Massorah). The Babylonian school, as represented in the Babylonian Talmud, computed the Scriptures to contain about 26,000 verses; the Palestinian school (*Soferim* and the *Midrash*), 23,199; and the Karaites, 23,203.—Graetz, in *Monatsschrift*, March, 1885; Cf. Rapoport, in Polak's הלכות קדם, pp. 10 and 11.

And not being as expert as the early Soferim in the matter of versualisation, they are equally unable to say whether Lev. xiii. 33 belongs to the former or latter half of the Pentateuch. The Talmud then makes mention of the interesting fact (which is also to be found in the passage from *Nedarim* just commented upon) that a certain verse in Exodus (xix. 9) was divided by the Palestinians into three verses.[1] It is likely enough that this division was connected with the Palestinian custom of extending the reading of the Law over three years. Next follows a valuable item of information. The number of verses in the Pentateuch is computed, on the earlier authority of some *Beraitha* (תנו רבנן), to be 5,888;[2] that in Psalms eight less, and that in Chronicles eight more.

The importance of this passage will justify the length at which it has been quoted. Principally it is of interest for the clear evidence it furnishes that a numerical Massorah had been developed by the Rabbins, even as early as the second century.[3] This branch of the Massoretic studies would of course receive increased attention as time progressed. We are not without evidence on this point; evidence which goes to show that a large number of statistics had been compiled during the age of the Talmud, or somewhat later, which formed the basis of

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[1] A converse instance of verse-division is furnished by *Vayik Rab.*, xiii., § 5, which regards Lev. xi. 5-7 as *one* verse—משה נתן שלשתן בפסוק אחד. In some parts of the Pentateuch a double mode of verse-division obtained, one adapted to the sense, and the length of a period; the other for use in public reading, in which the Chaldaic paraphrase followed each verse (See Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, p. 24, etc.).

[2] Our מקראות enumerate 5,845 verses (cf. *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iv., p. 265), and the *Jalkut* on עקב (No. 855) has 15,844 verses. This may, perhaps, be explained in connection with the triple division of Exodus xix. 9, and the Palestinian triennial cycle, of which this division is an indication (see Graetz, in *Monatsschrift*, March, 1885, and for a different view, Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 185). For the literature connected with the subject of versualisation in the Talmud, etc., and Massorah, see Strack, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[3] The Jews are not the only nation of antiquity who have possessed a numerical Massorah of their sacred writings. Speaking of the Rig Veda hymns, Prof. Max Müller says: "As early as about 600 B.C. we find that in the theological schools of India, every verse, every word, every syllable of the Veda had been carefully counted. The number of verses, as computed in treatises of that date, varies from 10,402 to 10,622; that of the words is 153,826; that of the syllables, 432,000" (*Selected Essays*, vol. ii., p. 119). The Samaritans likewise counted the verses, etc., of the Law, reckoning Lev. vii. 15 as the middle verse, and they calculated the number of *Kazzin*, or paragraphs into which each book was divided. At a considerably later period, the Arabs (probably in imitation of the Jews) compiled a numerical Massorah of the Koran, which they computed contained 323,015 letters and 77,639 words, and they reckoned how many times each letter of the alphabet was to be found in the Koran (Sale's *Koran*, Preliminary Discourse III.; Ewald, *Abhandlungen zur orientalischen u. bib. Literatur*, I., p. 57). Similarly the Persians, Chinese, and Greeks (see Strack, in *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, 1878, p. 358, and *Prolegomena*, p. 12, note 29). The Syrian Massorah will be referred to later on.

later Massoretic computations. *Shabbath*, 49 *b*, calculates that the word מלאכה occurs in the Pentateuch 39 times; *Shabbath*, 115 *b*, that there are 85 letters in Numb. x. 35 and 36; *Jebamoth*, 86 *b*, that the expression הכהנים הלוים is used 24[1] times, and *Berachoth*, 9 *b*, that 103 Psalms precede the Hallelujah compositions. The *Pesikta* of Rab Cahana, 34 *b* and 35 *a* (ed. Buber), and various other Midrashim, compute the number of verses in Proverbs. The *Sifri*, ch. 342, states that 10[2] men were called איש האלהים. The *Mechilta*, ch. 15, and Pirké de R. Eliezer, ch. 32, mention that three persons (and some say four) were named by God Himself.[3] *Echah Rab.* on גדע בחרי אף, enumerates ten קרנות. *Aboth de R. Nathan* (ch. xxxiv., Ed. Schechter נ"א) calculates how many times היא is written in the Torah with a י. Ten tongues are called תפלה (*Sifri*, ch. xxvi.); עשה לך occurs four times (*Ber. Rab.*, xxxi. § 8); there are ten instances of *a fortiori* reasoning in Scripture; and numerous similar calculations.

The passage which is engaging our attention is further important for its reference to the subject of full and defective spelling (מלא וחסר), which, as we have seen, commenced to attract the notice of the Rabbins about the end of the first century C.E. In the Jerusalem Talmud we frequently meet with the expression ספרא and its plural ספריא. The ספרא was an authority on this subject, besides being a public reader of the Law and a schoolmaster.[4] One Rab Huna is called ספרא דסדרא, and is appealed to on the question whether a certain word זרועיה, in Isaiah lxi. 11, shall be spelt *plene* or *defective*.[5] *Succah*, 38 *b*, assigns the following rank to the

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[1] This is incorrect. The Massorah correctly reckons הכהנים הלוים thirteen times, and והכהנים הלוים thrice.

[2] The Massorah gives eleven.

[3] The Massorah enumerates four as having been named before they were born.

[4] See *Jer. Megillah*, iv., § 5.

[5] *Jer. Kilaim*, iii., § 1. Cf. *Shabbath*, ix. § 2, אשתאילת לרב הונא ספרא דסדרא ואמר זרועיה מליא—the only passages in the two Talmuds where מלא is used in the meaning of *plenum*, instead of יתר (Frankel מבוא הירושלמי, pp. 118 *b*, 119 *a*, and *Monatsschrift*, 1866, p. 276). Frankel is of opinion that the סופרים referred to in *Kidushin* are identical with the ספריא in the Jerusalem Talmud; that the abrupt commencement of the passage with לפיכך points to the first part having been lost; that the expression ראשנים is a mistake, for the early Soferim did *not* make calculations; that these סופרים or ספריא are referred to as *contemporaries* (אינהי בקיאי not אינהי הוו); and that they flourished between the second and fifth centuries. Frankel adds that the ספרא is to be distinguished from the קרא (*Jer. Kilaim*, ix. § 7, *Bab. Kidushin*, 49 *a*, etc. Cf. the בעלי מקרא *Baba Mezia*, 33 *b*). The latter applied himself to the study of Scripture, but did not combine with it the profession of a Massorite. (See, however, on this point D. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 38 *b*, and cf. Frankel in מבוא הירושלמי, *loc. cit.*, with Frankel in *Monatsschrift*, *loc. cit.*)

סופרים: they come immediately after the חכמים or Rabbins, after them follow the ריש עמא or Wardens, and finally come the דרשנים or Preachers. With reference to the painstaking accuracy with which they transcribed codices, they are spoken of in *Menachoth*, 29 *b*, as ספרי דווקני דבי רב (" exact copyists "), and the proverb became current ספרא בציורא תנא תוספאה, " The *Safra* is minutely accurate in regard to writing words defectively, but the *Halachist* is less careful " (D. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

Of the תקוני סופרים (unseemly expressions amended in the text) there is no mention in the Talmud, but they are frequently cited in the Midrashim.[1] Of their great antiquity, seeing that they were alterations inserted in the body of the text, and not in the usual manner, by way of *Keri* and *Chetib*, there can be no question.

Such are some of the most important references[2] in the Mishna and Talmud to the labours of the Scribes in connection with the sacred text, and they are numerous and varied enough to justify the assertion that the basis, at least, of the Massoretic system had been laid between the second and sixth centuries.

ISIDORE HARRIS.

[*To be continued.*]

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[1] See *Mechilta* בשלח, ch. 6; *Sifri* בהעלותך פ׳, No. 84; *Ber. Rab.*, xlix. 12; *Shemoth Rab.*, xiii. 2, xxx. 12, and xli. 4; *Vayik. Rab.*, xi. 5; *Tanchuma* on Ex. xv. 6, where the institution is ascribed (apparently by some glossist—see Azariah de Rossi אמרי בינה, ch. xix.) to the men of the Great Synagogue. The enumerations in some of these Midrashim differ from that of the Massorah (Numbers xii. 12 and Psalm cvi. 20) which mentions eighteen instances, styling them in the former passage יח תקון עזרא.—Some authorities hold that תי׳ does not signify a Rabbinical amendment of the text; but an *a priori* periphrasis of the author himself, after the manner of Soferim or Stylists, and this they take to be the force of כינה הכתוב in the *Mechilta*, etc. So too Aaron ben Asher, in his דקדוקי הטעמים (p. 44, ed. Baer and Strack), and Shelomo ben Adereth, in פירושי אגדות לרשב״א p. 32 *sq.* (*R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth*, von Dr. J. Perles). Nöldeke (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1869, p. 2001 *sq.*, quoted by W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 400) thinks that the tradition of תי׳ merely embodies, in no very accurate form, the recollection that the ancient recensions sometimes varied from the later official text (see Pinsker in *Kerem Chemed*, ix., p. 52 *sq.*; Reifmann in *Beth Talmud*, 1882; Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 173, note *a*; Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 308 *sq.*; Hamburger, *op. cit.*, p. 1218; Berliner, *Magazin*, 1876, p. 109; and for an extensive list of authorities, Strack, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

[2] It will be noted that the majority of these particulars were subsequently embodied by the Massorites in the *Massorah parva*, from which it may be inferred that the *Massorah parva* was an earlier work than the *Massorah magna*, and not an abridgment of it, as some writers (*e.g.* Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, Art. Old Testament, p. 602 *b*) consider.

MYSTIC PASSAGES IN THE PSALMS.

THE very title of this essay may seem sufficient to condemn it. An accurate definition of mysticism will, at any rate, be demanded from a writer who claims to find mystic passages in the Psalter. But an accurate definition of mysticism I am no more prepared to give than Professor Seth, who writing on this subject in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is fain to describe mysticism rather than to define it. Yet I fear that Professor Seth, like most other investigators, would not approve the introduction of the word "mystic" to qualify any possible fragment of the Old Testament Canon. Neither the Greek nor the Hebrew mind, he tells us, lent itself readily to mysticism: "The Greek, because of its clear and sunny naturalism; the Hebrew, because of its rigid monotheism and its turn towards worldly realism and statutory observance." I do not want to argue at length about what is in the main a matter of terminology. My reasons for applying the term "mystic" to certain select passages in the Psalms are, first, that I do not know of any other word which precisely describes those particular religious features which connect these passages together; secondly, that it would undoubtedly appear as if the essential ideas of mysticism are actually contained in them. That there is no mystical system in the Psalter, and that everything is still simple, naïve, and even tentative, will be abundantly evident in the sequel, but may properly be premised at starting. Mystical passages, I think, there are: mysticism, as a co-ordinated system, there is not.

The essential ideas of mysticism are, first, that without the need of intermediary or external connective, there can be and is a real communion between God and man: secondly, that this real communion is brought about by the active co-operation of both parts of the dual relationship; and thirdly, that man realizes the communion not through processes of reasoning, but directly and intuitively through feeling. If it be thought that these essential ideas lie at the root not merely of all true mysticism, but also of all true religion, the reply would be, that mysticism does comprise a certain aspect of religion, or, in other words, that religion, in that part of it

which deals with the relation of the individual soul to God, culminates in mysticism. Between religion and mysticism there must subsist a close and lasting connection, but for the aberrations and excrescences of mysticism, religion, as such, is in no wise responsible.[1]

Although mystics of various creeds have said hard things of the human understanding, it is obvious that the faculty by which we realize God is not dissociated from reason. If mysticism contains any truth at all, then must the God who is revealed in feeling, be one with the God who is demanded by reason. Mysticism is not necessarily irrational, but its sense of, and belief in, God are peculiar and distinct. The same religious doctrine can be looked at from a purely rational and also from a mystical point of view. The Deuteronomist commands the love of God, and the propriety of such a love to the assumed Author of goodness and life can be neatly proved by a fairly cogent process of deductive reasoning. The Psalmist needs no bidding and no argument to stimulate his love. He can but give back what he receives. "Thy love is better than life itself; my lips shall praise thee."

Our very belief in God may have a variety of sources, and yet these sources need not be self-conflicting. Either metaphysical or moral arguments may lead to the conviction that there must exist an infinite and self-conscious Divine Being. I may have been taught as a child to believe that God is, and although I have never dwelt in thought or feeling upon this subject, I should always answer in the affirmative to the question whether I believed in his existence. So also I have been taught that the Battle of Hastings was fought in 1066, and wherever and whenever you questioned me as to my belief upon the date, I should always give you the same unvarying answer. But the mystic, the man who both begins and ends with God, does not believe in him as a metaphysical or moral necessity, nor, however much it may owe to them, is his belief the mere conventional outcome of education and environment. And the author of the Psalm from which I have just quoted, wrote as he did, because he had felt God,—had realised him in feeling.

If, in the general sense here indicated, there are mystical passages to be found anywhere within the range of the Old

[1] The Germans are able to distinguish between mysticism as the inward core of religion, and mysticism as a one-sided system. The one is Mystik, the other Mysticismus. Cp. for the right usage of the two words Nitzsch's *System der Christlichen Lehre*, pp. 32-37. Nitzsch says, "Die innerliche Lebendigkeit der Religion ist allezeit Mystik." Cp. also Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, 5th edition, vol. 1, p. 21.

Testament Canon, it is in the Psalms where they should especially be sought. For the doctrine of the direct communion with God will more naturally be dwelt upon or alluded to in the freer and more individualising portions of religious literature, where the speaker deals with his own experience and is concerned with his own spiritual needs and aspirations. And this is precisely the place which is filled by the Psalter in the Hebrew Scriptures. The Psalms occupy a unique position in that collection. They form a kind of touchstone to which we may bring the religion of Israel during some five centuries of its growth and test its value. For the worth of a religion lies in its effect upon the character of the individual, and the Psalms as the expression of inward religious sentiment reflect, as accurately as songs and prayers can, the result of external religious environment upon individual tendencies of feeling and disposition. In the legal and historical writings there is clearly no room for any display of "personal religion." The prophets believed themselves charged with a direct message from God, and their religious utterances, however coloured by peculiarities of individual character, deal with religion in its relation to society at large. The so-called Wisdom literature, which comprises the Books of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes, is reflective and didactic both in object and form; the tone and temper of the Wise Men are little calculated for the production of mysticism. But in the Psalter the field is ready. A large proportion of the Psalms are the fresh and free expression of the writer's own feelings at the moment of composition. There are no lyrical poems more instinct with spontaneity than the majority of the Psalms. They were not written to instruct others, but because the soul was full and overflowed in words.

The religion of the Psalter (and what is true of its religion in general is equally true as applied to its mystical passages) is sincere, vigorous and earnest; it is naïve, ingenuous and undogmatic; it is fresh, virile and unstereotyped. Who the authors of the Psalms were we can never know, but for the best of them this much at least is clear, that they were, on their own particular ground, great men of large experience; keen, eager, life-loving souls with strong feelings and even with strong passions, whose religion, if sometimes crude and cruel, is never morbid or unhealthy. These men were endowed with an intensity of religious sentiment which, in every age, is but the possession of a few, while for us its value is heightened because of its large measure of first hand originality. Their religious feelings did not naturally run into certain already existing and more or less conventional moulds;

the form as well as the thought is their own creation. Many of the Psalms are clearly due to small personal incidents, but yet, through the religious genius of the writers, the lyrics, that are the result of these petty local and temporary events, contain truths that are universal and everlasting. Hence it is that the Psalms have become for the individual worshipper, as well as for the community, the religious classic *par excellence*. They fulfil that condition which Rückert has said to be necessary for the transformation of the *Gelegenheits-Gedicht* into a poem for all "the Worlds and the Ages":—

> Nur wenn es Ewiges im Zeitlichen enthält,
> Ist heut es für das Fest und morgen für die Welt.

Since the mysticism which deals with the direct communion of man with God can be fitly regarded as an element of religion itself,—either its consummation or its perversion, according to the particular point of view adopted—it is not strange that in compositions like the Psalms, where there is no conscious straining after mystical phraseology, it is not possible to draw a hard and fast line, distinguishing the passages which are generally religious or spiritual, from those which by the peculiarity of their thought and time, may be allocated by themselves into a separate mystical category. But this difficulty is common. Day and night are very different things, though it is hard to say when the day has ended and the night begun. And so, too, there are passages in the Psalms which this word "mystic" most fitly describes, although between them and others which are certainly not mystic at all, the gap is bridged over by steps of most delicate gradation. The mystic passages in question are not very numerous. Not all the Psalms are written upon the same high level of religious experience, while of many the scope and object preclude the possibility of mystical expressions. That fundamental axiom of all mysticism, "the direct, close and immediate relation of the soul of man to God," Dean Church, in his delightful lectures on the Sacred Poetry of Early Religions, has characterised as the "first element" of any more developed religious consciousness, and declared that it pervades every single Psalm, from the first to the last. Yet, however true this assertion may be, it is only in certain Psalms that this belief is developed into the doctrine of the direct communion. For that communion must not be considered included in the general assumption that man prays and God hears his prayer. Such a relationship is too cold and formal for the religious ardency of the noblest Psalms; the doctrine of the mystical communion is not reached till that communion is desired and regarded as an end in itself, that carries with it its own reward.

Such a teaching must obviously find its most appropriate place in those Psalms which possess an individualising character. There are, however, somewhat over eighty Psalms which are liturgical hymns—religious songs for the whole community, and in these the mystical element is naturally wanting. Of the remaining seventy, where, to all appearances, it is an individual who is pouring forth his prayer and aspiration, there are several in which many scholars hold that the speaker is a personification, representing the nation as a whole, or the pious kernel of the Jewish Community. Thus Professor Cheyne holds that in that apparently most intensely personal and individual Psalm, the fifty-first, the single speaker is only a personification for the chosen spirits among the Jewish people. Yet for our present purpose it is, I think, sufficiently safe to neglect the personification theory. For in any case the speaker, though he feel and speak as a member of a distinct religious community, and though he be conscious of representing the cause of God's chosen servants, is nevertheless telling us the results of his own spiritual life, and his words are the accurate transcript of what in his own individual soul he has realised in feeling. Identified as he is with the larger unity of which he forms a part, he has not chosen his words with studious and elaborate care to set forth the religious experiences of others; they are the fresh and faithful record of his own. His sense of God's nearness may, to some extent, be conditioned by the conviction that the true Israel is watched over by God with especial abundance of loving kindness. But still the fact remains that every word the Psalmist utters is the genuine outcome of his own feelings, which is thus both the source of his inspiration and the guarantee of its truth.

In what ways, then, do the Psalmists speak of the communion of man with God? It must again be insisted that no system of mysticism must be expected in the Psalter. All is youthful, simple and germinating. We must not look for more than isolated expressions scattered here and there, which later writers have developed and connected together into a systematic whole. Moreover, it is always to be remembered that not only is the date at which any particular Psalm was written very frequently doubtful, but that between the earliest and the latest Psalm there lies an interval of not less than 500 years. From the fragmentary utterances of authors so widely separated in time, it stands to reason that no connected religious system can be extracted. A particular thought which may be found in one Psalm, such for instance as that of the Holy Spirit, in the fifty-first, must certainly not be assumed as the common belief of the Psalmists as a whole. When we speak

of "the Psalmist" as teaching any special doctrine, we must always be understood to refer only to the particular writer or writers in which the special doctrine is to be found.

To appreciate the views of the several Psalmists upon the communion of man with God, it is necessary to notice carefully their manner of regarding God. We must enquire what aspects of the Divine nature especially appealed to them.

In the Psalter, as in every other portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, the fundamental quality of the Godhead is conceived as Righteousness. The righteous God reveals himself to the righteous. The passport into the kingdom of heaven must bear the warrant of morality. The next most important Divine quality for our present purpose is that of being a Deliverer and Saviour from trouble and distress. It is not unnatural that the Psalms which show the deepest craving after God, should be those in which the writer alludes to miseries and misfortunes which he has undergone or is still undergoing. The Psalmists were human beings like the rest of us; and in all ages it has been found that the sense of God's presence is quickened by the trials of sorrow. The Psalms are full of complaints against cruel persecution and ill treatment. We hear of reproach, scorn and slander; base ingratitude and treachery; open violence and plots against the life. The actual nature of these afflictions we can but guess: that, however, they were real and sharp there can be no doubt. They were long and vigorous enough to cause the Psalmist to feel with intensity of conviction that God alone could be their Saviour. And now we advance one step further. God is not merely conceived as a distant Being of enormous power, who will ultimately deliver the righteous from his unmerited sufferings, but he is also a protection and a solace in the very midst of trouble. The anticipation of rescue in the future induces the Psalmist to fix his hopes on God in the present; cherished for what he will effect in days to come, God becomes a source of strength and cheering for what he is, apart from what, as the righteous and active Judge, he will ultimately do. He is spoken of as a Shelter and a Refuge, a Retreat and an Asylum, a Rock, a Shield and a Stronghold. The metaphors imply that man may, as it were, betake himself to God and win *from* him protection, or again, that God is near enough to man for man to find *in* him his covert and retreat. The Psalmists who have this conviction of God's sheltering presence, rise superior in the very midst of trouble to the attacks of their foes. God is not called a refuge conventionally: what the Psalmist says he feels: through prayerful effort and spiritual insight the strength of a great

faith is given him. A common grammatical peculiarity enables us to watch the growth of this faith in its making. I allude to the so-called perfect of confidence, which in the Psalms occupies a precisely analogous position to the predictive perfect in the prophets. Thus we frequently come across Psalms where the anguished cry for help of the opening is turned towards the close into a pæan of triumph. A Psalmist will begin his poem by a prayer for God's deliverance, and end it by blessing God that he has answered him. The deliverance is twofold. There is, primarily, the anticipation of real external rescue, which anticipation has been so strengthened by prayer as to amount to positive conviction. But, secondly, to account fully for the language employed, we must assume another deliverance than this, more inward and spiritual. The "burden" of danger has been "cast" upon God, and within the erewhile straitened spirit of the Psalmist have come enlargement and peace.

Prayer that has results like these is not far from the mystic's communion. But God is even more to some Psalmists than a refuge and a stronghold. There are a few more metaphors to be passed in review, which lead us nearer still to mystical conceptions. God is the Rock of the Heart, the Portion of the Cup: he is Shepherd and Light: the Fountain of Life: an exceeding Joy. Some of the passages in which these expressions occur, must be considered in comparative detail. They will shew that God is not merely desired as a deliverer from trouble, or as the gracious helper towards the moral life,—not merely therefore for what he does and will do, but also for what he is. Apart from all results and apart from any surrounding circumstance, God is realised as the supremest good that men can enjoy. Such a sense of God as an end in himself is the very kernel of mysticism. It is the consummation of communion with God, or, from another point of view, it is that communion itself, accomplished and fulfilled.

The Psalms which speak fully and clearly after this mystical fashion are few in number. But a patient student of the Psalter will tend to the conclusion that these few Psalms are only the full-voiced expression of a more widely diffused sentiment. In many Psalms besides these select few we breathe an atmosphere of religious joy, that is caused by a vivid belief in the constant activity of the Divine faithfulness and love. The exhortation to "rejoice in the Lord" is continually repeated. But for our present purpose it will be sufficient to confine our attention to three Psalms, where the highest plane of religious or mystic beatitude has been attained. Of these

the first is the 16th. If that Psalm was written under any stress of immediate danger, the joyful sense of communion with God has dissipated nearly every trace of it. It opens with a brief petition to God for his protection. The singer has made God his refuge; so may God continue to watch over him. God is his Master; beside God he has no other happiness or welfare. Then after a short side-glance at those who are apostates from the true Deity, he continues: "Jehovah, the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup: Thou maintainest my lot." These metaphors signify that God is his supremest good and his highest satisfaction. Hupfeld has rightly pointed out that to the general idea of property or possession which is contained in the words, "portion of mine inheritance," the additional attribute, "portion of my cup," is added, to indicate that the Psalmist's greatest good is also his greatest happiness. God is not only the *summum bonum* of his intelligence; he is also the *summa lætitia* of his feeling. Since he has been able to realise God thus powerfully, he may truly declare, "My lines have fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a delightsome heritage." And the Psalm is brought to a conclusion with a rapturous exclamation, in which the present bliss of his divine communion gives place to the joyous assurance of a still more glorious future: "Thou wilt make known to me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; all pleasant things are in thy right hand for ever." "In thy presence is fulness of joys;" in other words, the vision of God is the highest spiritual felicity. "The upright shall behold God's countenance;" this privilege, as in the sixth Beatitude of the Sermon on the Mount, is the reward of the pure in heart.[1]

The 63rd Psalm was written at a distance from the temple, and the singer has to discover that God is near him, even though his sanctuary be far. The yearning for communion with the Highest has seldom been expressed in words more intense and ardent than those with which the Psalm opens: "O God, thou art my God; earnestly do I seek thee; my soul thirsts for thee; my flesh pines for thee, (as) in a dry and fainting land where no water is." Would that such a revelation of God were in this distant land now vouchsafed to him, as erewhile he had been granted in the temple! But the very longing for God appears to bring with it its own reward. "Severed as he is from the material temple, his heart has become a temple of praise;" and therefore we get a sudden transition from "melancholy to ecstatic joy."[2] "Thy

[1] Psalm xvii. 15 with Cheyne and Hupfeld's notes.
[2] Cp. Professor Cheyne's note.

loving-kindness," he exclaims, "is better than life itself; my lips shall praise thee. Thus will I bless thee while I live, and lift up my hands in thy name. My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness, and with mirthful lips shall my mouth sing praise. For thou hast been my help, and in the shadow of thy wings I will shout for joy." Such a keen and joyful sense of God's presence is inadequately characterised by any word that stops short of "mystic." The Psalmist, as Professor Cheyne has pointed out, can only write as he does because his longing has been satisfied, and the object of his search found "in his heart's temple, in mystic union with the God of Love."[1]

Perhaps the highest degree of mysticism is reached in the 73rd Psalm. Here the Psalmist, from the calm, spiritual certitude which he has now reached after effort and storm, looks back upon the doubts and troubles that he has left behind him. His religious difficulties had been caused by the "welfare of the ungodly;" when he saw how they "have nothing to torment them; sound and stalwart is their strength." The theodicy to which his musing in God's sanctuary inclines him is not original. He still clings to the usual belief of the Old Testament writers, that the divine justice will, even in this world, be meted out to the righteous and the evildoer. But the close of the Psalm touches a loftier and more original note. He describes his own glorious lot which, in doubt's despite and through the graciousness of God, he has been enabled to gain. That lot is one of abiding nearness to God. "I am continually with thee. Thou hast taken hold of my right hand. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and possessing thee I have pleasure in nothing upon earth. Though my flesh and my heart should have wasted away"—that is to say, even under afflictions the most terrible—"God would be the rock of my heart, and my portion for ever."

From the passages cited out of these three Psalms, it is clear that communion with God, as an end in itself, was a happiness of which the Psalmists were not ignorant. No theory of this communion can be elicited from these isolated extracts; nor, indeed, would any attempt at a theoretical or systematic theological doctrine have been intelligible to the Psalmists. But so far as God's part in the relationship is concerned, the following observations seem legitimate deductions from the actual words of the Psalms themselves.

The God to whom it is sought to draw near is a living God.

[1] See Professor Cheyne's edition of the Psalms in the Parchment Library, from which most of the translations have been borrowed.

The condition of communion depends upon the unfettered activity of God's love; and this love is vouchsafed to man in precise correspondence with man's own measure of love to God. "With the loving thou shewest thyself loving" (xviii. 26). How far this reciprocity is consonant with such philosophic conceptions of God as shape or limit the belief of many of us to-day, is a wholly different matter. To the Psalmists, man can only reach God because God—to use their favourite figure—stretches out to him a helping hand. "My soul," exclaims the 63rd Psalmist, "clings fast after thee: thy right hand upholds me." So again in the 73rd Psalm, because God has taken hold of his right hand, therefore is the singer continually with God. Another Psalmist asks for God's light and truth to guide him to God's dwelling-place. One great poet teacher knew that man's capacity for God is due to God's Spirit which is in man: "Cast me not away," was his prayer, "from thy presence; take not thy Holy Spirit from me." And another sums up his religious position in the famous words: "With Thee is the fountain of life; through Thy light do we see light."

How does man find God? Through what inward or outward medium does he commune with him? Here again we can discover nothing more than isolated data. There is nothing systematic. The ethical basis of the communion has been already noticed. The Psalmists knew absolutely nothing of any ecstatic condition or privileged order which can dispense with the moral law. To them, righteousness in action and truthfulness of heart are indispensable preliminaries towards the approach to God. Whatever traces of mysticism there may be discernible in the Psalter, they are wholly free from the slightest antinomian taint.

Another more negative point is worthy of notice. The moral life appears to be the only condition for the religious life. Conformably with the true spirit of mysticism, our Psalmists lay no value on external rites and observances. No ascetic formulæ or devotional exercises are needed for communion with God. Nor is its satisfaction reserved for those who are versed in a sacred lore; there is no knowledge test that bars the way before the courts of God. The Psalmist, who has stilled and quieted his soul by drawing close beneath the everlasting arms of God, as the child is quieted and stilled within the arms of its mother, is precisely he who "has not been conversant with great matters, or with things too high for him."

One external medium, however, there undoubtedly is, and it must be dealt with at some length, because it affords a

most interesting example of the gradual transition from the material to the spiritual. Through its consideration, we shall also be made acquainted with fresh illustrations of our own subject, and be enabled to watch the growth of one important mystical conception from quite unmystical beginnings.

Even casual readers of the Psalms will readily call to mind the numerous references to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. These passages are one link in the chain of arguments by which Professor Graetz seeks to establish his interesting theory that the very large majority of the Psalms were written by Levites, who form a considerable portion of the suffering and down-trodden class that are known under the cognate terms of the Anawim and the Aniim, the Meek and the Afflicted. Into the value of Graetz's theory this is not the place to enter. It is, however, certain that the authors of many Psalms, including several containing mystical passages, were filled with an altogether overwhelming devotion and love for the temple of Jerusalem. They did believe that God was in the temple, as he was not elsewhere upon earth; here, in some peculiar but real sense, was his earthly dwelling-place, where the righteous worshipper might draw nigh to him. In the temple some Psalmists felt themselves most near to God, and felt God most near to them, just as there are people who find prayer, the attempted communing with God, more easy in church or synagogue than in their own homes. But in the very Psalms where this limitation upon God's universal presence is expressed, it is also frequently transcended. The Lord's house seems to receive a kind of double meaning; the one local and material, the other spiritual and mystic. On the one hand it is the actual and visible temple of stone that stood upon the hill of Zion; but on the other hand, it is also that larger and invisible house of God, wherein the righteous, be they near Jerusalem or far from it, may find a home. Such a conception as this may properly be called mystic.

It is indubitably a very dangerous method of exegesis to attribute a double sense, one narrower and one larger, to the same words. Is it not an anachronistic return to an exploded system of interpretation, by which the words of any given text can be made to bear any and every signification the expounder may choose? But, nevertheless, there seems to be no other method of interpretation which in these particular passages will suit the context. The hard and fast retention of a purely local and material view, with Hitzig, Graetz and other scholars, appears hopelessly inadequate to meet the necessities of the case. Rigorous consistency and a precise

and exact phraseology are not to be expected in the Psalms. The man of religious feeling is likely to interpret them better than the man of logic. It is one of the many merits of Hupfeld's Commentary, to have so clearly pointed out the manner and the degree of this fusion between the particular and the universal. The first example of it, and in its simplest form, occurs in the fifth Psalm. Here the writer prays to God for guidance and help. Conscious as he is of the purity of his own heart, he confidently claims the favour of a righteous God. "For thou art not a God," he exclaims, "who has pleasure in wickedness; evil cannot be a guest of thine; boasters cannot stand up before thine eyes." Evil cannot be the guest of God. The Hebrew word here employed indicates the relationship between suppliant or stranger and the protecting host. When the Psalmist declares that "evil cannot be God's guest," he implies that the wicked are shut out from communion with him. It is obviously not the actual entry into the temple from which the wicked are excluded. It was a very mixed assemblage, as we know from the prophetic homilies, which entered the temple's courts and sacrificed upon its altars. But the Psalmist, after he has asserted the exclusion of the wicked from the Divine friendship, claims this spiritual privilege for himself: "But I, because of thine abundant lovingkindness, can enter thy house, can worship in the fear of thee towards thy holy palace." If the house of God be rigidly restricted in its denotation to the temple, what is the truth or adequacy of the contrast? The idea of the temple is present to his mind, for the Psalmist still believes that the sanctuary is in a peculiar and special sense the dwelling-place of God. But the mere expression of satisfaction that the temple's gates are opened for him, is enlarged in a twofold direction. For while, on the one hand, the house of God is partially identified with the temple, its sovereign virtue consists in being the local medium for the blessedness of Divine communion. To the wicked that aspect of the temple is unknown. Standing on the same spot as the righteous, they were yet as much excluded from the Divine presence as if they had never trod the sacred courts. For them the temple is a mere pile of stones like any other building; to the righteous in a real, though mystic, sense it is filled with the presence and glory of God. If we may expand the short but pregnant words of our Psalmist in this direction, other parallel passages will show that Hupfeld is justified in expanding them in another. The House of God is tending to become disconnected with the temple of Zion; to enter it—the gift of God's grace—is receiving a meta-

phorical meaning equivalent to that vision of God's countenance which is spoken of in the 11th Psalm. Either phrase refers to communion. In the 15th Psalm this sense is fairly clear. "Who shall be a guest in thy tent, who shall dwell upon thy holy mountain?" So the Psalm opens. Then follows a string of ethical conditions upon which the entrance into the tent depends. How painfully the lofty universality of the Psalm is degraded if, with Professor Graetz, we assume that the Psalm merely depicts the character of those who should minister in the temple. The guests in God's tent need not be confined to the priest or the Levite. The covering of that tent is world wide. In the 23rd Psalm we have a portraiture of happy fellowship with God. A variety of metaphors is used to express the sense of security, sufficiency, and refreshment which the abiding sense of God's presence has given and still will give. "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. . . He refreshes my soul; he leads me in the right paths for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through a valley of thick darkness, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me: thy club and thy staff they comfort me. . . Thou hast anointed my head with oil, my cup runs over." Then the Psalmist ends his song with an expression of his conviction that God will be near him always. "Surely good fortune and lovingkindness shall follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the Lord's house for length of days." Does he mean that his visits to the temple will be frequent and uninterrupted? O, lame and impotent conclusion! But if the ardour of his enthusiasm has let him conceive the image of a larger house, not made with hands, of which the temple is the earthly symbol, then the thought of that constant divine communion which the perpetual outflow of God's love, as the necessary link between God and man, will enable him to enjoy, forms a fitting close and climax to the whole Psalm.[1]

[1] With Psalm xv. should be compared xxiv. 1-6, which is in its origin unconnected with 7-10. The "mountain of the Lord" in verse 3 has a wider reference than the "ancient doors" of verse 7. Compare also lxi. 5; xxvi. 6, 8; xlii. 3 (where Hengstenberg's note is still suggestive); xliii. 4; lxv. 5; lii. 10; xcii. 14; and lxxxiv. for various degrees of literal and spiritual usage of the temple and kindred expressions. On the whole subject Delitzsch's note on Psalm xv. 1 should also be read. The main metaphor, as Hengstenberg on xv. 1 has pointed out, runs on into the New Testament. Cp. the noble passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians ii. 19-22, and also 1 Timothy iii. 15. Clauss's Commentary on Psalm xv., in his now antiquated "Beiträge zur Kritik und Exegese der Psalmen" (Berlin 1831) is worth reading. [Since the above was written, Professor Cheyne's larger edition of the Psalms has appeared. His notes on the various passages should be carefully compared throughout. I am glad to find that his view seems very much the same as that advocated in this article.]

Two other passages, one in the 27th and one in the 36th Psalm, will also serve to illustrate this portion of our subject. The 27th Psalm opens with solemn but joyful asseverations of the all-sufficiency of God. The Lord is the Psalmist's light and salvation; whom has he to fear? The Lord is the fortress of his life, at whom has he to tremble? Then in the 4th verse there is a transition to prayer: "One thing have I asked of the Lord—that is my desire; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life; to gaze upon the pleasantness of the Lord, and to contemplate his palace. For he treasures me in his bower in the day of trouble; He covers me in the covert of his tent; upon a rock does he exalt me." What is meant by this gazing upon the pleasantness of God? To gaze upon a thing in Hebrew usage (cp. iv. 7, xvi. 10) may be equivalent to experiencing it. This experience is surely very inadequately defined, if it be limited to the happy contemplation of the Temple's magnificence and the splendour of its ritual. The "bower" in which the Psalmist is "treasured" by God "in the day of trouble" is obviously metaphorical, and so, to some extent at least, is the "house of the Lord" in the previous verse. The bliss of gazing upon God's pleasantness must relate to that inward vision of God which may have been called up and suggested by the temple services, but was assuredly not their synonym or equivalent.[1]

The 36th Psalm, after four verses dealing with the wicked and their evil machinations, turns abruptly into a pure lyric outburst of admiration for the infinite goodness of God. It is one of the noblest and also one of the most mystic passages in the whole Psalter. Delitzsch, contrasting with it the language of the earlier verses, observes: "The poet, after having cast a glance into the chaos of evil, now moves in the happy depths of holy mysticism; the more obscure his language before, the more crystalline is its clearness now." And here, moreover, the local limitation of the house of God is entirely transcended. It simply signifies what Delitzsch calls his "Gnadenbereich," the wide empire of his grace. "How precious is thy lovingkindness, O God, that the children of men can take refuge under the shadow of thy wings! They feast upon the fatness of thy house; and of the river of thy pleasures dost thou give them their drink. For with thee is the fountain of life, by thy light do we see light."[2]

It is Delitzsch again who gives the best commentary

[1] Cp. Cheyne's interesting notes upon xxvii. 4, and lxiii. 4.

[2] Cp. Psalms xxx. 20, 21; lxv. 5.

upon this string of mystical metaphors; although showing something of his favourite tendency to indulge in an excess of unction, he brings out with force and fervour the full meaning of the Psalmist's words. I therefore here transcribe the greater portion of his commentary unabridged:—

"'Fatness' means the abundance of the gifts and blessings with which God entertains his people, and 'feasting' is the spiritual joy of the soul in the profound experience of the grace of God: the liberal fare of the priests from Jehovah's table and the festive joy of the thank offerings—these external rites here receive a deeper spiritual meaning and an ideal generalisation. It is a stream of bliss wherewith God irrigates and fertilizes the soul, an outpouring of the joys of Paradise. And just as the four branches of the river of Paradise had a common source, so this stream has its source in God—nay, its source is God. He is the fountain of life; all existence flows from him who is pure being and blessedness. The more closely we are united to him the fuller the draughts of life which we draw from him who is the spring of life."

"Through thy light we see light:" Of this concluding image Hupfield gives an adequate, though a simpler, explanation. "The light which streams from off the countenance of God is the source of all human light and life: in other words God's grace is the source of all our welfare; only in God and through God can we find life and bliss; apart from him there is nothing but misery and death."[1]

The foregoing quotations will, I think, go far to justify the appellation "mystic" for certain passages in the Psalter. A blissful communion or fellowship with God is an idea familiar to such writers as the authors of the 16th, the 36th, and the 73rd Psalms. They had experienced it themselves, and their words are the unexaggerated expression of their own feelings. It is true that Professor R. Smith, in his article on the 16th Psalm ("Expositor," vol. iv. p. 341) declares that "the enjoyment of fellowship of God spoken of in the Bible is never mystical, but always moral." But in the sense assigned to it in this essay there is no necessary opposition between the mystical and the moral. Without reason—which is merely the philosophical name for the divine spirit—the inward experience of God is not attainable. But by reason alone it can neither be proved nor realized. It is feeling which leads up to, and which tells of, this Divine communion, and hence, both because of its divine object and of the mysterious nature

[1] See "Hupfeld's Commentary," ad loc. in either the first or second editions. In the third edition, by Nowack, just published, Hupfeld's own explanations are frequently changed or omitted.

of the faculty by which we reach and become conscious of it, the communion may be justly qualified as mystic. By its etymology the word "mystic" is connected with the knowledge of the higher and unseen world, while by its popular usage an element of mystery enters into it. There seems therefore no other word which may so fitly describe the nature of that communion with God, which was realised by the Psalmists.

It may have seemed a great omission that no reference has hitherto been made to one question relating to that communion which possesses for us a superlative interest. Do the Psalmists know anything of a communion with God beyond the grave? No notice has been taken of this question because, strange as it may seem, it is, as regards the mysticism of the Psalms, of quite subordinate importance. Of the Psalms which contain any mystical passages in the sense defined, only the 16th, the 17th, the 49th, and the 73rd can be even construed as alluding to a future life. Now whether the authors of these Psalms did or did not believe in a life of blissful communion with God beyond the grave, they certainly did not believe that this communion only began in another world. The righteous may draw near to God upon earth, and taste these spiritual delights of communion while the mortal coil is still upon them. Nor if these four Psalmists, advancing beyond and above the general notions of their fellows, rose to the idea of spiritual immortality, did they conceive the future heavenly communion as different in kind from its earthly beginning. The largest possible signification that can be given to their words is that in the vivid and intense reality of their present life with God, the idea of death is blotted out and forgotten. Delitzsch, with his accustomed delicacy of theological distinction, has accurately expressed the difference between the Psalmist's ignoring of death and the more modern belief in immortality. "It is not that the grave is burst open by the prospect of heaven, but rather that in the intensity of life in God, the grave altogether disappears, for life in contrast to death is nothing but the thread of our earthly existence prolonged into infinity."[1]

Since, therefore, the bliss of any future life, which the four Psalmists may have conceived, was neither supposed to differ in kind, nor scarcely (so far as we can gather from their words) in degree, from the highest bliss that our earthly mortality does not forbid us to enjoy before we die, it is unnecessary to enter upon the detailed examination of the few disputed verses upon which a decision on the main ques-

[1] Delitzsch, in Herzog-Plitt's Encyklopädie. "Psalmen" Art.

tion depends. Deeply interesting as that question is, it is yet not germane to our immediate subject. Whatever the ultimate judgment upon it may be, the mysticism of the Psalter is unaffected. Whether the Psalmists believed in a future world or not, the nature and value of their conception of the Divine communion remains the same.

Of that conception, now that the principal passages which illustrate it have been passed in review, it only remains to estimate the value. The quantity of the material at our command is but limited; its quality, however, is indisputably high. In the first place our Psalmists clearly recognised that the religious life is expressed in the affections. It is feeling, and not understanding, which gives vitality to religion. Such technical contrasts would have been unintelligible to them, but the fact as such, is none the less true. "Where, except in the Psalms," exclaims the Dean of St. Paul's, "did ancient religion think of placing the blessedness of man, whether in this life or beyond it, not in the outward good things which we know on earth, not in knowledge, not in power, but in the exercise of the affections?"

In the Psalms, again, the communion with God is closely restricted to the righteous. It is, moreover, connected inseparably with the moral life. Professor R. Smith says, quite correctly, "The Psalmist enjoys God as his portion, not in a sentimental ecstasy, which has nothing in common with daily life, but in the realization of Jehovah's constant presence with him as his counsellor in his duty and walk in the world." (Expositor, p. 350.)

Sharply drawn as the contrast between the good and the bad undoubtedly is, and over-confident as the conviction of personal righteousness in some Psalms may appear to us, it was nevertheless of the last importance that poet as well as prophet, lawgiver and proverb-maker should all proclaim the stern and rigorous alliance of morality with religion.

The mystic passages of the Psalter are also free from the Pantheistic tendencies of later mysticism, which sometimes inclines to make a confusion between the two poles of the spiritual communion. It is true that there was room for relating the doctrine of the 51st Psalm to the mystic idea. That the Holy Spirit in man is the link whereby the communion between Creator and creature is possible, is not adequately recognised except in that one great Psalm of penitence and contrition. Again, the doctrine of the universality of God so magnificently taught in the 139th Psalm—the pearl of the whole Psalter, according to Aben Ezra—is, as we have seen in considering the conception of the "House

of God," elsewhere only tentatively making its way. But these deficiencies are atoned for by the Psalmists' unfaltering belief in the actuality of the divine goodness. On the one side, man, free to sin and free to rise; on the other side, God, the fount of life, in whose light we see light. Such a belief presented no similar intellectual difficulties to the Psalmist as to ourselves; he was not disturbed by philosophical perplexities in marking off the finite separate volitions from the Infinite self-consciousness. But if for nine-tenths of us religion must stand or fall with theism, we must demand from all mystic poetry that is to be of permanent help to us, a complete assurance that the two elements of the mystic relationship shall be held apart, and each endowed with its own separate self-consciousness. There must be no juggling with words; it is not with his own spirit, or with his better self, or with the God within him, that the religionist seeks communion. Though the God within him may reveal the living God without, the former is in no sense an equivalent for the latter. He will only yearn for God, if he may still believe that the voice of a living God, that is not himself, is calling him to the light.

The Psalmists' mysticism has this other essential feature: it does not make the communion with God dependent upon knowledge. It is the "pure in heart," and not the "wise of head," who shall see God. The training necessary to secure that vision is only a training in well-doing. There is, then, nothing exclusive about the Psalmists' doctrine, and no laborious acquisition of theological or legal technicalities is regarded as necessary for the drawing near to God. It is from the Psalms that modern Jews may gather a needed corrective to that Rabbinical glorification of "knowledge" which has tempted some of their contemporary teachers to regard proficiency in scholastic learning as synonymous with proficiency in religion.

The joyful character of the Psalmists' doctrine of communion should also be noted. Trouble is forgotten; death is ignored; the Psalmist is only conscious of complete security and of unalloyed bliss. There is no reason to suppose that this feeling of happiness was enervating in its results, or that the Psalmist was less fitted for life's struggles upon the field of morality, after his communion with God, than before it. The very contrary is nearer the truth. "Trust in the Lord," says the 37th Psalm, "and do that which is good; inhabit the land, and cherish faithfulness. *Then* wilt thou find thy delight in the Lord, and he shall grant thee thy heart's desires." Though one Psalmist declares God's love to be better

than life, and another that with God as his possession he has no other pleasure upon earth, we may not interpret these extreme exclamations of spiritual rapture to imply a withdrawal from a life of moral action to one of religious contemplation. That heightened sense of being, and that sure and blissful sense of God's presence, which the religion of the Psalmists had secured for them, will have been put to moral uses. When mysticism turns its back upon morality and life, it ceases to be in harmony with the mysticism of the Psalms.

Thus, both positively and negatively, we are, I think, justified in the high value that has been set upon those few consummate passages of the Psalter, wherein the general religious tendency of the whole book has found its purest and most spiritual expression. It has not been claimed for the Psalms that they represent the *ne plus ultra* of religious aspiration. We have already seen that there was work for later mysticism to do in the proper combining of the doctrines of the 51st and 139th Psalms—the doctrine of God's Spirit in man, and of the divine omnipresence — with the mystical teaching of such Psalms as the 16th and 73rd. Again, the joy of the divine communion was capable of fuller explanation upon the theory, virtually comprised in the 51st Psalm, of man's dual nature—of sin and reconciliation. And lastly, when the belief in the immortality of the soul had been fully attained, it is obvious how vastly enlarged were the spiritual data from which any mystical teaching might make its start. Yet these very deficiencies of the Psalter constitute, to some extent, its vigour and its charm. Some of the dangers from which they have preserved it have been already indicated. One other point may be mentioned in conclusion. The concentration of interest upon this earthly life enabled the Psalmists to see that the sense of God's presence and the joy of his communion were, even on earth, within man's grasp. If we, with that fuller sense of the world's problem, which larger experience and widened thought have given us, cannot believe in God's goodness or even in God Himself, without also believing in another life, we must not shut our eyes to the grandeur of that old Hebrew faith which, confronted with sorrow and evil, could yet maintain the vigour and the joyousness of its trust in God's righteousness and love. Here again has Delitzsch spoken wisely :—

"This is just the heroic feature in the faith of the Old Testament, that, in the midst of the riddles of this life, and face to face with the impenetrable darkness resting on the life beyond, it throws itself without reserve into the arms of God."

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

THE BOOK OF HOSEA IN THE LIGHT OF ASSYRIAN RESEARCH.

"THE word of the Lord that came to Hosea, the son of Beeri, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash king of Israel." Such is the introduction prefixed to the collected prophecies of Hosea. We have no means of determining its exact date. It is older than the age of the Septuagint; how much older it is impossible to say. It was, however, the work, not of a native of that northern kingdom of Israel to which Hosea belonged, but of a Jew. Not only are the kings of Judah named before those of the kingdom in which Hosea himself lived, but while the date of his ministry as fixed by the reigns of the Jewish monarchs is exact, it is inexact and imperfect as fixed by the reign of Jeroboam. The mention of Jeroboam's name indeed is clearly derived from the declaration in the first recorded of Hosea's prophecies, that the blood of Jezreel was about to be avenged on the house of Jehu. As a matter of fact, Jeroboam must have died shortly after the beginning of Hosea's ministry, and the greater part of the prophet's utterances relate to a time subsequent not only to the death of the king but even to the downfall of his dynasty.

The fact is very significant. The Old Testament scriptures are essentially Jewish. They have been edited and preserved by Jewish scribes, and the larger portion owe their origin to Jewish authors. If we possess the works of prophets of the northern kingdom like Amos and Hosea, it must be because they were found in Jewish libraries and harmonised with Jewish modes of thought. In coming down to us they have passed through the hands of Jewish copyists and editors. We must not therefore expect to find in them the peculiarities of the Samaritan dialect or prophecies which had a purely local interest; on the other hand we may expect a more or less disordered text, and the insertion of references to Judah and Jerusalem.

Both expectations are fulfilled by a study of the book of Hosea. The text is frequently corrupt, the prophecies are not arranged in chronological order, and the name of Judah occurs in passages where it is manifest it could not originally have stood. Thus in xii. 2, "Judah" must have been substituted for "Israel," which is demanded by the parallelism, while the latter part of xi. 12 ("Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the saints") is contrary both to sense and fact, besides being philologically questionable, and the order of thought in the twelfth chapter is rendered chaotic by the insertion of ver. 11 between vv. 10 and 12. We have, in short, in the present book of Hosea, the selected works of a northern prophet edited by a native of Judah, and it is quite possible that it is to this editor that the superscription of the book belongs.

According to the chronology of the books of Kings Hosea's ministry would have extended over a period of at least 64 years, the prophecies relating to the fall of Samaria being delivered when he was at least 84 years of age. In view of the 90th Psalm such an occurrence is almost incredible. But it has long been known that the chronology of the books of Kings is hopelessly at fault. It is inconsistent with itself, and can only be harmonised by the invention of interregna and regencies which are unknown to the sacred record. Thanks, however, to the decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions, the true chronology of the later period of the Hebrew monarchy can now be restored. From 911 to 659 B.C. the so-called Assyrian Canon has furnished us with an accurate chronological register, in which each year is named along with the dates of the accession and death of the several Assyrian kings, and, in many cases, of the events which marked their reigns. As the Assyrian monarchs were brought into frequent contact with Israel and Judah during this period, and have been careful to record the names of the Hebrew princes whom they dethroned or compelled to pay tribute, the chronology of the two kingdoms of Samaria and Jerusalem can now be determined from the last year of Ahab to the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib.

The sixteen years of the reign of Jotham belong almost entirely to the period when he acted as regent for his father Uzziah. His own independent reign can have lasted hardly more than a year. The reign of his contemporary Pekah, in Samaria, must be similarly reduced. In B.C. 738 we find Menahem paying tribute to the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-pileser; in B.C. 734 Tiglath-pileser is already marching to the assistance of "Jehoahaz," or Ahaz, of Judah, and overthrowing

the combined forces of Damascus and Israel. The siege of Damascus lasted only two years; when it was captured, in B.C. 732, the tribes beyond the Jordan had already been carried away, and Pekah had been put to death. Instead of a reign of twenty years, therefore (2 Kings xv. 27), Pekah could not have ruled in Samaria for more than five. The twenty years were necessitated by the supposition that Jotham's reign had begun after his father's death. Tiglath-pileser claims to have caused the murder of Pekah, and to have placed Hoshea on the throne of Israel. When he died, in B.C. 727, Hoshea continued to pay tribute to his successor, Shalmaneser IV. (2 Kings xvii. 3). Like Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser was an usurper, probably a successful general. Whether the death of Tiglath-pileser had been natural or violent we do not know; at any rate it was a signal for an attempt at an uprising on the part of the newly conquered provinces of Western Asia. The attempt, however, failed, and we are told that against the Israelitish king "came up Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, and Hoshea became his servant." Soon afterwards, however, So, or Sabako, the Ethiopian King of Egypt, divining danger in the near approach of the Assyrian arms, made overtures to the princes of Palestine. It was the beginning of the policy, subsequently carried out by the Ethiopian Tirhakah, of supporting the kingdoms of Palestine in a league against the menacing power of Assyria. As long as an independent Palestine intervened between Egypt and Assyria, Egypt was safe from Assyrian attack. Hence the promises of help made by the Egyptian rulers to the princes of Palestine, who lent them a ready ear, considering that while Assyria was daily growing more formidable, Egypt had been for centuries an inoffensive neighbour.

When Hosea entered upon his ministry, however, Assyria had not yet risen above the political horizon. His earliest prophecies belong to the reign of Jeroboam II., and their tone indicates that the reign was already drawing to a close. The blood shed by Jehu is indeed to be visited upon his house, but the avenger will arise out of Israel itself, and not from the land of the foreigner. There were as yet no indications of the appearance of a power that was soon to become so terrible. The first Assyrian empire was perishing; the dynasty which had founded it was approaching its end. The sceptre had fallen into feeble hands, and instead of marching their armies into the distant West, the Assyrian kings had more than enough to do to defend themselves from the attacks of their Armenian enemies.

But before arriving at this stage of decay Assyria had dealt a blow at Damascus which had removed out of the way of Israel the only other foe that was formidable to her. In B.C. 804, Rimmon-nirari III. had besieged Damascus and compelled its king, Marih, to purchase peace by submission to the Assyrian conqueror, and the payment of a large indemnity. Twenty talents of gold, 2,300 of silver, 3,000 of copper, and 5,000 of iron, besides countless other treasures from the palace, were carried to Nineveh, and the resources of the Syrian State were permanently crippled. Jeroboam of Israel seized his opportunity, and "recovered" not only Damascus but also Hamath for his country (2 Kings xiv. 28). For the first time since the revolt of the ten tribes, Israel was the most powerful kingdom in Western Asia. Egypt, divided between rival dynasties, and the prey of an Ethiopian conqueror, afforded no grounds for alarm; and Judah, though strong in defence, by reason of the position of its capital, was powerless for attack. The kingdom of Samaria seemed mightier and more secure than it had ever been before.

But Jeroboam was scarcely dead before the scene began to change. His son and successor Zechariah was murdered after a brief reign of six months, and the dynasty of Jehu ended for ever. From that time forward Israel was the victim of civil war and perpetual change of government. The army, which had been created by Jeroboam's wars, made itself master of the State, and general after general seized the throne only to be murdered by another usurper. The conquests of Jeroboam were lost, and the cities of Israel were destroyed in the struggles of rival factions.

Meanwhile Assyria had once more arisen clothed in new and greater strength. The last king of the old dynasty died or was murdered, and in April, B.C. 745, the crown was seized by a certain Pulu or Pul, who took the name of Tiglath-pileser III. He was a man who left his mark upon the map of the ancient world. An able general, he was also a skilful administrator. He founded the second Assyrian empire, and along with it a new conception in the sphere of politics. It was the conception of centralised government. Hitherto the campaigns of the Assyrian monarchs had been little more than raids, the chief object of which was plunder and glory. Almost as soon as the Assyrian armies had returned home the conquered tribes and nations again declared themselves independent, and it required a fresh campaign to reduce them once more to subjection. The death of the conqueror was a signal for successful revolt among his outlying dominions. But the campaigns and conquests of Tiglath-pileser

and his successors were made in accordance with a fixed principle. His object was to bring the whole civilised world with its wealth and commerce into subjection to Assyria, and therewith to the autocrat who governed it. The empire he founded was not an empire of military raids, but a centralised organisation, the head of which was the Assyrian capital. The conquered provinces were occupied with satraps and Assyrian colonies; their quota of yearly tribute was fixed, and the laws and the gods they were called upon to obey were the laws and the gods of Assyria. As province after province was added to the empire it was brought under the authority of a bureaucracy which acknowledged as its head and centre "the great king." Assyrian conquest henceforth meant incorporation into a great centralising power.

Side by side with this renovation of the forces of Assyria came the renovation of the forces of Egypt. Sabako, the Ethiopian, marched up the Nile from the south, overthrew the petty princes who had drained the strength of the country, and established a strong government at Memphis. Egypt and Ethiopia once more acknowledged one head, and that head was an active and successful general, whose ambition was little likely to be contented with the limits of the valley of the Nile. As soon as his power in Egypt was solidly established, it was inevitable that Sabako would turn his eyes towards the neighbouring coasts of Palestine.

Though Damascus had fallen, therefore, two other powers had arisen to threaten Israel, far more formidable and far more eager for attack. And in Israel itself everything was ripe for dissolution. Rent by anarchy and civil war, with no king or dynasty who commanded the reverence and affections of the people, it seemed to invite the invader. It was a time to which the prophecy of Hosea was peculiarly applicable: "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod and without teraphim" (iii. 4). The enemy was at hand to sweep away the last of the kings who had climbed to the throne by rebellion and murder, and with him should perish the outward signs of the state religion.

It was in B.C. 738 that the first scene was enacted in the closing drama of the history of Israel. The Assyrian forces had approached the frontiers of the country, and Menahem was forced to acknowledge himself the vassal of Tiglath-pileser, and to pay him a heavy tribute. Before four years were passed came the last struggle of Israelitish independence. Pekah murdered the son of Menahem and usurped the

throne. The danger which threatened him from Assyria was now but too apparent. Reversing the policy of his predecessors accordingly, he declared himself independent of Assyria, and joined with Rezin of Damascus in forming a league against the foe. It was necessary for the success of the league that Judah, with its almost impregnable capital, should make common cause with the confederates, and share their fortunes for good or ill. But the dynasty of David stood in the way. As long as the Jewish king acted for himself, no dependence could be placed on his promises of alliance and aid. If the Assyrians were to be successfully opposed it must be by cementing the petty states of Palestine into a homogeneous whole, influenced by the same aims, the same policy, and the same form of faith. Hardly had Pekah seized the crown, therefore, when he and his Syrian ally declared war against Jotham of Judah. The death of Jotham and the accession of the youthful Ahaz seemed to favour their designs. The invaders had the support of a party within Judah itself, while the refusal of Ahaz to follow the advice of Isaiah alienated from him many of those who would otherwise have rallied round the dynasty of David.

The Jewish king, in fact, was in sore straits. Help from Egypt was at the time out of the question, and his choice seemed to lie between deposition and probably death at the hands of his assailants, and vassalage to "the great king" of Assyria. It needed a more robust faith than that of Ahaz and his counsellors to believe that Jahveh would defend His city, and that the strength of Judah, as the prophet declared, was "to sit still." Ahaz accordingly flung himself into the arms of Tiglath-pileser, who eagerly welcomed the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Palestine. Pekah and Rezin were recalled from their attack on Judah to defend themselves against the veterans of Assyria. For two years, from B.C. 734 to 732, the strong walls of Damascus held out against the foe, but the end came at last; the city was captured, its king slain, and its people carried into captivity. Damascus was placed under an Assyrian governor, and the Assyrians secured a foothold in the country of "the West." Israel's neighbour was no longer Damascus, but the Assyrian Empire.

Meanwhile punishment had fallen upon Pekah. He was put to death, and Hoshea appointed king in his place, under condition of paying a yearly tribute to his Assyrian masters. The cities on the eastern side of the Jordan were plundered and their inhabitants led into exile.

It was not long before Hoshea began to look for help that

would enable him to shake off the irksome yoke of Assyria. The death of Tiglath-pileser in B.C. 727 and the usurpation of the throne by Shalmaneser IV. seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for revolt. Moreover Sabako of Egypt was now in a position to tempt him with promises of assistance. To Sabako, accordingly, he sent ambassadors, and "brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year." But Egypt, now as ever, proved but a bruised reed upon which to lean. Hoshea was flung into prison, and Samaria was invested by the Assyrian troops. Its siege lasted for three years.

It was not Shalmaneser, however, but a new king, Sargon, who entered it in triumph in B.C. 722. Another revolution appears to have broken out in the Assyrian capital or camp; at all events, Shalmaneser left no descendants, and the throne was occupied by a stranger, Sargon, a few months before the fall of Samaria and the final overthrow of the Israelitish kingdom.

This stormy period, extending from the reign of Pekah to the last days of the siege of Samaria, is the period to which most of the prophecies of Hosea belong. Though in some of them reference is made to the interval between the dethronement of Hoshea and the capture of Samaria (x. 3, 7, 15[1]; xiii. 10, 11), none of them are of later date, and it is therefore possible that Hosea was one of the victims of the siege. However this may be, only a few of his surviving prophecies can belong to the reign of Menahem, among these being viii. 9, which is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the time when Menahem became the vassal of his Assyrian lord.

Speaking generally, however, the prophecies of Hosea fall into two main groups. The first group, comprising the first four chapters, goes back to the age of Jeroboam and the earlier years of Menahem; the greater part of the second group must be referred to the reign of Hoshea and the three years' siege of Samaria that followed it. We gather from the prophecies contained in the second group that after the imprisonment of Hoshea the governing classes of Samaria made a vain attempt to buy off the Assyrian attack, just as, a few years later, the embassy of Hezekiah to Sennacherib made a vain attempt to buy off the threatened siege of Jerusalem. Though her own king had been taken from her, Samaria, like Judah, "sent to King Jareb: yet could he not heal you, nor cure you of your wound."

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[1] Here the Hebrew should be rendered: "The king of Israel has been utterly cut off."

We may further conclude from the same source that Judah had taken advantage of the weakness of Israel to retaliate upon her neighbour the invasion of Pekah. "The princes of Judah were like them that remove the bound" (v. 10). Israel was fighting for her life against the Assyrians, and the Jewish princes seized the occasion to wrest part of her territory from her. It was an unbrotherly act, and meets accordingly with the prophet's reprobation.

The prophecy which records the act commences with verse 8 of the chapter, and seems to continue as far as vi. 7. The trumpet is blown, and the Israelites rallied to defend their possessions from Judah, not only within the borders of Benjamin, but even at Beth-On or Beth-Aven itself, the southern sanctuary of the northern kingdom. The Hebrew text is here corrupt, but the Septuagint shows what it must originally have been: "Blow ye the cornet in Gibeah, the trumpet in Ramah; cry aloud, O Beth-On, tremble, O Benjamin," where, however, that play upon words of which Hosea is so fond requires us to read "Ben-oni" rather than "Benjamin." Beth-On, it must be remembered, was the older name of Beth-el, and reminds us not only of On in Egypt, the daughter of whose priest was married by Joseph (Gen. xli. 45), but also of the "Biqa'h of On," or Baalbek, northward of Damascus (Am. i. 5). Those to whom the worship of the calf at Beth-el was an abomination, saw in the name a reference to the *aven* or "folly" which was practised there, and in the Masoretic text, accordingly, the word is punctuated as if it were *aven:* the Septuagint, however, preserves the true reading, like Bêtîn, the modern designation of the place.

The prophecy goes on to tell us that, "when Ephraim saw his sickness and Judah his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and [Judah][1] sent to King Jareb; yet could he not heal you, nor cure you of your wound." The mention of "King Jareb" has been a long-standing difficulty to commentators. The reading cannot be corrupt. It is found in the Septuagint, and is, moreover, confirmed by another prophecy of Hosea, that contained in ch. x. The date of this latter prophecy is fixed by its contents. Samaria had not yet fallen; nevertheless its king has been cut off, and its inhabitants are without a ruler. The prophecy, therefore, must have been delivered during the three years that intervened between the imprisonment of Hoshea and the capture of his capital by Sargon.

[1] Not only does the parallelism require the insertion of "Judah" here, but also the plural "you" in the latter part of the verse.

Who, then, was the Assyrian king intended under the name of Jareb? As we have seen, our choice must lie between Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon. But we learn from Assyrian sources that the pre-regnal names of Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser were Pulu, or Pul, and Ululâ, not Jareb. Moreover, the position of affairs described in the prophecy implies either the last years of Shalmaneser or the beginning of Sargon's reign. All three kings were alike usurpers, and the fact that the two first sought to legitimise their power by adopting the names of the two most famous of the earlier monarchs of Assyria leads us to infer that Sargon also may have done the same. In fact, Dr. Oppert long ago pointed out that Sargon, which means "the legitimate king," must be an assumed name. His conclusion has since been confirmed by the discovery that it was the name of the founder of the first Semitic empire in Babylonia, a monarch celebrated both in history and in legend. Sargon II. claimed to be king of Babylonia as well as of Assyria, and accordingly, while his two predecessors assumed the names of earlier Assyrian sovereigns he took that of the ancient Chaldean king.

A necessary result of this was that, whereas the historians of Chaldea continued to call Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV. by their orginal names, national pride prevented them from doing so in the case of Sargon. If we are to recover the natal name of Sargon, we must look for it elsewhere than in Babylonia.

Now it is not only the historians of Babylonia that knew Tiglath-pileser under his original name. The name was equally well known in Palestine, and under the form of Pul is preserved in the Old Testament. Why, therefore, should we not also find in the Old Testament the original name of Sargon? The prophecies in which mention is made of King Jareb belong to the reign of either Shalmaneser IV. or Sargon, and since Jareb was not the natal name of Shalmaneser, while the natal name of Sargon has not yet been recovered from the cuneiform monuments, we are justified in concluding that it was Jareb.

Support is given to this conclusion by the second prophecy of Hosea, in which the name occurs. The tenth chapter of the prophet's collected works is a picture of the time when Hoshea had been deposed, and the people of Samaria left without a king. The capital was threatened with a siege, and its inhabitants had vainly endeavoured to avert the danger by sending presents to the Assyrian king. But the prophet declares that the same fate shall befall them as had befallen Beth-Arbel when it was spoiled by Shalman (v. 14). The

event was evidently still fresh in the memories of his hearers, and Professor Schrader supposes that the spoiler was the Moabite king Shalman, or Solomon, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser. But it is more probable that Shalmaneser of Assyria is referred to. By the Babylonians he was called Sulman-asarid—"Solomon the elder"—and it is more likely that a parallel for the approaching fate of the Samaritan fortresses at the hands of an Assyrian king should be found in the recent fate of an Israelitish town, such as Beth-Arbel near the Lake of Tiberias, than that the parallel should be sought abroad. In this case Shalman must have been a predecessor of Jareb.

At present it is impossible to arrange all the prophecies belonging to the latter part of Hosea's ministry in their strict chronological order. Indeed, it is often difficult to determine where individual prophecies begin or end. But they revolve round three fixed points. One is the embassy to Egypt, and the consequent rebellion from Assyria on the part of Hoshea (vii. 11-16; ix. 3-6; xii. 1). This would fall at the commencement of Shalmaneser's reign, and may be dated B.C. 726. Another is the deposition and imprisonment of the Israelitish king B.C. 724. The third is the embassy to the Assyrian monarch (v. 8, 14; viii. 9, 10; x.; xiv. 3), the date of which must have been B.C. 723. Samaria was already surrounded by the enemy when Hosea's last prophecy was delivered.

How, then, came the works of the Samaritan prophet to pass into the hands of Jewish editors? In order to answer this question several facts have to be considered. In the first place, it must be remembered that Samaria was not destroyed by Sargon. Only a comparatively small part of its population was carried into exile, mainly consisting, without doubt, of the governing and military classes. The punishment inflicted on Samaria and its inhabitants was similar to that which overtook Jerusalem in the time of Jehoiachin. There is no special reason for believing that the prophet's friends formed part of the exiles, or that the Assyrians destroyed the literature they found in the city. Then, secondly, it would seem that either Ahaz, or his son Hezekiah, established a public library in Jerusalem of the same character as those of Assyria and Babylonia. We know that Ahaz so far showed himself accessible to the influences of Assyrian culture as to erect a sun-dial in the palace-court, and the scribes employed by Hezekiah to "copy out" or re-edit the older literature of the kingdom (Prov. xxv. 1) implied the existence of a library, which was organised on the same principles as that of Nineveh. But the Assyrian kings and scribes did not confine

their attention to the literature of Assyria only. The greater portion of the works stored up in the libraries of Assyria were derived from Babylonia, and though an Assyrian prince was willing enough to attack Merodach-Baladan in the field, and drive him from the throne of Babylon, he also took care that the books compiled for the Babylonian monarch should be carried to Nineveh, and there preserved. What was done by Assyrian kings and scribes for the literature of the sister-kingdom might have been done also by Jewish kings and scribes for the literature of Israel. That literary works were carried from one part of Western Asia to another we know from the fact that the compiler of the Books of Kings, exile as he was, had access in Babylonia to the chronicles and prophetical books of both Israel and Judah. The cultivated rulers of Assyria and Babylonia made war against men, not against books. If the climate of Babylonia were as dry as that of Upper Egypt we might expect to discover Jewish scrolls among the ruins of its libraries. As it is, all that is left to us are tablets of clay.

The analogy of Assyria, accordingly, would lead us to infer that the library of Jerusalem was stocked not only with the older products of Jewish literature, but with the works of Israelitish authors as well. In fact, the references in the books of Kings to "the chronicles of the kings of Israel" imply as much. It is not astonishing, therefore, if we find fragments of the prophetical literature of the northern kingdom preserved in the canon of the Old Testament. But it must be remembered that they are but fragments only, and that they have passed through the hands of Jewish scribes.

A. H. Sayce.

LETTERS FROM AUSTRIA.

I.

EDUCATION.

IT is my intention in the following communications to present in clear outline a picture of the general condition of the Jews in Austria. The progress of the Jewish people, generally, despite many transformations due to the general evolution of history, has ever and everywhere been the same. The outward expression varies; not so the indwelling idea. It is most unjust therefore to regard Judaism at the present day as in its decay because its forms are, in some points, different from what they were in the past. The dynamic force inherent in our religion has been the very condition of its continuance. Diversity of opinion as to its external ceremonial forms and ritual institutions has contributed to its vitality and vigour. "Some bind. Others loosen. Yet are their words all manifestations of the living God's spirit"—was already a Talmudic aphorism. I can, therefore, by no means side with those who continually bewail the religious degeneracy of the age. We can quite understand these Jeremiads coming from the mouths of those who have kept the traditional practice of Judaism inviolably intact. But men whose lives present no edifying example of consistent conservatism have certainly but little right to make such complaints. They remind us, to quote the familiar Rabbinic illustration, of "one who bathes himself, yet grasps within his hand the cause of defilement."

Without allowing myself, therefore, to be disturbed by the clamours of prejudice about the perilous state of Judaism, I shall endeavour to describe its concrete relations, as they present themselves in Austria. And to do this systematically, I shall discuss them under three heads—(1) Education (Torah); (2) Worship (Abodah); (3) Philanthropy (G'milut Chassadim).

Some readers may perhaps deem the limits here marked out too narrow. For the present, however, I cannot extend my plan. Any effort, to be successful, requires mental concentration; the indispensable condition of which, again, is often restriction and limitation of subject. The area of discussion selected is moreover wide enough to include topics that will satisfy larger demands. The opportunity will offer itself, within the prescribed bounds, of referring to the political, social and scientific relations of the Austrian Jews.

The ground which we are now about to tread is holy. Where there is instruction, God's spirit breathes. All paths of learning lead to a better knowledge of him. According to Judaism,

therefore, Education is the *suprema lex.* "The study of the Law outweighs all else" was considered so important a maxim that it was taken up from the Mishna into the Liturgy. At the threshold, however, I am confronted with a perplexing question: Of what class of Jewish education in Austria shall I speak, of that given in the Cheder, of that given in the communal schools, or of that given in the public schools, the greater number of which are State establishments? It will best accord with my aim, I believe, if I review all three types.

The Cheder has repeatedly formed the subject of earnest discussion. Even the Government organs have thoroughly gone into the question. Not merely the substance of instruction but also the method and *locale* have been officially examined and reported upon. National, pedagogic and sanitary considerations have been adduced to demonstrate the indefensible character of this class of schools. Curiously enough, these reports have not met with the ready and general acceptance they deserve. Totally ignoring the fact that the Talmud itself speaks of profane elements in Jewish schools (which clearly proves that secular subjects formed part of a Jewish curriculum), and itself demands the abandonment of "jargon" in favour of Hebrew, Greek or Syriac, a party in Galicia and Hungary vehemently contend that the Cheder must be retained at all costs. This rigidity is, for many reasons, to be deplored. First, the internal harmony of the community has thereby been prejudicially affected. Then, the Jewish name has been degraded through it. And lastly it can be proved that many of those who have undergone the discipline of the Cheder, have, as soon as they tasted of the honey of modern culture and their eyes were opened, learnt to look with hostility not only upon Jewish research, but even upon Judaism itself.

Nevertheless, I am decidedly against the adoption of coercive measures in this direction. Experience in Galicia and Hungary has taught us that every act of aggressiveness provokes a counter-movement. This ought to occasion us no surprise. No one yields his prerogative without a struggle. Judaism, in the last generation, was, on the whole, orthodox. The party that claims this title at the present day consequently believes its authority in Judaism to be incontestable. Taking these circumstances into consideration, the more enlightened among our community have no other course open to them than to proceed steadily on their own lines. The wheel of time moves incessantly, remorselessly crushing all who rashly attempt to impede its progress. So previously, amidst the conflict of opinions on the subject of Jewish instruction, a mediating expedient was hit upon to attain the desired end. Schools were established, calculated to satisfy the just demands of the orthodox for Hebrew knowledge as well as the claims of the age and of society for modern culture. These were termed communal schools.

Called into existence in Bohemia and Moravia, more than

fifty years ago, they did wonders both for Judaism and enlightenment. Men like Leopold Löw, Joseph Weisse, Peter Beer, Wolf Mayer, distinguished for knowledge and filled with a burning enthusiasm for our faith, devoted themselves to the work of instruction at these institutions. The results they achieved excited emulation among other Jewish congregations to found schools on a similar plan and of a similar character. The conviction gradually gained ground even in orthodox circles that Thora and Science could be combined without injury to the cause of true Judaism.

Since that period, however, the communal school has considerably deteriorated. Its programme of instruction has been altered and the teaching staff is not always equal to its task.

The communal school in the last generation, according to the express intention of the managers, provided some of its pupils with a preparatory and others with a complete education. Among the scholars there were those who, besides their proficiency in secular subjects, had become familiar with the Bible in the original, could use the Commentaries for the solution of difficulties, had mastered the rules of Grammar, possessed a certain facility in Hebrew composition, had learnt, as the phrase then went, so many pages of Mishna and Gemara, and, in certain parts of the Talmud, could dispense with a teacher. Of such pupils a reasonable hope might be entertained that the close of their school life would not bring their Hebrew studies to a close ; and, in fact, many of them successfully continued their Jewish studies, and in time, filled the Rabbinical office. For these, then, the communal school was preparatory. The less gifted pupils received an intellectual and moral equipment sufficient to fit them for a Jewish life ; and for them the communal schools were all in all.

How different is the condition of these schools now ! We can hardly credit our eyes when we examine their present programme. The translation of some chapters, or, where the curriculum is an ambitious one, of some sections of the Scriptures, with a few meagre passages from Rashi ; a few Grammatical rules and, in exceptional cases, a few pages of Talmud, this "little of everything and nothing thoroughly" has produced a class of Jews who plume themselves on their knowledge of Judaism and are not at all backward or modest in asserting themselves if, by ill-luck, they obtain a seat and a voice in communal councils.

It cannot be denied that external causes have partly contributed to this state of affairs. More especially, the materialistic spirit of the age has forced the conclusion on the minds of many parents that it is a sheer waste of time to keep their children at studies which cannot help them in practical life. Many of the teachers at these institutions, however, must take some share of the blame for the wretched condition of the schools.

In the first place, it cannot be sufficiently deplored that the

acquaintance with Hebrew scholarship which the teachers possess is too often meagre and inadequate for their vocation. We need Diogenes' lantern to find teachers like Eisler in Nicholsburg, Deutsch in Buda-Pesth, Hezl in Brody. Our demands, however, are not so exacting. What we have a right to expect from a practical teacher is familiarity with Holy Writ, and a knowledge of its principal commentaries, Rashi, Nachmanides, Ibn Ezra, etc.; further, some acquaintance with modern Biblical reasearch ; the ability to write Hebrew idiomatically; a thorough grasp of the rules of Hebrew grammar ; and, lastly, that the Talmud shall not be altogether a *terra incognita* to him. The steps that ought to be taken in order to satisfy these requirements are easy to suggest. First and foremost, a training college for the education of Jewish teachers must be established. Everyone was therefore delighted when it was reported that Baron Hirsch's magnificent programme for the culture of the Jews in Galicia included the establishment of such an institution.

The imperative need of a Teachers' Training College in Galicia has, indeed, long been recognised. The deeply lamented Dr. Zucker, late member of the Diet and President of the Lemberg Jewish community, was fully alive to its necessity, and made every effort several years ago to obtain funds for its establishment and maintenance. His exertions were not altogether fruitless. The Galician Diet, the "Alliance Israelite" in Vienna and other bodies promised subventions. The sudden death of this zealous worker brought matters to a standstill. His colleagues in the Diet took up the subject out of respect for the memory of the deceased. But no practical results have hitherto ensued. This dilatoriness is clearly traceable to the circumstance that people look to Baron Hirsch's munificence for the realisation of the scheme.

A recent enactment has made the situation more critical. Our various legislatures decided last session that the expenses for religious instruction in the Public Schools shall be defrayed, not, as hitherto, by the executives of the various denominational bodies, but by the general supporters of the schools, viz.: the province or commune. The Galician School Board, I hear on good authority, refuses to salary any teacher of religion who cannot produce a recognised certificate of his capacity for teaching. Does not this look like a plain challenge to us to set about establishing a Training College without delay ?

From another quarter, too, the cry for such a seminary is heard. Brünn possesses a school, the object of which is to prepare the pupils of the intermediate school sufficiently to qualify them for admission into a Rabbinical and Teachers' College. I am informed that it is contemplated in the immediate future to establish such a college in Vienna. On this I shall have something to say later on. A college of this kind will serve three important objects. Those

who devote themselves to Jewish education will enjoy there facilities for acquiring the scholarship requisite for their vocation. They will further learn the right method of imparting instruction. And, finally, they will be trained to live religiously. To prove to your readers that Biblical criticism is not contrary to the spirit of Judaism would be carrying coals to Newcastle. So soon as Holy Writ became a subject for diverging expositions and deductions, and variations in the scriptural text were recognised, the door was opened to Biblical criticism; and, if a single letter of the Law could have a multitude of legal deductions appended to it, this was only possible because the text was no longer interpreted in its literal simplicity. In two points, however, the principle of *Noli me tangere* was maintained. The truth of the Biblical account was not questioned; its authenticity was not doubted. The miracles recorded in Scripture may, Joseph Albo tells us, be explained naturally; but we must not deny their having occurred. The same with Biblical criticism. It may be ever so free and bold so long as the truth and credibility of the Bible is not impugned.

But to-day many a Jewish teacher, eager like every sciolist to make his light shine, does not scruple to regale his young pupils with his freshly-acquired, ill-digested information on Biblical criticism. Need we dwell on the mischief that has resulted? To instil doubt into the youthful mind is to poison it. "Keep your children from speculation," was the Talmudic recommendation to parents.

This class of teachers not only take no trouble to disguise their scepticism in oral instruction, but, even in their daily lives, set an example of anything but religiousness. In their spurious culture they do not recognise any obligation to observe the customs and institutions of Judaism. The inconsistency between their teaching and practice gives them no concern; and they are too frivolous to mind the shocks which their conduct gives to the feelings of others.

What wonder then is it that the Machziké-ha-Dath in Galicia declares that for secular subjects—if these are at all to be taught, Gentile rather than Jewish teachers should be engaged; the latter having proved a veritable cancer to Jewish youth. In Hungary, the late Trefort, Minister of Education, succeeded in greatly improving the education of the Jewish children under his jurisdiction, in spite of the remonstrances which the orthodox party carried to the foot of the throne itself. The complaints against the teachers, however, are there as vehement as here.

The training of Jewish teachers of religion must therefore be accepted as a *conditio sine qua non* if Jewish instruction is to bear good fruit.

Jewish education has undergone a radical modification if not a complete revolution since Austria became a constitutional state, and the doors of the public schools were opened, by the educational legislation of May 1868, to children of all denomi-

nations. A considerable number of parents strongly cherished the belief that only good could ensue from their children sitting on the same benches and studying under the same roof with Christian scholars. They, therefore, determined to avail themselves to the full of the privileges the law offered to them. Nor can their conviction be condemned as an error. While admitting that all the hoped-for results have not been realised, yet this is certain, that many undesirable peculiarities which have parasitically clung to the Jews, have been, to a certain degree, rubbed off by contact with their Gentile school-fellows. The latter, again, have been afforded the opportunity of learning to appreciate the undeniable talents and capacities of the Jewish youth. For, in every public educational institute, the Jewish students furnish, as indeed is generally conceded, a larger or smaller but always notable contingent to the *élite* of the school or college. That the intercourse between young Jews and Gentiles is not yet as free and cordial as might be wished ought to occasion no surprise. Such a fusion needs a long time for its accomplishment. Before a chemical combination can take place, a high temperature must be developed; and substances to be fused together, must first be decomposed. And so days of dire tribulation will, we are told, precede the Messianic age, when the brotherhood of mankind shall be consummated. We cannot then feel regret that our youth abandon the institutions specially built for them and flock to the public schools. The problem that now presents itself is this: How are we to provide for the religious education of the young in these schools? The code expressly requires the religion shall form an integral portion of the general education. How shall we satisfy that requirement?

The State, in the exercise of its supreme authority and with the laudable object of training a race equally vigorous in body and mind, has, to prevent over-pressure, fixed the time to be devoted to religious instruction. For the two lower classes in the national schools, one hour a week, and for the higher classes of these schools, as well as for the Middle-class and Intermediate schools, two hours have been appointed. I must here remark that, previous to the Revision of the Educational Code in May 1883, the upper forms of the national schools also received only one hour's religious instruction a week.

What was to be done with this limited opportunity?

It would obviously not answer to take up the whole hour with purely religious instruction; the children must learn at least enough Hebrew to be able to join in public worship. On the other hand, Hebrew teaching could not be allowed to predominate, as, strictly speaking, it cannot be termed *religious* instruction at all. Many parents, too, raised strong objections to a preponderance of Hebrew in their children's curriculum, for fear that it might lead to over-pressure.

For the discovery of the clue through this maze, the executive

of the Viennese community may fairly claim credit. Keeping the object to be attained steadily in view, and with the assistance of eminent practical teachers they drew up a scheme of instruction which, under the circumstances, ought to give satisfaction. To unfold the whole of their plan in detail would take up too much space. It will suffice to give its leading outlines.

We must premise that compulsory school attendance begins in Austria at the end of the sixth year and continues till the end of the fourteenth year. These eight years are spent either in the National (Volksschulen) or Middle-class (Bürgerschulen) or, in the case of boys, eventually in the lower classes of the Higher-grade (Mittelschulen) schools. For them, the scheme is so arranged that, during the whole of their school life, a portion of the hour devoted to religious instruction is taken up with the reading of passages from the Hebrew prayer-book; the explanation of what is read; the translation of selected prayers, the repetition of congregational responses. The remainder of the hour is devoted to Bible History, Ethics and Religion. Where feasible, Hebrew texts bearing on these subjects are taught. Biblical Science, Post Biblical history and Bible readings are also included in the scheme.

Although we do not pretend that this is an ideal Jewish education, still it must be admitted that, with the requisite zeal and earnestness on the part of the teacher, a corresponding assiduity on the pupils' side and the loyal encouragement of the parents, enough can be done in eight years to make children, when they have left school, feel that they are Jews.

In sketching the plan of instruction for Jewish scholars attending the upper classes of the Intermediate or Higher-Grade schools (Mittelschulen) a higher standard was adopted. The heavier demands made by the ordinary schoolwork on the advanced pupils render it impossible to impose upon them an additional study of Hebrew. The teacher's efforts are therefore directed to awakening in them a sense of religion, inspiring them with an attachment to their faith, love for their co-religionists and veneration for their past. The lesson on religion aims at informing their minds with the ethical contents and prescriptions of Judaism. The Bible lesson furnishes an opportunity for creating in them an appreciation of the unsurpassed legislation, irresistible eloquence, æsthetic design, beauty of style, poetic richness of colour and elevation of tone which characterise the Book of Books. In teaching Jewish history, the teacher endeavours to imbue his pupils with a just sense of and sympathy for the achievements, significance and mission of their people in the economy of nations. The history of Jewish Literature brings the conviction home to the students' minds that the intellectual heroes of their race also produced immortal works; specimens of these are with this view read to the class.

It seems to me that, taking things as they are, a more efficient

plan and one more suited to its purpose could hardly have been formulated. And, in fact, this scheme has, *mutatis mutandis*, been widely adopted.

In the consciousness that this religious instruction, to be fruitful, needs supplementing, the executive of the Vienna Community have started a movement, the excellence of which has secured it favour at home and abroad. I refer to the initiation of religious services for the young. The beneficial effects of this institution are manifest in various directions.

The children attending national, middle-class and higher-grade schools all gladly participate in these services. Attendance, it must be added, is not obligatory but optional. What also deserves to be mentioned is that the children's example acts as a powerful inducement to the parents to visit the House of God more frequently.

The services are organised as follows. Every Saturday morning, services are held in all the synagogues of the ten quarters of Vienna for the benefit of the children attending the national and middle-class schools. In the afternoon, the scholars of the higher-grade schools worship in the two communal synagogues. The ordinary Sabbath Musaf and Mincha are recited; with this difference, however, that in the morning, as in the afternoon, only three are called up to the Law. These are selected from among the young worshippers. German hymns are also sung. The elevating and inspiring effects which hundreds of young voices uplifted in devotional praises exercises upon the listener's mind can be better felt than described.

A leading feature of these services is the Religious Address. This is given by one of the teachers. If these services for the young are to supply the deficiencies of school instruction, that object will be best and most directly achieved by the Address. As a rule, it is based on the weekly portion and consists of an exposition of the Sedra and the deduction of its lessons.

The success of this institution, so far, justifies the belief that in it lies the guarantee for the continuance and vitality of Judaism in the next generation.

The heads of the Vienna Jewish community do not consider that with this their task is finished. They have established a school for Hebrew and particularly Biblical studies. Here facilities are afforded for acquiring a larger amount of Hebrew knowledge. There are also a few exhibitions for the study of the Talmud.

Judaism has been pronounced to be doomed; yet it enjoys a long reprieve. Thank God, things are not as bad as some would make out. The parents, however, we much regret to say, are not as alive to their duty as they ought to be. Religious instruction, as I have described it, may satisfy the Mosaic requirement. But the precept to instruct the young was addressed, not to the heads of a community, but to fathers.

In many intermediate schools, in Bohemia and Moravia,

particularly where the local Rabbi acts as teacher of religion, a portion of the Hebrew Bible or an extract from the Hebrew writings of the Hispano-Moravian period is chosen as the subject of instruction. All respect to the motive that prompts this selection. But a close examination shows that it fails to attain its object. The pupils who have been taught on this plan, carry away little solid information and know practically nothing of the essence of Judaism, its significance and historic mission. Would that these zealous advocates for the teaching of a few chapters of the Hebrew Bible could draw the moral, that so plainly lies on the surface, from the fact that Saadiah, Bechaja, Maimonides, etc., wrote their immortal works for the instruction of their contemporaries in Arabic, then the vernacular; and that Ezra already thought it necessary to have the Scriptures rendered into the vulgar tongue, Aramaic. It cannot be so very much amiss then, if, under prevailing circumstances, Jewish children receive religious instruction in the language they understand. Here, I come to a topic, already partly discussed, but the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. I refer to the question of teachers.

The Jewish teacher of religion in the Intermediate or High school ought to stand on a level, in general culture, with the rest of the teaching staff. His colleagues should find in him an able exponent and a worthy representative of the religion and science of Judaism. His character and enthusiasm ought to animate and inspire his scholars. Where, however, shall we get teachers with these qualifications?

The Vienna community, with its 14,000 Jewish boys and girls, is fortunate enough to possess, in the teachers of religion who work at the High schools, the right men in the right place. The same cannot be said of the other Austrian congregations.

Hence, as already remarked, the inevitable necessity of a training school for teachers. Another subject also pressingly calls for settlement—good school books on religion.

The oft-quoted text in Ecclesiastes concerning the infinite multiplication of books has nowhere found stronger confirmation than in this department. Would that popular demand had been the source of the flood of volumes that have poured forth from the press on this subject. To discriminate between them is a matter of considerable difficulty, so hard it is to determine which has the fewest faults. At the instance of that prominent philanthropist and zealous Israelite, Wilhelm Ritter von Gutmann, the executive of the Vienna community has, I learn, offered prizes for a Jewish history and a religious text-book adapted to school use. The primary intention is to satisfy a demand, daily increasing in urgency, for suitable works on these subjects. At the same time, those books that are approved by competent experts will be published simultaneously in all European languages, so as to secure uniformity of teaching.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

A Mediæval School of Massorites among the Jews of England. —It has hitherto been assumed that Moses ha-Nakdan of London, author of the Massoretic notes termed דרכי הנקוד which are found attached to all Rabbinic Bibles, is identical with Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah of London, author of the grammatical treatise ס' השהם, part of which has been edited by the Rev. G. W. Collins. The identification at first sight has much for it; it seems so unlikely that there should be two Moses of London living about the same time and writing about the same subjects in similar terms. But an entry in a Berlin manuscript of the דרכי הנקוד causes me to suspect separate authorship for the two works, and enables me to connect Moses ha-Nakdan with an Anglo-Jewish family with which I have also been much connected—by way of literary research—during the past two years. The colophon of the Berlin manuscript of the דרכי הנקוד runs thus: סליק יסוד הר"ם בה"ר יום טוב מלוניטרש (see Steinschneider *Cat. Berl. Heb. MSS.*, p. 54.) Now this R. Moses ben Yomtob is actually mentioned by Moses ben Isaac in the ס' השהם as his teacher (col. 37, ed. Collins), and there can therefore be no reason to doubt the attribution of the Berlin manuscript. Prof. Bacher has also shown that the author of the דרכי הנקוד is also the author of some notes on Joseph Kimchi's ס' הזכרון (*Revue des études juives*, xii. 371), and these again may be attributed to Moses ben Yomtob.

If we know little about Moses ben Yomtob, or about his father, Yomtob of London, who is casually referred to as flourishing c. 1175 by Zunz (*Zur. Gesch.*, 193), we may know a great deal about his sons, for they figured as the chief English Jews of the thirteenth century. I ventured to name them the Hagin family in my "London Jewry"; one of them Elyas, was the most prominent figure in the early history of the Jews in this country. Dr. Berliner has shown that in a Response of Elyas he quotes another of his father signed R. Moses ben Yomtob, which clinches the relationship (*Heb. Gedichte Meir aus Norwich*, p. 6). The date of Moses ben Yomtob is settled by the *floruit* of his sons, which ranges from 1230 to 1290, so that Moses must have lived in the later years of the twelfth and the beginning years of the thirteenth century. This also chimes in with the date of his father Yomtob given by Zunz, unfortunately without reference.

The date of the other R. Moses (ben Isaac Hanassiah), the author of the ס' השהם, or "Onyx Book," can also be established by a very curious coincidence. In 1215, during the troubles between John and the Barons, the latter took possession of London, and to strengthen the walls took some of the burial stones out of the Jewyn Garden or Jews' cemetery, then just outside the walls. One of these stones was discovered in Elizabeth's time, and the inscription copied by or for Stowe in his Survey of London, as follows:—

מצב[ת] ר' משה בן הרב יצחק הי'ו

There can be little doubt that this was the author of the ס' השהם who must therefore have died before 1215, and Moses ben Yomtob, his master, must have been at work some time before that date.

In making some researches among the inedited Pipe Rolls or Treasury accounts of the twelfth century at the Record Office, I have come across a couple of items which to my mind confirm this date, and determine the

family of R. Moses ben Isaac *Hanassiah*, besides throwing light on many interesting collateral points. Mr. M. D. Davis has already suggested that the curious hybrid form הנשיאה is an attempt at a translation of *La Comtessa* (Renan-Neubauer, *Les Rabbins Français*, p. 745), a name not infrequent among the Jewesses of England. The best known of them, one Comitissa of Cambridge, is mentioned as having obliged Richard of Anesty with a loan, c. 1159. In a Pipe Roll of 15 Hen. II. (1168-9), the same Comitissa is fined for having married one of her sons to a Lincoln Jewess, and in 25 Hen. II. (1178-9), I have found that three Lincoln Jews pay a fine to be released of their pledges on behalf of "Isaac fil Comitisse." Here then we have the father of R. Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah, the author of the "Onyx Book." Isaac must have married before 1168, about which date we can fix the date of birth of his son Moses. This is confirmed by another curious entry I have come across relating to a Jew from Russia being in England. For in the Pipe Roll of 27 Hen. II. (1180-1) there is a mention of an "Ysaac de Russie." Now R. Moses ben Isaac says that he had heard from R. Iza of Tchernigoff the Russian term for brother-in-law (Harkavy, *Die Juden und die Slavischen Sprachen*, p. 62), and there can be little doubt that this is the "Ysaac de Russie" referred to in the Pipe Rolls. Moses must have been between twelve and fifteen years old when this Ysaac visited England, and his life can therefore be fixed as ranging between 1165 and 1215, and the date of the ס' השהם at 1200. The date happens to be exceptionally important, as it fixes that of Berachyah Hanakdan, who is quoted by R. Moses. The long-standing dispute between Drs. Neubauer and Steinschneider on the date of Berachyah (*Rabbins*, pp. 490-9, *Letterbode*, viii. 25) may now be settled by these entries from the Pipe Rolls. I have also found another Punctator quoted by R. Moses in the ס' השהם. This is Samuel Hanakdan, who appears as "Samuel le Pointeur" in a list of Bristol Jews paying tallage in 1194. He was also the author of a Massoretic book now lost. There seems, indeed, to have been quite a school of Massorites or Nakdanim in England in the twelfth century; almost all those known at that time being thus shown to be from this country. It was, therefore, appropriate that Abraham ibn Ezra, in enumerating the various tastes of Jewish scholars in his *Yesod Morch*, written in England in 1158, should begin with the Massora. Under these circumstances it is not unlikely that the greatest of the Nakdanim, Berachyah, the author of the משלי שועלים, was also a native or resident of this country. The earliest quotation from him is now shown to be in the ס' השהם, the work of an English Jew, and his other chief work is a translation of the *Quæstiones Naturales* of an Englishman, Adelard of Bath. "Crispia." the Hebrew surname of Berachyah, is sufficiently near to "Crispin," a frequent surname among English Jews, and I find a *Benedict Crispin* the most important personage in a list of Canterbury Jews in the Pipe Roll of 4 Rich. I. (1193-4), and we know Canterbury to have been a seat of Hebrew learning; a David and a Benjamin of Canterbury occur among the meagre list of English Rabbis. The date and everything agree to make it extremely likely that this Benedict Crispin is Berachyah Crispia. I may add that a work containing many fables also contained in the משלי שועלים was written in French by Marie de France in England at the court of Henry II. just about the time when Berachyah Hanakdan, as we have just seen, must have flourished. I have little hesitation in saying that these are as clear proofs of identification as we ever get for Jews of this early date.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

SOME NEW BOOKS.

Commentary on Esther. By PROFESSOR PAULUS CASSEL. Translated by the Rev. A. Bernstein. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, pp. xxxv., 400.)

PROFESSOR CASSEL, whose commentary on Esther is thus added to Clark's "Foreign Theological Library," employs the Jewish Midrash as no other scientific critic with whom we are acquainted. He sympathises with it because he thoroughly understands it. He realizes its full importance for Biblical exegesis and he never omits to quote it when it throws light on the text. In fact, Professor Cassel may almost be said to be himself possessed of a Midrashic soul, for some of his own brilliant suggestions breathe the very spirit of the Midrash. We have rarely read a commentary on the Bible with more real pleasure. Professor Cassel writes from the orthodox standpoint, his one weakness being a failure to appreciate the strength of the case against the authenticity of *Esther*. Therefore, those who turn to the book for a complete answer to the vigorous attacks of Graetz and others will be disappointed. But the book is none the less a veritable store-house of information on Persian antiquities, Oriental legends, and Jewish Purim lore. The English translation of the *Targum Sheni* presents this curious compilation in an English dress for the first time. Of the English translation, as a whole, we regret to have to speak unfavourably. Confusions of tenses occur on almost every page, and un-English idioms and phrases are rather frequent. Besides, there is considerable irregularity in the printing of the Hebrew text. The plan of printing it verse by verse as the commentary proceeds is a peculiarly happy one. It is, therefore, regrettable that it was abandoned so early in the volume. These blemishes, however, detract very little from the value of the edition, which may be commended to the student as a fresh and instructive addition to exegetical literature.

Inspiration of the Old Testament Inductively Considered. By ALFRED CAVE, B.A. (London: 1888, pp. xii., 468.)

THIS book indicates that orthodox advocates of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch feel the necessity of meeting the destructive criticism of the Wellhausen school. We cannot say that we find Mr. Cave's arguments always convincing, and we fancy that his quotations of scientific authorities in confirmation of Genesis are not always very discriminately chosen. Max Müller is, for instance, cited as though modern philologists had not largely refused to assent to the professor's views. Mr. Cave nevertheless makes several good points against Wellhausen, and shows considerable fairness in admitting the force of, and replying to, some of the objections of the "higher criticism" to the Mosaic authorship of the Law. Mr. Cave's book is both clear and original, and may be read with considerable profit by all who are acquainted with modern Biblical criticism.

I. A.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1889.

WHERE ARE THE TEN TRIBES?

III.

EARLY TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE AND COMMENTATORS: ABRAHAM BAR HIYYA, BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, PRESTER JOHN, OBADIAH OF BERTINORO, ABRAHAM LEVI AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.[1]

WE have seen in the second part of our essay that the doubtful Eldad[2] of the Tribe of Dan[3] found the lost Tribes

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[1] The Hebrew documents from MSS. and rare books are to be found in the קובץ על יד, *Sammelband* III., published by the Society of the *M'Kitse Nirdamim*, Berlin, 1889.

[2] We forgot to mention, in our Bibliography of Eldad's Diary (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, II., p. 110), the MS. of the Casanatense, Rome V., II. 11. It contains the text C by a very careless scribe. There are many omissions, as well as some additions, and in many passages no sense can be made out. The seven nations (לשונות) in the MS. are the following נירמא (or טרמא); קוקיה · סרמותם · אדרא · תיסקא · תוקרא · תיקא (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, I., p. 100). At the end we find the following passage:—ואלדד זה לא הותיר ולא הפחית מכל מה שראה אלא הלשון ובשבת הנביאים כל אחד ואחד בדורו דרשו תורת משה ע"ה ועד עתה הם מחזיקים באילו הפרושים ויש להם העבור ום' היסודות ושם הנ[מ]פורש שמשמשים בו הצדיקים ועוד הם מרבים חכמה ואלייהו (*sic*) מתראה ומתבשר ואומר ברוך שהחיינו והודיענו בשורות טובות מאחינו י' שבטים המקום ברחמיו. The same MS. contains also Benjamin of Tudela's Diary, in a similarly corrupted form, and no help can be derived from the MS. for a critical edition of this important work, which is generally required.

[3] We find a Danite amongst the martyrs of the first crusade (p. 20 of the second volume of the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, in the Press).

in Abyssinia or Ethiopia. In the following period (tenth to twelfth century) they are looked for partly in Babylonia, Persia, and India; whilst later writers indicate their existence again in Abyssinia, Algeria, and the African deserts. Each author (excepting the exegetes and translators) has his own story and arguments. Let us begin with the translators.

The translations by Saadyah (S'adyah) Gaon (who died about 941), of the Books of Kings and Chronicles are unfortunately lost, and so are those of the early Karaites; they were all composed in Arabic. In Psalm xc. Saadyah explains the heading "Prayer of Moses," as "Prayer to be recited by the children of Moses," meaning those mentioned in 1 Chronicles xxiii. 14-23, and not the fictitious Levites on the river Sambatyon.[1] Fortunately, Moses ben Ezra (eleventh century), in his Arabic *Ars Poetica*, has preserved Saadyah's explanation of the countries to which, according to the Book of Kings, the tribes were exiled. Speaking of the Jews forgetting Hebrew in the Babylonian exile, Saadyah says:—"And such was the case with the other exiles of Samaria, who went to the lands of Khorasan, for there is not the slightest doubt that Halah, Habor, the river of Gozan, and the cities of the Medes (2 Kings xvii. 6), are to be found in Khorasan. Habor is most probably the river Khaboor (Chaboras of Ptolemy, which is written חבור as well as כאבור). All this is well known here." To this Moses ben Ezra adds that a man told him that in those provinces 40,000 Jews still existed who paid tribute.[2] Karaite authors of the tenth century also mention Khorasan as the province where the Israelitish exiles settled.[3] The famous Judah ben Balam (who lived about 1020),[4] whom we may regard as the pearl of the Jewish exegetes, follows Saadyah. He says (Isaiah vii. 24) that "in the time of Josiah the tribes were in Khorasan, for Habor is most probably the Chaforas, and the Gozan is to be found near to the town of Gazna, which in our time is situated further from Khorasan."[5] R. Tanhum of Jerusalem (thirteenth century) repeats Saadyah in saying (2 Kings xviii. 11) "these towns are in the land of

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[1] *Sammelband*, III., p. 10.

[2] See, for the original text, with a Hebrew translation by Dr. Harkavy, his מאסף נדחים, No. 7.

[3] For instance, Japhet ben Eli (who lived tenth century) in his Arabic commentary on Isaiah lvi. 8. (MS. at St. Petersburg, 562, of the first Firkowitsch collection), but he also mentions those exiles in the desert and behind the river of Sabbath (Sambatyon).

[4] See M. J. Derenbourg's edition of his Glosses to Isaiah, in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, xvii., p. 176.

[5] Dr. Harkavy, *l. c.*

Khorasan ; Gozan is, as it is said, the river of Gazna, and Habor is the Khabur."[1] One anonymous Arabic translator gives the following names, which are to be found in Khorasan, or in its neighbourhood. He translates 2 Kings xvii. 6 :—" He placed them in Halwân (a province of Nisabur), Herat, the rival of Azerbaijân (a Persian province, with the capital Tebriz), and the towns of Mahat (Nehawend)."[2] The author evidently followed the Talmudic explanation.[3] Western commentators, who wrote in Hebrew, viz., Rashi, Abraham ibn Ezra, Kimhi (or more correctly Kamhi), and others, do not explain these geographical names. Assyrian inscriptions have not advanced the question much. " Chabor," says Professor Schrader,[4] " is found in an inscription of Assurnāsirhabal as Habor." Gozan is mentioned as Guzana, along with Nizibis, and is, therefore, to be looked for, according to Professor Schrader, in Mesopotamia — probably identical with the province *Γανζανῖτις*, given by Ptolemy. " The land of Media " is clear. No identification has yet been attempted for Halah. Professor Fried. Delitzsch's[5] identification of Gozan with the province Zoozan or Zewezân, situated between the mountains of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Diarbekir and Mossool[6] will find some confirmation in the anonymous Jewish translator mentioned above.

The great astronomer, Abraham bar Hiyya (twelfth century) strangely enough makes an allusion to the children of Moses. Speaking of the difference between the Jewish tradition which holds that there are seventy nations, whilst the non-Jewish authors mention seventy-two, he says that the two nations of the latter tradition refer, 1st, to the children of Moses, of whom God said, " And I will make of thee a great nation " (Exodus xxxii. 10), for their number at the time of the arrival of the Messiah will be so great that they will form a nation ; 2nd, to the sons of Levi.[7] Abraham bar Hiyya does not mention the country in which they dwelt.

More particulars concerning the tribes near Persia we shall find in the diary of the famous Benjamin of Tudela.[8] The

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[1] Dr. Harkavy, *l. c.*

[2] MS. Oxford, No. 180 of our Catalogue, fol. 225, תם אסכנהם בחלואן והראה (MS. ותראה) ונהר ארדבינאן ובלאד מאהאת.

[3] See *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 372.

[4] " The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament " (Whitehouse's Translation from the German) I., p. 267.

[5] *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 185.

[6] See M. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, etc.*, Par., 1861, p. 290.

[7] *Sammelband*, III., p. 10.

[8] See below, p. 189.

traveller Petahiah, of Regensburg, has not a word about them.

Towards the middle of the twelfth century news reached Europe that a powerful Christian King, named Prester John, was reigning in Asia, and more especially over India.[1] In the fifteenth century we shall find Prester John's kingdom in Ethiopia. In fact, India and Ethiopia were at that time regularly taken one for the other. How the fable of a Christian Kingdom in India arose it is not our purpose to explain. We may, nevertheless, offer the following remarks: If St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, is, according to M. Rénan, a corruption of Gotama, the name for Buddha, Prester John might be a corruption of the name of one of the great Mongolic conquerors, invented to encourage the Christian world, which was trembling (in 1144) at the victories of the Seldtshuks in Syria, and later on at those of Tshingiz Khan. These hordes were considered as the terrible Gog and Magog, and brought to mind the time of anti-Christ and the destruction of the world. It will be sufficient for our purpose to mention that Otto, of Freisingen, who is the first that mentions the Prester John, says:—"The Bishop of Gabala (Djebel in Syria) relates that a few years ago a king and priest John, whose kingdom is far East on the other side of Persia and Armenia, and whose nation consists of Nestorian Christians, made war against the royal brothers of the Persians and the Medes, and took their residence, Ecbatana. The battle against the Persian, Median, and Assyrian troops lasted three days, for both parties were resolved to die rather than to give way." Further particulars about Prester John's descent from the Magi, and his intention to help the Crusaders do not belong to our subject. We mention him solely for the two following reasons:—1st, in order to state, with Dr. Oppert,[2] that the *Kofar al Turak* mentioned by Arabic historians and by Benjamin of Tudela,[3] are identical with the subjects of the fabulous Prester John; 2nd, to give the passage concerning the Ten Tribes, which is found in the Hebrew translation of his pretended letters; it will follow the extract from Benjamin's famous diary.

After giving a description of Samarcand, Benjamin continues as follows, according to the information of R. Moses, for

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[1] See Dr. Gustav Oppert's Book, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*, Berlin, 1864; also Colonel Yule's excellent article on Prester John in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ninth edition), Vol. XIX., p. 714 *sqq.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

[3] See below, p. 190.

our traveller never visited the regions of which we give his description:—[1]

Ten days from Samarcand is the province of Tibet (Toobut), in the forest of which country that beast is to be found which yields the musk. There are twenty-eight days to the mountains of Nisabur,[2] situated on the river Gozan. There are Jews in Persia, who are from this part, who say that in the towns of Nisabur dwell four tribes of Israel, viz., Dan, Asher, Zebulon and Naphtali, being of the first exiles who were carried into captivity by Salmanasser, King of Assyria, as said in Kings, "He put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." The extent of their country is twenty days' journey, and they have provinces and great cities in the mountains, and on one side the river Gozan makes the boundary. They are subject to no nation, but are governed by their own prince, whose name is Rabbi Joseph Amarkala, the Levite. Amongst them are scholars; others carry on agriculture; whilst a number of them are engaged in war with the land of Cush, by way of the desert. They are in alliance with the Kofar al Torak,[3] who adore the wind and live in the desert. This is a nation who eat no bread and drink no wine, but live upon raw meat, unprepared; they have no noses, but instead of the noses they have two small holes, by means of which they breathe. They eat all sorts of meat, whether from clean or unclean beasts, but they are friendly to Israel.

About eighteen years ago, they invaded Paras with a numerous host, and took the city of Rai, which they smote with the edge of the sword, took all the spoil, and returned to the desert. Nothing similar was seen before in Paras; and when the king of that country became acquainted with the occurrence, his wrath was kindled, for, said he: [In my time and][4] in the time of my fathers no host like this ever issued from the desert; I will go and extinguish their name from the earth. He raised the war cry in the whole empire, collected all his troops, and made inquiry whether he could find any guide that would show him the place where his enemies pitched their tents.

A man was met with, who spoke thus to the king: "I will show thee the place of their retreat, for I am of them"; and the king promised to enrich him if he would act thus, and show him the way. Upon the king's inquiry how much provision would be necessary for this long way through the desert, the spy answered: "Take with you bread and water for fifteen days, as you will find no provisions whatever before you reach their country." Thus they did, and travelled fifteen days in the desert, and as they met with nothing that could serve for sustenance, they became extremely short of provisions, so that men and beasts began to die. The king called for the spy, and addressed him thus: "What becomes of thy promise to show us our enemy?" He replied, "I have mistaken my

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[1] We follow Asher's translation, except in some passages, which we shall point out in the notes.

[2] נסבור according to the MS. of the British Museum. Asher's reading נסבון for נסבון, which is to be found in the printed copies, is not to be recommended; neither is Dr. Oppert right in his rendering of נסבון by Nekhsheb. Nisabur is mentioned by Benjamin in connection with the Gozan on p. 78 of Asher's edition.

[3] For the discussion concerning this tribe we refer to Dr. Oppert's *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] The words in brackets are added from the MS. of the British Museum.

way." The king grew angry, and ordered the head of the spy to be cut off. Orders were given to the host that every one who had any provisions left should share them with his companions. After everything eatable was consumed, including even the beasts, and after travelling thirteen additional days in the desert, they at last reached the mountains of Nisabur,[1] where the Jews dwell. They arrived there on a Sabbath,[2] and encamped in the gardens and orchards and near the springs, which are on the side of the river Gozan. It being the fruit season, they ate and destroyed, but no living being came forward. On the mountains, however, they discovered cities and many towers; the king commanded two of his servants to go and to inquire the name of the nation which inhabited these mountains and to cross over to them, either in boats or by swimming the river. They at last discovered a large bridge, fortified by towers, and secured by a locked gate, and on the other side of the bridge a considerable city.

They shouted on their side of the bridge until at last a man came forth to inquire what they wanted, and to whom they belonged. They could not, however, make themselves understood, and fetched an interpreter, who spoke both languages; the questions being repeated, they replied: "We are servants of the King of Persia, and we have come to inquire who you are, and whose subjects." The answer was: "We are Jews; we acknowledge no king or prince of the nations, but we are subjects of a Jewish prince." Upon inquiries after the Kofar al Torak,[3] the Jews answered: "Verily, they are our allies, and whoever seeks to harm them we consider our own enemy." The two men returned and reported this to the King of Paras, who became much afraid. The second day the Jews offered him battle. The king replied: "I am not come to make war against you, but against the Kofar al Torak, who are my enemies, and if you attack me, I will certainly take my vengeance, and will destroy all the Jews of my kingdom, for I am well aware of your superiority over me in my present position. I entreat you to act kindly, and not to harass me, but allow me to fight with the Kofar al Torak, and also sell me as much provision as I want for the maintenance of my army." The Jews took counsel among themselves, and determined to comply with the request of the King of Paras for the sake of his Jewish subjects. The king and all his army were consequently admitted into the country of the Jews, and during his stay of fifteen days he was treated with great honour.

The Jews, however, wrote to their allies, the Kofar al Torak, and made them acquainted with the circumstances given above. These took possession of all the mountain passes, and assembled a considerable army, consisting of all the inhabitants of that desert, and when the King of Paras went forth to give them battle, the Kofar al Torak were victorious, and slew so many of the army of Paras, that the king escaped to his country with only very few followers.

One of the horsemen of the retinue of the king enticed R. Moses, a

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[1] According to the MSS., printed text נסבון.

[2] According to the MS. of the British Museum; the printed texts have ביום alone, which gives no sense. Asher puts this word in parentheses.

[3] The text is here corrupted. The British Museum MS reads as follows:— וישאלו אותם על דבר הכופרים שהם בני נוץ מן כופר אלתורך, "And they asked concerning the infidels, which are the Ghuzes, of the Kofar al Torak." If this reading is right, Asher has reason to identify the Kofar al Torak with the Ghuzes. We cannot discuss this question here.

Jew of that country, to go along with him; in Paras he made him a slave. Upon a certain day, however, the king witnessed a sport, carried on for his amusement, which consisted chiefly of bow-shooting; R. Moses excelled all other competitors. The king inquired after this man with the help of an interpreter, and was told what happened to him, and how the horseman deceived him. Upon learning that, the king immediately granted him his liberty, and gave him a dress of fine linen and silk, together with other presents. The king said to him: "If thou wilt turn to our religion, I shall be gracious towards thee, make thee rich, and, moreover, steward of my palace." R. Moses replied: "I cannot do such a thing." Then the king placed him in the house of R. Sar Shalom of the Ispahan congregation, who in his turn gave him his daughter as his wife. It was this R. Moses who related to me all these things.

So far for the report concerning four tribes. In another place of his diary (Asher's edition, p. 70) Benjamin says:—

From Hella (in Babylonia)[1] twenty-one days' journey through the desert of Sheba or al-Yeman (Yemen), situated towards Shinear in a northerly direction, are the abodes of the Jews who are called *Khaibar*,[2] men of Thema; here is the seat of their government, where the prince Hanan resides. It is a large city, and the extent of their country is sixteen days' journey between the northern mountain range. They possess large and strong cities, and are not subject to any of the nations, but undertake warlike expeditions into distant provinces with the Arabians, their neighbours and their allies. These Arabs live in tents in the deserts, and have no fixed abode, and are in the habit of undertaking marauding expeditions in the land of Shinear and al-Yeman. The Jews are the terror of their neighbours, their country being very extensive; some of them cultivate the land and rear cattle. A number of studious and learned men, who spend their lives in the study of the Law, are maintained by the tithes of all produce, part of which is also employed towards sustaining the poor and the ascetics, called "mourners of Zion," and "mourners of Jerusalem." These eat no meat and abstain from wine, dress always in black, and live in caves or in hidden-away[3] houses, and keep fasts all their lives except on Sabbath and feast-days. They continually implore the mercy of God for the Jews in exile, and devoutly pray that he may have compassion on them for the sake of his own great name, and they include in their prayers all the Jews of Tema and Telmas. Telmas is a city of considerable magnitude; it contains about 100,000 Jews, who are governed by Prince Salmon, brother of the Prince Hanan, to both of whom the land belongs; they are descendants of the royal house of David, which is proved by their pedigrees. In doubtful cases they refer to their relative, the prince of the captivity at Bagdad.[4] They keep forty days' fasts every year, and pray

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[1] The MSS. have after the word קבריהם (ed. Asher, p. 69), the following words:—ומשם חמשה ימים לחילה.

[2] According to the Oxford MS.; the British Museum MS. has בני כיבר, children of Khaibar; the printed texts and another MS. read בני רכב, the Rechabites.

[3] According to MSS., which read גנוזים for the printed גרועים.

[4] The MSS. read לראש הגולה קרובם שבבגדאד, instead of the strange words קרועי בגדים in the printed texts.

for all the Jews who live in exile. There are nearly forty provinces,[1] and two hundred villages and towns. The chief province is Sana.[2] There are altogether 300,000 Jews. Sana[6] is a very strong city, being fifteen square miles in extent, and large enough to allow agriculture to be carried on within its boundaries, where the palace of the Prince Salmon is to be found. Tema, the province of the Prince Hanan, his brother, is also a beautiful town with gardens ; so is Telmas also a great town with 100,000 Jews, strongly fortified and situated between two high mountains. Many of the inhabitants are learned, wise and rich. From Telmas to Khaibar is three days' journey.

It is reported that these Jews are of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Menasseh, who were led away captives by Salmanesser, King of Assyria, and brought there. They built there strong cities, and are in warfare with many kingdoms, and they cannot easily be reached because of their situation, which requires a march of eighteen days through uninhabited deserts, and thus renders them difficult of access. Khaibar is also a large city with 50,000 Jews in it, of whom many are learned. They are valiant and engaged in wars with the inhabitants of Shinear, with those of the northern country, and with those of Yemen who live near them ; the latter province borders India.

According to the letters of the Prester John, the tribes form a strong kingdom in India. We translate the following passage from the text of the Constantinople edition[3] :—

" Know that from the stone-sea flows a river, which comes from Paradise, passing between us and the great country of the mighty Daniel, King of the Jews. This river flows all the week days, but remains quiet on the Sabbath day. When full, this river carries a great quantity of precious stones ; consequently, no one can pass it except on the Sabbath. But we watch the Jews, for if they should pass they would cause great mischief to the whole world, to the Christians, the Ishmaelites, as well as to all the nations and tongues under the Heaven, for no nation could resist them. But we have in this region sixteen great and fortified cities, built of stones, which we may call the strongest cities in the world. The distance from one town to the other is half a mile ; each city is provided with a thousand horsemen, ten thousand foot soldiers, and ten thousand archers, who watch the mountains and its passages, in order not to let the Jews pass ; they are, indeed, so numerous that if they once cross over, they could fight the whole world. Know also, that for each of my fortresses the King Daniel possesses ten ; the Jews are so rich in precious stones that they construct their houses with them, as we do with coloured stones. Do not consider as

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[1] מדינות, which also means large cities.

[2] תנאי in the MSS.

[3] See *Sammelband*, III., p. 14.

exaggerated what I reported concerning the King Daniel, for he has with him three hundred Jewish kings, whose peoples have submitted to him; besides these, Daniel has also three thousand dukes, counts, and other important men; in fact, we know that his land is endless; and he who has never heard of this people has heard nothing."

In the letter addressed to the Emperor Frederick the passage relating to the Jews runs as follows[1]:—

"On the one side of our country is a river, on the border of which all kinds of excellent spices are found. Near to it is another river, full of stones, which falls into the ocean, which flows between the sea and the Nine Tribes of Israel. This river runs all the week till the Sabbath day, when it rests; it carries large and small stones to the sea, like a river of water does; consequently the Nine Tribes of Israel cannot pass the river. On the other side we have forty-four towns, built of very strong stones, and the distances between one town and another is not more than a bowshot. And in order to guard them we have 44,000 horsemen, 50,000 bowmen, and 30,000 men on horseback guard the cities from an attack by the children of Israel, for if they could pass the river they would destroy the world. The Israelites possess ten of the cities. We make known to you that for these ten cities, and for other expenses which we are obliged to make for the great King of Israel, he gives us yearly a hundred camels, loaded with gold, silver, precious stones and pearls; besides this he pays a tribute for our not ravaging the land which lies between us and themselves. Know also, that the great King of Israel has under his dominion 200 kings, who hold their lands only with his permission. Besides these kings there are 2,300 governors and princes. In his countries flow two rivers coming from the Garden of Eden. On the mountain near our town dwell Gog and Magog; they are called so because they are descendants of two brothers of Israelitish family, the one called Gog and the other Magog, and from them our ancestors have conquered our cities. And at the foot of this mountain, from the side of Israel, we have the great city called כוריאש, which is impregnable, except by treachery."

We feel bound, before continuing to give the opinions of subsequent Jewish writers concerning the Ten Tribes, to say a word on the Hebrew translations of Prester John's letters. The letter of Prester John exists in two forms; one is addressed to the Emperor Frederick, and the other to the

[1] See *Sammelband*. III., p. 19.

Pope.[1] Both of them exist in a Hebrew translation, and the latter even in two forms, the one directed to an anonymous pope, the other, dated 1442, to Pope Eugenius IV. In the first two the Jewish Kingdom in India is described, but not in the last. It is, indeed, strange that this document, which has such a decided Christian tendency, should have been translated into Hebrew; perhaps the translation is the work of a priest, for the language is rather clumsy. We can understand the Jewish object in the translation of the two letters in which the settlement of Jewish tribes is mentioned. The first letter, addressed to the pope, was printed at Constantinople, 1716, and is as rare as a manuscript. It exists also in an Oxford MS. of a late date, copied by a Karaite, but scarcely from the printed edition.[2] The second letter, addressed to the Emperor Frederick, seems to have been translated in Provence, and exists in the unique MS. (the Parma MS. has only a small fragment) in the possession of the venerable Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, the Rev. Dr. N. Adler, to whom we are glad to express our thanks for the loan of it.[3] The third letter,[4] addressed to the Pope Eugenius IV., is published from the MS. of the Parma library, 402, for a copy of which we are indebted to Dr. L. Modona, one of the officials of this library, which possesses as many as 1,500 Hebrew MSS.

We have mentioned[5] that the early Karaite writers, and chiefly those who wrote in Arabic, believed that the Ten Tribes dwelt in the neighbourhood of Khorasan. Later Karaite writers, who composed their works at Byzantium, place them in Cush, according to Eldad. So we find it with Judah Hedassi,[6] who wrote in the year 1160. It is most unlikely that Maimonides, who was so cautious concerning the Messianic advent, as can be seen from his letter, addressed to the congregation of Yemen,[7] should have made any definite statement about the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes. Still, later authors, such as the apostate Joshua Lorca (Hieronymus de Sancta Fide), pretend[8] to have found in the letters of Maimonides that the Ten Tribes formed a great

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[1] See the five learned monographs, by Professor F. Zarncke, on the history and the letters of Prester John (with various Latin titles), University Programmes. Leipzig, 1874 and 1875.

[2] *Sammelband*, III., p. 11, *sqq.*

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 15. [4] *Ibidem*, p. 64. [5] See above, p. 186.

[6] *Eshkol hak-kofer*, §§ 60, 61. See above p. 113.

[7] *Iggereth Theman*, editio Leipzig, 1861, p. 6.

[8] J. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, etc., p. 18.

nation, of which one part was under the dominion of Paras (Persia), whose king was called by the Arabs the great Sultan, while another part remained independent, in the neighbourhood of the land of Prester John, with whom they made an alliance. Abraham, the son of Maimonides, says in one of his *responsa*,[1] in answer to a question about the Ten Tribes, who are said to be in the desert,[2] that he can only refer to the passages of the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the story of the Danite, his letter, and the ritual rules, and some Hebrew words which he brought from the land of the Ten Tribes. The last point, adds Abraham, is one of the safest arguments for the existence of the Tribes.

The legend of the Prester John continued to be referred to in Jewish writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The famous commentator on the Mishnah, R. Obadiah, of Bertinoro, gives the following account in his first letter from Jerusalem in 1488[3]:—"I have made inquiries concerning the River Sambatyon, but I could obtain no definite information. Certain it is that a man has arrived from the land of the Prester John, which lies between great mountains, and extends ten days' journey, who says that there is the dwelling of the *Bene Israel*, and that they are in continuous warfare with Prester John. He nearly exterminated them, and the small remainder was subjected by him to vexations, which are only equalled by those which the Great Kingdom suffered in the time of the Maccabees. But, with God's mercy, other kings arose in India, less cruel than their predecessor, and the *Bene Israel* were able to lift up their heads, and increased in number. They still pay tribute to the Prester John, but are not subjected to persecutions. Forty years ago they were at war with their neighbours, and prisoners were made on both sides. Some of the *Bene Israel* were brought as prisoners to be sold in Egypt, but the Jews in this country redeemed them. I have seen two of them, who were black, but not so dark as the Cushites (Ethiopians). I could not distinguish whether they were Karaites or Rabbanites, for, on the one hand, they observe the Karaite rule of not having any fire in their houses during the Sabbath-day, and, on the other hand, they follow the Rabbanite prescriptions. They believe themselves to be descendants of the Tribe of Dan, and they say that the pepper and other spices which the Cushites sell come from their land. All this I have seen with my own

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[1] *Sammelband*, III., p. 63.
[2] If we read צחרא; the MS. has סחרא, distant corners.
[3] *Sammelband*, III., p. 22.

eyes, and heard with my own ears, although these men knew but very little Hebrew, and their Arabic could not be well understood by the men of this land. The following fact, however, is well known here—viz., that the Mahommedans, who go on pilgrimage from here to Mekka (and they carry with them not less than 4,000 camels), pass through a great and terrible desert, where they are sometimes attacked by a giant nation of which one pursues a thousand. The name of this nation is, according to the Arabs, 'Sons of *El Shaddai*,' because they invoke in their wars the *El-Shaddai*. The Mahommedans assert that each of the Bene El-Shaddai carries a camel load on one shoulder, while with the hand they hold the spear for fighting. It is also well known that they observe the Jewish religion, and it is said that they are the descendants of the Rechabites."

In his second letter,[1] dated Jerusalem, 1489, Obadiah says: "It is certain, from reports of Mahommedan traders, that fifty days' journey from Aden in the desert is the River Sambatyon, which surrounds the country where the Bene Israel dwell. This river rolls stones all the week days, and rests only during the Sabbath-day; it is, therefore, impossible for any Jew to go there without profaning the Sabbath. The Bene Israel say that they are the children of Moses; that they are pure as angels, and never transgress the Law. On the other side of the river are also a great number of Jews, but they are not so strict as the children of Moses. These facts are openly proclaimed by the Jews of Aden, who have no doubt about their veracity. Another report reached Jerusalem," says Obadiah, "that Prester John, with whom the tribes are at war, has defeated them altogether. We fear much for ourselves if this defeat shall become known."

Another report[2] was current in Jerusalem in the year 5214—1454 that the Sambatyon was dried up, and that the tribes were crossing to wage war with the Prester John. Thus the legend of this fabulous king was taken advantage of by the Christians, as well as by the Jews.

The famous Kabbalist, Abraham Levi the elder, wrote a letter from Jerusalem, dated 1528, in which we find the following data concerning the Ten Tribes[3]:—"Know that from Cairo to Suakin are fifty (days). From here to Falasa are three days; according to others, five days; the journey is very difficult. Falasa is a strong kingdom of Jews, who are valiant,

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[1] See *Jahrbücher für Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthum*. Leipzig, 1863, III., p. 222.

[2] *Sammelband*, III., p. 35.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 24.

and dwell in tents, travelling from place to place to pasture their flocks. Their land is large, and situated in high mountains, so that no one dares to go to war with them. From Falasa they go to another country called Salima (in Hebrew, Shalem), which flows with milk. Near to these two kingdoms is Jubar, the land of טשמעלום,[1] who pay tribute to the King of Falasa. We are not certain to which tribes these Jews belong. We believed up to the present time that they belonged to the tribes of Gad and Dan, for the Mahommedans who came from Jubar say that they are neighbours of Gad and Dan. Lately, however, we have heard that this land is called the land of Gad and Dan after the two brothers who reign there—viz., Gad, the King, and Dan, the Prince. We have further ascertained from the Mahommedans of Jubar and the Christians of Cush, which is Al-Habesh (Abyssinia), that the father of these two brothers was called Phineas, and also Son of the Lion, because of his great strength. He died in battle against the Abyssinians, and left three sons—viz., Gad, Dan, and Todros (Theodorus), who made war one against another. The last escaped to Abyssinia, where he became a Christian, brought a numerous army with him, came suddenly to Salima, and killed there about 10,000 Jews; he could not reach Falasa owing to the high mountains. Finally, Theodorus fell into the hands of his two brothers, who killed him. This slaughter took place in the year 5214—1504. They next fell upon their enemies, and slew a great number of the Abyssinians. Another time Gad was made prisoner by one of the Abyssinian kings, who treated him with kindness, and an agreement was made that Gad should pay a yearly tribute of forty ounces, on promising that he would not give permission to the Portuguese to enter his land." This letter may be of use, for the history of Abyssinia is at present imperfectly known.

A certain Israel, a contemporary of Abraham Levi, sent a letter from Jerusalem to Abraham of Perugia, from which we extract the following fact[2]:—"Last week, in the days of Hanukah, the Jew who was captured on the sea, and who was sold from hand to hand until he was at last bought at Alexandria in Egypt, where the Jews redeemed him[3] (he is nearly like a Cushite), told us that in his native country are thousands and tens of thousands of Jews with a great king, who makes war upon the Christians, their neighbours. He is the only king on the Nile (except that of סינגלן(?), which

[1] So in the MS.

[2] *Sammelband*, III., p. 25, *sqq.*

[3] See above, p. 195.

is forty days' journey from Aden), who has Mahommedan and Christian subjects. This is a certain fact, which many men of his land and all men of Jerusalem affirm, that there are forty families (of Christians and Mahommedans). I had a conversation to-day with the *Nagid* (Prince, a Jewish title) about the Ten Tribes, and he told me that a Jew was staying as a guest in his house, who spoke Cushite and Hebrew. He said that in his country there is no written book of the Oral Law (Talmud), and all casuistical rules are reported in the name of Joshua, son of Nun[1]; he said further that there are four tribes—viz., Simeon, Issachar, and two others, which he does not remember. Issachar busies himself day and night with the learning of the Law, whilst the other tribes divide their time between the study of the Law and waging war upon their Christian neighbours. There are many towers on the boundary, in which the valiant men of Israel keep watch; during the war they make signal by smoke in the day and by fire in the night. When they are hard pressed, they ask counsel from heaven and they are answered in the following way. The prince of Issachar envelops himself in his Talith (cloak) and prays in a corner of the synagogue. The answer comes by fire from heaven which everybody sees, descending upon the head of the prince, but the answer is heard by him alone. Once the Cushites brought them a Jew from the Portuguese, to whom they put questions about the exiles, Jerusalem, and the Temple, to which he gave the following answer: 'We are in great troubles, wandering from nation to nation in captivity, the Temple as well as Jerusalem is in ruin and in the hands of strangers.' Hearing this, they tore their garments and wept long and bitterly; they agreed to come in force to Jerusalem, but the prince told them to wait until he asked heaven about it. He did so in the way mentioned above, and the answer was that the time of redemption had not yet come, and therefore nobody should leave his place at present, for the redemption was indeed near. Then came forward ten rich men who made a vow to go from nation to nation and from kingdom to kingdom until they came to Jerusalem. They went in ships with the Cushite till they came to the Portuguese possessions. Here the King sent for them and he heard of their might and riches, and how they fought with the Prester John, and above all how they were answered from heaven, and he was ashamed at the exile to which he had banished the Jews. And in order that it should not be known in his dominions that there was still a

[1] See above, p. 105.

remnant and hope for Israel, he would not allow them to land, and finally sent them to an island where they remained several months. He then sent for them and asked them what they meant to do? They answered that their intention was to go to Jerusalem. He said, Come in my ship and I will bring you to Jerusalem. So they did, but when they got on the open sea they were robbed by pirates, and sold as slaves with their wives and children. After some time one of them came in search of his wife and children and that was the prince's guest in Egypt. As to the wonderful strength of these Jews, the prince stated the following fact. One night four thieves came on the roof of my house and they were all frightened. When the guest asked what the reason of their fright was, they told him what had happened. He at once looked to his sword and hurried alone after them until he put them to flight, saying that if there had been ten thieves it would have been just the same to him, for indeed, said he, 'we slay as many every day when war is waged against us.' "

In a third letter from Jerusalem,[1] addressed to the same Abraham by Raphael Trévoux, we find the following short statement about the Ten Tribes. "Know, that the Ten Tribes are not on the other side of the river Sambatyon; but only the children of Moses, and the Ten Tribes dwell on our side of the Sambatyon; they have no Talmud but only the Mishnah, and the Mishneh Torah of Maimonides, and all the Prophets of the First Temple; but they are great Kabbalists." Of course Raphael here confuses the Yemen Jews with the Ten Tribes. The Yemen Jews had, in fact, no copies of the Talmud in Raphael's time, and they regulated questions of religion by Maimonides' casuistical work. They moreover studied mostly the Kabbalah.

In another contemporary letter, addressed from Jerusalem to the congregation of Castello,[2] the report is that the Viceroy of Naples had heard that the river Sambatyon was now (about 1563) at repose, and four of the tribes had passed the river, whilst the other five tribes were ready to pass. Amongst those who had passed, was a nation numerous as the sand of the sea, with eighty kings and four princes, who carried with them an infinite amount of gold and silver, with armies and heroes too numerous to count. Two other letters,[3] addressed to R. Samuel of Sinegaglio, from Venice and Puglia, reached Castello, and speak also of the Ten Tribes. In the one it is reported that during the preceding fortnight a Jew had written from Alexandria wonderful things. "The river Sam-

[1] *Sammelband*, III., p. 32. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 34. [3] *Ibid*, p. 31.

batyon is now dry on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays in a miraculous way by the will of God; myriads of Jews who started from Halah, Habor and the river Gozan have passed the Sambatyon, and are now encamped thirty days' journey from the Holy Land; by command of God they have to remain there two years, after which time they will go and conquer the Holy Land." In the second letter the writer affirms having seen at Damascus an emissary from the tribe of Reuben. Not only did he see him, but he had a glass of wine with him. He came by the way of Egypt, for that was his shortest route. The name of the prince who sent him was Hananel, called also Armilus, because he waged war upon Armilus.[1] The prince belonged to the tribe of Reuben; he was 250 years old, and he passed the Sambatyon, which was completely dry, with sixty times ten thousand warriors, partly Danites and partly of the tribe of Reuben. The Egyptian Jews laughed at him; he therefore left the place without having spoken to many, came to Jerusalem, went to Sebaste[2] (Sichem), and thence to Damascus. He was waiting there for his two friends. Soon after his arrival at Damascus letters were received from Egypt warning them not to laugh at him, as was wrongly done in Egypt. For a letter reached Egypt from the children of Reuben, signed by twelve princes and also from the great prince and general Hananel, called also Armilus. The continuation of this letter speaks of an old man (Elijah!) who told a Jew of Damascus on his way home from a dinner with the above-mentioned emissary that he would meet an emissary called David, and he was to tell him to make haste with his work and not talk too much. Is this David identical with David Reubeni whom we shall mention later on?[3] Probably. Elijah of Pesaro (lived 1532) affirms in his printed letter[4] that a young Jew told him that in his country the Jews are independent, and that "round them is the nation called Habesh (Abyssinians), who are Christians and in constant warfare with the Jews. These have a language of their own, which is neither Hebrew nor Arabic. They possess the Pentateuch with a commentary, but not the Talmud and its commentaries. Elijah received information as to their religious observances, and he found that they inclined partly to Karaism and partly to Rabbinism, that they have the scroll of Esther but nothing of Hanukkah. Their land is distant from Palestine six months' journey, and the river Gozan is there."

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[1] See above, p. 97. [2] The word is doubtful in the MS.
[3] See continuation of this article in a later number of the Quarterly.
[4] *Sammelband*, III., p. 37.

Further on, Elijah says that an old man who was in India told him that "the Jews there form a separate kingdom, that the children of Moses are on an island of the Sambatyon. Facing them is the tribe of Manasseh. On the other side of the river dwell the tribes of Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher. Issachar forms a province by itself, and has no communication with the other Tribes. They are well versed in the Law, and are surrounded by fire worshippers, and their language is Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. Simeon dwells towards the south, and forms a separate kingdom. Zebulun and Reuben are on the river Euphrates, the one on one side and the other on the other side of the river. They possess the Mishnah and the Talmud, and speak Hebrew and Arabic. Ephraim is situated south of Babylonia. They are strong men, who live upon spoil, and speak Hebrew."

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced the richest materials and the wildest fictions concerning the lost Tribes. These centuries, in fact, gave birth to the two greatest Messianic impostors—viz., David, of the tribe of Reuben, with his fanatic apostle, Solomon Molkho, and Sabbetai Tzebi, with his numerous followers. With a new Messiah, the legend of the Ten Tribes was forcibly revived.

A. NEUBAUER.

[*To be concluded.*]

SAMUEL HOLDHEIM: THE JEWISH REFORMER.

ONE of the most remarkable men whom our century has produced among the Jews was Samuel Holdheim (born 1802, died 1860.) His greatness is not the least shown in this, that through his own energy and consistency he worked his way from the lowest and most narrow religious point of view to a position of complete freedom and enlightenment. Brought up by strictly orthodox parents, Holdheim spent his youth at Kemper, in the district of Posen. There he devoted himself exclusively to the study of the Talmud. So unabated was his industry that even while still a lad he became a master of his subject. Nor did he merely gain acquaintance with the varied contents of the Talmudic folios, but he made the spirit of their disputations so much his own, that wherever their thread might be broken he could take up the loose ends and continue the spinning. The knowledge thus acquired, and the sagacity with which he handled it, laid the foundation for those great works which he published[1] in after years, the influence of which has been so considerable upon the development of modern Judaism in Germany. It was only comparatively late that the youth, already deeply versed in Talmudic lore, became acquainted with letters and philosophy at the Universities of Prague and Berlin. But this learning came to him the more readily since his judgment and understanding were already ripened by studies which demand the utmost depth and concentration. He now recognised that the opinion of the Rabbis, according to which all science and learning outside the Talmud are deemed worthless, was based on a fundamental error, and served only to the serious detriment of Judaism. He forthwith determined to prove in his own life that the union of specifically Jewish teaching with the culture of the age would, on the contrary, produce the richest fruits, and tend as much to the furtherance of Judaism itself as to its recognition in the eyes of the world.

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[1] Cf. Geschichte der Jüdischen Reformation, Part III., Samuel Holdheim, by Dr. I. H. Ritter, Berlin, 1865.

This intention he began to carry out in 1836, when he was appointed Rabbi at Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

Among the Jews in Prussia at that time, things were at a very low ebb as regards both the conduct of Divine service and religious teaching. On the one hand, the king had forbidden the Communities to introduce any ritual innovations, so that even the Berlin Synagogue, where Kley and Zunz had preached, was compulsorily closed. On the other hand, the State denied to the Rabbis the standing of minister and teacher of religion; their only privileges were to decide in the customary manner about forbidden and permitted foods, to solemnize marriages, and to perform other acts of ritual. Holdheim fought with all his might against this state of the law, according to which "the Jewish religion is merely tolerated, and its members have no recognised church officials." (Rescript, March 11th, 1823.) He demanded "that this sad legacy of a bygone day" should lose its force under the influence of friendly and unbiassed consideration; for, besides the guardianship of Ritual laws, the Rabbi had many far more important duties — to teach the ignorant by enlightened exposition of the Divine word, to convince the doubting, to bring back the erring to the path of duty, to strengthen the weak, to reconcile foes, and, in short, to give to all the blessings and consolations of religion. It was, however, equally necessary "to instruct the Jewish communities themselves in their own religion, to show them something higher in the religious life of their ancestors than the mere observance of certain Ritual laws, and to prove to them that in the sayings and rules of the Fathers there was contained everything great and ennobling that cultured minds could demand." He urged that the men of leading in religion should heal the breach between past and present, and that new laws of the State were also required to cure the ills of Judaism. With voice and pen, in sermon and essay, he gives vivid expression to his conviction of the necessity of such reforms. And this conviction became only the more firmly rooted in his mind as he grew acquainted with Hebrew learning, as it was displayed in the writings of Zunz and Geiger. With what eagerness he read the *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* of the former, and followed up the articles in the *Zeitschrift* of the latter, may readily be imagined. In a speech on the subject "Prayer and teaching united constitute Jewish Divine worship," he painted a vivid picture of the devotion he deemed truly pleasing to God, and founded in the history of Judaism; with Zunz for guide, he showed that the existing decay in the ardour of Divine worship was a product of later

degeneration. For from Bible times, and throughout the subsequent centuries until the two last (which had lost the sense for it), this fuller conception of worship had accompanied and helped to maintain in freshness and fervour the religious life of the Jews. It was now the duty of the Rabbis, as it had once been that of the prophets and teachers of olden days, to send forth the enkindling word from the heights of their clearer conceptions, and to overcome the stagnation of Divine service which was merely a reflex of the stagnation of life. And in this task the communities should come readily to their help. It was then that he had to contend against the orthodox party, who would not hear of a sermon delivered in the vernacular, and who, regardless of the consequences, desired nothing better than that the Synagogue services and their own lives should drag on in the old grooves.

The sermons which Holdheim delivered in Frankfort were published in 1839 in a collected edition, under the title *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge.* All the various forms that Judaism has assumed during the course of centuries are here displayed and estimated at their full value and true significance. The major and minor festivals instituted by the Synagogue, the Rabbinical ordinances of Divine service, are all shown to be so many important links in the religious chain of Judaism. They should facilitate our comprehension, quicken our enthusiasm. It is, of course, true that in these sermons Holdheim still takes his stand on the retention of the ceremonial laws; but by his lofty spiritualisation he sufficiently proves that it is not the perishable shell, but the everlasting kernel—the noble truths and doctrines the former contains—with which he is concerned. About this time, the results of his thought and research having impelled him in the spirit of the Talmud itself to institute improvements in the order of Divine service and in the education of the young, he came violently into conflict with the orthodox party. He was thus not sorry to leave Frankfort. In the year 1840 he was offered and accepted the appointment of Chief Rabbi in Mecklenberg-Schwerin. Here he found himself in complete sympathy with the Jewish "*Oberrath*" appointed by the Grand Duke, and he had besides the opportunity of working in a wider sphere more suited to his great abilities. For he had under his care not one community alone, but a whole complex of communities, and it was his task to instil a high morality and a nobler religious culture into the most heterogeneous elements. He had not merely to instruct, according as the chances of life and special occasion demanded, but as shep-

herd of his people he had to anticipate their spiritual and religious wants, and to give them in popular form the results of his own inquiry and research. He himself felt to the full the difficulty of his new task. For in Mecklenberg, as elsewhere, opinion was much divided on the subject of Form and Essence, Divine and Human, Changeable and Unchangeable in Judaism. But the harder the task the more did it please him, and the keener spur did it offer to those great powers, for whose worthy and exhaustive use he so ardently longed. He became the soul of the council-board, and ever knew how to overcome indolence and self-love, limpness and unthinking stagnation. He was incessantly active in instruction and encouragement; now warning against errors, and now setting right those already committed. On all sides he sought to spread the fire which warmed and illumined himself. He introduced a new order of Divine service similar to that of Würtemberg, the aim of which was to set communal and Synagogue life on a firm basis, and to bring dignity, order, and unity into public worship.

It was about this time that Holdheim became acquainted with the Hamburg "Temple," founded in 1818, in which prayer was offered up in the German mother tongue. When, in 1841, the Hamburg Association contemplated building a new Synagogue and issuing a new edition of its prayer-book, the orthodox Rabbis made a violent attack upon this "Temple." Holdheim hotly took up the cudgels in its defence. He recognised in it "a living manifestation of religious ideas, which still lacked verbal expression, the progressive impulses of modern times that needed yet a coherent and logical articulation. It took its stand," he said, "not in Judaism alone, but was rooted in the very Synagogue itself in its most concrete significance; only it made a just distinction between the material and the religious elements in Judaism, and these latter elements it faithfully preserved." He acknowledged that there were some inconsistencies, but these were inevitable, since the "Temple" had arisen not from thorough-going principles, but from the necessities of the moment. And for this reason further progress was not excluded. Bernays, the orthodox Rabbi of Hamburg, forbade the use of the "Temple" Prayer-book. Thereupon Holdheim recommended it in an essay "Concerning the Prayer-book of the new Jewish Association at Hamburg." He showed that it answered all the requirements of Judaism, and that the community had the absolute right to omit prayers relating to the re-establishment of sacrifices. "Prayer," he said, "is the most holy communion with the God of Truth; hence, a wish that does not really animate

the heart of him who utters it before that Being is no prayer." On the authority of the Talmud and of Maimonides he proves the validity of the "Temple" Prayer-book for every Israelite. Still more emphatically in the following year does he refute an anonymous assailant of the Prayer-book, in the pamphlet: "Heresy Proclamations and Freedom of Conscience." (Hamburg, 1842.) The anonymous writer had attacked Holdheim's former defence on the ground of inconsistency, inasmuch as it appealed to the Talmud, and yet decided against the Talmud. Holdheim clearly shows that the Talmud is neither the work of one man nor of one time, but that it includes within itself the varied opinions of most diverse scholars and of widely divided times; hence, if anyone chooses to refute any particular expression of the Talmud by means of the Talmud itself, he is perfectly at liberty to do so, and is in no wise inconsistent. This latter essay of Holdheim's is one of peculiar interest, for it marks the progress he had made since the commencement of his career. He had set out in complete accord with the received rules of life and faith. Later on, he began to distinguish between the teaching of the later Rabbis, and that of Talmudic times. And now he was at issue with his assailants on the Talmud and tradition itself. They had accused him of unbelief in Divine tradition, and he was glad of the opportunity of frankly stating his convictions. He believed firmly, he said, in tradition, since by it alone could the letter of the Scriptures gain spirit and meaning. But it was the rules only that had been handed down by tradition—the rules, according to which we must proceed in order to discover the true meaning of the Scriptures—and not the contents itself—the results of the application of those rules. All depends, therefore, upon right procedure, and in the Talmud itself controversies often arise as to the right or wrong use of the traditional hermeneutic. Error, therefore, could never be wholly eliminated. "All tradition is in the Talmud, but the Talmud is not all tradition." Just as he had formerly distinguished between the teaching of the Rabbis and the Talmud, so he now distinguishes between Talmud and Divine tradition. "To demand for every expression of every Rabbi in the Talmud traditional authority is to confuse things human and Divine." In the same spirit Holdheim defends his colleague, Geiger of Breslau, when the latter was accused by Tiktin of heterodoxy and illegal innovations. "Geiger never denied tradition like the Karaites, as he was accused of doing, but merely instituted an inquiry into its character, for which we ought to be grateful; neither did he introduce any changes into the laws, but

had merely begun a scholarly investigation of them which was ultimately to be submitted to a competent Synod. The spirit which gave life and movement to the old world of the Rabbis inspires and moves us also. It is the same striving to develop the ancestral religion for futurity, and so to preserve it from ruin. Divine tradition is in itself simply the principle of eternal youth, or, in other words, the principle of perpetual growth, self-regenerated from the seeds placed by God himself in the word of Scripture." Thus did Holdheim's views grow clearer and clearer, and his religious experience deeper and deeper, until in 1843 he published his truly epoch-making work, "Autonomy of the Rabbis and the principle of the Jewish marriage laws: a contribution towards the better understanding of some of the Jewish questions of the day."

The immediate occasion of this book arose from the fact that, in Mecklenburg, marriage and inheritance among the Jews were regulated according to Talmudic laws, whence difficulties often ensued. Holdheim insisted that this state of things must be abolished, and that the laws of the State and not the laws of the Talmud must invariably be followed. This was, indeed, already the case in the rest of the German States, with the full consent and sanction of the Jewish communities. But still more important did it now appear to him to contend against the interpretation which the Prussian Government sought to place upon the then contemplated Act of Incorporation. By this Act citizens of the Jewish faith were to be incorporated together in separate communities of their own, and strictly shut off from the rest of their fellow subjects. Holdheim declared that the Jews did not *wish* to have a separate nationality. Just as excommunication had ceased because it no longer possessed any vital power, so also was the Jewish jurisdiction at large coming to its natural end. This surrender became the foundation of civil and spiritual emancipation among the Jews. By means of the submission of his private interests to the common laws of the country, the Oriental had become European, the stranger a native. Several Governments had, however, thought that they must pay some attention to certain apparently religious considerations, as *e.g.*, that of Mecklenburg, in the case of the Jewish laws of inheritance, according to which the first-born son perforce inherits a double portion, while the daughters are left entirely to the father's pleasure. But the fact was that, since the civic incorporation of the Jews into the various countries of Europe, obedience to the laws of the State was transformed in their eyes into a religious duty. The new Prussian Incorporation Act, on the contrary, seemed to be a deplorably retrograde step from the

law of 1812, which separated the Jews in matters of religious worship only, while this new law robbed them of their most important duties, such as the defence of their Fatherland, and, indeed, seemed to aim at a renewal of mediæval isolation. Even the ancient Rabbis, Holdheim goes on to say, made a distinction between obedience to the Mosaic law within and without Palestine, inasmuch as they allowed the observances especially bound up with that land to fall into disuse after the exile. But had they then possessed the true conception of a State, what they ought to have said was this: Whatever Jewish rite or law concerns our State ceases with our State's cessation. Our duty to-day is to fill up this gap, and to effect a consistent separation between matters of religion and civil or political affairs.

Three propositions of great range and importance are brought to light in Holdheim's essay: (1.) The autonomy of the Rabbis must cease. (2.) Matters of religion must be separated from civil or political questions. (3.) Marriage according to the teachings of Judaism is a civil act. The learned men among the Jews at that time already recognised the validity of Holdheim's arguments. Geiger says (*cf.* Freund *Zur Judenfrage*, 1843, p. 170), "It is to such theologians that we Jews shall owe perfect spiritual freedom, together with complete adhesion to the State with the moral power thence derived. The clearness, decision and consistency with which Holdheim handles these subjects has brought them to such a point that the confused mingling together of the judicial and religious spheres will henceforth no longer be possible." "The book creates an epoch," exclaimed M. Hess (*cf.* Israelit I., 1844), "in the further development of Judaism and in its emancipation from the impure elements that have clung around it: in its return to its high divine import, and in its progress towards its true mission." Still more eagerly than the theologians did the more liberal lay members of the community give in their adhesion to Holdheim's views. They were only a little doubtful as to the policy of promoting interference on the part of the various Governments in the religious affairs of the Jews, and particularly of constantly mingling together the Talmudic with the purely Reform point of view, according to which the Bible itself is not a revelation, but merely a witness of a revelation, a witness, in other words, of the religious consciousness of our ancestors. This objection was specially raised by a prominent leader of the Berlin liberals, A. Bernstein.[1] Holdheim rejoined that he could not

[1] See Freund's Zeitschrift: "Zur Judenfrage in Deutschland," 1844, p. 35.

understand how anyone at one and the same time could regard the Bible as merely the work of a consciousness of the Divine revealing itself in man, and yet still speak of religion; for himself, he openly declared his faith in positive revelation. "True reform," he said, "can rest only on the assumption that God has given definite laws for definite times and circumstances. To try and carry these laws out in changed times and circumstances in some unreal and factitious sense, is to act against God's will." At this time Holdheim still clung to a simple supernaturalism, and in accordance with it he explained, that God did indeed give the laws of the Bible, but he meant them to remain in force only so long as the circumstances lasted under which they had been given. "If the conditions of life are changed," he said, "it is God himself who has wrought the change, it is he who has thus wrought the abolition of his own laws." Holdheim had to fight a harder battle with the orthodox Rabbis. Thus Samson Raphael Hirsch (who died a short while ago at Frankfort-on-the-Main) laid down the principle that, "Every distinction between eternal and temporary, absolute and relative in religious affairs is both false and conducive to falsehood." To him the Rabbinic laws, like the Mosaic laws, were strictly Divine, the civil and criminal ordinances of the Shulchan Aruch just as binding as the Ten Commandments. Moreover, he violently denounced the idea to which Holdheim had given expression, that the Rabbis had sought to bring the letter of the Mosaic law into harmony with the continually changing circumstances of the time, and he declared that the author of the "Autonomy" had made out the Rabbis to be scoundrels, and attributed to them dishonest manœuvres. But Hirsch and those that thought with him forgot in their zeal that Holdheim had represented the Rabbis as acting in all good faith, and with the complete consciousness of full justification for all their acts. What Holdheim was really seeking to show was that in the Mosaic law we must distinguish between two totally different factors. We have, on the one hand, what concerns the relation of the Israelites to God as human beings, as mortal children to their eternal Father. This factor has a purely religious character. All, on the other hand, that concerns the relation of Israel as a chosen people to *its* God and Lord, he calls relatively religious only. This latter peculiar relationship should be regarded as mere symbolism, since it is founded only on the temporary side of Mosaism, the ideal import of which had, nevertheless, already spiritually permeated the Theocracy itself. For from the very beginning the Mosaic idea embraced the whole of mankind, and its particular embodiment was meant only to

preserve and prepare the way for its universal application. The same people who first realized the Theocracy in their own state, must also be the first to break through its limitations. The Jews, above all other men, must recognise ideal Mosaism as the true religion of humanity. This, indeed, is already indicated in the very beginnings of Scripture, where it is said that man is created in the image of God. Thus Holdheim's conceptions grew gradually clearer and clearer, as he was forced to justify the views he had expressed in the "Autonomy." The cardinal error of the Rabbis, their insistence on the equal and eternal binding force of every precept in the Mosaic code, was more and more peremptorily laid aside. More urgent also, grew his demand for a trenchant distinction between the Pentateuchal laws themselves, while the original opposition of things political and things religious underwent a considerable enlargement.

Another bitter assailant of Holdheim's "Autonomy" was Zacharias Frankel, then Chief Rabbi of Dresden, and later Director of the Hebrew Theological College at Breslau.[1] This was the more remarkable, as Frankel considered himself in contrast to the ultra-orthodox Hirsch as a man of reasoned faith. Holdheim replied with "Religious and Political Elements in Judaism." In this literary duel Frankel's weakness and inconsistency stood out in clear contrast against Holdheim's keenness and strength of conviction. Holdheim had a further opportunity of proving the growing liberality of his views, when, in 1844, a member of the Reform Synagogue, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, omitted to have the rite of circumcision performed upon his son. The German Rabbis wanted to expel either the father or the son from the Communion of Judaism. Holdheim took up the cause of both with all his energy, although at that time he still regarded circumcision as one of the eternally binding precepts of the Mosaic code. By his pamphlet—"Circumcision, especially in its Bearings on Religion and Dogma" (1844)—he brought order and lucidity into the whole question. He showed that neither on Biblical nor on Talmudic grounds was exclusion justifiable, and that the Jewish religious authorities must avoid all compulsion.

In his "Lectures on the Mosaic Religion" (1844), he sought to show that the Frankfort Reform Society had stopped short at pure negation, and himself made an attempt to complete their work through positive development. To this aim, too, he devoted his pamphlet—"Ceremonial Law in the Messianic

[1] See his *Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*, 1844, Parts v.-viii.

Kingdom" (1845). According to its conclusions, the Talmudic view of the unbroken continuance of the theocratic system—albeit Temple, State, and Autonomy have passed away—must fall to the ground. In our purely spiritual conception of the Messianic idea the special sanctity of the priesthood as well as the outward sanctification of people and places, with all the ceremonial laws thereto pertaining, must for the future disappear. And from the level of this higher consciousness it is already incumbent upon the Jews of to-day to attempt a withdrawal of separative elements, and thus more and more to effect a union in spirit and in love with humanity at large. In a reply to a critique of Herzfeld's, he adds, "Since the continuance of Judaism is no more actively threatened from without, Particularism in our religion is no longer necessary. No need to wait till the idea of brotherly union has taken root outside our ranks. He who first discovers a truth should be the first to lay it upon the altar of humanity, the first to prove its power by the force of living examples. As Jews it is our duty to outstrip other faiths in the realisation of those ideas that are to prevail in the Messianic Kingdom. As ours, we claim the mission to bring that kingdom to pass. Far higher than the Particularism of legal Judaism is the Universalism of the Prophets, which appeals to all mankind. As surely as we recognise its beginnings in the destruction of our former nationality, so surely is it our duty to promote the building up of that future kingdom where all men shall be as brothers."

It was in the Jewish Reform Community which had been formed at Berlin, in 1845, that Holdheim found the positive complement to the Frankfort Reform Union. In 1846, Holdheim, as the most courageous and consistent exponent of their principles, was chosen as their minister.

On the 2nd of April he consecrated their synagogue. In vivid colours he pointed out to the assembled congregation the high importance of their own work. "New departures in history," he exclaimed, "have often very small beginnings, but if the seed is good, and the power of growth strong, they may gain a force and significance undreamt of by their first founders. The principles for the sake of which this Sanctuary is built contain within them sure seeds of fertility. Preserving all that may still live in our general spiritual development, it is not sought merely to lop off the dead twigs, but to develop living branches, which, nourished by the sap of the tree, may bring forth good fruit. Our essential faith is eternal, for our close and child-like relation to God, by this

our faith revealed to us, and the command of moral holiness are unchangeable and everlasting. But the more we free ourselves from what is merely human in this faith, the changing outward forms, the closer must we cling to what is Eternal and Divine. He who recognises with Hosea that God does not demand sacrifice, must with Hosea remember that God *does* demand love. It is only the attainment of the higher level of inner religious life which justifies an abandonment of outer religious forms, that on a lower level are both a duty and a necessity." So runs the message of the prophetic Judaism that supersedes the Judaism of legality.

Holdheim was the very man who could best teach the young community what it had already accomplished and what it had still to do. For he was able to trace back the whole movement to the very point from which he himself had once set out. And inasmuch as it was no new religion, but simply a new embodiment of the old faith that had been devised; since only the forms were borrowed from the present, but the substance was rooted in the past, it was a piece of rare good fortune that a leader was found in the very man who, of all others, had made the traditional wealth of Jewish learning his own, and in his own person enacted and experienced the whole series of transformation scenes from past inconsistent confusion to present purity and strength.

One of the first tasks Holdheim undertook in the service of the Reform Community was a systematic collection of the scientific results and conclusions he had hitherto gained in the course of his life. These he embodied in a work entitled "The Religious Principles of Reformed Judaism" (1847). The whole falls naturally into seven sections, of which the first sets forth the historic growth of the necessity for Reform. The sacred Scriptures were at all times the source of Judaism, but their exposition had always remained open and free. Yet as a matter of fact the religious life of post-Biblical Judaism had followed one definite line of exposition—namely, the Talmudic. But now since a belief in the validity of this interpretation—with its assumption of a future restoration of the Mosaic sacrificial rites and ritual, and of the agrarian, Levitical and other external laws—has ceased, the necessity for a new interpretation and a new conception of the religious life that is thereby entailed has inevitably arisen. The ideas of truth and morality laid down in the Bible have become of supreme importance for this new interpretation. It entirely repudiates the whole principle of heteronomy, so that for it the conviction of the truths of Judaism, the religious attitude of mind dependent

upon this conviction, and the ethical teaching that these imply, have alone absolute value. The outward forms, on the other hand, which serve to picture forth those truths are merely transitory, and have only a relative worth, inasmuch as they may awaken religious feelings, incite to praiseworthy action, and strengthen spiritual communion through public ceremonial. The election of Israel is explained to mean simply that this people in the midst of heathendom felt itself inspired and led by a Divine providence. But God's all-embracing love knows no distinctions, for he has created all men in his Image, and is the Father of all. From the idea of the theocracy the higher conception is retained that to take part in the life of the State is incumbent on the Jew, and that religion must realise itself in, and by its influence transform, the daily duties of life. The Talmud is honoured as the treasury of important truths, and the literature connected with it as a witness to the development of Judaism. It is the function of Divine service to impress upon our minds the history of our religion, and to root so deeply in our souls its fundamental and joy-giving truths that they become an imperishable possession.

Holdheim's opinions, after a gradual but continuous process of growth, had now fully ripened. Tradition he no longer regarded as originally revealed at Sinai, and now permanently recorded in existing documents, or deducible at any rate from divinely given rules of interpretation. For tradition is but a mirror in which the peculiar conceptions of the Scriptures held by the post-Biblical ages have been reflected: it is a witness and proof of history's power. The intrinsic worth of the Bible itself is only gradually revealed to us by the teaching of history, and the slowly perfected separation of all that is theocratic, political and symbolic from universal and eternal religious truths.

In his paper, "Mixed Marriages between Jews and Christians," he gained a great moral victory over the fanaticism and narrow Talmudism of his opponents. So long ago as the first assembly of Rabbis at Brunswick he had endeavoured to get the principle of marriage with Monotheists accepted. He now took up the question again, not merely on account of one particular instance in which the Königsberg Consistory and the Berlin Rabbis had refused to recognise a mixed marriage, but because the problem was intimately bound up with the whole subject of Jewish Reform. The reform movement, he held, was meant to effect not merely communal, but also general social progress, while before all else it maintained the principle of freedom of conscience, which is so

essential an element in true Judaism. It was only Jewish and Christian zealots, to both of whom the reform of Judaism is an abomination, who could consistently protest against all mixed marriages, as the destruction of Jewish and Christian exclusiveness. But the adherents of reform—having experienced in themselves the power of purified Judaism—trust in its strength, and know that reform is as far removed from religious indifference as is fanaticism from true religion. Marriage is a civil act, and the religious element in its celebration consists in combining with this civil ordinance certain religious conceptions. If, then, the Jewish minister is asked to awaken these conceptions, and to implore the blessing of heaven on a married pair, he is only performing his duty in obeying that call. To bring help towards the diffusion and appreciation of Judaism, we must trust solely to its own essential truth.

For the use of his own congregation Holdheim compiled two small school books—(1) "The Religious and Moral Teachings of the Mishnah" (1854); and (2) "*Jüdische Glaubens- und Sittenlehre*" (1857). In various pamphlets he sought to make them realise the grave necessity of an intimate union between knowledge and culture on the one hand, with a keen and fervent religious life on the other. In this combination there lay to his mind the corner-stone of modern Judaism. His essays "On Improved Religious Education" (1858), and "Reflections on the Mutual Relations of Religious and Secular Education" (1860), are important in this respect. In 1857, he also published "A History of the Rise and Development of the Reform Community at Berlin," in which he expressed his views as to its value, and the direction in which its future efforts should lie. But his chief work in these latter years consisted in his numerous sermons. Three volumes appeared during his lifetime,[1] in 1852, 1853, and 1855. Upon these his activity was gradually more and more concentrated. Through them he sought to let men enjoy the fully-ripened fruits of his inward experiences, and his unqualified love for the Jewish religion and its literature. Inasmuch as he himself had become calmer and cooler as his views had grown purer and more elevated, the sermons necessarily mirrored forth his full serenity of soul. The restless striving, which more or less blurred his earlier sermons, had now changed to the thoughtful, happy restfulness of assured conviction.

Thus Holdheim attained the summit and final goal of his

[1] After his death a small collection was published, with a preface by Geiger (1869), and a larger one, with a preface by myself.

eventful life. He had struggled much both with himself and with others, and had spared neither others nor himself in his battle against prejudice. In the search for wisdom he had learnt from both friend and foe. He had never let himself be forced from his chosen path by the bitter attacks made, not merely on the scientific value of his achievements, but even more on the character of his purposes and motives. Bearing within himself the consciousness that his own aims were pure, he assumed the same with others, and in the battle of opinions he heeded no interest other than that of truth. But his opponents did not know what to make of him, for they were incapable of appreciating the ceaseless travailing and continuous development of his great mind. They could not value aright his energetic activity of thought. Even after his death he has had to suffer from such misconceptions. No opponent has done him more grievous and baseless wrong than Professor Graetz in the eleventh volume of his "History of the Jews." The very qualities that were Holdheim's most marked characteristics, idealism of disposition and ardent love for Judaism, Graetz denies that he possessed. He utterly misconceives the purity of Holdheim's yearning to remove from Judaism the reproach of particularism and narrowness, and at the same time to awaken its followers to a knowledge of the rich, eternal and all-embracing contents which, long buried under the old forms, its new embodiment is to reveal to the world. For Holdheim was convinced—and I share his conviction—that he had struck out the right path to lead soonest and straightest to the recognition of the everlasting truths of Judaism, and to its ultimate and universal triumph.

IMMANUEL H. RITTER.

THE FOX'S HEART.

PLINY says that by eating the palpitating heart of a mole, one acquires the faculty of divining future events. In "Westward Ho!" the Spanish prisoners beseech their English foe, Mr. Oxenham, not to leave them in the hands of the Cimaroons, for the latter invariably ate the hearts of all who fell into their hands, after roasting them alive. "Do you know," asks Mr. Alston in the *Witch's Head*, "what those Basutu devils would have done if they had caught us? They would have skinned us, and made our hearts into *mouti* (medicine), and eaten them, to give them the courage of the white man." Ibn Verga, the author of a sixteenth century account of Jewish martyrs, records the following strange story. "I have heard that some people in Spain once brought the accusation that they had found, in the house of a Jew, a lad slain, and his breast rent near the heart. They asserted that the Jews had extracted his heart to employ it at their festival. Don Solomon, the Levite, who was a learned man and a Cabbalist, placed under the lad's tongue the holy name. The lad then awoke and told who had slain him, and who had removed his heart with the object of accusing the poor Jews. "I have not," adds the author of the "Shebet Jehudah," "seen this story in writing, but I have heard it related."

I have the authority of Dr. Plöss for the statement that among the Slavs witches produce considerable disquiet in families, into which, folk say, they penetrate in the disguise of hens or butterflies. They steal the hearts of children, in order to eat them. They strike the child on the left side with a little rod; the breast opens, and the witches tear out the heart, and devour every atom of it. Thereupon the wound closes up of itself, without leaving a trace of what has been done. The child dies either immediately or soon afterwards, according as the witch chooses. Many children's illnesses are attributed to this cause. If one of these witches is caught asleep, the people seize her, and move her so as to place her head where her feet were before. On awaking, she has lost all her power for evil, and is transformed into a medicine-

woman, who is acquainted with the healing effects of every herb, and aids in curing children of their diseases.

The foregoing are two or three of the stories that I have noted down on the gruesome subject of heart-eating. I have not come across any passage in the Jewish Midrashim which ascribes to "heart-eating," even in folk-lore, the virtue of bestowing wisdom. Aristotle seems to lend his authority to some such notion as that I have quoted from Pliny, when he says, "Man alone presents the phenomenon of heart-beating, because he alone is moved by hope and by expectation of what is coming." As George H. Lewes remarked, it is quite evident that Aristotle could never have held a bird in his hand. The idea, however, that eating the heart of an animal has a wisdom-conferring virtue does seem to underlie a very interesting Hebrew fable published by Dr. Steinschneider, in his *Alphabetum Siracidis*. This story has already been ably discussed by Dr. Gaster (from whom some of my references are taken); but I translate it into English for the first time. The angel of death had demanded of God power to slay all living things. "The holy one replied, 'Cast a pair of each species into the sea, and then thou shalt have dominion over all that remain of the species.' The angel did so forthwith, and he cast into the sea a pair of each kind. When the fox saw what he was about, what did he do? At once he stood and wept. Then said the angel of death unto him, 'Why weepest thou?' 'For my companions, whom thou hast cast into the sea,' answered the fox. 'Where, then, are thy companions?' said the angel. The fox ran to the sea shore [with his wife], and the angel of death beheld the reflection of the fox in the water, and he thought that he had already cast in a pair of foxes, so, addressing the fox by his side, he cried, 'Be off with you!' The fox at once fled, and escaped. The weasel met him, and the fox related what had happened, and what he had done; and so the weasel went and did likewise.

"At the end of the year, the leviathan assembled all the creatures in the sea, and lo! the fox and the weasel were missing, for they had not come into the sea. He sent to ask, and he was told how the fox and the weasel had escaped through their wisdom. They taunted the leviathan, saying: 'The fox is exceedingly cunning.' The leviathan felt uneasy and envious, and he sent a deputation of great fishes with the order that they were to deceive the fox, and bring him before him. They went, and found him by the sea-shore. When the fox saw the fishes disporting themselves near the bank, he was surprised, and he went among them. They beheld him, and asked, 'Who art thou?' 'I am the fox,' said he.

'Knowest thou not,' continued the fishes, 'that a great honour is in store for thee, and that we have come here on thy behalf?' 'What is it?' asked the fox. 'The leviathan,' they said, 'is sick, and like to die. He has appointed thee to reign in his stead, for he has heard that thou art wiser and more prudent than all other animals. Come with us, for we are his messengers, and are here to thy honour.' 'But,' objected the fox, 'how can I come into the sea without being drowned?' 'Nay,' said the fishes; 'ride upon one of us, and he will carry thee above the sea, so that not even a drop of water shall touch so much as the soles of thy feet until thou reachest the kingdom. We will take thee down without thy knowing it. Come with us, and reign over us, and be king, and joyful all thy days. No more wilt thou need to seek for food, nor will wild beasts, stronger than thou, meet thee and devour thee.'

"The fox heard and believed their words. He rode upon one of them, and they went with him into the sea. Soon, however, the waves dashed over him, and he began to perceive that he had been tricked. 'Woe is me!' bewailed the fox, 'What have I done? I have played many a trick on others, but these fishes have played one on me worth all mine put together. Now I have fallen into their hands, how shall I free myself? Indeed,' he said, turning to the fishes, 'now that I am fully in your power, I shall speak the truth. What are you really going to do with me?' 'To tell thee the truth,' replied the fishes, 'the leviathan has heard thy fame, that thou art very wise, and he said, I will rend the fox, and will eat his heart, and thus I shall become wise.' 'Oh!' said the fox, 'why did you not tell me the truth at first? I would then have brought my heart with me, and I would have given it to king leviathan, and he would have honoured me; but now ye are in an evil plight.' 'What! you haven't your heart with you?' 'Certainly not. It is our custom to leave our heart at home while we go about from place to place. When we need our heart we take it; otherwise, it remains at home.' 'What must we do?' asked the bewildered fishes. 'My house and dwelling place,' replied the fox, 'are by the sea-shore. If you like to carry me back to the place whence you brought me, I will fetch my heart, and will come again with you. I will present my heart to the leviathan, and he will reward me and you with honours. But if you take me thus, without my heart, he will be wrath with you, and will devour you. I have no fear for myself, for I shall say unto him: My lord, they did not tell me at first, and when they did tell me, I begged them to return for

my heart, but they refused.' The fishes at once declared that he was speaking well. They conveyed him back to the spot on the sea-shore whence they had taken him. Off jumped the fox, and he danced with joy. He threw himself on the sand, and laughed. 'Be quick,' cried the fishes. 'Get your heart, and come.' But the fox answered, 'You fools! Begone! How could I have come with you without my heart? Have you any animals that go about without their hearts?' 'You have tricked us,' they moaned. 'Fools; I tricked the angel of death, how much more a parcel of silly fishes.'

"They returned in shame, and related to their master what had happened. 'In truth,' he said, 'he is cunning, and ye are simple. Concerning you was it said (Prov. i. 32), The turning away of the simple [the MS. reads פתאים] shall slay them.' Then the leviathan ate the fishes."

Metaphorically, the Bible characterises the fool as a man "without a heart," and it is probably in the same sense that modern Arabs describe the brute creation as devoid of hearts. The fox in the narrative just given knew better. Not so, however, the lady who brought a curious question for her rabbi to solve. The case to which I refer may be found in the *Responsa* Zevi Hirsch. Mr. Schechter kindly drew my attention to the passage. Indeed, my indebtedness to him is too great for words. Hirsch's credulous questioner asserted that she had purchased a live cock, but on killing and drawing it, had found that it possessed no heart. The rabbi very properly refused to believe her. On investigating the matter, he found that, while she was dressing the cock, two cats had been standing near the table. The rabbi assured his questioner that there was no need to inquire further into the whereabouts of the cock's heart.

Out of the crowd of parallels to the story of the fox's heart supplied by the labours of Benfey, I select one given in the second volume of that learned investigator's *Pantschatantra*. A crocodile had formed a close friendship with a monkey, who inhabited a tree close to the water side. The monkey gave the crocodile nuts, which the latter heartily relished. One day the crocodile took some of the nuts home to his wife. She found them excellent, and inquired who was the donor. "If," she said, when her husband had told her, "he feeds on such ambrosial nuts, this monkey's heart must be very ambrosia itself. Bring me his heart, that I may eat it, and so be free from age and death." Does not this version supply a more probable motive than that attributed in the Hebrew story to the leviathan? I strongly suspect that this latter fable has been pieced together from various sources,

and that the account given by the fishes, viz., that the leviathan was ill, was actually the truth in the original story. The leviathan would need the fox's heart, not to become wise, but *in order to save his life,* just as the fox had done on his own behalf. To return, however, to the crocodile. He refuses to betray his friend, and his wife accuses him of infidelity. His friend, she maintains, is not a monkey at all, but a lady-love of her husband's. Else, why should he hesitate to obey her wishes? "If it is not your beloved, why will you not kill it? Unless you bring me its heart, I will not taste food, but will die." Then the crocodile gives in, and in the most friendly manner invites the monkey to pay him and his wife a visit. The monkey unsuspectingly consents, but discovers the truth, and escapes by adopting the same ruse as that employed by the fox. He asserts that he has left his heart behind him on his tree.

That eating the heart of animals was not thought a means of obtaining wisdom among Jews may be directly inferred from a passage in the Talmud (*Horayoth,* fol. 13b). Among five things there enumerated as "causing a man to forget what he has learned," the Talmud includes, "eating the hearts of animals." Besides, in certain well-known stories in the Midrash, where a fox eats some other animal's heart, his object is merely to enjoy a tit-bit.

One such story in particular deserves attention. There are three versions of it, so far as my reading has gone. The one is contained in the *Mishle Shualim,* or "Fox-Stories," by Berechya Hanakdan (No. 106), the second in the *Hadar Zekenim* (fol. 27b), and the third in the *Midrash Yalkut,* on Exodus (ed. Venice, 56, a). Let us take the three versions in the order named.

A wild boar roams in a lion's garden. The lion orders him to quit the place, and not to defile his residence. The boar promises to obey, but next morning is found near the forbidden precincts. The lion orders one of his ears to be cut off. He then summons the fox, and directs that if the boar still persists in his obnoxious visits, no mercy must be shown him. The boar remains obstinate, and loses his ears [one had already gone?], and eyes, and finally is killed. The lion bids the fox prepare the carcass for his majesty's repast, but the fox himself devours the boar's heart. When the lion discovers the loss, the fox quiets his master by asking, "If the boar had possessed a heart, would he have been so foolish as to disobey you so persistently?"

The king of the beasts, runs the story in the second of my three versions, appointed the ass as keeper of the tolls. One

day king lion, together with the wolf and the fox, approached the city. The ass came and demanded the toll of them. Said the fox, "You are the most audacious of animals. Don't you see that the king is with us?" But the ass answered, "the king himself shall pay," and he went and demanded the toll of the king. The lion rent him to pieces, and the fox ate the heart, and excused himself as in the former version.

The *Yalkut*, or third version, is clearly identical with the preceding, for, like it, the story is quoted to illustrate the scriptural text referring to Pharaoh's heart becoming hard. In this version, however, other animals accompany the lion and the fox, and the scene of the story is on board ship. The ass demands the fare, with the same *dénouement* as before.

What induced the fox to eat the victim's heart? The ass is not remarkable for wisdom, nor is the boar. Hence the wily Reynard can scarcely have thought to add to his store of cunning by his surreptitious meal. Hearts, in folklore, have been eaten for revenge, as in the grim story of the lover's heart told by Boccaccio. The jealous husband forces his wife, whose fidelity he doubts, to make a meal of her supposed lover's heart. In the story of the great bird's egg, again, the brother who eats the heart becomes rich, but not wise. Various motives, no doubt, are assigned in other *märchen* for choosing the heart; but in these particular Hebrew fables, it is merely regarded as a *bonne bouche*. Possibly the Talmudic caution that eating the heart of a beast brings forgetfulness may have a moral significance; it may mean that one who admits into his soul bestial passions will be destitute of a mind for nobler thoughts. This suggestion I have heard, and give it for what it may be worth. As a rule, there is no *morality* in folk-lore; stories with morals belong to the later and more artificial stage of poet-lore. Theological folk-lore, of course, stands on a different basis.

Now in the *Yalkut* version of the fox and lion fable, all that we are told is "the fox saw the ass's heart; he took it, and ate it." But Berechya leaves us in no doubt as to the fox's motive. "The fox saw that its heart was fat, and so he took it." In the remaining version, "the fox saw that the heart was good, so he ate it." This needs no further comment.

Of course, it has been far from my intention to dispute that the heart was regarded by Jews as the seat both of the intellect and the feelings, of all mental and spiritual functions, indeed. The heart was the best part of man, the fount of life; hence Jehuda Halevi's well-known saying, "Israel is to the world like the heart to the body." An intimate connection

was also established, by Jews and Greeks alike, between the physical condition of the heart and man's moral character. It was a not unnatural thought that former ages were more pious than later times. "The heart of Rabbi Akiba was like the door of the porch" (which was twenty cubits high), "the heart of Rabbi Eleazar ben Shamua was like the door of the temple" (this was only ten cubits high), "while our hearts are only as large as the eye of a needle." But I am going beyond my subject. To collect all the things, pretty and the reverse, that have been said in Jewish literature about the heart would need more leisure, and a great deal more learning than I possess. So I will conclude, for the present, with a quotation, pathetic as well as poetical, from a Jewish mediæval chronicle.

A Mahommedan king once asked a learned rabbi why the Jews, who had in times long past been so renowned for their bravery, had in later generations become subdued, and even timorous. The rabbi, to prove that captivity and persecution was the cause of the change, proposed an experiment. He bade the king take two lion's whelps, equally strong and big. One was tied up, the other allowed to roam free in the palace grounds. They were fed alike, and after an interval both were killed. The king's officers found that the heart of the captive lion was but one-tenth as large as that of his free companion, thus evidencing the degenerating influence of slavery. This is meant, no doubt, as a fable, though this fable, at least, is not without a moral. But the days of captivity are gone, and it may be hoped that Jewish large-heartedness has come back with the breath of freedom.

I. Abrahams.

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASSORAH.

[*Concluded from page* 142.]

WHAT proportions this basis had attained will be made more clear after we have inquired in what shape the Scriptures were written down in the time of the Talmud, and what form was given to the Massoretic apparatus. As regards the Scriptures, it will be necessary to direct separate attention to the following particulars:—(1) Letters, (2) words, (3) verses, (4) sections and paragraphs, (5) books, and (6) vowel and accent-signs.

(1.) The peculiarities of the Hebrew square character, led to an ornamentation of the letters in the shape of a spur projecting from the apex. This projection is styled in the Talmud[1] קוץ (thorn), זיון (the name of the letter of that shape) כתר or תאנא (crown), and is identical with the "tittle" or κεραία of Matthew v. 18. Such flourishes were most commonly appended to letters whose apexes terminated in points, instead of being bounded by a horizontal line, viz., א,ג,ו,ז,ט,י,נ,ע,צ,ש. Of these ten letters, the seven which formed the mnemonic שעטנז גץ were distinguished by requiring three זיונין;[2] but אוי, being silent letters, were not considered of sufficient importance to be so marked.[3] In course of time, these flourishes came to possess a mystic import. It is narrated in *Menachoth*, 29 *b*, etc., that when Moses went up to heaven he discovered the Deity engaged in binding crowns to the letters. At a loss to understand what this meant, Moses was assured that a sage—Akiba the son of Joseph—would one day arise and explain the mystic significance of every single spur. Such

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[1] *Menachoth*, 29 *b*, *Shabbath*, 104 *b*, *Erubin*, 13 *a*, *Sotah*, 20 *a*.

[2] *Menachoth*, 29 *b*. At a later period, a simpler kind of ornamentation, consisting of a single stroke, was given to the four letters ב ד ה ק and sometimes י and ה.

[3] J. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, i., p. 244. Cf. S. M. Schiller-Szinessy's Cat. Heb. MSS. at Cambridge, I., p. 3.

being the importance of these appendages, they were carefully copied in the sacred scrolls, the calligraphy of which was required to be of a particularly neat character.[1]

(2.) The text of Scripture was not written as a *scriptio continua*, but the words were separated from each other. This follows from a variety of considerations. (*a.*) *Menachoth*, 30 *a*, regulates the amount of space to be left vacant after each word. This single proof (from which also it may be inferred that words were divided by interspacing, and not, as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, by interpunction) is as decisive as a hundred, still we may be permitted to add others. (*b.*) *Sanhedrin*, 94 *a*, asks, "Why, when every מ in the middle of a word is written 'open,' that in למרבה should be 'closed'?"; from which the inference is plain that words were not run into one another. (*c.*) The Talmud (*Pesachim*, 117 *a*; *Jer. Succah*, iii. 12; see *Minchath Shai* on Ps. civ.) discusses whether words which end in יה (חללויה, כסיה, ידידיה) shall be written as one or two words. (*d.*) These word divisions obtain in our Synagogue scrolls, which preserve the mode of writing in use in Talmudic times. (*e.*) *Jer. Megillah*, i. 9, refers to final letters as an ancient institution[2] (ח׳ל׳מ), and the use of such letters presupposes at least the incipient stage of word-division. (*f.*) The word-division followed in the readings of the Talmud closely agrees with that adopted in our *textus receptus*. [We may suppose, then, that the custom of writing the text as a *scriptio continua* ceased shortly after the appearance of the LXX.] (*g.*) Word-division comes within the scope of *Keri* and *Chetib*, which only takes note of such features as the text presented in Talmudic times.[3]

(3.) *Verses*:—Although the Talmud knows of such divisions under the name of פסוקים, and they are even referred to in the Mishna (*Megillah*, ch. iv., § 4), yet there were no visible signs for this purpose, such as even primitive Arabic possessed. Versualisation was a matter of oral tradition, and confined to experts—the Scribes and professional readers of the Law. Besides that such divisions are not marked in the Syna-

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[1] The rules relating to these appendages were compiled for the use of scribes by some unknown *Nakdan* or *Sofer* in a Massoretic treatise which he styled ספר תאנין. A MS. of this work has been edited by J. Barges and S. Sachs (Paris, 1866). When this work was written is not known, but it must have been anterior to the time of Saadja Gaon, who makes explicit reference to it. It appears originally to have contained also chapters treating of פתוחות סתומות וסדורות (See Derenbourg, *op. cit.*).

[2] Yet they were probably introduced after the date of the LXX., which was made from a text in which there were neither finals nor word divisions. (See Eichhorn, *Einleitung A. T.*, § 73.)

[3] Dillmann, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

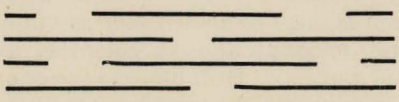
gogue scrolls, a striking proof is afforded in that passage from *Kidushin* (30 *a*), which has already been commented upon. It is there proposed to settle a difficulty in versualisation by taking a scroll and counting the verses. To this it is objected that the disputants are not competent for such a task, like the Soferim. Now, had there been any visible marks by which verses were distinguished from each other, the merest schoolboy—not to say eminent Rabbins—could have counted the number of them in the Pentateuch.

With the poetical parts of Scripture it was different. Passages like the Song of Moses and the Song of Deborah, were, already in the time of the Talmud, written in a peculiar stichometrical form.[1] The three poetical books—Psalms, Proverbs, and Job—also appear to have been arranged in hemistichs in early times.[2]

(4.) The Pentateuch was divided into paragraphs or sections (פרשיות), which were either "open" (פתוחות), or "closed" (סתומות), and at a later period were marked by the Massorites with the initials of these letters.[3] The open sections commenced a new line; the closed sections were preceded by only a small space. These intervals, whether large or small, were denominated פסקות.[4] The Talmud (*Berachoth*, 12 *b*) describes these sections as being of ancient date,[5] and they are frequently mentioned in the Mishna.[6] *Shabbath*, 103 *b*, prescribes that the distinction between the

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[1] Thus



This is called אריח על גבי לבינה ולבינה על גבי אריח. See *Jer. Megillah*, iii. 7, and cf. *Soferim*, ch. xii. *prope finem.*

[2] See *Soferim*, ch. xiii. 1, and Jerome, *Preface to Isaiah.*

[3] When a section commenced any of the 54 Pericopes, it was marked with three such letters.

[4] *Sifra*, i., § 9.

[5] כל פרשה דפסקה משה רבינו פסקינן.

[6] *Bikurim*, iii., § 6, *Joma*, iii., § 10, *Taanith*, iv. § 3, *Sotah*, vii., §§ 2 and 8, etc. —The Parasha was not necessarily co-extensive with an open or closed section. At times the word was used in a less definite manner to denote any passage treating of a specific subject, and such is the only sense in which it occurs in the Mishna, which knows nothing of "open" or "closed" Parshioth (Geiger, in *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., p. 197). The term was likewise applied in this wider sense to the Nebiim (*Megillah*, 24 *a*), and even the separate Psalms are so designated (*Berachoth*, 9 *b*, 10 *a*).—These divisions appear in our printed Bibles, but they are only marked with ס and פ for the Pentateuch. Delitzsch and Baer have however introduced these marks into their texts of the Prophets and Hagiographa. (See, in this connection, Ginsburg's Preface to the 3rd volume of his *Massorah*.)—Down to the fifteenth century, the Parasha was the only means of reference used by Jewish writers in citing Scriptural quotations.

"open" and "closed" paragraphs is to be strictly preserved. The object of this paragraphing was obvious. As the *Sifra* states, it was to give the reader pause to reflect on the contents of a passage. At the same time, it was connected with the ancient institution, which tradition traced back to Ezra (and even Moses), of reading the Law in public.[1]

The usual distinction drawn between "open" and "closed" sections is that the "open" sections are chief divisions, and the "closed" sections sub-divisions. But this is not the entire difference. It will often be found that the "open" sections are passages appointed to be read on particular occasions, or comprise various important groups of laws, or are passages which have an elevating and pleasing effect on the reader. Passages, on the contrary, which produce a displeasing effect, or which treat of unpopular persons or places, are "closed." Thus the story of the death of Aaron's sons and the account of the death of Moses are "closed" sections. The passages in Jacob's blessing, which refer to the sons of the handmaids, are "closed," the rest being "open."[2]

These פרשיות should be distinguished from the 54 Weekly Pericopes of the same name into which the Pentateuch has been divided by the Synagogue since ancient times. Sometimes the latter are called סדרות, the term פרשיות being reserved for their sub-division into seven smaller sections. Both should be differentiated again from the סדרים into which the Scriptures were divided by the earlier Massorites, and which are tabulated at the commencement of Jacob ben Chajim's Rabbinic Bible. This division is younger than that into פתוחות and סתומות, and is therefore not preserved in our Synagogue scrolls. Still its comparative antiquity is attested by the correspondence which obtains between it and the arrangement of chapters in the Midrash Rabba, parts of which are as early as the sixth century. Approximately speaking, the *Sedarim* may be regarded as the Massoretic anticipation of the Christian division into chapters,[3] which dates from the thirteenth century, and was first adopted by Jews in the concordance of R. Isaac Nathan (c. 1400). But they appear to have had an ulterior significance. It is generally supposed that the 154 *Sedarim*, into which the Pentateuch was divided were connected with the Triennial Cycle of the

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[1] *Jer. Megillah*, iv., § 1.

[2] Not entirely; the blessing of Joseph is a "closed" section (see Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 29).—The theory of Dr. Hochstädter (*Ben Chananya*, 1865, Nos. 39 and 40) that ס indicates that the narrative has been taken from more ancient sources, and ס a change of subject, is also worthy of attention.

[3] Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1870, ii., p. 529; Baer, *Genesis*, p. 92.

Reading of the Law which prevailed in Palestine.[1] And as regards the *Sedarim* of the Prophets and Hagiographa, Dr. Hochstädter's theory (*loc. cit.*, pp. 703-4), that they were framed to furnish Haphtorahs for the Triennial Cycle is, perhaps, the best that has hitherto been advanced.[2]

(5.) The grouping of the Biblical books only partially corresponded to the later Massoretic arrangement. The Bible was divided,[3] as now, into *Torah, Nebiim,*[4] and *Chetubim.*[5] The *Chetubim*, again, were divided into כ' ראשונים and כ' אחרונים.[6] A portion of them were also divided into ג'כ' גדולים (Psalms, Proverbs, Job), and ג'כ' קטנים (Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations). As has been shown by Strack,[7] the current opinion that Ruth and Lamentations were originally included in the Prophets is without foundation.

Both Talmud and Massorah recognised only 24 books of Scripture,[8] reckoning one book of Samuel, one of Kings, and one of Chronicles; Ezra and Nehemiah as a single book, and the Twelve Minor Prophets as one. The view of some of the Rabbins, that the Pentateuch consists of seven books, has already been referred to.[9]

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[1] Derenbourg, *loc. cit.*; Friedmann, *Beth Talmud*, iii., p. 6 *sq.*; Rapoport in Polak's הליכות קדם, pp. 11-20; A. Epstein, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthumskunde*, p. 57 *sq.*; Ginsburg's *Massorah*, vol. ii., p. 463 *a*, No. 369; *Die Midraschim zum Pentateuch u. der dreijährige palästinensiche Cyklus*, by Dr. J. Theodor in Frankel—Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1885-6; and other authorities quoted by S. Schechter, in *Jewish Chronicle*, January 13th, 1888, p. 6.

[2] Mention should also be made of J. Brüll's opinion (*Beth Talmud*, i., pp. 108-110) that the *Sedarim* were readings into which the entire Bible (with the exception of some of the חמש מגלות) was divided for daily study. Brüll thinks that the expression פסיק סידרא (*Shabbath*, 116 *b*, 152 *a*, *Yoma*, 87 *a*, etc.), "concluding the reading," has reference to these *Sedarim*.

[3] See Prologue to *Sirach*.

[4] The Massorites termed the Prophets אשלמתה—"completion" (Graetz, *Geschichte*, v., Note 23 II.), "tradition" (D. Oppenheim, *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, xi., p. 85)—dividing them into אי קדמיתא and אי בתריתא.

[5] *Kidushin*, 49 *a*, speaks of אורייתא נביאי וכתובי, whence the later Massoretic formula אי"ך.

[6] *Sota*, 7 *b*.

[7] Art. *Kanon des A. T.*, in Herzog, 2nd ed.

[8] *Taanith*, 8 *a*, etc.

[9] As at present divided, the Bible consists of 39 books. The separation of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah into two books each is of Christian origin (see Elias Levita's Introduction to his *Book of Remembrance*, printed by Frensdorff in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1863, pp. 96-108). The enumeration of 22 books by Josephus and writers of the Alexandrian school is due to their reckoning Ruth and Judges as one book, and including Jeremiah's Lamentations with his Prophecies. On the other hand, Epiphanius' list of 27 books results from separating the two books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. *Bamid. Rab.*, ch. xviii., reckons 35 books. This computation is made up as follows: Eleven Minor Prophets, Jonah, which is regarded as a separate book, and the remaining 23 books.

The succession of books set forth in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 14 *b*) is, for the Prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve Minor Prophets; and for the Hagiographa: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles. Our Massoretic Bibles, however, adopt this order: the Earlier Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets (designated תְּרֵיסַר), Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Scrolls (in the order in which they are read in the course of the year), Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. The Spanish codices usually follow the Massoretic arrangement, but the German and French agree with the Talmud.[1]

(6.) Were the Scriptures provided with a written system of vowel-points and accents? In the present day, scarcely any one questions the post-Talmudic origin of these signs; but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this was a keenly debated question, and "the battle of the points," as it has been called, engaged some of the most eminent scholars on one side or the other.

One of the first to enunciate the theory of their late origin was Elias Levita[2] in his *Massoreth Hamassoreth* (third introduction). He showed that the current notion that Ezra was the inventor of these signs rested on a false interpretation of the expression פסוק טעמים in *Nedarim*, 37 *b*, etc., which signi-

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[1] Elias Levita, Third Introduction to *Massoreth Hamassoreth*. In some codices the books of Chronicles are placed at the head of the Hagiographa. Strack has discovered among the Tschufut-Kalé collection of Massoretic MSS. a passage in a Massoretic compendium, entitled *Adath Debarim* (fol. 33 *b*), which throws valuable light on this point. It is as follows:—דע ישכילך האלהים כי זו חתכת הכתובים יחלק י"א חלקים, דברי ימים, תהלות, איוב, משלי, רות, שיר השירים, קהלת, קינות, (=Esther)אחשורוש, דניאל (=Ezra-Nehemiah) עזרא ' ואנשי (=Babylon) ארץ שנער החליפו זה התיקון, מקצתם שם (=Chronicles) אדם שת אנוש באחרית הספר ' עתה נתחיל בראשון מן אלה הספרים ואז ספר דברי הימים אשר ביד האמה, ואליו ישובו כל ספרי הקדש מן ארץ שנער וזולתה (see Strack's article in *Zeitschr. f. Luth Theolog.*, 1875.). For various points connected with the Canon, consult Strack's art. *Kanon*, *loc. cit.*, and Fürst, *Der Kanon des alten Testaments nach den Ueberlieferungen in Talmud u. Midrasch.*

[2] He had been preceded on this point (1) by Mar Natronaï II. (c. 860 C.E.), who, when asked whether a Sepher Torah might be punctuated, answered that the Law was not given to Moses pointed, but the Chachamim invented the points as signs—החכמים צינוהו לסימן (quoted by Luzzatto from the Machsor Vitry in *Kerem Chemed*, iii., p. 200); (2) by the author of the *Khosari* (iii., 31—see Rapoport, *Erech Millin*, *s.v.* אם); and (3) by Ibn Ezra, in his ספר צחות (Elias Levita, *Mas. Ham.*, ed. Ginsburg, p. 45).

fies "elocutionary pauses," "traditional cadences," and not a written accentuation.[1]

Elias Levita's theory produced little less than consternation in theological circles. It was considered necessary, in the interest of the current views of Biblical inspiration, to prove that the vowels and accents were as old as the text itself. Indeed, Karaite writers had striven to push their origin back either to Adam in Paradise or to Sinai; and even Rabbinical Jews generally attributed their introduction to Ezra. In the circle of his coreligionists, Levita's arguments were opposed by Azariah de Rossi (*Meor Enayim*, iii., ch. 59). But, as may be supposed, the question excited far wider interest among Christian scholars, and particularly divines of the Protestant Church.[2] Levita's most renowned opponent was the elder Buxtorf, who traversed the arguments of the *Massoreth Hamassoreth* in his *Tiberias*.[3]

Buxtorf's work gave rise to a more learned treatise on the other side by Ludovicus Cappellus, entitled *The Mystery of the Points Unveiled.* Cappellus' work was answered by Buxtorf the younger, in his treatise on the *Origin and Antiquity of the Vowels*,[4] and this produced a counter-reply from Cappellus. Into the further history of the discussion there is no necessity to enter.[5]

From the post-Talmudic date assigned to the vowels and accents, it would follow that, during the age of the Talmud, the labours of the Massorites were confined to the accumulation of verbal traditions. Except that here and there a

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[1] Some faulty editions of the Talmud appear to have read in the corresponding passage, *Megillah*, 3 *a*, וישום שכל זה הנקוד (see Bachja on Gen. xxiii. 3). *Nedarim*, 37 *a*, speaks of שכר פיסוק טעמים, the fee paid to teachers for giving oral instruction in the melody or cadences.

[2] To Rabbinical Jews and Roman Catholics the vowel controversy was of less importance, because both of these parties could appeal to tradition as an inspired authority.

[3] The most important argument of Buxtorf (*op. cit.*, ch. 9) was that the Massorites noted anomalies in the vocalization and accentuation. If they had themselves introduced the system, argued Buxtorf, instead of recording these anomalies, they would have abolished them. This argument is fallacious. Levita nowhere implies that the Massorites invented the pronunciation itself. He merely asserts that they devised the graphic signs by which the *traditional* pronunciation was fixed and preserved. The anomalies they commented upon were obviously not anomalies in their own system, but such as were presented by tradition.

[4] *Tractatus de Punctorum, vocalium et accentuum in libris Vet. Test. Hebraicis origine, antiquitate et auctoritate.*

[5] See Dr. P. G. Schneidermann's *Die Controversie des Ludovicus Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen über das Alter des hebr. Punctation*, Leipzig, 1879; Ginsburg's Introduction to the *Mas. Ham.* of E. Levita; and for the literature of the subject, De Wette, *Lehrbuch d. historisch-kritischen Einleitung*, etc., ed. Schrader, 1869, § 123, p. 214.

few private collections of scholia may have been compiled to assist the memory,[1] the notes and variants were not as yet formally collected and reduced to writing. No doubt the Rabbinical maxim that "things taught by oral tradition may not be written down" (*Gittin*, 60 *b*) would be held to apply to all appendages to the consonantal text of Scripture, excepting, of course, pre-Talmudic marks like the "extraordinary points," and the inverted *Nuns*.

II.

Let us now turn our attention to the post-Talmudical treatise *Soferim*, the contents of which have an important bearing on our subject. Like the other post-Talmudical treatises, it is a Palestinian work, and based principally on decisions contained in the Jerusalem Talmud. It consists of three parts. The first five chapters are a slightly amplified reproduction of the earlier *Massecheth Sefer Torah*. It is a compendium of rules to be observed by scribes in the preparation and writing of Scriptural scrolls. The third part, commencing at chapter x., principally treats of ritualistic matters.[2] With neither of these divisions are we much concerned. Our interest in the book principally centres in its middle section—chs. vi.-ix.—which is purely Massoretic. While Müller and other authorities are disposed to assign to *Soferim* as late a date as the first half of the ninth century, this Massoretic portion appears to belong to an earlier period —let us say, with Graetz, the sixth or seventh century.[3] Hence, a comparison of this middle section with the Massoretic references in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud which have already been described, will enable us to see to what extent the Massoretic system had been developed during the century or hundred and fifty years immediately following on the close of the Talmud.

The lists of *Keri* and *Chetib* have been systematically enlarged (chs. vi. 5 *sq.*, vii. and ix. 8). The *Keri* and *Chetib* of לא and לו in the Torah is separated from that of the Prophets and Hagiographa.[4] The Massoretic expression וחלופיהן occurs

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[1] Like the marginal glosses of R. Meir, already referred to.

[2] Parts, however, of chs. xii. and xiii. are cognate in subject to the first five chapters.

[3] *Loc. cit.* and *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 363.

[4] Although *Mas. Soferim* furnishes lengthy lists of *Keri* and *Chetib*, with the exception of vi., § 5, no statistics (which form such a prominent feature in the later Massorah) are given.

for the first time in Massoretic literature (vii., § 1, etc.). A critical comparison has been instituted (ch. viii.) between parallel passages in Scripture: Psalm xviii. and 2 Samuel xxii.; 2 Kings xviii. 13 to xx. 21 and Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix. Rules are now given, for the first time, as to the unusual form in which certain letters and words are to be written of which the Talmud had taken special note (ch. ix.). Thus the ו of בחון, the middle letter of the Pentateuch, must be elongated, and the two middle words of the Pentateuch דרש דרש must respectively end and begin a line. The middle verse of the Pentateuch is not, as in the Babylonian Talmud, Lev. xiii. 33, but Lev. viii. 15, 19, or 23,[1] and to mark this the ח of וישחט must be enlarged.[2] Other majusculæ, such as the ל[3] of וישליכם (Deut. xxix. 27), and the י of יגדל (Numb. xiv. 17) are instituted. The letters of בראשית,[4] of שמע……אחד, and of the last word of the Pentateuch[5] (ישראל) are to be enlarged,[6] the verse שמע…אחד occupying a whole line. The י of שתי (Deut. xxxii. 18) is to be minuscular. Numb. x. 35 and 36 are to be written as a separate section, "because they form a separate book, and some say because they are misplaced" (vi., § 1). The stichometrical form in which the Scriptural songs are to be arranged is described in the third part (xii., § 8-xiii., § 3) in fuller detail than it had been in the Talmud (*Jer. Megillah*, iii., § 7, *Bab. Megillah*, 16*b*).

Shortly after the close of the Talmud the interpunction of verses was introduced. Both *Soferim* and *Sefer Torah* rule that a scroll so marked may not be used in public worship.[7] The oldest accent was doubtless that which signified the close of a period—the *Sof Pasuk;* and the next oldest the *Ethnach.* Whether these two accents are mentioned by name in

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[1] *Soferim* does not indicate which of these three verses is meant.

[2] ח being the initial of חצי. The direction of the *Massorah Magna* is that the three וישחט's in Leviticus ch. viii. shall be variously accented—ומשתנין בטעמא קדמא רביעי תניינא אתנחתא תליתאה שלשלת. Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.* iii., p. 94) appeals to this fact as a proof that the accents could not have been invented when *Mas. Soferim* was written. Had they been in existence, there would have been no necessity, he thinks, to prescribe that וישחט should have been written with a large ח.

[3] For an ingenious explanation of this large ל, and of the small י of תשי, see Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 and 94.

[4] The ב is to be provided with four תגין.

[5] Thus the beginning, middle, and end of the Pentateuch are to be distinguished by the calligraphist.

[6] Cf. the *Massorah Magna* on Gen. i.

[7] כפר שפסקו ושנוקד ראשי פסוקים שבו אל יקרא בו (*Soferim* iii., § 7; *Sefer Torah*, iii., § 4).

Soferim is a question upon which authorities are not agreed.[1]

We may assume that as soon as the Talmud was closed and written down, at the commencement of the sixth century, increased attention began to be given to Scriptural and grammatical studies. In Palestine, indeed, such studies had for some time been supplanting Talmudical learning, which found a more favoured home in the academies of Babylon. But even from Babylon philological interests were not excluded. Down to the middle of the seventh century the most intimate relations subsisted between the Saboraim and the Nestorian Syrians, whose schools in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Euphrates were in close proximity to the seats of learning of the Babylonian Jews. The Nestorians gave considerable attention to grammatical science, and it is but reasonable to suppose that these studies spread to the schools of the Saboraim.[2] And when, in the latter half of the seventh century, the Jews lost their interest in Syrian culture in consequence of the Mahommedan conquests in Irak, the tendency which had previously been fostered by contact with the Syrians was maintained and strengthened by contact with the Arabs—partly by the example of the diligent care with which the Arabic language was cultivated, and partly by the controversies into which Jews were drawn with the followers of Mahomet, who insisted that they had discovered references to their prophet in the Jewish Scriptures.

One important outcome of this newly awakened interest in Scriptural studies was the vocalisation of the consonantal text, and the invention of diacritical marks for the doubling of letters and hardening of aspirates. And as a further aid to the understanding of Scripture, the accent-signs, whereby the current mode of intonation was fixed, came into use at about the same time, or not long afterwards.

Of course neither system of graphic signs could have been

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[1] For different views on this question and the related one, whether *Soferim* implies the existence of a graphic vowel and accent-system, see Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Fuerst, *G. d. k.*, p. 20; Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.* iii., p. 94; Weiss, דור דור ודורשיו iv., p. 249; Rapoport, *Aruch*, *s. v.*, אם; Derenbourg, *Revue Critique*, 1879, p. 445; and Wickes, טעמי כ"א ספרים, p. 7. These questions principally turn on the correct reading of *Soferim*, xiii., § 1. According to some recensions the passage runs: במפתחות (מצרפן) מרצפן באותיות בסוף, "the Scribe shall enclose the hemistichs of the poetical sections with open spaces and letters belonging to the contiguous hemistichs (*custodes linearum*)." But of seven MSS. which Dr. Ginsburg has hitherto collated for his forthcoming edition of *Mas. Soferim*, five read בפתיחות באתנחייתא וסוף פסוק, "with open spaces at the *Ethnachs* and *Sof Pasuks*."

[2] Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 399.

introduced at a single stroke. They had to make their way gradually and tentatively. It is most likely, as Derenbourg supposes,[1] that they were first employed in the instruction of young children; and if this was so, we can understand how for a long while the higher academies would take no notice of the invention, so that its origin soon became shrouded in obscurity.

Even in the elementary schools only a few signs would be introduced at first, and like the earliest Syrian נִיקוּדָא, they would be of a "diacritical" character, *i.e.*, employed to distinguish homonymous forms. Such, as Graetz has shown (*Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 348, *sq.*), must have been the original significance of the terms מלעיל and מלרע which the early Massorites employed to denote differences of vocalisation.

One of these diacritical marks was the *Dagesh*, the invention of which appears to have been anterior to that of the vowel points proper,[2] for which it partially served as a substitute. This vicarious function it performed whenever, *e.g.*, it was employed to distinguish a *status absolutus* from a *status constructus*,[3] or a *Sheva quiescens* from a *Sheva mobile*,[4] or when it was used to supply the place of one of the *matres lectionis*.[5]

But such diacritical points would soon be found to be insufficient for teaching purposes, and in course of time they would be developed into a complete system of graphical notation. This was doubtless the origin of our present vowel-signs, an examination of which will show that with the exception of *Patach*, they are all formed from various arrangements of points—even *Kamez* being simply a *Patach* superimposed upon a dot.[6] A consideration of the Hebrew

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[1] *Revue Critique*, Jan. 21, 1879, p. 455, *sq.*; Berliner's *Magazin*, 1876; *Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Punktation*, Cf. Graetz *Gesch.*, v., p. 154; Weiss, *loc. cit.*

[2] There is a reference to the *Dagesh* of לא תרצח without the sign being named in the *Pesikta Rabathi* (commencement of the 6th chapter on the Decalogue), where it is explained as לא תתרצח.—Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, § 16, note 23. Again, the *Sefer Jezira* (8th century), which, while treating of the mystic import of the letters of the alphabet, nevertheless makes no mention of vowel-points, explicitly refers to the two-fold pronunciation (with or without *Dagesh*) of the letters שבע כפולות בגיד—ב,ג,ד,כ,פ,ר,ת כפר"ת מתנהגות בשתי לשונות (iv., 1).

[3] As זָכְרוֹן from זִכָּרוֹן.—Pinsker, *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem*, p. xiii.; Cf. J. D. Michaelis, *Orient-Bibliothek*, iv., 235.

[4] Whence the frequent Massoretic use of *Dagesh* in the significance of *Sheva quiescens*, and *Raphé* in that of *Sheva mobile*. See *Mas. Mag.* on Ps. lxii. 9; and *Mas. Fin. s. v.*, מעשר.

[5] Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1887, p. 441, *sq.*

[6] See Derenbourg in *Journal Asiatique*, 1870, ii., p. 303, and cf. Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 403.

term for "vowel," נקודה [Syr. נוקזא], which literally signifies "a point," leads us to the same conclusion. Hence, the elaborate theory of Derenbourg (*loc. cit.*), which strangely assumes that most of the vowels are formed from letters, as in the so-called Babylonian punctuation,[1] and in the same way as in Arabic, *Dhamma*, *Fatha*, and *Kesré* are graphic developments respectively of *Waw*, *Eliph*, and *Ja*, has by no means commended itself to scholars.

It has already been incidentally suggested that the introduction of a graphic system of vowel-signs was due, principally, if not entirely, to the influence of the Syrians. The reasons for this view must now be given somewhat in detail.[2]

We know, from the early period to which Syrian MSS. go back, that diacritical points were employed in Syriac long before the introduction of vowel-signs proper. The upper and lower point by which *Dolath* and *Rish* were distinguished from each other has been shown to date from at least the second century C.E.[3] And before the sixth century these points were largely used for distinguishing homonymous words and forms.[4] In particular they served to distinguish strong vowels (o, ā) from weak ones (i, ĕ), being written above the word in the former case, and below it in the latter,[5] as the following table of equivalents will show :—

מָן = מִן	מַן	Interrog. pron.	מִן = מָן	"from."
אִידָא = אִידָא	אַידָא	" "	אִידָא = אִידָא	"hand."
לָהּ = לֵהּ	לָא	"to her."	לֵהּ = לָהּ	"to him."
שְׁנָתָא = שִׁנתָא	שַׁנָתָא	"year."	שִׁנתָא = שְׁנָתָא	"sleep."

This explains why in Massoretic language מלעיל (Syr. מן לעל) is used for *Patach* and *Kamez*, while מלרע (Syr. מן לתחת) denotes *Chirik* or *Sheva*.

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[1] Pinsker, *Einleitung*, p. 8.

[2] The two chief authorities on the Syrian punctuation, etc., are L'Abbé Martin: *Histoire de la Ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens* (*Journal Asiatique*, March, 1875), *Jacques d'Edesse et les voyelles Syriennes* (*Ibid.*, 1867, I.), *La Massore chez les Syriens* (*Ibid.*, November, 1869) ; and Ewald : *Ueber das syrische Punktations-system* in the *Abhandlungen zur orientalischen und biblischen Literatur*, also in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1837, pp. 205-212, 1839, pp. 109-124.

[3] *La Massore chez les Syriens*, p. 101, note.

[4] The codex Brit. Mus. Addend., 12,150, written at Edessa, as early as the year 411 C.E., exhibits a partial punctuation of this character ; so also does Ad. 14,425, written at Amid in Diarbekr, in 464 C.E., the earliest dated MS. of an entire book of Scripture.

[5] Ewald, *Abhandlungen*, p. 61, *sq.*

In the fifth century, the Syrians split up into two divisions —the Nestorian schismatics or Orientals, having their chief seats of learning at Nisibis and various cities on the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Western Syrians, known as Jacobites or Monophysites, having schools at Edessa and Antioch and in Armenia. When the Syriac diacritical points grew too numerous and complex to be of service, they were abandoned in favour of vowel-signs. Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, or his disciples, shortly after his death (710 C.E.), adopted the Greek letters for this purpose, but the Chaldæo-Nestorians established a system of vowel points. *This system formed the basis of the Hebrew vocalisation*, or, at the very least, suggested the idea of their use.[1] Several facts tend to confirm this view. The Aramaic terminology of the vowels and accents[2] (see *infra*), the identity of the term for "vowel" (נקודה) in Hebrew and Syriac, the form and position of the Hebrew *Tsére* and *Chirik* as compared with that of the Syriac *Rebozo* and *Chebozo*, the *o* sound of *Kamez* which prevailed in Babylon (see *infra*), and the double pronunciation of the letters ב,ג,ד,כ,פ,ת—all point clearly enough to Syrian influence. Originally the letters בכפת were always sounded as aspirates, even at the commencement of a word, as may be inferred *inter alia* from the LXX.'s transliteration of Hebrew names. The hardening of aspirates took place in the latter half of the seventh century, under Syriac influence; Jacob of Edessa, having invented the *Rukhokh* or signs of aspiration of the letters *b, g, d, k, f, th*, which consisted in points placed below them.[3]

In regard to the *names* of the vowel-signs, no more probable explanation has been offered than that of Derenbourg (*loc. cit.*). In this scholar's opinion they were originally imperative forms of Aramaic verbs, having arisen from the directions given to pupils who were learning to pronounce them. Thus, *Patach* and *Kamez* signify respectively "open" and "close" the mouth. *Tséré* imports "open wide" the

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[1] The view which Graetz sets forth in his *Die Anfänge der Vocalzeichen im Hebräischen* (*Monatsschr.*, 1881), that the Hebrew punctuation may have been introduced *before*, and *independently of*, the Syrian is based on the assumption—since disproved by Wickes (see *infra*)—that the so-called Babylonian punctuation was introduced earlier than the so-called Palestinian, and was adopted throughout the East. And, inasmuch as the Babylonian punctuation was developed from letters, it is clear that this could not have been based on the Chaldæo-Nestorian system of points. But when it is seen that the Palestinian system was the earlier, *and not confined to the West*, there is nothing to militate against the theory of its having been modelled upon the punctuation system of the Eastern Syrians.

[2] Derenbourg (*loc. cit.*); Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., p. 20; *Z. d. M. G.*, vol. 27 (1873), p. 148.

[3] Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1887, p. 428.

mouth [Aram. צרא "to tear open"]. *Segol* = "make (the mouth) round" [סגל (Heb. עגל) "to be round"]. *Chirik* is from חרק "to gnash the teeth." *Cholem* = "to press the lips together." *Shurek* is the Hebrew and Aramaic שרק "to hiss" or "whistle"—the sound produced when the lips are placed in a position to pronounce this vowel.

It is generally believed that the vowel-signs were introduced at Tiberias, being the invention of the חכמי טבריה or Massorites of Tiberias, about whom we shall have much to say later on. But there are strong reasons for assuming that they emanated from Babylon rather than Palestine. (1.) The condition of the Palestinian Jews, under the Byzantine emperors was too harassed and depressed to render it likely that they could have invented and diffused such a system.[1] (2.) The derivation of the term *Kamez*, just given, is only applicable to the *o*, or German sound of *Kamez*; and this was the pronunciation which (under the influence of the Syrian *Sekofo*) prevailed in Babylon. In Palestine, on the contrary, as among the Sephardic Jews of the present day, the *Kamez* was always pronounced like *Patach*.[2] (3.) The authorities of Tiberias are known to have classified the letter ר with the בגדכפת,[3] and it has been mentioned that the *Sefer Jezira*—a Palestinian work—does the same. Jewish grammarians, however, do not treat ר under this category, from which it would appear that the system of punctuation on which our grammars are based has not emanated from Tiberias, or any portion of Palestine.[4]

Like the vowels, the accents (טעמים) helped to fix the sense of the unpointed text, the vowel points indicating the meaning of individual words, and the accents showing their syntactical relation to each other. This relation had been expressed from the earliest times by a kind of modulation or cantillation, which was employed both in the school and the synagogue, whenever the Scriptures were recited. The re-

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[1] Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, pp. 400, 401: This argument partially anticipates what has to be said later on as to the *period* of the introduction of the vowel and accent system.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 429.

[3] Ibn Gannach in ספר הרקמה, end of ב"ש—וקריש גם כן ענינים מתיחדים בתקונם אנשי טבריה כי הם הצחים בלשון מכל העברים. This double pronunciation of ר which prevailed in Palestine appears to have been due to the influence of the *spiritus asper* and *lenis* of the Greek ρ: Geiger in *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., p. 21.

[4] Luzzatto (*Dialogues*, pp. 103 and 107, and *Prolegomena*, p. 13, *sq.*), who is of opinion that the vowel signs were the invention of the Babylonian רבנן סבוראי.

ferences to cantillation in the Talmud[1] prove that the custom is at least as old as the commencement of the second century. When, however, *written* signs were introduced, they served the additional purpose of marking by their position the tone-syllable of each word,—whence the name "accents," by which they are at present known. The origin of the accent system is too abstruse a subject to be treated here. In addition to the works of Wickes and other writers in this department, the reader who is interested in the inquiry may be referred to a suggestive article of Graetz (who here, as on so many other questions of Massoretic history, has done thankworthy pioneer work), entitled *Ursprung der Accentzeichen im Hebräischen* (*Monatsschr.*, 1882). Suffice it to say that in the Hebrew accents, as in the vocalisation, we can trace the influence of the Syrian grammarians, who, as early as the fourth century, had commenced to elaborate a system of interpunctuation, which they completed about the commencement of the seventh century. As among the Hebrews, the Syrian accentuation was used for the purpose of regulating the rhythmical declamation of the Scriptures.[2]

As to the age of the introduction of punctuation signs, very various views have been held by different scholars. However, the consensus of learned opinion is in favour of assigning it to the seventh century and to the former rather than the latter half of it. By this time, as we have seen, the Syrians had developed their systems of vocalisation and punctuation, and the Syrian and Greek Churches had perfected a method of musical notation. The greater com-

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[1] See Wickes' Introduction to his טעמי כ"א ספרים.

[2] Ewald, *Abhandlungen*, pp. 103-156; and *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* (*loc. cit.*); Martin, *Histoire de la Ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens* (pp. 181-2).—It is possible that the influence of the Syrians is likewise to be traced in other departments of the written Massorah. In the seventh and following centuries, the Nestorians and Jacobites produced a work which was strikingly analogous in several respects to that of the Jewish Massorites, and which was denominated "Mashlemonutho" (= Aramaic אשלמתא "tradition,"—the Hebrew מסורה). The principal centre of learning where these studies were cultivated was Karkaph, a town near Bagdad, which may not inaptly be styled the Syrian "Tiberias." Like the Hebrews, the Syrians also noted differences of reading between the Orientals and Occidentals. (See Martin, *Tradition Karkaphienne ou la Massore chez les Syriens* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, II.). Among the Nestorian Syrians, Joseph of Chuzai (sixth century), the first Syriac grammarian, and the inventor of some of the signs of interpunction, compiled an alphabetical list of homonyms (Art. "Syriac Literature" in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., p. 836 *b*), and this may well have suggested to later Jewish Massorites the idea of framing similar lists. The numerical Massorah of the Syrians likewise presents an analogy to that of the Hebrews. See Ewald, *Abhandlungen*, p. 57; Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 213.

plexity of the Hebrew system, as compared with the Syrian, shows that the Hebrew was the later development of the two. Other considerations for fixing the date are: (1.) The Hebrew punctuation, being based on the Syrian, must have been introduced and partially developed before the influence of the Arabians began to dominate Jewish letters, and therefore hardly later than the first half of the seventh century.[1] (2.) Several facts point to the punctuation-system having been highly developed in the age of Asher the Elder, the founder of the famous Massoretic family of that name; and he lived in the second half of the eighth century.[2] (3.) Aaron ben Asher, who may be supposed to give his father's views, erroneously assigns the invention to the Men of the Great Synagogue (*Dikduké Hateamim*, ed. Baer and Strack, § 16, etc.), so that by the end of the ninth century the signs must have been old enough for their origin to have been forgotten.[3] (4.) The well-known answer of Mar Natronaï II. (Gaon, 859-869) to the question whether a *Sepher Torah* might be punctuated, favours the same view. He replied that this would not be permitted, because the Law was not given to Moses punctuated, but *the Chachamim invented the points as signs*. The origin of the punctuation was evidently shrouded in obscurity towards the end of the ninth century. (5.) Nissi ben Noach (C.E. 840), and Mar Zemach ben Chajim (Gaon, 889-896) refer to the *numerous* differences which obtain between the Eastern and Western systems of punctuation. A considerable time must have elapsed since the introduction of written signs before these differences could have grown up.[4] (6.) The written vocalisation must have been invented by the middle of the eighth century, when Karaism arose; for Anan's principle, "Search diligently the Scriptures," would have been almost an unmeaning formula, had not a system of punctuation to aid the understanding of Holy Writ been already in existence.[5] The last—and by no means the least important—consideration is this: that the St. Petersburg codex,[6] which was finished in the year 916, exhibits a perfect system of vowels and accents, together with a Massorah upon them. And it is obvious that some two or three centuries at least must have elapsed from the introduction of graphic signs

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[1] Graetz (*loc. cit.*) employs a converse argument, inferring the Syrian origin of the punctuation from the date. The question of origin being the less doubtful of the two, it seems to me that Graetz's reasoning should be reversed.

[2] See Strack in *Theol. Stud. u. Kritik.*, p. 746. [3] Wickes, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 6. [5] Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 362. [6] See *infra*.

before they could have become in their turn the basis of a written Massorah.[1]

It has been shown that the punctuation of the Scriptures emanated, in all probability, from the elementary schools, and likewise that the schoolmaster and the Massorite were often one and the same person; from which it would follow that the vowel and accent signs were the invention of the Massorites. But even if this be not allowed, it is quite certain that a very short time would elapse before the new method would be taken up and elaborated by the Massorites and pressed by them into the service of the Massorah. For, as their materials gradually increased, it must have been found impossible for them to perfect their system without the aid of punctuation marks. As Weiss happily expresses it (*op. cit.*, IV., p. 251), "Vocalisation and accentuation are the two pillars on which the Massorah rests."

Were the vocalisation and accentuation of the Scriptures constructed independently of tradition, as Masclef[2] and others have asserted? No question can have a profounder interest for Jews than this. For if it be answered in the affirmative, then our current and so-called "traditional" exegesis is deprived at a stroke of all authority and certainty. It was the fear that such might prove to be the case which induced the Buxtorfs and their party to exhaust their erudition in the endeavour to prove that the punctuation was connate with the consonantal text. However, there is every reason to suppose that the graphic signs invented by the Massorites were employed for the sole purpose of *fixing the traditional vocalisation and punctuation.* The Massoretic system doubtless reproduced, with as much exactitude as possible, the precise mode of pronunciation and cantillation which had been in force since time immemorial. The substantial agreement in regard to punctuation between the Babylonian and Palestinian schools, notwithstanding that they worked in independence of each other, is itself a proof that the system common to both was shaped on the lines of

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[1] Derenbourg notes (*Revue Critique*, June 21, 1879, p. 455), that the *Sefer Jezira* (eighth century), although it treats of the letters of the alphabet, makes no mention of vowels, from which he would infer that they were not introduced before the eighth century. And Zunz calls attention (*G. V.*, p. 264) to the fact that, as late as the twelfth century the word נקדות in Canticles i. 11 is not explained by the Midrash *in loco* to signify *vowel points*, but *calligraphic flourishes.* But we must beware, as Wickes has shown (*loc. cit.*), of pressing the *argumentum e silentio* too far.

[2] *Grammatica Hebraica aliisque inventis Massorethicis libera.* See in particular Vol. II., ch. 8.

tradition.[1] It was this fidelity to tradition which gave the Massorites their name.

After the introduction of the vowel and accent signs, the development of the Massorah was chiefly carried on at Tiberias in Palestine, where a learned school of Biblical critics had flourished with some intermissions since the close of the first century.[2] They were known as חכמי טבריה or אנשי טבריה "The (Wise) Men of Tiberias." But the elaboration of the Massorah was not confined to Palestine. The students of the Babylonian academies pursued similar studies independently of their brethren in the West. In the same way as the Babylonian and Palestinian schools differed with regard to their ritual customs, marriage laws, and mode of reading the Law,[3] and had separate chronologies, separate Talmuds, and separate Targumim, so likewise there grew up two distinct Massoretic schools—the school of מערבאי or Occidentals, and that of מדנחאי or Orientals. Gradually, however, the Palestinian school overshadowed her rival, and finally extinguished her. So complete, indeed, was this extinction, that the Massorah is often regarded as the exclusive production of the scholars of Tiberias. The differences between the two schools reach back to the third century. They relate to *Keri* and *Chetib*, *Scriptio plena et defectiva*, word division, additions, omissions and transpositions of letters and words; and a few of them concern *vocalisation* and *accentuation*.[4] But they seldom

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[1] Even the conflicting traditions of various schools were at times merged by the Massorites in a kind of composite vocalisation, as יְרַדּוֹף (Ps. vii. 6), combining two variant readings—יִרְדֹּף and יְרַדֵּף, and הַוְּסָדָה (Ex. ix. 18), compounded of הוֹסָדָה and הַוָּסֵד. As an example of two-fold accentuation (pointing to conflicting traditions of the schools) may be cited אנה, which, as in Ps. cxvi., is accented both Milngel and Milrang. Pinsker, *Einleitung*, pp. 12, 13, 156, 157. But see Delitzsch's Commentary on the Psalms *in loc.*

[2] Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, ch. iv., and Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, § 16, note 27.

[3] See חלוף מנהגים בין בני בבל לבני ארץ ישראל, edited by Dr. J. Müller, Vienna, 1878.

[4] The statement which has been current since the time of Elias Levita (Third introduction to *Massoreth Hamassoreth*), that these differences do not extend to vowels (or accents) is wrong. Not only do two of them relate to *Mappik* (Jer. vi. 6, עצה Or., עצה Oc.; Amos iii. 6, עשה Or., עשה Oc.), —which may, however, be regarded as distinct from the vowels, and older—but others involve unmistakeable differences of vocalisation; *e.g.*, Zechariah, xiv. 5, where the Occidentals read וְנָסְתָּם and the Orientals וְנָסַתֶּם. The well-known variation between מִמֶּנּוּ and מִמֶּנּוּ is another case in point. The Occidentals (like the current Hebrew) made no distinction between ממנו "from him" and ממנו "from us"; but the Orientals did. They read מִמֶּנּוּ (pronounced מִמֶּנּוּ) "from him," and מִמֶּנּוּ "from us." And the same

involve any appreciable alteration in the sense. They cover the entire Bible, *including the Pentateuch,* although Jacob ben Chajim's list of 216 variations takes no note of the latter. The Eastern readings generally agree with those followed in the Babylonian Talmud and Targums, while the Western readings as usually follow the corresponding Palestinian authorities.[1]

The Biblical and Massoretic MSS. brought from Tschufut-Kalé in the Crimea some fifty years ago by the Karaite chief, Abraham Firkowitsch, and since deposited in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg,[2] have attained a wide reputation in consequence of a few of their number being marked with a superlinear system of punctuation which before 1840 was scarcely known to scholars. It has been styled נקוד האשורי נקוד הבבלי—"The Assyrian" or "Babylonian punctuation," in contradistinction to the current system of signs which is known as נקוד טברני, נקוד ארץ ישראל—"The Tiberian" or "Palestinian punctuation," and identified with the Massoretic system of מערבאי. But Dr. Wickes has incontestably proved in his recent work on the Hebrew accents (טעמי כ"א ספרים, 1887), that this view, though held by all scholars who had preceded him, is erroneous. Dr. Wickes establishes the conclusion that this superlinear method of punctuation lies altogether outside the differences between Orientals and Occidentals, and that while it was *an* Oriental system, it was not *the* Oriental

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applied to the parallel form איננו. This fact explains the passage in Sota (35 *a*) : אל תקרא ממנו אלא ממֶּנּוּ, "Read not 'from us' but 'from him.'" See Ibn Ezra on Ex. i. 9 ; Pinsker, *Einleitung*, pp. 2 and 104 ; Geiger in *Kerem Chemed*, ix., pp. 69-71. For an example of accentual variations, see gloss on Gen. xxxv. 22 in Ginsburg's *Massorah*, i., p. 292 *a*. Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 236 ; and *Z. d. M. G.*, vol. xxviii., p. 676) has noted one difference between Oriental MSS. and our *textus receptus*, which is of the deepest interest; while in the Prophets, the Palestinian Massorites have changed the archaic הוא into היא, in the feminine, the Orientals have left the epicene form.—Several of the deviations from the *textus receptus* in the LXX., and Jonathan on the Prophets, are to be traced to the Eastern readings. (Cf. Pinsker, *op. cit.*, 124, with Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 253, 254.)

[1] In our Bibles, both the Western readings and the Western Massorah are followed. (See Norzi on 2 Kings xviii. 29.) Now and again, however, Eastern readings and glosses of Eastern Massorites have found their way into our Western recensions. (Pinsker, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.)

[2] For an account of these MSS. see Harkavy and Strack's *Catalog der Hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg ; Die Biblischen u. d. Massoretischen Handschriften zu Tschufut-kalé in der Krim*, by Dr. Strack, in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Lutherische Theologie*, 1875 ; and *Die Tschufutkalèschen Fragmente ; Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Masora*, by Ad. Merx, in *Verhandlungen des 5 internationalen Orientalistenkongresses*. Part II., Sec. 1, pp. 188-225 (Berlin, 1882).

system.[1] It was merely an attempt to simplify the older punctuation.[2] Hence the current terms נקוד חבבלי and נקוד האשורי are misnomers.[3]

Before this paper is completed, it will be seen that Massoretic history is full of such theories—theories which at one time were currently adopted, and have since had to be abandoned in the light of recent research. It has been stated, *e.g.* by Graetz (*Gesch.* v., Note 23 II.) and other writers, that the so-called Babylonian signs were invented by a certain Moses the Punctuator[4], in the sixth century, and the Palestinian by two

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[1] The Babylonians had not a uniform system among themselves. The authorities at Sura differed from those at Nehardea, *inter alia*, as to the division into פתוחות and סתומות, and as to whether הליי (Deut. xxxii. 6) was to be read ה ליי (Sura) or הל יי (Nehardea).—Strack, *Prolegomena*, p. 40; *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 609; Ginsburg, *Massora*, I., p. 611 *b*; De Rossi, *Prolegomena*, § 35; Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 50; *Mas. Mag.*, Nehemiah iii. 37.

[2] The prevalent opinion that the Babylonian system was earlier than the Tiberian is incorrect. See Strack, *Zur Text Kritik des Jeschaiahs* in the *Zeitschr. f. Luth. Theol.*, 1877, p. 21.

[3] The following are some of the chief proofs of the non-identity of the Oriental system, and the superlinear vocalisation: (1.) The Orientals read וַתֶּעֱנֹב in Ezek. xxiii. 5; but the superlinear system has no *Segol*. (2.) Jewish authorities, when referring to the differences (חלופין) between the Orientals and Occidentals never make mention of a superlinear system of punctuation. (3.) The superlinear signs are often found in combination with the vowels and accents of the Palestinian readings (Wickes, *op. cit.*, Appendix II.). —For the opinion that the superlinear system was invented by the Karaites, see Ewald, *Jahrbuch*, 1848, p. 161. The earliest authority who refers to the Babylonian readings is Nissi ben Noach (first half of ninth century): לאלף נקודות ומשרתות ופסוק טעמים וחסרות ויתרות לאנשי שנער (Pinsker, לקוטי קדמוניות, p. 41). The טעמים עליונים in the Decalogue are supposed by Pinsker (*op. cit.*, pp. לה, לו) and Fürst (*Geschichte d. Karäerthums*, pp. 15, 16) to be remnants of the superlinear system. But Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, x., pp. 24 and 25), with greater probability, connects the double accentuation of the Decalogue with the two-fold mode of dividing it into verses, which prevailed in ancient times.—For a further account of the superlinear punctuation and the differences between the Orientals and Occidentals, see Pinsker's *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktation's-system;* Fuerst, *G d. K.;* Luzzatto in *Kerem Chemed*, v. 203, and in *Halichoth Kedem*, p. 23, *sq.*; Geiger, *Urschrift, Excursus* iii.; Pinner, *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte u. Alterthümer gehörenden ältesten hebräischen u. rabbinischen Manuscripten;* Kalisch's Hebrew Grammar, vol. ii.; Fuerst in *Z. d. M. G.*, xviii., p. 314-323; Olshausen, *Monatsb. d. Berlin Akad.*, July, 1865; and a few other authorities given in Harkavy and Strack's *Catalog der Hebräischen Bibelhandschriften d. Kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, pp. 223, 224.

[4] אני יהודה בן משה הנקדן מזרחי בן יהודה הגבור.

Again,—והודיעוני שאביו ר׳ משה הנקדן היה הבודה הראשון להקל לתלמידים למידת קריאת המקרא בהם. See Graetz, *l. c.;* Pinner, *Prospectus*, p. 6; Chwolson, 18 *Grabschriften*, p. 124; Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 257, 258; Neubauer in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, I., pp. 25-28.

Karaites, Moché and his son Moses,[1] towards the end of the eighth century. They have been misled by the forgeries of Firkowitsch, whose services to Hebrew literature have been well-nigh counteracted by the habitual unscrupulousness with which he tampered with documents which passed through his hands.[2] Indeed such statements are antecedently improbable, for the vowel signs were introduced half-a-century or more before the rise of Karaism, and the so-called Babylonian signs were a later development than the Palestinian.

Equally untrustworthy are the traditions which assign the invention of the Babylonian vowel system to Rab Acha of Irak at the commencement of the sixth century,[3] and assert that Rab Ashé wrote a ספר הנקוד הגדול at the end of the fourth or commencement of the fifth century.[4] The former statement is of Karaite origin, while the latter rests on no better authority than Moses Botarel's Commentary to the *Sefer Jezira*.[5]

Fortunately, some of our sources of information, albeit forming a part of the discoveries of Firkowitsch, are of a more reliable character. The Tschufut-Kalé collection (Codd. Massor., Nos. 9 and 14) furnishes a goodly list of names of authorities who were active during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries in giving completeness to the punctuation system, and developing the superstructure of the Massorah. Of these, the most noteworthy, exclusive of the Asher family, were Rab Pinchas, Rab Jonathan, and Rab Chabib ben R. Pipim.[6] Rab Pinchas was the head of a Massoretic school at Tiberias. It is presumed that he was identical with a Pinchas who was the seventh descendant of the ריש פירקא Mar Zutra II., who immigrated to Palestine in the early part of the sixth century, and that he flourished in the middle of the eighth century, subsequently to the introduction of the vowel and accent system. But the differentiation of *Sheva* into *Sheva mobile*, and *Sheva quiescens*

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[1] מוחה ובנו משה מתקני הנקוד הטבראני. "Moché and his son Moses were the 'inventors' of the Tiberian system," on the supposed authority of Solomon ben Jerucham's Introduction to the Decalogue, quoted by Pinsker (*op. cit.*, p. 62). The expression מתקני may, however, mean—not that they were the *inventors* of the system, but that they introduced it into the Karaite schools. See Pinsker, *Einleitung*, p. 10; Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., p. 255. Graetz has since conceded the spuriousness of this passage. (*Monatsschr.*, 1881, p. 403.)

[2] See Harkavy, *Mémoire de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersburg*, xxiv., 8 ff., and Strack, *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 619.

[3] Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. מ׳ג; Fuerst, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 133.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 15, 134, and 135.

[5] With reference to Botarel's falsifications, consult Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 190 and 247. On the other side, see Pinsker, p. מ׳ב.

[6] Pinsker, *op. cit.*, p. ל׳א.

had not yet taken place. Pinchas appears to have taken part in this, and to have given the name and form of *Chataf-patach* to the former of these two *Shevas*.[1]

Other and less known names are Rikat, Abraham ben Rikat, Abraham ben Perath, Zemach ben Abu Shiba, Zemach ben Zevara, Achijahu Hakahen, Fellow of a College (חחבר) at Moeziah (Tiberias), Zemach Abu Selutum, Abu el Umaitar, R. Moshé Moché, Moshé Hanakdan of Gaza, and R. Moshé Gimzuz.[2]

The allusion recently made to the Karaites suggests the interesting question: What part did they take in this literary movement? Graetz is of opinion that the written Massorah is, for the most part, a Karaite work, and that the Rabbanites did not concern themselves with the study of Massorah and grammar before the time of Saadja Gaon. In favour of this view may be urged (1.) the close affinity between the work on which the Massorites were engaged, and the Ananite principle—"Search diligently the Scriptures." The Massorah was eminently a work which would be likely to engage the attention of the Karaites. (2.) The development of the Massorah after the close of the Talmud had a tendency, as Weiss (*op. cit.*, iv., pp. 242, 243)[3] has shown, to undermine Rabbinical authority, in that it differed at times from readings on which the Talmudic exegesis was based.[4] On the other hand, it may be advanced that (1.) This tendency was not very pronounced, and was more than counterbalanced by the harmony which subsisted between the Massoretic comments and the Rabbinical exegesis in general. (2.) It is highly probable that the very controversies which arose between the two sects would necessitate increased attention to grammatical science on the part of the Rabbanites. (3.) Men who devoted themselves to Biblical studies were often, for this very reason, set down as Karaites; the name קרא being often applied in Talmudic literature to

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[1] רב פינחס ראש ישיבה קרא כבכים וכו׳ (Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, October, 1887, p. 439; Brüll, *Jahrbuch*, 1883, p. 44; *Dikd. Hat.*, B. and S., pp. 14 and 84).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79; Strack, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hebräischen Bibeltextes*, in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit*, 1875, p. 736, *sq.*, and *Die Bibl. u. Massoret. Handschriften der Krim*, in *Zeitschr. f. Luth. Theol.*, 1875, p. 612; A. Harkavy, *Masoreten Verzeichniss*, in Brüll's *Jahrb.*, 1876, p. 174; הצפירה, 1874, No. 15; Ad. Merx, *Die Tschufutkaleschen Fragmente. — Verhandlungen des 5 Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Part II., Sect. 1, p. 188-225 (Berlin, 1882.)

[3] Cf. Luzzatto, *Dialogues*, p. 96.

[4] For an account of these variations, see Weiss, *loc. cit.*; Jacob ben Chajim, Introduction to his Rabbinical Bible; Strack, *Prolegomena*, pp. 94-111; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie*, II., p. 1219; M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, Art. "Quotations of the O. T. in the Talmud"; משפחת סופרים, by S. Rosenfeld. (Wilna, 1883.)

one who had made a special study of Scripture, like R. Chanina קרא (*Ketuboth* 56 *a*, *Taanith* 27 *b*), and Levi bar Sisi (*Jalkut* on Hosea, No. 533). The view to which I incline after carefully weighing these pros and cons, is as follows: The activity of the Massorites and the perfection of a punctuation system in the seventh century must have given an impulse to the rise of Karaism in the following century, and it is exceedingly likely that the followers of Anan would be anxious to repay the debt they owed to the Massoretic school by identifying themselves with their labours.

But if the Karaites were prominently, or even partially, associated with the construction of the Massorah, we have to explain how the Massorites came to follow in the wake of Rabbinical tradition, and their system to find acceptance with the Rabbanites. This difficulty has been met by Graetz (*Gesch.*, v., p. 502), who shows that both parties adopted each other's teachings, and, generally speaking, exercised a mutual influence on one another.

It is from the introduction of a graphic system of vocalisation and interpunctuation that we must date the distinction which began to obtain, and gradually grew more marked, between the synagogue scrolls which were used in public worship, and copies of the Pentateuch and Bible for private use. Hitherto, the possibility had to be taken into account that private MSS. might be used in public worship, and therefore the rules for writing them were almost as stringent as those which related to the synagogue scrolls. But now that the text of private Bibles could be vocalised, accentuated and interpunctuated, while no innovations were suffered in the mode of transcribing the scrolls for public worship, the distinction between the two was unmistakable, and there was nothing to prevent it becoming more marked as time progressed. Private Bibles were now usually written in book form. There could no longer be a question[1] as to whether the Law might be bound up with the Prophets and Hagiographa. The *Targums* began to be added, either in separate columns or after each verse. The *Keris* and *Chetibs*, too, which had hitherto been preserved by oral tradition, were now marked in the margin; the vowels of the *Keri* being embodied in the text itself. Then other Massoretic notes were introduced in the margin, succinctly by the side, and at greater length above and below the text. This would seem to have taken place as early as the ninth century, for codices supposed to be written

[1] Cf. *Soferim*, iii., § 1.

in 895 and 916 C.E. exhibit the *Massorah marginalis* in this two-fold form. Such Bibles, when entire, were often known by the name of מחזור or מחזורא רובא "the great cyclical work," and were so called because they were compiled for the use of the Karaites, who were in the habit of reading the entire Bible through in their synagogues in the course of a year.[1]

Some account of the two codices just mentioned will be necessary to an understanding of our subject. That dated 895 comprises the earlier and later Prophets, and is said to be still preserved in the Karaite synagogue at Cairo. It was written by Moses ben Asher, the father of Aaron ben Asher, and as its genuineness has not, up till now, been seriously called in question by experts,[2] it may be regarded as the oldest Biblical MS. extant.[3] The codex dated 916 contains the later Prophets only, and owes much of its importance to the fact that it is punctuated with the superlinear signs, being the oldest existing MS. so written. It forms part of the Tschufut-Kalé collection, and was at first deposited at Odessa, where it was described by Pinner in his "Prospectus" (B. No. 3, p. 18, *sq.*). Subsequently it was transferred to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, whence it became known as the *Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus.* It has been photo-lithographed by Dr. Hermann L. Strack, under the auspices of the Russian Government.[4]

Moses ben Asher was a distinguished Massorite, and contributed in an important degree to perfect the Massoretic system. But his name has been eclipsed by his still more

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[1] Fuerst, *G. d. K.*, note 97, p. 138; Pinsker, לק, pp. לב לא כט. Some scholars are of opinion that מחזור was the name of some particular codex or codices. Baer conjectures (*Genesis*, p. 83, note 3), that it may have been identical with the codex of Ben Naphtali — not an unlikely supposition, considering that there is a substantial agreement between the variants of the מ״ר (see Ginsburg, *Massorah*, i., p. 611 *a*), and those of Ben Naphtali. Graetz thinks (*Monatsschr.*, 1871, pp. 51, 55) that the Ben Asher codices are so styled. The view of Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 98), that מ״ר signifies a separate book of Massoretic notes, is scarcely probable.

[2] See, however, Dillmann in Herzog (2nd ed.), Art. "Bibel text des A. T.," p. 397.

[3] See *Eben Sappir*, i., 1 fol. 14 *a fin. sq.*; ii., 186, 187, 221, 225; Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 4, *sq.* The epigraph is as follows:—אני משה בן אשר כתבתי זה המחזור של מקרא על פי כיד אלהי הטובה עלי באר היטב במדינת מעזיה טבריה העיר ההוללה . . . נכתב לקץ שמונה מאות ועשרים ושבע שנים לחרבן הבית השני. The expression זה המחזור proves that Moses ben Asher must have written the entire Bible, though only the Prophets can now be identified.

[4] *Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus.* Leipzig, 1876.

distinguished son—Aaron ben Asher,[1] who, together with his rival, Ben Naphtali, is generally credited with having fixed the Massorah (in the form in which we at present possess it) in the first half of the tenth century.[2]

Aaron ben Moses ben Asher—המלמד הגדול as he is styled,[3] —was, as we have seen, the last of a distinguished family of Massorites and Punctuators, extending back to the latter half of the eighth century. Both Aaron and his father appear to have been Karaites, if the views of Graetz,[4] Pinsker,[5] Fuerst,[6] and Pineles[7] may be regarded as decisive.[8] Aaron (like his father) is described as a native of Moeziah, which was another

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[1] *Cod. Massor. Tschuf.*, No. 9, gives, in addition to the Massorites already mentioned, the family tree of the Ashers as follows :—

Asher, הזקן הגדול, died *cir.* 805.
Nehemiah (Ninphash = נחה נפשו בגן ערן), d. *c.* 830.
Moses-ben-Nehemiah, d. *c.* 855.
Asher-ben-Moses, d. *c.* 880.
Moses-ben-Asher, d. *c.* 905.
Aaron-ben-Moses-ben-Asher, d. *c.* 930.—Baer & Strack, *Dik. Hat.*, p. 78 ; Ad. Merx, *op. cit.*

[2] Gedaljah (שלשלת הקבלה), Jacob Sappir and others incorrectly place Aaron ben Asher in the eleventh century. See Graetz, *loc. cit.*; Strack, *Prol.*, p. 44 note ; Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

[3] In Arabic codices he is called אבו סעיד.—*Ib.* p. x.

[4] *Gesch.*, v., p. 556 ; *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 2, *sq.*

[5] *Likuté Kadmonioth*, p. ל׳ב.

[6] *G. d. K.*, i., p. 115.

[7] דרכה של תורה, p. 271.

[8] On the other hand, David Oppenheim (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, 1874, p. 79, *sq.*—*Ben Ascher u. der angebliche Differenzpunkt in der Betreff der Heiligkeit der Bibel zwischen Rabbinismus u. Karaismus ;* המגיד, 1870, No. 46, p. 365 *b*) has sought to show that the Ashers must have been Rabbanites. Of the same view are Jacob Sappir (*Eben. Sap.*, i., p. 16 *b.*, ii., pp. 185-191), and S. Gottlieb Stern (Supplement to ספר תשובות תלמיד מנחם ותלמיד דונש, Vienna, 1870). Graetz's main arguments are :—(1.) The Karaite, Jehuda Hadassi, speaks of him as a fellow Karaite. (2.) He is styled המלמד—a Karaite title. (3.) The superscription to his דקדוקי הטעמים includes him among the משכילים, again a Karaite title. (4.) In the same work he speaks, in Karaite fashion, of the Prophets and Hagiographa, as if they were parts of the *Torah*. (5.) In the epigraph to Moses ben Asher's copy of the Prophets, it is said that he wrote the entire Bible (מחזור) for use in the Synagogue. The custom of reading the entire Bible in public worship was specially Karaitic. [A similar argument drawn from the epigraph to the supposed Aaron ben Asher codex at Aleppo falls to the ground, since it has been proved that this codex was not written by Aaron ben Asher (see *infra*).] (6.) Saadja's opposition to the principles of Ben Asher. On the other side, it is argued that :—(1.) Ben Asher writes from the Talmudical standpoint. (2.) He makes considerable use of the *Sefer Jezira*. (3.) The expression משכיל is not peculiar to the Karaites. (4.) Maimonides would not have set so high a value on the Ben Asher codex had its author been a Karaite. (5.) The Karaites were not alone in regarding the Prophets and Hagiographa as part of the *Torah*.

name for Tiberias.[1] Both father and son devoted themselves to the task of collating Scriptural MSS., and editing them in accordance with the Massoretic rules which they perfected. The work of Aaron ben Asher provoked much opposition from his rival, Ben Naphtali, as well as from Saadja Gaon, the most eminent representative of the Babylonian school of criticism.[2] But despite their strictures, the codex Ben Asher soon became recognised as the standard text of the Bible. Maimonides expressly tells us in his *Mishneh Torah*,[3] that he followed its readings in the copy of the Pentateuch he made for himself in Egypt. Until quite recently, it was generally assumed, on the authority of Jacob Sappir,[4] that the codex

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[1] Inasmuch as in the epigraph to the Moses ben Asher codex, Tiberias is already designated Moeziah, it is clear that this name could not have been derived, as Graetz thinks (*Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 5), from that of the Fatimite Caliph Moez, who lived in the latter half of the tenth century—unless, indeed, this epigraph is spurious. See Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 81, where more probable derivations of the name are given.

[2] תשובות על בן אשר, Graetz, v., note 20, I. f.—Saadja Gaon may be regarded as the first who employed the Massorah in the services of Biblical exegesis.—The statement of Elias Levita (Third Introd. to *Mas. Ham.*) that Ben Naphtali was the representative of the Babylonian school of criticism (Ben Asher representing the Western), although subscribed to by most scholars, is quite unfounded. A comparison of the differences between the Occidentals and Orientals with those between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali is of itself sufficient to show the groundlessness of this view. Moreover, Strack (*Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 611) quotes the following Massoretic note to 1 Kings iii. 20, showing that Ben Naphtali sometimes sided with the Occidentals (and Ben Asher with the Orientals): למערב ובן נפתלי ואמתך ישינה מל בן אשר ומדנחא ישנה חס. In Cod. Bibl. Tschufut., 10, also, he has discovered the following Massoretic note to Jerem. xi. 7, where, our *textus receptus* reads—עד היום הזה, while the Babylonian texts have ועד, etc.:—

לבן נפתלי עד—

ובספ מוגה ועד לבן אשר (Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, p. xi., note 12, p. 13, note 13). An auto-epigraph of B. N. (Cod. Tschuf. 34, as amended by Firkowitsch, see *ib.*) makes him a resident of *Aram Zobah*, but Ad. Merx (*op. cit.*) conjectures that, like B. A., he lived at Tiberias. In his elaborate paper on the Tschufut-Kalé collection, Merx has attempted to show that there were two rival schools in Tiberias itself; that they flourished from about 650 to 930 C.E.; that Pinchas *Rosh Jeshiba* was the earliest head of the one school, and that his contemporary rival was Chabib ben Pipim; and that the last contemporary heads were Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. The minute character of the differences between the two authorities is in favour of this view.

[3] *Hil. Sepher Torah*, ch. viii., § 4.

[4] *Eben Sappir*, i., p. 12 *b*. Sappir's statement was followed by Graetz (*Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 6, and 1887, p. 30), and Strack (*Prolegomena*, pp. 44 and 46). Graetz has since accepted Wickes' conclusion (*Monatsschr.*, Oct., 1887, p. 434, note). The lengthy epigraph to this codex, which is as follows, is of course a Karaite fabrication: זה המצחף השלם של עשרים וארבעה ספרים שכתב אותו מרי ורבנא שלמה הנודע בבן בויאעא הסופר המהיר רוח ה' תניחנו ונקד ומסר אותו באר הטיב המלמד הגדול החכם הנבון אדון הסופרים ואבי החכמים וראש המלמדים המהיר במעשיו המבין במפעליו היחיד

Ben Asher had been preserved in the Karaite synagogue at Aleppo. This opinion has now been disproved by Dr. Wickes in his recent work on the Prose Accentuation, already referred to (pp. vii.-ix.). This splendid scholar has shown that the Aleppo codex exhibits readings at variance with the well-known principles of Ben Asher.

Aaron ben Asher[1] likewise wrote short treatises on the vowel points and accents, the consonants, *Dagesh* and *Raphé*, in which he employed the results of the Massorah, and at the same time laid the foundation of the grammatical studies of his successors. These treatises are embodied in a work, partly Massoretic and partly grammatical, written in obscure Neo-Hebraic rhymes. The work is variously known as דקדוקי הטעמים or קונטרס המסורת. It was printed in the first edition of the Bomberg Rabbinical Bible (Venice, 1518) with the superscription זה הספר מדקדוקי הטעמים שהחביר ר' אהרן בן אשר ממקום מעזיה הנקראת טבריה ו'כ'ו.[2] He also compiled a list of "Eighty Homonyms" (שמונים זוגים)[3] which was afterwards incorporated in the *Massorah Finalis*, *s. v.*, א' and the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah*.[4] Aaron ben Asher may be regarded as the connecting link between the Massorites and the Grammarians.[5]

בדורותיו מר רב אהרון בר מר רב אשר תנצב"ה. Equally untrustworthy is the statement of Samuel ben Jacob that he copied the complete Bible codex of the year 1010 (1009) from Aaron ben Asher's Bible:—שמואל בן יעקב כתב ונקד ומסר את המחזור הזה שלמק מן הספרים המוגהים המבואר אשר עשה המלמד אהרן בן משה בן אשר : והוא מוגה באר היטב. (*Cod. Bibl. Hebr. Petropol.* B. 19 *a*, p. 479 *a*; see Harkavy and Strack's *Catal.*, p. 263 *sq.*, and Pinner's *Prospectus*, p. 86 *sq.*). This statement is disproved by the several deviations from the usage of Ben Asher, which the codex presents in regard to *Metheg*, *Chataf patach* and *Dagesh lene*: Baer and Strack, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

[1] Or his father (Graetz, *Monatsschr.*, 1871, p. 10, *sq.*). Even the "variations between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali" (see *infra*) might, Graetz supposes, be ascribed to the father equally as well as to the son.

[2] The work has since been separately edited (*a*) by Leopold Dukes, under the title of קונטרס המסורת המיוחס לבן אשר זל ו'כ'ו (Tübingen, 1846); and (*b*) by Baer and Strack (ספר דקדוקי הטעמים לר' אהרן בן משה בן אשר —Leipzig, 1879). Kimchi often cites a מחברת בן אשר; but Baer conjectures that this is a misreading for מחברת בן בלעם. *Op. cit.* p. 14, note 17.

[3] Hadassi, *Eshkol Hakopher*, Nos. 163, 173,—באשר חקרתי וחקקתי ספר תרין בתרין תוספת על שמונים זוגות לבן אשר.

[4] No. 59,—א"ב מן תרין תרין ותרויהון תרין לישנין. The *Massorah Finalis* and the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah* enumerate ninety-nine assonances.

[5] The relation between Massorah and Grammar is to be inferred *inter alia*, from the expression דקדוק, which originally meant nothing more than "precision," "exactitude," such as distinguished the labours of the Massoretic transcribers of the Bible.—Steinschneider, *J. L.*, § 16, p. 138.

Jacob ben Naphtali[1] was a contemporary of Aaron ben Asher, and probably, as Merx supposes (see *supra*), the head of a rival Massoretic school in Tiberias. He prepared a revised text of Scripture in opposition to Ben Asher, but his proposed readings attained to little authority. The Ben Naphtali codex can no longer be identified, but a considerable number of its readings have been preserved in the writings of Kimchi, Norzi, and others, and in marginal glosses. The controversy between the two authorities principally turns on the use of *Metheg*, but their differences also relate to vowels and accents, and a few even extend to consonantal spelling.[2] Although the codex of Ben Asher was adopted as the standard authority of the Occidentals, there were a small number of cases in which the readings of Ben Naphtali were preferred. Thus, in Gen. xxvii. 13, the *textus receptus* has קִלְלָתְךָ, according to Ben Naphtali, whereas Ben Asher read קְלָלָתְךָ; and in Psalm xlv. 10, the reading of Ben Naphtali (בְּיִקְרוֹתָיִךְ) is followed in preference to בִּיקָרוֹתָיִךְ (Ben Asher).[3] An account of the differences, amounting to 864,[4] is given in the Rabbinical Bibles, under the heading of חלופין בין בן אשר ובין בן נפתלי.

The labours of Ben Asher had the effect of rapidly driving variant and incorrect texts out of circulation, besides reducing the number of variations between the מדנחאי and מערבאי.[5] Still the text was not immediately freed from divergencies,

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[1] So Elias Levita (Third Introduction to *Mas. Ham.*), Norzi (Gen. i. 3), etc. But R. Gedaljah styles him in the שלשלת הקבלה R. Moses ben David Naphtali. Similarly, Codd. Mass. Tschuf. 2 and 3 :—B. & S., *op. cit.*, p. xi. note.

[2] Strack, *Luth. Zeitschr.*, p. 611, note 1 ; Weiss, *op. cit.*, iv., p. 260, note 10.—Generally speaking, however, the consonantal text, at the commencement of the 10th century, was already regarded as immutably fixed. See Ad. Merx, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[3] Not, however, by Baer, who has latterly restored the Ben Asher reading to the text (see Preface to his Psalms, 1880, p. vii.).—The difference between the two readings is important, for that of Ben Asher guards us against the error into which Saadja and others have fallen of connecting the word with בקרת, "a female slave." Ben Naphtali follows the rule (which likewise obtains in Syriac—whence Geiger would infer that he was a Babylonian)—that when the prefixes ב, כ, ל, ו precede י, with a *Chirik*, the *Chirik* is transferred to the prefix, and loses its consonantal force. Accordingly he reads לִיקָהַת in Prov. xxx. 17, where he is again followed by the *textus receptus*. Elsewhere, however (in forms such as בִּירֹאָה, וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ, לֵירֹאָה, כְּיִשְׂרָאֵל) Ben Asher's readings are followed : Geiger, *Jud. Zeitschr.* iii., p. 10 ; *Dik. Hat.*, § 13.

[4] More exactly 867. See Strack, *Prol.*, p. 27.

[5] See Graetz, v., p. 504, note 1.

as may be seen from the works of some of the Nakdanim and earlier commentators, which now and again differ in their readings from the present *textus receptus*.[1]

III.

These rival authorities practically brought the Massorah to a close. Yet slight additions continued to be made. Passing over the earlier grammarians—Menachem ben Saruk, Dunash ben Labrat, Jehudah Chajug, Ibn Gannach, Kimchi[2] and others, we come to the Nakdanim,[3] or Punctuators, who, rather than the Grammarians proper, are to be regarded as the successors of the Massorites.

The name Nakdan was not new. Originally it had been applied to those who had made a study of vocalisation, or had been instrumental in fixing a system of written vowels.[4] But subsequently the word began to serve as an official title of the scholar who revised the work of the copyist, added the vowels and accents (generally in fainter ink and with a finer pen[5]), and likewise the Massorah. Being well versed in the rules of grammar, he was sometimes styled *Deikan*. Not infrequently, he combined with his labours the duties of Chazan and schoolmaster. The appellation came into regular use towards the end of the twelfth century. From this time down to the end of the fourteenth century, a long succession of Nakdanim, beginning with Rabenu Tam, flourished, of whom the most important were,[6] Nathaniel ben Mashullum, of Mayence,[7] Moses ben Isaac, Hanakdan or Hachazan, of London,[8]

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[1] Jacob ben Chajim's Introduction to the Rabbinical Bible; Cappellanus, *Mare Rabbinicum Infidum*, ch. vi.; Kennicott, *Diss Gen.*, § 50 *sq.*; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, §16, note 26; Luzzatto, *Dialogues*, p. 189; Steinschneider in Frankel's *Zeitschr.*, i., p. 359; Kirchheim, *Lit. Bl.*, v., p. 694.

[2] Kimchi compiled a Massoretic treatise, entitled עט סופר, which is often referred to in the margins of Spanish codices of the Pentateuch.

[3] Or *Menakdim* (?); see Neubauer in Graetz's *Monatsschr.*, 1887, p. 303, and cf. Baer and Strack, דקדוקי הטעמים, § 69.

[4] As משה העזתי הנקדן "Moses the Punctuator of Gaza." (Cod. Mass. Tschuf., No. 9.)

[5] Eichho *Einleitung*, § 347.

[6] See Zunz, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, ch. iv., and pp. 201-203, and Steinschneider, *J.L.*, § 16, p. 139.

[7] Author of a work on the Biblical accents, which is not, as has been supposed, a translation of Jehuda ben Balaam's הוריית הקורא. See Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1870, II., p. 503.

[8] Author of דרכי הנקוד והנגינות, printed in the Rabbinical Bible round the margin of the *Massorah finalis*, and otherwise styled כללי הנקוד, or שערי הנקוד והנגינות. He is perhaps, as Geiger supposes (*Wissenschaftl. Zeitschr.*

Simson Hanakdan,[1] and Salmon Hanakdan, otherwise named Jekuthiel ben Jehudah Hakohen.[2] But the actual additions of the Nakdanim to the Massorah were insignificant.

Reference has already been made to the two-fold form which the written Massorah assumed as early as the ninth century. In the course of time, special names would be introduced for these separate Massorahs. The curt notes in the upright margins were styled מסורה קטנה, and the fuller notes above or below the text מסורה גדולה or רבתא. Besides these marginal notes, the Massorah included "lists" of words or groups of words which possessed some feature in common, catalogues of phrases, verbal forms, variations and parallelisms of various kinds, together with rules of more or less general import. These lists were usually drawn up in alphabetical order, and were appended at the beginning or end of a Bible, or were compiled in separate books.[3] They thus constituted Massoretic lexicons.

One such lexicon (in the form of a separate book) has come down to our own time. It is famously known as the אכלה ואכלה, a title derived from the initial words of its first two columns.[4] This work is first referred to in the latter half of

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1844, p. 419), identical with the Moses ben Isaac Hanasiah of England, who compiled a book of Hebrew roots under the title of ס' השהם. See also Renan, *Les Rabbins Français du commencement du quatorzième Siècle*, p. 484, and cf. Frensdorff's Introduction to the דרכי הנקוד והנגינות, as well as Mr. Joseph Jacobs in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, II., p. 182.

[1] See Geiger's Article, *loc. cit. Schimshon ein Lexicograph.* Simson was the author of a work on Punctuation, etc., entitled חבור הקונים or ס"ש שמשוני.

[2] Author of עין הקורא, a valuable Massoretic commentary on the Pentateuch and Esther.

[3] Even the *Massorah parva* was, at times, arranged in this shape. Such a work was the Erfurt MS. (*Massora peculiaris manuscripta chartacea in forma 4 majori—Cod. Erfurtensis*, xi.), which J. D. Michaelis used in the preparation of his edition of the Bible (Halle, 1720), and has described in his Introduction to it. (See also a notice of it in Hupfeld's Article in the *Z. d. M. G.*, 1867, vol. xxi., p. 203, and note 10, and in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, vi., pp. 57-9.) This MS. is now in the Royal Library at Berlin (MSS. Orient., Fol. No. 1219). See Graetz in *Monatsschr.*, January, 1887. It is more comprehensive than the *Massorah parva* in our Bibles. It is a moot question which represents the earlier form of the Massorah—the marginal or the lexical? Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 98) and Frensdorff (Introduction to *Ochlah*) incline to the opinion that the Massorah was originally written in separate books, and subsequently transferred to the Bible margins. The fact that in Talmudic times it was not allowed to annotate Scripture marginally would favour this view. Frensdorff observes (*ibid.*) that the *Ochlah* exhibits the Massorah in a purer state than the marginal glosses, from which he infers that the marginal Massorah must have been copied (not always correctly) from separate Massoretic treatises.

[4] Its first list comprises a double column of related words, which appear in Scripture once with, and once without, a ו *copulativum*, and the first pair of related words in this list are אכלה (1 Sam. i. 9), and ואכלה (Gen. xxvii. 15).

the twelfth century by Samuel Dschamma, in an Arabic treatise on the "Laws of Shechita." Subsequently it is cited by Joseph ibn Aknin in his ethical work "Tibb 'ul-nufus," and his "Methodology"; by Kimchi in his "Michlol" (pp. 112*b* and 163), and his Dictionary (*s. v.* קרב), and by Isaac ben Jehuda in his ס' האשל.[1] But after the middle of the thirteenth century it was lost sight of. The reason of this disappearance is not far to seek. For the next 300 years but scant attention was given to Massoretic learning. The study steadily declined, or degenerated into Kabbalistic trifling. It was probably at its lowest ebb in the sixteenth century, when it received a fresh impetus from the introduction of printing, and the revival of classical learning in Italy.

The encouragement which about this period began to be given to Hebrew letters is connected with the honourable name of Daniel Bomberg, of Antwerp, who, in 1516, established his famous printing-press at Venice. The first edition of the Rabbinical Bible was printed in Bomberg's office in 1517, and edited by Felix Pratensis. It contained some fragments of the *Massorah Finalis*, very imperfectly done, which included the דקדוקי הטעמים of Ben Asher, and the "differences" of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali. In 1525 a second edition was produced by the learned Jacob ben Chajim ben Isaac Ibn Adonijah, of Tunis. Finding the Massorah in a state of chaos, with indomitable perseverance he set about systematising his confused materials. He collated a vast number of Massoretic MSS., and so was enabled not only to arrange the Massorah, but even to revise the Massoretic text of the Bible itself. In spite of its numerous errors, this splendid work has generally been acknowledged as the *textus receptus* of the Massorah, the supreme authority to which it has attained imposing upon subsequent Massoretic scholars who may differ from its readings the necessity of accounting for every deviation. In addition to introducing the Massorah into the margin, he compiled, at the close of his Bible, a concordance of the Massoretic glosses for which he could not find room in a marginal form.[2]

[1] Steinschneider in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1862, p. 316, note 31; Neubauer, *Notice sur la Lexicographie Hebraique*, p. 9; Neubauer, in Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, July, 1887 (Neubauer there quotes another reference to the *Ochlah*, from an Arabic fragment of a grammatical treatise); Fuerst, "Introduction to Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon," p. xxv.; McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, Art. "Ochlah Ve-Ochlah."

[2] Further, he added to the contents of the Pratensian Bible an imperfect table of the variations between the Oriental and Occidental readings (amended in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible, and further amended in Pinsker's *Einleitung*, pp. 124-132); an elaborate introduction—the first treatise on the Massorah ever produced; and fragments of the דרכי הנקוד והנגינות of Moses Hanakdan. But he did not include the ד"ק ה"ט of Ben Asher.

No doubt this was simply an alphabetical arrangement of the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah*, though Ben Chajim is curiously silent as to the existence of such a work.

Indeed there is no actual mention of the *Ochlah* till 1538, when Elias Levita described it in his second introduction to the *Massoreth Hamassoreth*.[1] From this time, again, it was lost to scholars until twenty-five years ago, when it was discovered in MS. by Dr. Derenbourg in the National Library of Paris, and given to the world under the editorship of Dr. Frensdorff. Shortly after the appearance of Frensdorff's book, another MS. of the same work was discovered by Hupfeld in the University Library of Halle,[2] which differed in several important respects from the codex edited by Frensdorff.[3]

Who was the author of the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah?* In one of the last numbers of the *Monatsschrift* (January, 1887), Graetz has put forward the suggestion that he was the famous Rabenu Gershom (c. 960-1028), the "Light of the Exile," and the founder of the French Rabbinical school. That this scholar compiled a recension of the *Massorah magna* (as also of the Pentateuch and parts of the Mishna and Gemara)[4] has long been known, and codices of the Pentateuch are extant whose marginal glosses refer to his Massoretic compilations.

Graetz's theory has gained few converts.[5] But right or wrong, his article possesses this importance, that it serves to call specific attention to the influence exercised by the French-German school of Talmudists and Tosafists throughout the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, on the development of Massoretic literature. In addition to Rabenu Gershom, his brother Machir, Joseph ben Samuel Bonfils (Tobelem), of Limoges, Rabenu Tam (Jacob ben Meir), Menachem ben Perez, of Joigny, Perez ben Elia of Corbeil, Jehuda of Paris, Meir

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[1] The statement of Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.*, iii., p. 105), that Elias Levita had not seen the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah*, is surprising, considering that Levita expressly states in this Introduction that he gave himself no rest until he had discovered it.

[2] See his important article in the *Z. d. M. G.*, 1867, xxi., pp. 201-227, entitled *Ueber eine bisher unbekannt gebliebene Handschrift der Massorah.*

[3] Several articles contained in the *Ochlah Ve-Ochlah* are omitted from the Bomberg Bible, and even in the parallel articles the examples given are not always the same. The Halle MS., which has a thousand rubrics, presents fewer divergences from Jacob ben Chajim's work than the Paris redaction, which has only four hundred. Graetz (see *infra*) considers that the Halle MS. must have been the original work, or a copy of it, and the MS. edited by Frensdorff a revised recension; while Jacob ben Chajim used a recension differing from both.

[4] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, pp. 118 and 187 *sq.* His copy of the Pentateuch is referred to by glossists under the title of ספר ר' גרשם. See Ginsburg, *Mass.*, i., p. 604 *b* and 611 *b*.

[5] See Neubauer's criticism of it in the *Monatsschrift* for July, 1887.

Spira and R. Meir of Rothenburg, made Massoretic compilations, or additions to the subject, which are all more or less frequently referred to in the marginal glosses of Biblical codices, and the works of Hebrew grammarians.[1]

Next to Jacob ben Chajim, Massoretic learning owes most to Elias Levita, whose *Massoreth Hamassoreth* is a luminous guide to the subject.[2] The study is indebted also to R. Meir Hallevi ben Todros of Toledo (הרמ"ה), who, as early as the thirteenth century, wrote ספר מסורת סייג לתורה[3] (correct edition, Florence, 1750)—a work much prized by Norzi; to Menachem di Lonsano, who composed a treatise on the Massorah of the Pentateuch, entitled אור תורה; and in particular to Jedidjah Shelomo Minnorzi, whose מנחת שי contains valuable Massoretic notes, based on a careful study of MSS., principally Spanish. Nor would this account be complete without a reference to the Buxtorfs, father and son, who have enriched this equally with every branch of Hebrew learning of which they have treated.[4] Honourable mention, too, must be made of the encyclopædic J. C. Wolf, whose *Bibliotheca Hebræa* contains a treatise on the Massorah, and list of Massoretic authorities.[5]

Less known names in this department are those of Meir Abraham Angola, who wrote מסורת חברית (Cracow, 1629);

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[1] See Zunz, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, pp. 118, 119; Geiger, *Parschandatha*, p. 10; Renan, *Les Rabbins Français*, pp. 452, 459; Berliner's *Magazin*, 1876, pp. 105, 106; *Monatsschrift*, January, 1887; Delitzsch's Catalogue of Hebrew MSS., at Leipzig, p. 273.

[2] Levita likewise compiled a vast Massoretic Concordance, entitled "The Book of Remembrance," over which he spent twenty-two years. He sent it to Paris to be published in 1536, but for some reason or other it never passed through the Press. The MS. consists of two huge folios, and is in the National Library at Paris. For an account of it see Dr. C. D. Ginsburg's "Life of Elias Levita," prefixed to his useful edition of the *Mas. Ham.* Frensdorff has published the Dedication and Introduction in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. xii.

[3] It contains a useful catalogue of the words in the Pentateuch, of which there occur a full and defective reading, with a reference to passages in which the readings are found, and is important, moreover, as showing the state of the text in the thirteenth century.—De Wette, "Introduction to the Old Testament," translated by Parker, second edition, 1850, p. 352.

[4] The Basle Rabbinical Bible of 1618-19 contains the Massorah in its most accessible form, being less rare than Jacob ben Chajim's Rabbinical Bible. In some respects it is an improvement on its predecessor, although it exhibits many unwarrantable alterations. The *Tiberias* of the Elder Buxtorf (1620), while it contains little that is not to be found in the *Massoreth Hamassoreth* of Levita, is a splendid introduction to the subject. The younger Buxtorf's edition of his father's *Tiberias*, and the various works he contributed to the controversy on the antiquity of the vowel points, are all important aids to the study of the Massorah. Walton's Eighth *Prolegomenon*, although differing from the Buxtorfian theory on the origin of the Massorah and vowel-points, is largely a *réchauffage* of the *Tiberias*.

[5] Part ii., Book iii.

Augustus Pfeiffer, whose immense array of works include a *Dissertatio Philolog. de Massora* (Wittenberg, 1670); J. F. Cotta, author of *Exercitatio historica-critica de origine Massoræ punctorumque Vet. Testamenti Hebraicorum* (Tübingen, 1726); Abraham ben Reuben of Ochrida, whose ס' בית אברהם is a Massoretic lexicon to the Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1742); David Viterbi, author of ס' אם למסורת (Mantua, 1748); Abraham ben Jeremiah of Calvary, who wrote ס' סדר אברהם, an alphabetical Massorah to the Pentateuch (Frankfort-on-Main, 1752); Asher Amshel of Worms, author of סייג לתורה, (*Ib.*, 1766); Joseph ben David Heilbron of Eschweg, whose ס' מבין חדות was published at Amsterdam in 1765, and plagiarised from Amschel's then unprinted work; Salomon Dubno, who wrote the first part (Genesis and Exodus) of a Massoretic commentary to the Pentateuch, called תקון סופרים, in Mendelssohn's Pentateuch נתיבת השלום (Berlin, 1783);[1] and Joseph ben Mordecai of Berditschev, who wrote מסורה ברורה an alphabetical Massorah on the Pentateuch and Esther (*cir.* 1820).

Coming down to quite modern times, the names are all familiar. We may refer to the researches of Wolf Heidenheim,[2] Abraham Geiger,[3] S. Pinsker,[4] S. D. Luzzatto,[5] H. Hupfeld,[6] S. Frensdorff,[7] H. Graetz,[8] H. L. Strack,[9] J. Derenbourg,[10] W.

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[1] This list is mainly compiled from Dr. H. L. Strack's article on the Massorah in *Herzog* (2nd ed., 1881).

[2] He wrote (1) תורת האלהים (Genesis, edited with critical notes); (2) an edition of the entire Pentateuch with critical commentary, entitled המש מודע לבינה; (3) another edition of the Pentateuch named חמש מאור עינים; and (4) משפטי הטעמים—a work on the accentuation of the Twenty-one Books.

[3] *Urschrift, Parschandatha*, and several articles referred to in this paper. His *Zur Geschichte der Massorah* in the 3rd volume of the *Jüdische Zeitschrift* is the most important monograph, giving a connected history of the Massorah from early times, with which I am acquainted; and it is upon the basis of that essay that this paper has been written.

[4] *Einleitung* and *Lekuté Kadmonioth*.

[5] *Dialogues, Prolegomeni*, and various contributions to Hebrew periodicals.

[6] *Commentatio de antiquioribus apud Judæos accentuum scriptoribus* (Halle, 1846), and articles previously cited.

[7] מחברת המסורה הגדולה; ס' אכלה ואכלה (a new edition of Elias Levita's Massoretic Concordance—1st part, 1876); a critical edition of Moses Hanakdan's דרכי הנקוד והנגינות.

[8] See *supra passim*.

[9] *Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum* (Leipzig, 1873)—a maiden effort; Catalogue of MSS. in the Royal Library of St. Petersburg (Harkavy and Strack, 1875); *Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Leipzig, 1876); דקדוקי הטעמים of Aaron ben Asher, edited in conjunction with Baer (Leipzig, 1879); and numerous articles previously noticed.

[10] Editor of a compendium of Grammar and Massorah, brought from Yemen, by Jacob Sappir, and by an unknown author, which he has entitled *Manuel du Lecteur* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1870); and author of important articles previously quoted.

Wickes,[1] D. Oppenheim,[2] C. D. Ginsburg,[3] Franz Delitzsch,[4] and, last but not least, that *facile princeps* of living Massoretic scholars, Seligmann Baer,[5] whose forthcoming edition of the Massorah in connection with a new recension of the מקראות גדולות is, even while I write, being anxiously awaited by Biblical and Massoretic students. And with this dry catalogue of names, I bring this, I fear equally dry, paper to a close.

ISIDORE HARRIS.

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[1] תורת א״מ״ת and טעמי כ״א ספרים—two works which have placed the author in the front rank of scholars.

[2] See *supra passim*.

[3] "The Massorah, Compiled from Manuscripts Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged" (London: 3 vols. 1880-5); Editions of Jacob ben Chajim's "Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible" (1865, and *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1863), and Elias Levita's *Massoreth Hamassoreth* (1867). Dr. Ginsburg has done more than any writer in our language to promote the study of Massorah in this country, and he has spent thirty years on the subject. The fourth and final volume of his *opus magnum* will shortly appear.

[4] Catalogue of Heb. MSS. at Leipzig, 1838. Delitzsch has been associated with Baer in establishing the correct Massoretic text of various books of the Old Testament, and editing them with critical notes.

[5] Editor of the Massoretic texts just referred to, and of the דקדוקי הטעמים of Ben Asher; likewise of תקון הסופר והקורא—a standard copy of the Pentateuch for scribes and readers of the Law; author of תורת א״מ״ת—a work on the accents of the three Poetical Books of Scripture; and of a treatise on the *Metheg* in the *Archiv f. d. Wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.*, 1867, 1868.

THE ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

THE interest which in this country the Pentateuch has long continued to attract has caused the other historical books of the Old Testament to be comparatively neglected, in spite of the fact that the structure of these books is, speaking generally, much simpler and more obvious than that of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. Commentaries continue to be written upon them in which the question of their composition is dealt with only vaguely and superficially. The following pages are an attempt to supply in part this deficiency in the case of the Book of Judges. They may be taken as exhibiting the view which the writer himself has formed of the origin and structure of the book after a careful comparison of what has been written upon it by the best and most recent authorities.[1]

The Book of Judges consists of three well defined portions: (1) an introduction i. 1—ii. 5, giving a view of the condition of the country at the time when the period of the Judges begins: (2) the history of the Judges ii. 6—xvi.: (3) an appendix xvii.—xxi., describing in some detail two incidents belonging to the period, viz., the migration of a part of the tribe of Dan to the north, xvii.—xviii., and the war of the Israelites against Benjamin, arising out of the outrage of Gibeah, xix.—xxi.

The structure of the Book is seen most clearly in the middle portion: it will be convenient therefore to begin with this. This history of the Judges, properly so called, consists essentially of a series of older narratives, fitted into a framework by a later editor, or redactor, and provided by him, where necessary, with introductory and concluding remarks. This editor, or

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[1] The following are the authorities to whom the writer is chiefly indebted: Wellhausen, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (1878), p. 181-203; Kuenen, *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*, &c. I. 2 (1887), pp. 332-367; Budde, *Josua und Richter* in the *Zeitsch. für die alt-test. Wissenschaft*, 1888, pp. 93-166; and Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, I. (1888), pp. 239 ff.

redactor, is imbued strongly with the spirit of Deuteronomy. His additions exhibit a phraseology and colouring different from that of the rest of the Book: all contain the same recurring expressions, and many are cast in the same type or form of words, so that they are recognisable without difficulty. Thus the history of each of the six greater Judges is fitted into a framework as follows—the details vary slightly, but the general resemblance is unmistakable. iii. 7—11 (Othniel), "And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, . . . and the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim . . . and they served Chushan-rishathaim eight years; . . . and the children of Israel cried unto Jehovah, and he raised up unto them a saviour, . . . and the land had rest forty years." iii. 12-30 (Ehud), "And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, and Jehovah strengthened Eglon king of Moab against Israel, . . . and they served Eglon eighteen years; . . . and the children of Israel cried unto Jehovah, and Jehovah raised up to them a saviour; . . . and Moab was subdued, . . . and the land had rest forty years." iv. 1—v. 31, "And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, and Jehovah sold them into the hand of Jabin, . . . and for twenty years he mightily oppressed them; . . . so God subdued Jabin (iv. 23), . . . and the land had rest forty years" (v. 31). The scheme is similar in the case of Gideon (vi. 1-7; viii. 28), Jephthah (x. 6, 7, 10; xi. 33^b; xii. 7), Samson (xiii. 1; xv. 20 [twenty years], xvi. 31 *end*). In all we have the same succession of apostasy, subjugation, the cry for help, deliverance, described often in the same, always in similar, phraseology. Let the reader notice how frequently at or near the *beginning* and *close* of the narrative of each of the greater Judges the following expressions occur: *did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, sold*[1] *them* or *delivered them into the hand of . . . , cried unto Jehovah, subdued, and the land had rest* . . . (iii. 7, 8, 9, 11; iii. 12, 15, 30; iv. 1, 2, 3, 23; v. 31^b; vi. 1, 6^b; viii. 28; x. 6, 7; xi. 33^b; xiii. 1, 16, 31 *end*). Clearly in the body of the book a series of independent narratives has been taken by the compiler and arranged by him in a framework, designed with the object of stating the chronology of the period, and exhibiting a theory of the occasion and nature of the work which the Judges generally were called to undertake.

[1] This figure is almost peculiar to the compiler of this book (ii. 14; iii. 8; iv. 2; x. 7; rather differently in the older narrative iv. 9), and the kindred author of 1 Sam. xii. (verse 9): it is derived probably from Deut. xxxii. 30 (the Song).

In the case of the six Minor Judges (Shamgar, Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon) detailed particulars were probably not accessible to the compiler; hence the narratives are much briefer, though there is great similarity in the literary form in which they are cast (iii. 31; x. 1-2; 3-5; xii. 8-10; 11-12; 13-15).

But the history of the Judges proper has been provided by the compiler with an introduction ii. 6—iii. 6, which must next be examined. Is this introduction the work of the compiler also? In parts of it, we trace his hand at once (ii. 11, 12, 14; in 16, 18, 19 also notice the expressions *raised up*, *saved*, *oppressed*, comparing iii. 9, 15; iv. 3; vi. 9; x. 12, 13, and the general similarity of tone). But the whole cannot be his work, for ii. 6-9 is repeated with slight verbal differences from Josh. xxiv. 28, 31, 29, 30 (LXX., 28, 29, 30, 31); elsewhere *the point of view is different*, and the details harmonize imperfectly with each other, authorising the inference that he has here incorporated in his work *older materials*. Thus ii. 23 cannot be the original sequel of ii. 20-22; the fact that the Canaanites were not delivered "into the hand of Joshua" (23) cannot be a consequence of what happened (ii. 21) *after Joshua's death*. In iii. 1-3, the ground for which the Canaanites were not driven out is that the Israelites might learn the art of war; in ii. 22 and iii. 4 it is that they might be tested *morally*, that it might be seen whether they would adhere to the service of Jehovah or not. The list of nations in iii. 3 is scarcely consistent with that in iii. 5; the nations named in iii. 3 are just those occupying *particular* districts in or near Canaan, the six named in iii. 5 are representative of the *entire* population of Western Palestine.[1] The oldest part of this section is no doubt iii. 1-3, describing how the Israelites became trained in warfare through the inhabitants of particular districts continuing to dwell among or near them; and it has been plausibly conjectured that these verses formed once the sequel to chap. i. (where the *fact* of such inhabitants being left is described); in this case the expression, *all* the Canaanites (which would be untrue, if taken absolutely) receives its natural limitation; it will be limited to the Canaanites named in the context of ch. i., viz., the people of Gezer, Dor, Megiddo, Taanach, Beth-Shean, &c. (i. 29-33). Thus looking at ii. 6—iii. 6 as a whole we may analyse it as follows:—ii. 6-10 (repeated, except verse 10, from Joshua) describes the death of Joshua, and the change which in the view of the compiler came over the nation in the following generation; ii. 11-19 states the compiler's theory of the period of the Judges—a theory to be exemplified in detail in

[1] Comp. Ex. xxxiii. 2; Deut. vii. 1; Josh. ix. 1, &c.

the special narratives following, and to which they are expressly adapted by means of the introduction and other additions of the compiler, as explained above; ii. 20-22 deals with a different subject, not the nations *around* Israel as 11-19, but the nations *in their midst*, who, through the disobedience of the Israelites during the same period, viz. after Joshua's death, were still to be left for the purpose of testing their moral strength; the sequel of ii. 20-22 is iii. 5-6, stating how the Israelites intermarried with the Canaanites, and thus failed to endure the test. iii. 1-3 is the older fragment, enumerating the nations that were instrumental in training Israel in warfare; when this was incorporated, ii. 23 (attaching loosely and imperfectly to ii. 22) was prefixed as an introduction, and iii. 4 appended, for the purpose of leading back to the general thought of ii. 20-22 and its sequel iii. 5-6. In its original form iii. 1-3 was probably shorter than it now is; even an English reader can perceive that the verses iii. 1-2 are inelegantly expressed and overfilled; no doubt, in the process of incorporation, slight additions were made to them by the compiler.

It is not impossible that x. 6-16, the introduction to the narrative of Jephthah, which is much longer than the other introductions, may also be the expansion of an earlier and briefer narrative, to which in particular vv. 6^b, 8 (partly), 10, 13-16 may belong. The particulars in 17 and 18 appear to be simply derived from c. xi., and prefixed here as an introduction, after the notice of the Ammonites in x. 7, 8.[1] That the author of c. xi. wrote independently of x. 6-18, and could not have had these verses before him, appears from the wording of xi. 4, which as it stands, is evidently the *first* mention of the Ammonites, and must have been differently expressed, had x. 6, 8 already preceded. x. 6-16, 17-18, was therefore written *after* c. xi., and prefixed to it as an introduction.

Was the compiler, however, or, as in view of his prevalent thought and tone we may more distinctively term him, the *Deuteronomic compiler* of the book, the first who arranged together the separate narratives of the Judges? or had this been already done, and was the basis of his work a continuous narrative of the Judges, which he fitted into his own framework, in the manner that has been indicated above? There are grounds for thinking the latter alternative the true one. Some of the narratives are not adapted to illustrate the theory of the Judges, as expounded in ii. 11-19; so, for instance, the

[1] So in c. viii., the contents of verses 30, 31, 35, seem derived from c. ix., and placed where they now stand, as a link of connexion between Gideon (c. viii.) and Abimelech (c. ix.).

accounts of the minor Judges (iii. 31; x. 1-5; xii. 8-15), in which no allusion is made to the nation's apostasy, but which, nevertheless, as remarked above, are cast mainly in the same mould, and the narrative of Abimelech in c. ix.: a lesson is indeed deduced from the history of Abimelech, ix. 24, 56, 57, but not the lesson of ii. 11-19. It is very possible, therefore, that there was a *pre-Deuteronomic collection* of histories of Judges, which the Deuteronomic compiler set in a new framework, prefixing the introduction, ii. 6-9, from Joshua, adding the verses ii. 10, 11-19, &c. (stating his own theory of the history of the period), and accommodating thereto the following narratives by the addition of introductory and concluding remarks, declaring the ground of the oppression in the people's apostasy, and indicating the motive and results of the deliverance which followed.

Perhaps one or two of the recurring phrases noted above, such as "subdued" (iii. 30; iv. 23; viii. 28; xi. 33), which seem to form a more integral part of the narratives proper than the rest, may mark the portions due to the pre-Deuteronomic compiler. There is also a more noticeable feature of the book which may be rightly attributed to him. It is clear that the Judges were, in fact, merely local heroes; they formed temporary heads in particular centres, or over particular groups of tribes—Barak in the north of Israel; Gideon in the centre; Jephthah on the east of Jordan; Samson in the extreme south-west. Nevertheless, the Judges are consistently represented as exercising jurisdiction over Israel as a whole (iii. 8; iv. 4; ix. 22; x. 2, 3; xii. 8, 9; xvi. 31 and elsewhere); and this generalisation of their position and influence is so associated with the individual narratives that it must have formed a feature in them before they came into the hands of the Deuteronomic compiler; hence, if it was not a conception shared in common by the original authors, it must have been a trait due to the first compiler of this portion of the book. The question, however, whether the Deuteronomic compiler had before him a number of separate narratives, or a continuous work, is of secondary importance. Some may consider the grounds adduced in favour of *two* compilers insufficient; and the important distinction is undoubtedly that between the narratives generally and the framework—whether treated as the work of one compiler or of two—in which they are set.

Considering, then, ii. 6 to xvi. as a whole, we may say that the parts which either belong wholly to the Deuteronomic compiler, or consist of elements which have been expanded or largely recast by him, are—ii. 11-22; iii. 5-6, 7-11 (almost entirely: there are no *details* of Othniel's judgeship such

as constitute the narratives respecting Ehud, Barak, etc.); 12-15[a], 30[b]; iv. 1-3; v. 31[b]; vi. 1, 7-10[1]; viii. 27[b] (probably), 28[b], 33-34, 35 (based on c. ix.); x. 6-16, 17f. (based on c. xi.); xiii. 1, 15, 20; xvi. 31[b]. All these parts are connected together by a similarity of tone and phraseology, distinct from that which prevails in any other part of this division of the book, which stamps them as the work of a single hand—not that of the author (or authors) of the histories of the several Judges, but of a compiler arranging, and accommodating to a plan of his own, a series of pre-existent narratives.

We may now pass to the first division of the book, i. 1—ii. 5. This is of a very different complexion from the division which we have just been considering. It consists of fragments of an old account of the conquest of Canaan—not by united Israel under the leadership of Joshua, but—by the individual efforts of the separate tribes. The fragments, however, narrate the positive successes of Judah and Simeon (i. 1-21) and the "House of Joseph" (22-26) only. There follows a series of notices describing how particular tribes, viz., Manasseh, Ephraim, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, failed to dispossess the native inhabitants. By the opening words: "And it came to pass after the death of Joshua," the section is attached to the Book of Joshua, and the events narrated in it are assigned to the period after the close of the book. But it has long been suspected[2] that these words are, in fact, merely a redactional addition, and that the account is, in reality, *parallel*, at least in part, with the narrative in Joshua, and not a continuation of it. The Book of Joshua (as we now have it) describes how the whole land was subdued by the Israelites, and taken possession of by the individual tribes (see *e.g.* xxi. 43-45; xxiii. 1). In Jud. i. the Israelites are still at Gilgal, (ii. 1); or close by at Jericho (i. 16): and hence the tribes "go up" (*i.e.* from the Jordan Valley to the high ground of Judah), as at the beginning of the Book of Joshua (v. 9), Judah first, to conquer their respective territories (i. 1, 2, 3).

How far this representation of the course of events can be reconciled with the Book of Joshua, cannot now be considered in detail; but it may be remarked that our existing Book of Joshua has assumed its present form by a series of stages, and is composed of distinct strata of narrative, superposed one upon another, the oldest of which (to which Josh. xxi. 43—45;

[1] Assigned by Budde (*Z. A. T. W.*, 1888, p. 232) to the Hexateuchal narrator E. Certainly the phraseology is not throughout that of the Deuteronomic compiler, and exhibits affinities with the parts of Josh. xxiv. which belong to E.

[2] Compare the Bishop of Bath and Wells in the "Speaker's Commentary," ii. p. 123f.

xxiii. 1 do not belong) do not represent the conquest as by any means so complete as the generalising expressions peculiar to the later strata appear to imply. In fact, it is remarkable that in these older strata of the Book of Joshua, there occur a series of passages, some identical (except for verbal variations) with parts of Judges i., and others resembling them strongly in representation and phraseology. Thus Jud. i. 21 (stating that the Benjaminites did not expel the Jebusites of Jerusalem) agrees almost precisely with Josh. xv. 63, the only material difference being that the failure is there laid to the charge not of Benjamin but of *Judah;*[1] i. 20^b, 10^b—15 agrees with Josh. xv. 14—19; i. 27—28 corresponds with Josh. xvii. 12—13; i. 29 with Josh. xvi. 10. Most of the verbal differences are due simply to the different relations which the fragments hold in the two books to the contiguous narrative. Josh. xvii. 14—18 (the complaint of the tribe of Joseph of the insufficient size of their inheritance and Joshua's instructions to them to exert themselves to increase it), and xix. 47 (Dan) are very similar in representation (implying the *separate* action taken by individual tribes), and in phraseology.[2] It can hardly be doubted that both Jud. i. and these notices in Joshua are excerpts from what was once a detailed survey of the conquest of Canaan; of these excerpts some have been fitted in with the narrative of Joshua, others have been combined in Jud. i., so as to form with the addition of the opening words *after the death of Joshua*, an introduction to the period of the Judges. The survey is incomplete, but the parts which remain may be combined together, somewhat as follows: Jud. i. 1^b (from "and the children of Israel asked" etc.)—3, 5-7, 19, 21 (=Josh. xv. 63); Josh. xv. 13-19 (=Jud. i. 20, 10-15); Jud. i. 16, 17, 36^3, 22-26; Josh. xvii. 14-18; xiii. 13; Jud. i. 27-28 (=Josh. xvii. 12 [the names of the towns are stated in ver. 11 and so not repeated]—13), 29 (=Josh. xvi. 10); 30-33, 34; Josh. xix. 47; Jud. i. 35.[4] The representation

[1] Jerusalem lay on the border between Judah and Benjamin: the later theory (Josh. xviii. 28) assigned it to Benjamin; no doubt, therefore, *Judah* is the original reading, and represents the original tradition.

[2] Notice "House of Joseph" (unusual), Josh. xvii. 17; Jud. i. 22, 23, 25; "daughters" for dependent towns, Josh. xvii. 11, 16; Jud. i. 27; "*would* dwell," Josh. xvii. 12; Jud. i. 27, 35; the "chariots of iron," Josh. xvii. 16; Jud. i. 19.

[3] Where it is highly probable that *Amorites* is an error for *Edomites*.

[4] Compare Kittel, pp. 239 ff, who, in agreement mainly with Budde, offers a comparative estimate of the chief textual variations between such of the notices as are parallel. Jud. i. 8 contradicts the uniform tradition respecting the conquest of Jerusalem; it is probably an incorrect gloss, due to a misunderstanding of ver. 7 (as though the pronoun "they" denoted the Israelites rather than the people of Adonibezek), and intended to explain how the Israelites were able to take Adonibezek to Jerusalem.

in ii. 1[a] (of which it is probable that the original sequel was 5[b]) is an unusual one, but is in accordance with Ex. xxiii. 20; the "angel" meant must be the one which according to this passage was to conduct the Israelites to their rest in Canaan; and the meaning of the words will be that the chief centre of the "Tent of Meeting," which had been hitherto at Gilgal, was now advanced to Bochim (*i.e.* probably Bethel, as is actually read by the LXX. in ver. 1). Perhaps the words are a fragment of an account of the movements of the Israelites, in which the angel of Jehovah was a more prominent figure than is the case in the records which we at present possess (comp. Num. x. 33; Deut. i. 33).

The *third* division of the Book differs again in character from either of the other two. It consists of two continuous narratives, not describing the exploits of any Judge, but relating two incidents belonging to the same period of history. Ch. xvii.-xviii. introduces us to an archaic state of Israelitish life: the tribe of Dan (xviii. 1) is still without a possession in Canaan; Micah's "house of God" with its instruments of divination, the "ephod and the teraphim," and its owner's satisfaction at securing a Levite as his priest (xvii. 5-13), are set before us vividly; nor does any disapproval of what Micah had instituted appear to be expressed. The narrative as a whole exhibits the particulars of what is briefly mentioned in one of the notices just referred to, Josh. xix. 47, though the latter can scarcely be derived from it on account of the different orthography of the name Laish.[1] The two chapters contain indications which have led some[2] to suppose that they have been formed—as is often the case in the Pentateuch—by the combination of two parallel narratives. But the inference is here a questionable one, and it is rejected by Kuenen,[3] who will only admit that in two or three places the narrative is in disorder or has suffered interpolation.[4]

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[1] In Josh. Leshem, which however should probably be vocalised *Lêshām*, which might be a by-form of *Laish*: compare the names *'Etām* (derived from *'ait*) and *'Enām* (from *'ain*).

[2] Vatke, Bertheau, most recently Budde (*Z. A. T. W.*, 1888, pp. 285—292).

[3] *Onderzoek* (1887), p. 358-9, (written, however, as the date shows, before the appearance of Budde's Essay).

[4] Thus the *two* chronological notes, xviii. 30, 31, cannot both be by one hand; and had ver. 30 been by the same author as the narrative as a whole, the name of the Levite would almost certainly have been stated where he was first mentioned xvii. 7 ff. Ver. 30 is a notice added by a later hand, intended to supplement the preceding narrative by stating particulars in which it appeared to be deficient. The "day of the captivity (properly *exile*) of the land" can only denote the exile of the ten tribes in 722 B.C. Mr. Lias, in his explanation of the expression, has been misled by the English word captivity, and has forgotten to consult Hebrew usage.

In the second narrative (ch. xix.—xxi.) the account (c. xix.) of the outrage perpetrated upon the Levite's concubine in Gibeah offers for our present purpose no materials for comment. Ch. xx., however, is the puzzle of the entire Book. Not only does the description in parts appear to be in duplicate—compare vers. 36[b]—46 with 29—36[a] [1]; but the account, precisely as we have it, can scarcely be historical. The figures are incredibly large: Deborah (v. 8) places the number of warriors in *entire* Israel at not more than 40,000; here 400,000 advance against 25,000 + 700 Benjaminites, and the latter slay of the former on the first day 22,000, on the second 18,000; on these two days not one of the 25,000 + 700 Benjaminites falls, but on the third day 10,000 Israelites slay 25,100 of them! (xx. 2, 15 R.V. marg., 17, 21, 25, 34, 35). Secondly, whereas in the rest of the Book the tribes are represented uniformly as acting separately, and only combining temporarily and partially, in this narrative Israel is represented as entirely centralised, assembling and taking action *as one man* (xx. 1, 8, 11: similarly xxi. 2, 5, 10, 13, 16), with an unanimity which, in fact, was only gained—and that imperfectly—after the establishment of the monarchy. This joint action of the "congregation" contradicts the notices of all except the initial stages in the conquest of Palestine, not less than the picture exhibited elsewhere of the condition of Israel during this period. The motives prompting the people's action, and the manner in which they are collected together, are unlike what appears in any other part of either Judges or Samuel: elsewhere the people are impelled to action by the initiative of an individual leader; here they move, in vast numbers, automatically; there is not even mention of the head who must have been needful for the purpose of directing the military operations. However keenly the rest of Israel may have felt its indignation aroused by the deed of Gibeah, and the readiness of the Benjaminites to screen the perpetrators (xx. 13), the combination can hardly have taken place on the scale depicted. Nor is there any trace either in Judges (v. 14)—(if this incident, comp. xx. 27,[2] be prior to the

[1] Compare ver. 31 and ver. 39 (in both thirty Israelites smitten); ver. 35 (25,100 Benjaminites smitten) and vers. 44, 45, 46 (18,000 + 5,000 + 2,000 = 25,000 smitten): the *whole* number of Benjaminites, as stated in ver. 15, was but 25,000 + 700.

[2] Which, however, is pretty clearly a gloss added for the purpose of explaining how the people were able to inquire of Jehovah, and so no real indication of the period to which the incident was assigned by the original narrator. Not only do the words 27[b]—28[a], where they stand, interrupt the sentence awkwardly, but they are inserted in the wrong place; had they been an explanation made by the original narrator, they would clearly have stood in ver. 18, the *first* occasion when the inquiry was made.

time of Deborah)—or in Samuel—if it be subsequent to it—of the tribe of Benjamin having been reduced to one-fortieth of its numbers, or in the narrative of 1 Samuel xi. of the virtual extermination (xxi. 10-11) of the population of Jabesh Gilead.

These difficulties, it will be noticed, attach to ch. xx.-xxi., not to ch. xix. The truth appears to be that ch. xx.-xxi. are not homogeneous ; parts are decidedly later than ch. xix., and exhibit to us the tradition respecting the action of the Israelites against Benjamin in the shape which it had assumed in the course of a long period of oral transmission. The story of the vengeance taken by the Israelites against the guilty tribe offered scope for expansion and embellishment, as it was handed on in the mouth of the people ; and the literary form in which we have it exhibits the last stage of the process. Hence the exaggeration both in the numbers, and in the scale upon which the tribes combined and executed their vengeance upon Benjamin and Jabesh Gilead. The narrative of the outrage in ch. xix. is old : in style and representation it exhibits resemblances with ch. xvii., xviii. ; and in all probability it has come down to us with very little, if any, alteration of form. The narrative of the vengeance, on the contrary, in ch. xx., has been expanded; as it was first written down, the incidents were simpler, and the scale on which they were represented as having taken place, was smaller than is now the case. But the original narrative has been combined with the additions in such a manner that it cannot be disengaged with certainty, and is now, in all probability, as Kuenen admits, not recoverable.[1] In ch. xxi. the narrative of the rape of the maidens at Shiloh wears the appearance of antiquity, and stands, no doubt, on the same footing as ch. xix. But parts of vers. 5-14 contain expressions that are not usual in the historical books, and here there is reason to suppose that the original narrative has been expanded or otherwise modified. It may be noticed that the remark, " In those days there was no king in Israel," connects the two narratives of the appendix together (xvii. 6 ; xviii. 1 ; xix. 1 ; xxi. 25 ; in xvii. 6 and xxi. 25, with the addition, " every man did that which was right in his own eyes "): this, from its character, must certainly be pre-exilic, and stamps the narratives of which it forms part as pre-exilic likewise.

[1] The attempt of Bertheau, in his commentary, is admitted to depend upon insufficient criteria. Budde in the *Z. A. T. W.*, 1888, p. 296 ff., proposes an analysis which is more plausible, though it is scarcely offered by its author, except as a tentative solution of the problem which the chapter presents.

In ch. xix.-xxi. the phrase belongs to that part of the narrative, which there are independent reasons for supposing to be earlier than the rest. The object of the narrative in its present form appears to have been to give an *ideal* representation of the community as inspired throughout by a keen sense of right, and as acting harmoniously in concert for the purpose of giving effect to the dictates of morality.

It is to be observed that in the first and third divisions of the book no traces are to be found of the hand of the Deuteronomic redactor of the middle division ; there are no marks either of his distinctive phraseology or of his view of the history, as set forth in ii. 11-19. Hence it is probable that these divisions did not pass through his hand ; but were added to the book as he left it (ii. 6—xvi.) as an introduction and appendix, respectively, by a later hand. This inference is confirmed by further indications. Compare i. 1 with ii. 6—10 ; would one and the same writer have given *two* introductions, each attaching independently to the preceding Book of Joshua ? Would a writer, again, who adopted ii. 6—9 from Joshua, have prefixed ch. i. with its divergent representation of the course of the conquest ? ii. 21f. also would probably have been differently worded had these verses been preceded by ii. 1—3 ; and iii. 5, if it had been preceded by ch. i. Looking at the book as a whole, then, we conclude that i. 1-ii. 5, and ch. xvii.-xxi., derived from distinct and independent sources, were *added* to the history of the Judges in ii. 6—xvi., after it had assumed its present shape through the work of the Deuteronomic redactor, by a separate hand.

The historical value of the Book of Judges has been so justly estimated by Prof. A. B. Davidson, that we cannot forbear citing a few extracts from what he has written.[1] After remarking on the difference in point of view between the histories and the framework, he continues, " This regular movement of apostasy, subjugation, penitence, and deliverance, is hardly strict history. It is rather the religious philosophy of the history. It is a summary of the historical movements written under the idea that Jehovah presided in the history of Israel ; and to bring it down to our level we must read second causes into the movements and the operations of the people's mind. . . . The author speaks of Israel as an ideal unity, and attributes to this unity defection, which no doubt characterised only fragments of the whole." . . . " The histories preserved in the book are, for the most part, external ;

[1] In an article on the Prophetess Deborah, in *The Expositor*, January, 1887, pp. 48-50.

they are probably traditions preserved among the individual tribes who played the chief part in the events described. That in some instances we have duplicates exhibiting divergences in details is natural, and does not detract from the general historical worth of the whole. The story of Deborah is given in a prose form (ch. iv.) as well as in the poem, and the divergences can be accounted for only on the supposition that ch. iv. is an independent tradition." We have here only space to consider briefly two of the separate histories from a literary point of view.

In the narrative of Deborah and Barak (ch. iv., v.), the song (ch. v.) is a contemporary historical document of the highest possible value; but the narrative (ch. iv.), when compared attentively with it, is seen to exhibit divergences in detail which show that it is founded on an independent tradition, which in process of transmission has become slightly modified. The song speaks of a combination of *kings* of Canaan (v. 19), of whom Sisera is the head—his mother (v. 29) is attended by *princesses* [1]; ch. v. speaks of Jabin, who is described as himself "King of Canaan," reigning at Hazor, and of Sisera, his general. Further, while in ch. iv. Deborah dwells at Bethel in Ephraim, and Barak at Kedesh in Naphtali, and, in addition to his own tribe, summons only Zebulun (ch. iv. 10), in ch. v. 15 both leaders are brought into close connection with Issachar, and the language employed creates at least the *impression* that they belonged to that tribe. In v. 14, 15, 18, Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (*i.e.*, Manasseh), and Issachar, as well as Zebulun and Naphtali, are alluded to as assisting in the struggle. No doubt the points of agreement between the narrative and the poem are greater than the points of divergence—*e.g.*, both describe similarly the deed of Jael—but, nevertheless, there is sufficient divergence to show that the narrative embodies a tradition which had become modified, and in parts obscured, in the course of oral transmission. In fact, it is not impossible that tradition (as is its wont) may have combined two distinct occurrences, and that, with the victory of Barak and Deborah over the kings of Canaan and Sisera at their head, may have been intermingled elements belonging properly to an old Israelitish victory over Jabin, a king in the far north of Palestine, reigning at Hazor. Of course, these elements are subordinate in ch. iv., and in so far as Sisera is still the prominent figure in it, the tradition which it embodies preserves a true recollection of the facts.

[1] Not "ladies" (A. V.). See 1 Kings xi. 3 (of Solomon's queens); Is. xlix. 23.

In the narrative of Jephthah, ch. xi., xii., the only part which calls for comment is ch. xi. 12—28, the account of the message sent by Jephthah to the Ammonites. Here, in answer to the Ammonites' complaint that the Israelites had taken possession of their land between Arnon and Jabbok, Jephthah is made to show that the territory in question belonged at the time of the Exodus to Sihon, the king of the Amorites, and that thus the Israelites had occupied his land, not *Moabite* land. Balak, king of *Moab*, did not fight against Israel,[1] why should Ammon? It is remarkable that the precedents, though addressed to Ammon, are drawn from the history of *Moab*. Even Chemosh—elsewhere always the god of *Moab*—is described as giving the Ammonites their territory. The passage reads like an insertion in the original narrative; at any rate, Jephthah's message has been expanded by the writer on the basis of materials derived from the narrative "JE" of the Pentateuch, with which it frequently agrees *verbatim*. (With verses 17—22, 26, compare Numbers xx. 14, 17; xxi. 4, 13, 21—24, 25.) Its terms do not, however, as Mr. Lias strangely argues, "show the Pentateuch to have been in existence in Jephthah's day." It is the habitual practice of the Old Testament historians to cast the speeches, especially long ones, attributed by them to historical characters, into their own phraseology, and often, also, to colour them with the ideas and principles current in their own day. Thus many of the speeches in Kings bear clear marks of having been cast into form by the compiler of those books; and the same fact is even more evident in the case of the Chronicles, where, for instance, the speech and prayer attributed to David in 1 Chronicles xxix. abound with the idioms and ideas peculiar to the Chronicler's own age and style. Thus all that the present passage shows is that the particular Pentateuchal source to which the context of Numb. xx., 14, etc., belongs, was in existence at the time *when the author of the passage wrote himself*. That the narrative of Jephthah is in substance thoroughly historical, is not questioned, even by Kuenen.[2]

S. R. Driver.

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[1] A statement which does not harmonize with Josh. xxiv. 9, "Then Balak, the son of Zippor, king of Moab, arose *and fought against Israel*."

[2] *Onderzoek*, p. 344.

TWO CRITICISMS.

I.

Dr. Ritter's Text-Book of Reformed Judaism.[1]

THE problem of religious education in all its many-sided difficulty is probably presenting itself to an ever-increasing number of English Jews. Only those who (should one add happily or unhappily ?) have never sipped of the waters of Philosophy, and are ignorant of all the results and suspicions of "historical" or "higher" criticism, can still justly deprecate the inclusion of religious education among the list of social problems that demand inquiry and solution. To them the old path is still open : the way, unbeset by thicket or bramble, is clear and easy, the goal to which it leads at once beautiful and sure. But those who have eaten of the tree of knowledge can no longer follow in the old tracks with a pure conscience and a simple faith. For though it be indeed the tree of knowledge of which they have eaten, it has yet seemed in other moods to be a tree of doubt, whereof to eat has brought them trouble and fear. They have grasped their new moorings, but only after a stormy voyage, in which, perhaps for long, they drifted aimlessly, uncertain of the end. Can they not save a succeeding generation from the pain of doubt and indecision ? Descending from generalities to particulars, we all know how any scheme of "Reformed Judaism" is attacked by opponents of various schools. It is a faith, they tell us, possible for a few individuals whom the unconscious force of heredity, together with an inconsistent half-heartedness in speculation, has prevented from realizing the sandy foundations of the half-way house wherein they dwell : it is an impossible faith for a whole community, and above all it is an *unteachable* faith, which cannot be presented in a definite shape and body before the mental eye of youth. And reformers are surely quite honest enough to feel that these attacks are not without their truth. Thus Dr. Ritter's little *Religions—Lehrbuch nach den Grundsätzen der jüdischen Reformgemeinde zu Berlin*, will possess a deep interest both to friend and foe. For Dr. Ritter

[1] *Religions—Lehrbuch nach den Grundsätzen der jüdischen Reformgemeinde zu Berlin, verfasst von* Dr. I. H. Ritter, Prediger derselben, Berlin, 1889.

is the successor of the great reformer, Samuel Holdheim, and in his congregation the violation of the dietary laws is openly taught, the worshipper upon entering the synagogue bares his head, and the service is conducted almost exclusively in the vernacular. Can Dr. Ritter, then, still teach the youth of his *Gemeinde* a definitely Jewish religion?

The criticisms that are to follow will show that I do not think Dr. Ritter's book is by any means entirely satisfactory. But, nevertheless, the unprejudiced reader (if, which is unlikely, such a delightful being exists upon the earth's surface) will, or rather would, I fancy, allow that we do find here clearly taught and explained a pure and simple, but not therefore vague and indefinite, development of *Judaism*, of the *Jewish* religion.

Where Dr. Ritter fails is in giving no sufficient exposition of the proper relation of *this* Judaism to the Judaisms of the Bible, and to the Bible itself. His book, moreover, suffers by being, in one important respect, "neither flesh, nor fowl, nor good red herring." It is often too advanced in treatment and expression for children; it is often, again, not full or detailed enough for adolescents (say from seventeen till twenty-one, a very important age) and for teachers. I earnestly hope that Dr. Ritter will before long issue a considerably enlarged edition for these two classes of readers.

The book consists of sixty-seven small pages, and is divided into ten chapters, which treat of the following subjects: (1) of God; (2) of Man; (3) Faith and Duties; (4) the Festivals; (5) the Minor Religious Festivals; (6) Worship and Prayer; (7) the Sanctification of God; (8) our Religion and its Development; (9) of Miracles and Revelation; (10) the Messianic age, Israel's mission, and humanity's hope. Of these chapters, that on Faith and Duties occupies twenty-eight pages. The remaining nine have only thirty-nine pages between them. It will thus be seen that the huge subjects indicated in the last three sections can only receive a very short and inadequate treatment.

Most of the statements in the various chapters are substantiated by short extracts from Scripture. These are taken from all the books of the Bible indifferently, and although such a procedure is open to the objection that it implies that the whole Bible teaches one uniform and articulated body of doctrine, that is, perhaps, unavoidable in a work of this kind. At any rate, all will allow that the selections have been made with very great skill and care.

In chapter i. God is defined as "the creator (*Urheber*) of the world, a sole, single (*einziges*), and eternal Being, the father of all mankind." In this definition, and in the attributes of God that follow, we miss any allusion to the omnipresence and spiritual nature of the Supreme Being. And should not the רוח הקודש find a place in a *Lehrbuch der* JÜDISCHEN *Religion?* Is the prayer of the fifty-first Psalm, "Take not thy Holy Spirit

from me" (cf. Isaiah lxiii.), to be ignored because of the important part assigned to the Spirit in the dogmas of Christianity? More than once Dr. Ritter wisely alludes to God's rule and revelation in history, but the method of God's providence in its details is surely hidden from human understanding, so that, whatever the Biblical opinion may be, it is untrue to our present religious consciousness, to say "God deals recompense to every one in due time (and often in a surprising manner) according to his deserts."

Quoting the well-known verse of Proverbs (iii. 12), our author lays stress on the divine chastisement which is based upon divine love. But since Prov. iii. 12 is a tolerably isolated thought among the Scriptural writers, he ought to have gone a step further, and, utilizing a teacher whose measure of inspiration was far greater than the wise man of Proverbs, touched upon the self-sacrifice of the higher for the lower, of the part for the whole (Isaiah liii.).

Man (chapter ii.), according to Dr. Ritter, is distinguished from all other creatures in that God has given him reason, freedom of the will, and conscience. The "image of God" in which man was created, is explained to mean that God has given him spiritual gifts, through which he may become like God. "Like God" in a twofold manner: first by his rule over nature, secondly by his moral capacity.

The (comparatively) long chapter on "Faith and Duties" is grouped round an exposition of the Ten Commandments. We are told that "the pure faith about God, and the main duties of man are taught in the ten words of Sinai." But nothing is said as to the Author, whether mediate or immediate, of these words, nor as to the occasion upon which they were delivered. Considering the enormous importance of the Decalogue, and the central position it has so long occupied in the Jewish religion, we are surely entitled to ask, whether the Principles of the *Reformgemeinde* include a belief that it was really God himself, or at least a divine voice specially created for the occasion (Maimonides: "Moreh Nebuchim" I. 65), who spoke these ten words, or whether "Reformed Judaism," in this Dr. Ritter's exposition of it, bases the supreme value that is assigned to them upon other and less external grounds.

Round the ten words, however, the various elements of religion and morality are very skilfully clustered. Thus the folly of superstition is included under the second word, the nobility of friendship under the seventh, the value of property under the eighth.[1]

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[1] Under the sixth word we are told that we must not only content ourselves with not destroying human life, but we must actively seek to maintain and promote its well being. Very proper. But one of Dr. Ritter's applications sounds strangely. "If *e.g.* you could succour a drowning person *without any danger to yourself*, and forbear to do so, your guilt is very near to the guilt of actual murder." Cannot the demands of Ethics go further than this?

But in this chapter on *Glaube und Pflichten* there is one notable omission. Nothing is said respecting the hope which religion offers of a life beyond the grave. Only on the last page of the book is there any allusion to the doctrine of a future life, and on that page it is (perhaps purposely?) left unclear whether it is only the good which man has wrought, or his own spiritual personality as well, for which immortality is claimed. But the immortality of the soul is too important a subject to be thus relegated to the obscurity of a final sentence in a work which is elsewhere so excellently clear. With so many of the very noblest writers of the Bible to contradict him, no one would be justified in denying that man the right to the title of Jew, who was able to believe in God's supreme justice and love, without the postulate of a future life. But Dr. Ritter in another edition of his book must tell us his position more plainly.

In the ninth chapter, on the Festivals, we tread specifically Jewish ground. It is a successful and interesting section. In the opening paragraph Dr. Ritter shows how a certain amount of criticism may be brought in even to a small schoolbook. Thus he tells us that "the oldest festivals seem originally to have been Nature-festivals, celebrating particular seasons, or the transition from one season to another." So Passover, originally a spring festival, was afterwards connected with the deliverance from Egypt. Whether the command to eat unleavened bread during Passover is still regarded as obligatory by the *Reformgemeinde*, Dr. Ritter does not inform us. He explains that the second name of the Passover, חג המצות, is derived from the outward symbol (*Sinnbild*) of the festival, which consisted in the exclusive use of unleavened bread during the whole of its seven days' course. A far-fetched Midrashic explanation of the symbolism is also added, but not a word as to the propriety of its maintenance or abolition at the present time. The ethical importance of the Day of Memorial and the Day of Atonement are well explained. The various names of the former receive ethical interpretations. Thus יום הדין turns out to be the day of *self*-judgment, the day on which we, vividly calling to mind the judgment of God, are impelled to submit our dispositions and our deeds to a searching examination. Whether "Reformed Jews" have still to fast upon the Atonement Day we are not informed.

Besides the four main festivals, Dr. Ritter recognises three minor ones: Purim, the 9th day of Ab, and Chanukah. Why an unhistorical festival like Purim is linked to two such supremely important events as the destruction of Jerusalem and the victory of the Maccabees is very hard to see. But Dr. Ritter's treatment of the 9th day of Ab is eminently clear, straightforward and satisfactory, and I am glad to quote it in full. The day, he tells us, used to be celebrated with the deepest sorrow so long as the destruction of the Jewish capital and

its temple was regarded as the greatest shock to the stability of the Jewish religion.

We now look back with affectionate piety upon the double destruction of the temple, because the direst sorrows to our ancestors were connected with it; but we recognise that the religious purification of the Jews and their unshaken fidelity to God and his doctrine, were brought about by the captivity at Babylon. And, moreover, we acknowledge that it is only from the final destruction of the temple that Judaism's higher historic mission, now at last freed from every outward support, takes its rise. We are, therefore, grateful to Providence, who has even turned the woes of our dear ancestors into a blessing for their descendants and the world at large.

One of Dr. Ritter's most successful chapters is that on Prayer and Public Worship. The "*Gottesdienst*" of the old Israelites once consisted of sacrifices. But prayer is higher than sacrifice; for in sacrifice a present is offered to a deity who needs no gifts, while prayer has for its object the devotion of our whole will to God. May we in prayer ask God to grant us any particular boon? Dr. Ritter answers with sufficient clearness—no. This is a subject which does indeed contribute to form "the deep gulf" which, according to Professor Delitzsch, separates "the old theology from the new." ("Expositor," January, 1889, p. 51.) But prayer is not destroyed because a belief in miraculous interpositions has passed away. The highest prayer, as Dr. Ritter truly says, is that which in the noble words of a great English teacher "even in extremity of danger or suffering seeks only the fulfilment of God's will."

Rabbi Gamliel was no "rationalist," but even those who must be stigmatised by that curious epithet of reproach may adopt his great aphorism with a complete sincerity. And so our author quotes the noble adage, "Make his will to be thy will, that he may make thy will to be his will," and explains it to mean, that he who has made God's will his, will be able to recognise in the results of God's will the expression of his own.

Dr. Ritter is quite explicit as to the use of the vernacular in all prayer, whether public or private. He is also quite logical.

We say our prayers in our mother tongue (like our ancestors), because the yearnings of the heart and the deepest needs of the soul can only be expressed in our own language. For our ancestors this mother tongue was Hebrew, for us it is the language of that particular fatherland in which we have been born and bred. Only the proclamation of the highest religious truths, the watch-words of Judaism, do we also utter aloud in the tongue of our fathers in which we have received them; this we do to show their origin and our agreement with them, in spite of all the other changes of time. These special watch-words are the confessions of God's unity and holiness; they are our motto, just as Prussians have a Latin motto, *Suum cuique*, though they are Germans.

The three last sections of the *Lehrbuch* suffer from what seems to me unnecessary compression. The vast subjects with which they deal can hardly be touched upon without some resulting unclearness in thirteen small pages. To "Our Religion and

its Development," for instance, are assigned five pages. They begin with the thoroughly prophetic statement that "our religion is destined for all mankind without distinction." Israel was "chosen" by God simply and solely that it might thereby work for the religious well-being of humanity at large. But by "our religion," Dr. Ritter understands only the doctrine of the one, spiritual and holy God, and the recognition of morality as God's immutable law. Israel's hope is that all nations in days to come will accept these two dogmas, but in no wise that they will all conform to the same outward religious forms. (Here it will be noticed that the ordinary orthodox view is at one with the radical reformer's.) Forms, our author tells us, are liable to change, and indeed have also in Israel been subject to change "*von jeher.*" After which remark Dr. Ritter suddenly leaps forward to Moses Mendelssohn. A short but graphic account is given of his reforms, and then in the next paragraph we learn that the reform movement reached its culmination (*Gipfelfunkt*), when in the year 1845 the famous Berlin *Genossenschaft*, after proclaiming its principles in a short and brilliant manifesto, founded the *Reformgemeinde* over which Dr. Ritter now presides.

After quoting the central paragraph of this manifesto, Dr. Ritter proceeds to show what the principles of reform involve. Among its applications are prayer in the vernacular, with uncovered head, "according to the custom of our fatherland," the removal and abandonment of every national and political element, such as the dietary laws, the Tefillin, the "Zizit," etc. Most trenchant application of all, which, I believe, Holdheim himself lived to regret, is the transference of the Sabbath to a day on which its "sanctifying objects and results may be enjoyed by the *whole* community."

This wholesale sacrifice of the national elements in Judaism is a logical deduction from the entirely different conceptions formed by Orthodoxy and Reform respectively as to Israel's future. Orthodoxy believes in a personal Messiah and in a renewal of the national life in Palestine. Reform has abandoned both these articles of faith, and clings only to a belief in the slow but real progress of mankind in knowledge, goodness and pure religion. To contribute its share to this progress is the mission of Israel. And thus our author lays down the doctrine :—

> In olden days Israel's mission consisted in forming a kingdom of God in his own land, rigidly separated and apart from the neighbouring idolators. But now, when heathenism through the ultimate agency of our religion has been overcome, our duty is both larger and different. In close combination with those civilised people among whom God's will has scattered us, we must proclaim and practise his doctrine (*Lehre*) in its most perfect and unsullied purity; we must take an active part in the general purposes of the nations, forming as it were a link of union and connection between them. We must seek to promote the mutual intercourse of peace, and the interchange of social morality. We must prove our fidelity to our religion by that pure

service of man that is given in the love of God, by ready self-sacrifice and devotion for the well-being of mankind. As the Jews in their own land had to wage war against idolatry, so now scattered throughout the earth they must promote the destruction of delusion and error, coarseness and licentiousness, and help forward the universal praise and imitation of God as the only source of justice and of love. (P. 66.)

If, then, this is the religious programme of reformed Judaism, in what relation does it stand to the ancient Scriptures? Does it attempt, like orthodoxy, to find every article of its faith in the Bible? Must the propriety, *e.g.*, of the modern abandonment of the dietary laws be based upon a scriptural passage as orthodoxy finds its dogma of a Divine Oral Law enshrined within the Pentateuch? Again, what views are taken by reformed Judaism as to Inspiration? Is it verbal or general? Is the Pentateuch of Mosaic origin, or is the unanimous verdict of criticism accepted by the Berlin *Reformgemeinde?* All these questions must be honestly met and honestly answered, but Dr. Ritter leaves us in almost entire ignorance of what the youth of reform is to be taught upon these grave issues. All we get from him is a short chapter upon "Miracle and Revelation"—a chapter, which it must candidly be confessed, is far the weakest in the whole book. Dr. Ritter gives the following most strange and unhistorical definition of a miracle.

By the miracles spoken of in the Bible, we understand not any departure from the realms of natural law (*die Sphäre des Naturgemässen*), but the unexpected and startling agreement of earthly fortunes and events with the justice demanded by reason.

On the strength of this definition he implies that the Biblical miracles are to be regarded merely as allegories—poetic veils through which the higher, ethical meaning has to be elicited. And then, as an example, follows an explanation of Joshua's sun and moon miracle, an explanation which cannot bear for a moment the inspection of criticism.

It is really surprising in a book written by the translator of Buckle to come across antiquated rationalism of this kind. Still more unsatisfactory is the treatment of revelation. Indeed, no candid reader will be able to gather whether our author supposes that anything supernatural happened to the Israelites at Sinai or not. Between the lines we may, I fancy, suspect that Dr. Ritter does not believe in the literal truth of the thunders and lightnings and the audible voice of God, but that he does not like to say so. Yet even for young persons the method of evasion is of perilous advantage. To ignore the ethical difficulty in the Second Commandment, or the theoretical difficulty respecting the sanction for the Sabbatical observance in the Fourth (according to the Exodus version) may lead hereafter to a religious revolt far wider than a more honest, though a less usual, method of pedagogic exegesis would probably have caused.

I have spoken the more openly upon what seem to me the

defects in Dr. Ritter's book, because I write not as a foe, but as a friend. Without by any means agreeing with all that Holdheim said, or with all that the Berlin *Reformgemeinde* has done, it is with the movement in which he took so leading a part that I feel the deepest and closest spiritual kinship. And though Dr. Ritter's little book needs here and there correction and amplification, it does present us with the outlines of a simple, pure and Jewish religion. Reformed Judaism is not without its difficulties ; but at all events it builds up its creed upon a less sandy foundation than the authenticity and verbal accuracy of a particular book. The results of Pentateuchal criticism cannot affect it. However difficult, therefore, it may be to fully establish our own position, our orthodox friends and brothers are in that respect, to our thinking, far worse off than ourselves. We do not despair of Judaism, however great may be the modifications that in the inexorable future may lie before it. Not without God's will have been its travailings in our own century. ? הַאֲנִי אַשְׁבִּיר וְלֹא אוֹלִיד יֹאמַר יְיָ.

II.

Professor Cheyne and the Jews.

Professor Cheyne's most useful little book on Jeremiah is worthy of detailed criticism from more than one point of view and for divers reasons. Here, however, I only desire to discuss a single page of it, that namely which deals with the "perennial" and the "greatest" tragedy in Israel's history (p. 100). That tragedy consist in Israel's "ignorant unbelief," in its neglect of "its highest honour and grandest privilege ;" in other words, in its rejection of Jesus, the Messiah. Professor Cheyne invites the reader to consider the few words upon this large subject in his "Jeremiah" in connection with his article "The Jews and the Gospel," in the Expositor for 1885, p. 401-418. (The article is a reproduction of a university sermon on the Jewish Interpretation of Prophecy, preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, on March 15th, 1885). In this essay "the acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah, *either with or without orthodoxy*," (the italics are mine) is declared to be "the only complete remedy for Israel's troubles." Moreover (and here is the point which specially interests the present writer) Reform Judaism is urged to at least complete "its meagre, because predominantly negative" character, by "the recognition of the central importance of the person of Jesus and of the New Testament."

In spite of certain somewhat dubious words in his Jeremiah, I do not for a moment believe that Professor Cheyne is in any kind of sympathy with the miserable and immoral conversionary

efforts of the Christian proselytising societies. To combine the attractiveness of Christianity with the attractiveness of bread and butter, to catch the young and the unwary by all kinds of tempting ambiguities, to match a trained disputant against the guilelessness of a simple faith, all this is so ignoble, so repulsive to our moral sense, so unworthy of a Christian, a scholar and a gentleman, that I am sure that Professor Cheyne is, at bottom, its unmixed antagonist. Professor Cheyne appeals with rational arguments to educated persons, who can both appreciate and discuss them. This is the only form of proselytism which it is fitting for the adherents of one phase of Theism to employ towards the adherents of another.

"With or without orthodoxy" Jews in general, and Reform Jews in particular, are to accept Jesus as the Messiah. Professor Cheyne does not seem to imagine that the possible alternative creates a difficulty. But in truth it does. To begin with, not one Christianity, but many Christianities lie open to our choice. Omitting the minor divisions, are we to become Catholics, Protestants, or Unitarians? Each of these three forms regards itself as the only pure exponent of the Christian religion. Professor Cheyne even suggests a fourth form to our notice, a revival of the old Jewish-Christianity of the first century. Standing as we Jews do outside all these competing phases of the Christian religion, we can see the objections to an adoption of any one of them. Hence we are offered to accept Christianity "*without orthodoxy*." But it is one thing to remain a Christian, though an unorthodox one, and a totally different thing to leave another faith and *become* an unorthodox Christian. Broad Church Christians of different shades are now engaged in endeavouring with varying degrees of success to fashion their own Christianity; are we Jews to join them in their efforts? Surely the invitation is premature. I can perfectly understand how unorthodox Christians, who have been Christians all their lives, can impose new meanings into the old creeds and symbols; but such symbols obviously cannot be offered in any seriousness to those who stand outside as a perfect and satisfying expression of spiritual needs. Incarnation, Resurrection, and Atonement —these dogmas we need only, it is to be presumed, accept in an unorthodox sense. But what power and attractiveness can they have in such a sense to new comers?

Now, if Professor Cheyne means that his proffered unorthodoxy only relates to details, and that we are to accept the dogmas relating to the nature and life of Christ in the form in which an ordinary believer of the Church of England understands them, then, speaking as a Reform Jew, my difficulties are no less grave. For what has been one chief reason why orthodox Jews have become reform Jews? It is precisely the same reason which has induced or compelled orthodox Christians to become unorthodox. We Reform Jews

cannot accept any form of religion which is obliged to take its stand upon miracles (using miracles in the ordinary sense of the word). We cannot accept any form of religion which declares that it is possible for the revelation of God to man to be perfect and complete, or expressed at once for good and all within the pages of a single book. We believe in progressive, not in final revelation. To increase our present Bible by another three hundred pages makes no difference. You may be able to prove (I for one think you can) that this or that particular religious doctrine is more fully taught in the New Testament than in the Old, but you will not thereby make us believe that the limitations and imperfections, which it is the fashion of Christian critics to admit, and even emphasise, in the Old Testament, are wanting in the New. In the sense in which German philosophers use it, Christianity is no more *die absolute Religion* than Judaism: there is no *absolute Religion.*

Without miracle there is no form of Christianity which we Jews can join except Unitarianism. Would Professor Cheyne be satisfied with that? But, even if he were, Jews cannot join the Unitarian body. In the present days of criticism and comparison, Unitarianism, which assumes the *one* Saviour Jesus and the uniqueness and perfection of the New Testament, is quite unacceptable to those who have always been entirely outside any Christian community. I am keenly alive to the justness of Professor Cheyne's strictures upon Reform Judaism. At present it *is* somewhat a "meagre and predominantly negative" religion. I admit, again, that any unprejudiced theist who had never heard of either Judaism or Christianity would set the moral *impression* and the religious greatness of the Gospels far above those of the Pirke Aboth, that excellent but inadequate collection of sayings with which old-fashioned Jewish scholars are always, but vainly attempting to demolish the originality of Christ.[1] But readily as I admit that Luke xxiii. 34 breathes a supreme nobility of mind as compared with Jeremiah xvii. 18, the same limitations which we can detect in Isaiah or Jeremiah are also visible in Jesus. Such passages, *e.g.*, as Matthew iv. 22, x. 15, xii. 27, xix. 9, 24, xxiii. 33 are, for different reasons, incompatible with even our present ideas of perfect wisdom and perfect religion. There is, moreover, no such radical difference between the Old

[1] Admitting this, I deny that "the moral standards of the Jewish community need some rectification." The morality of an ordinary orthodox Jewish pulpit is quite as high and pure as the morality of an ordinary orthodox Christian pulpit. It is possibly even higher, for the doctrine of justification by faith is far more liable to moral perversion than that of justification by works. No Jewish pulpit speaks of the eternal punishment of unbelievers. It is a baseless accusation to say that "Philanthropy, in the widest sense, is a tender plant of Judaism; isolation, and the pride of race and religion, have hindered its development." No evidence is brought forward in support of this cruel allegation.

Testament and the New Testament, between the teachings of all the prophets and wise men, on the one hand, and that of Jesus, on the other, as would justify or explain our adoption of a new religion. German theologians of the school of Graf are wont to emphasise the differences between the Old Testament and the New. They freely use a language of mocking irreverence towards the anthropomorphisms and cruder religious expressions of the older portion of their Bible. In Wellhausen, who is greatly responsible for this ugly fashion, brilliancy, and even genius, cover the gravity of this descent from the language of Ewald. But, in the hands of ordinary clever and industrious German professors, like Stade or Jüllicher, this laborious humour is quite unendurable, and the anti-semitic prejudice which is presumably at the bottom of it all is only too easily and clumsily revealed. Are there no anthropomorphisms and superstitions in the New Testament? What are we to make, *e.g.*, of Matthew iii. 16, iv. 5, viii. 31, xvii. 5? If ever Reform Jews come to admit that among the many men of the Jewish race, upon whom, for the purposes of religion, God's spirit has rested, Jesus of Nazareth was one, if they admit that he more clearly expressed certain doctrines hitherto insufficiently revealed, and that he even added some new doctrines till then unknown, if they ever allow that his life and his death constitute a superb example of purity, devotion, and self-sacrifice to humanity at large, they will not thereby any the more have accepted Jesus as their sole and special Saviour, nor have admitted anything which should compel them to change the time-honoured title of their religion for another and less inclusive name.

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

Jewish Lulab and Portal Coins.— The recent Anglo-Jewish Exhibition has yielded good fruit. It has given the impulse to various publications of great interest for Jewish History, Literature, and Archæology. One of these publications contains a valuable contribution to the study of Jewish Numismatics, written in German by Prof. Graetz, Bedeutung der jüdischen Münzen mit dem Feststrauss und dem Portale ; and rendered into English by Mr. H. Montagu, F.L.A. (On the Jewish "Lulab" and "Portal" Coins.)

It is a strange phenomenon that among the many antiquities unearthed in Palestine, and especially in Jerusalem, no Jewish coin is to be found of the period anterior to the Babylonian exile. We have no direct evidence that coins existed at that period, and the terms *shekel*, *beka*, *gerah*, *agurah*, *kesitah*, etc., indicate, perhaps, weights rather than current coins ; even the phrase "current with the merchant" (Gen. xxiii. 16) may have reference to the correctness of the *shekel* as a weight, and not to the currency of money. The proper Hebrew word for coin, *matbea'*, so frequently met with in Postbiblical literature, does not occur even once in the Bible, neither does the word *taba* in the sense of "impressing," "stamping," although the noun, *tabbaath*, "ring," may derive its origin from the same root. We should, however, go too far if we were to infer from the absence of direct evidence that coins did not exist at that period. Selling and buying was as necessary in olden times as in later periods, and the ancient Israelites probably employed some kind of money in their business transactions.

The impression on Jewish coins was much restricted by the prohibition : "Thou shalt not make unto thee an image or any likeness of that which is in heaven above or which is in the earth beneath, or which is in the waters underneath the earth" (Ex. xx. 20). Whatever may have been the interpretation that this law practically received, it seems certain from the specimens of coins still extant that the impression of figures of living beings was strictly avoided, as these were frequently the object of divine veneration among the surrounding idolatrous nations. Plants, fruits, vessels, parts of buildings, are found represented on Jewish coins. The Hebrew inscriptions were made in ancient Hebrew characters. Although the coins extant belong to the time of the Second Temple and the Second Exile, a period in which the square characters introduced by Ezra were in use among the Jews, the ancient characters were retained for the inscriptions on coins. Why this was done we cannot say for certain. It may be that the intention of Ezra, when transcribing the Law in Babylonian characters, and leaving the ancient characters for ordinary purposes, was *lehabhdil ben kodesh lechol*, "to distinguish between that which is holy and that which is common." It is, however, possible that even at the time of the Maccabees the ancient characters were better known in the country, especially to the Israelites in the North, who had not been carried away into exile.

In some cases the inscriptions inform us of the value of the coin, that it is a *shekel Israel*, or half a shekel, or a quarter, but in many cases no value is mentioned, the value being probably known by the size of the coin. The date is indicated in many of them, but not according to a fixed era. The first, second, or fourth year of the Liberation of Israel,

or Jerusalem, the name of the ruler is likewise mentioned ; but as there were several chiefs of the same name a little confusion and doubt as to the date of the particular coin is inevitable. Thus, the name Simon on certain coins is interpreted by some as referring to Simon I., the son of Gamaliel, the Prince (*Nasi*) ; others refer it to Simon II. ; again others to Simon bar Gioras, the leader of the Zealots, before the destruction of the Temple, or to Bar-Kochba, whose first name is said to have been Simon. The same is the case with the name Elazar, found on some coins. The name may refer to one of the chiefs of the Zealots in the first Jewish war against the Romans, or to a Rabbi Elazar bar Modai, who lived during the second Jewish war against the Romans, in the reign of Hadrian.

There is also a group of coins called "the Lulab coins," which have become a subject of controversy, and are examined in the above-named pamphlet of Prof. Graetz. On the one side of these coins a vessel containing three plants is represented, with a fruit on the left side of the basket. The fruit and these three plants have been identified as those named in Lev. xxiii. 40 : the fruit of the goodly tree, branches of palm trees, boughs of a thick-leaved tree, and willows of the brook, generally called the *arba minim* (the four kinds) or *ethrog* (citron), lulab (branches of the palm-tree), hadassim (myrtles), and *arabhah* (willows). This interpretation is now generally adopted. On the other side of these pieces the type is that of a portal or colonnade ; four columns with an architrave, and other ornamentations above. It looks like a portal, and it has been believed to be the entrance to the Temple (though the Temple had no ornamentation of columns at the entrance), or the representation of the Mausoleum, which Simon Maccabeus caused to be erected in memory of the Asmonean family in Modim, or of the Ark of the Covenant. Prof. Graetz rejects all these views. His own interpretation of the type is certainly ingenious and most plausible. The plants on the one side remind us of the Feast of Tabernacles ; is it not likely that the other side might also represent some characteristic of the same feast, namely, the Sukkah (tabernacle) ? Equally ingenious and plausible is the learned Professor's explanation of the semicircle and lines in the midst of the portal. He identifies them with the ornaments of the Sukkah as described in the Talmud, consisting of ears of corn, dates, nuts, and other kinds of fruit. The types on both sides complement each other in representing the characteristics of the Festival of Tabernacles. These forms may have been chosen for two reasons ; either the coins were struck after a victory gained just before this Festival, or an allegorical representation of God's protection (Sukkah, Lev. xxiii. 43), and Israel's rejoicings (Lulab, *ib.* 40). Prof. Graetz thinks that the impression on these coins was to commemorate a victory gained by the Jews during the first war with the Romans, on the 17th Ellul. (See Megilloth Taanith.) In consequence of this victory the Jews were enabled to go up to Jerusalem in large numbers for the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. It would, however, seem very strange that coins struck for the purpose of commemorating this event, in which the visit to the Temple and the worship therein was of the greatest importance, should contain no reference to the Temple. This omission would rather lead us to assume that these coins were struck after the destruction of the Temple, during the war of Bar-cochba. Prof. Graetz attempts to prove that this was impossible, in a way more ingenious than probable. According to the Mishnah (Sukkah, iii. 8) the rich in Jerusalem bound their lulab (*i.e.*, together with the myrtle and willow branches) with *gimonioth* of gold. These *gimonioth*, he argues, are the very basketshaped orna-

ments in which the plants are placed on the coins. The argument is not convincing. For even if this interpretation of the term *gimonioth* were correct, there is no reason why the rich of Jerusalem should not have continued their practice, after the destruction of the Temple, outside Jerusalem. But it is not at all likely that *gimonioth* denotes, "baskets," as the term "binding" (*ogedin*) does not well apply to baskets. Besides, it would have been very awkward to carry lulabim about in baskets. The rich of Jerusalem more probably ornamented their plants with gold thread or binding. The baskets on the coins are probably the receptacles of the *lulab* when not wanted, and were in use everywhere and at all times. The question, therefore, as to the date of these coins is, in spite of the highly interesting pamphlet of the Jewish Historian not yet decided. Perhaps it is better to leave it an open question, as it may be the cause of further essays, as interesting and learned as the present one, from the pen of Prof. Graetz. M. FRIEDLANDER.

Isaac Jeshurun-Alvares, of London (died in Vienna 1735). In the old cemetery of the Jewish Congregation of Vienna very many lie buried who were lowered into their graves for the second time when Ludwig August Frankl busied himself with publishing the epitaphs of the graveyard in his *Inschriften*. Thanks, however, to the intelligent piety of the Viennese authorities, the Archives of the Congregation have preserved the MS. in which S. G. Stern entered the account of the inscriptions which he deciphered. To my no little surprise, I there discovered for the first time the cemetery of those epitaphs that Frankl had overlooked. For in the hasty endeavour to arrange chronologically for the press the epitaphs which Stern had deciphered without regard to sequence, many were omitted; it was as when a wanton hand, commissioned with the duty of emptying a vessel full of precious liquid, carelessly jerks out the contents, reckless how much is spilt in the process. In this hitherto unknown cemetery, which I painfully enough was able to restore by means of comparison, I also found the name of the man who deserves a record among the members of the London Sephardic Congregation of the first quarter of the last century.

The epitaph, numbered by Stern 91, and provided with the superscription:

מצבת ר׳ יעקב אלבארים ישרון מעיר לונדן משפחה מיוחסת בישראל

runs as follows:—

פט

הספרדי יעקב בן הר״ר יצחק ישורן אלבארים מלונדין

סו פדים ומקוננים שאו קינה, על יעקב אשר יצא ממדינת בריט׳ניא, לגור ולהשתקע בווי״נא, והאלהי׳ אנה להביאו לקברו מוכנה, להשיב העפר אל הארץ תחתונה, ונשמתו לאשר נתנה, פקודתו שמרה רוחו בתוך נדנה, להשלימה בקדושה לקונה, להנות מזיו השכינה, ולעמוד בתחיי״ תוך עדת מי מנה, נפטר בשבת קדש ונקבר ביום א טית אייר ת״צ״ה לפ״ק

ת״נ״צ״ב״ה

Here lies

the Sephardi Jacob ben Isaac Jeshurun-Alvares,[1] of London.

Ye mourners and wailers, raise an elegy for Jacob, who went forth from

[1] Concerning the martyr Simon Alvares in Coimbra, see Kayserling's *History of the Jews in Portugal*, pp. 239 *seq.*; for the martyr Isabel Nunes Alvares, see *Sephardim*, p. 203.

the Land of Britain to sojourn and remain in Vienna. But God purposed to bring him to the grave prepared for him ; to restore the dust to the earth beneath, and his soul to the one who gave it, the one whose commands his soul obeyed while in its bodily sheath, to return it in holiness to its Creator, to enjoy the dazzling light of the Divine Presence, and to stand in the midst of the countless numbers of Israel. He died on the holy Sabbath-day, and was buried on Sunday, the 9th of Iyar, 495 [= 1735].

"May his soul be bound in the bond of life."

It may be possible in London to assign the position in the famous Jeshurun family of Isaac Jeshurun-Alvares, who was perhaps attracted to Austria by the most influential Sephardic Jew of Vienna, Diego di Aguilar. I will only show, by a few references, the wide diffusion of this family in Italy and Holland, and indirectly in England and Germany.

The name Isaac was a favourite in the family through the Martyr of Ragusa, who in the autumn of 1622 was taken prisoner on a false "Blood" accusation, and languished in captivity for two years and eight months. During this period the only variation in his lot was caused by his nameless tortures and sufferings, to endure which seemed to demand an almost superhuman fortitude. Aaron Cohen[1] glorified, in prose and in verse, the martyrdom of the man who in the end was honourably freed from suspicion. No less a one than Manasseh ben Israel cites him in his *Redemption of Israel*, and in his Address to Cromwell. To Manasseh we also owe the information that Joseph Jeshurun, of Hamburg, was the brother of the martyr. Here also lived at the same period, as Chacham, that Jeshurun, the son of Abraham Chayyim, who showed his Talmudic learning in the index to the Documents of the *Responsa* literature, which was in the possession of Spinoza.[2]

Concerning the Jeshurun of Venice, I have some information from the autograph letters and poems of Moses Zacuto, which I possess. In the second half of the seventeenth century he celebrated in song the wedding of a daughter of Joshua Jeshurun (55[a]), a director of the Talmudic Society *Kinyan Torah*, with Moses Jeshurun (55[b]), and the betrothal of Abraham ben Aaron Jeshurun (61[a]), as well as that of Esther, daughter of David Jeshurun.

Richer information concerning the fortunes of this family meets us in Holland. De Castro's *Keur van Grafsteenen* alone contains a large number of names and representatives of this family. In the interval between 1620-1629, we find from the register of the Cemetery of Ouderkert on the Amstel, that Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Emanuel, David, Jacob, Raphael Jeshurun, who had to bewail the visitation of death in their family, belonged at the same time to the heads of families of the Amsterdam congregation (p. 23-31). To distinguish the branches of the family who bore identical names, the name of the mother's family is added to that of Jeshurun. This practice was common with the Sephardim, and may be seen in the case of the Isaac Jeshurun-Alvares, whose name heads this notice. Rehuel Jeshurun appears already in 1620-1 among the managers of the cemetery as representative of the congregation Beth Jacob ; 1625-6, Abraham ; 1627-8, Eleazar Jeshurun Ribeiro ;

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[1] מעשה ישורון following שמן הטוב and זקן אהרן (Venice, 1657) ; printed in Warnheim's קבוצות חכמים, pp. 93-9, but without the poems.

[2] See concerning פנים חדשות my remark to Servaas Van Rooijen, *La Bibliothèque de Bénédict Spinoza*, p. 170, cf. Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 314.

between 1619-30, David Jeshurun[1] appears as representative of the congregation Beth Israel (p. 38). In 1752 Isaac Jeshurun Lobo appears in the same capacity; in 1768 Israel ben Jacob; and in 1778 yet another Isaac Jeshurun (p. 39). DAVID KAUFMANN.

A Conjecture on Job vi. 4.—In the last part of this verse the Massoretic text reads : בְּעוּתֵי אֱלוֹהַּ יַעַרְכוּנִי. By the greater number both of ancient and modern commentators these words have been rendered, "the terrors of God do set themselves in array against me." They assume that the verb עָרַךְ can be poetically construed with the direct accusative of the person. If so, Job vi. 4 would be the only example of such a use, and consequently Bickell (*Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrice*, p. 153), seems justified in saying, "Verbum *arakh* in significatione instruendi aciem cum accusativo hostis construi nequit." Bickell, however, induced by his theory of Hebrew metre, adds here (as in very many other passages), words which are not found in the text. The LXX. has a very different interpretation. It translates ὅταν ἄρξωμαι λαλεῖν, κεντοῦσί με. The first part of this reading need not be here considered, because in the Massoretic text the words בעותי אלוה offer no difficulty. But the word κεντοῦσι, with which the LXX. translates the Hebrew עָרַךְ, is worthy of note. Merx, indeed, has accepted the LXX. verb, and substituted יַעַרְקוּנִי for יַעַרְכוּנִי. The verb ערק signifies *rodere*, *consumere*, and would give an acceptable meaning—"The terrors of God make me waste away." But it seems to me that a better sense can be obtained by the slight change of the Massoretic text into יַעַבְרוּנִי from the verb עבר *conturbare*. We then get a much more vivid and poetical image : "The terrors of God confound me." This conjecture only consists in the transposition of two letters, and it is strongly supported by the Peshito, which reads : ובעתה דאלהא סרדתני, "Et terror Dei me perterruit." The Syriac verb סרר, in the Pael form, can be most properly rendered in Hebrew by עבר, but certainly not by ערך.

D. CASTELLI.

When did the Jews first settle in England?—I observe that in the *English Historical Review* (October, 1888), Dr. Neubauer takes me to task for stating in my lecture on the London Jewry, that the Jews came over to this country with the Conqueror. He quotes Theod. *Pœnitentialis*, and the Laws of Edward the Confessor, as proving that Jews lived here before the conquest. I need scarcely say I was fully aware of the existence of these passages which were duly noted and briefly abstracted in the Bibliography of Anglo-Jewish history, drawn up by Mr. L. Wolf and myself for the Committee of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition (No. 3, *Ancient Laws*). But I advisedly disregarded the inference which previous inquirers had drawn from these passages, and Dr. Neubauer now endorses. As the point is of some interest and importance, and can be made to lead up to a novel aspect of a well-known episode in early English history, I should like to put at length the reasons of my position.

It will be necessary to have before us the short titles of the laws referred to. I may, therefore, repeat the entries given in the *Bibl. Anglo-Judaica*, numbering them for convenience of reference.

[1] Kayserling, 177 *seq.*

Anglo-Saxon Laws—

(1.) All Jews under king's protection.—*Edw. Conf.*, c. xxv.

Monumenta Ecclesiastica—

(2.) If a Christian woman fornicate with Jews or Pagans.—*Th. P.*, xvi. 35.

(3.) If any one celebrate Passover with the Jews.—*Th. P.*, xxx. 4.

(4.) If any Christian accept unleavened bread or any food or drink from Jews.—*Th. P.*, xli. 1.

(5 and 6.) If any Christian sell another to Jews.—*Ibid.*, 3, *Ecg. E.* 150.

(7.) Mass not to be celebrated where Jews or Pagans are buried.—*Th. P.*, xlvii. 1.

(8.) That no Christian turn Jew.—*Ecg. E.*, 147, 150.

Now as regards (1), the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor were really drawn up by William the Conqueror, and, therefore, cannot be quoted for the condition of affairs before his time. The exact date is 1069 (Cf. G. Masson, *Dawn of French Lit.*, p. 125). And with regard to the particular clause relating to the Jews, there is great probability that it is an interpolation *temp.* Henry II. Sir Henry Spelman distinctly notes this in his edition of the Laws, and Selden omits it, for the same reason, in his notes on Ædmer. (See Webb, *The Question*, &c., pp. 30-3, and Appendix No. 23, where the point is fully discussed). In the little book on the Jews in Early England, which I am preparing for Mr. York-Powell's series "English History from Contemporary Sources," I have accordingly placed the law under the reign of the second Henry.

There remain only the ecclesiastical provisions. Now of these (3) and probably (4) do not refer to Jews personally, but rather to Jewish practices about Easter, on which there was a burning quarrel in the mediæval Church, whether Easter should be held on the same day as the Jewish Passover or not. (See Appendix V. to Mayor and Lumby's edition of Bede.) With reference to this, Bede calls the dissenting parties "Judaisers" (*ibid.*, p. 72). And the other provisions may have only been copied into the ecclesiastical code from similar Continental collections. This is especially mentioned as regards (8), which is headed "A Laodicean Canon." All the outside evidence, positive and negative, is against these provisions being directed against Jewish residents in Anglo-Saxon England. There is no reference to Jews in Bede or in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (till 1144). The rich collection of charters in the six volumes of Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* has not a single reference to Jews. The only charter of Anglo-Saxon times which does refer to them is contained in Ingulph's *Chronicle of Croyland* (p. 9, ed. Gale), now recognised to be a forgery. And the positive evidence of the late settlement is equally conclusive. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta*, ed. Hardy, p. 500), says: "The Jews who dwelt in London whom his [Rufus'] father had brought from Rouen." Fuller dates their advent in Cambridge in 1073 (*History of Cambridge*, p. 8). Anthony à Wood fixes their arrival in Oxford definitely at 9 William I. (1075, ed. Gutch, i. 129). There is only a single reference to a Jew in Domesday, if the Manasses mentioned in the Oxford survey is a Jew. Altogether, everything combines to justify William of Malmesbury's statement, and to confirm my dating the first settlement of the Jews in London, and therefore in England, at about 1070, notwithstanding the isolated and only apparently conflicting evidence of the ecclesiastical provisions.

For when examined closely, these do not necessarily apply to Jewish residents in England, even if they were intended for actual application at all. Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 would equally apply to passing visitors, and, above all, to slave merchants, and I am inclined to think actually did so apply.

For if we reflect on the economic conditions of England in Anglo-Saxon times, there was no room in the national economy for persons like Jews, who could not join the guilds, and had no scope for usury in a country living almost entirely by barter (Ashley, *English Commentary*, I. i., c. i. § 6, p. 43). The chief export of England consisted of slaves (*ibid.*, p. 70), and we know that the Jews were the great dealers in this class of commodity. It is accordingly significant that in the later code of Ecgberht, (c. A.D. 760), the only two provisions about Jews (6 and 8) dealt with their purchase of slaves, and their proselytising zeal, which we know applied to their slaves—a trait of some interest, as it implies a humane interest in their human chattels. Altogether, therefore, I am inclined to refer the ecclesiastical ordinances to passing intercourse with Gallo-Jewish slave-dealers, and not to any permanent Jewish population of England before the Conquest.

I would bring this conclusion into connection with a famous episode in our annals. Every one remembers the incident at the market-place of Rome, which led to the Christianising of England, and brought it into the European concert. Now we find the very same Gregory, when he became Pope, complaining of the sale of Christian slaves to Jewish slave-dealers in the north of Gaul (*Epistolæ*, ix. 35, 109, 110), and it requires very little stretch of imagination to suppose that they likewise crossed the Channel. Remembering that slaves have no nationality, I would therefore suggest that if Gregory had stated the prosaic fact in his world-famous remarks about the chubby, blond-haired lads exposed for sale on the Roman slave-market, he would have said, "*Non Angli nec angeli sed —Judæorum servi.*" JOSEPH JACOBS.

Shanah.—In his interesting article on "The New Year and its Liturgy" in the first number of *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Mr. M. Friedmann states that the substantive *shanah* "year," is derived from *shanah*, "to repeat." Enough is now known of Semitic phonetics, however, to enable us to say with certainty that *shanah* "year" is derived from a stem *shanah*, which means "to change," while שנים, "two," is derived from *shanah*, "to repeat." A study of the corresponding Aramæan forms, not to speak of other cognate languages, makes this point clear. (Compare *Hebraica*, vol. I., p. 220.) CYRUS ADLER.

Tobit's Dog.—The Greek version of the Apocrypha states that when Tobiah was on his journey to Rages, the "young man's dog" went with him. But the dog was not regarded among Eastern peoples with feelings of affection. It seems, therefore, highly improbable that Tobiah was actually accompanied by a dog. The Hebrew and Chaldee versions of the text entirely omit the dog incident. Can its presence in the Greek version be accounted for? Now, the original language of the Book of Tobit was, despite Prof. Nöldeke's opinion to the contrary, probably Hebrew or Chaldee. This supplies the clue to our difficulty. Tobiah was directed by Raphael to extract the heart of the fish that he caught, as well as (the liver and) the gall. It was *the heart* (הלב), and not *a dog* כלב) that the young man took with him. My suggestion relies on a very simple mis-reading. The word הלב occurs several times in this part of the narrative, and a careless copyist might easily have made the slip I suppose to have occurred. I. A.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1889.

THE STUDY OF THE TALMUD IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

At the close of the period of the Geonim, Jewish literature in its various branches found a congenial home in Spain. Transplanted from Babylon to the Peninsula, it ripened there, and produced noble fruit. Among other pursuits, several scholars set themselves the task of codifying the Jewish Law. Their aim in this work was twofold; first, to set the study of the Talmud free from the casuistic pilpul; and, secondly, to obtain clear and definite decisions (Halacha) requisite for the needs of practical life. To secure right conduct, they justly considered, is the purpose of the Talmud; its controversies are, therefore, at best, not an end, but only means to an end. And indeed the majority of these discussions can only be regarded as ornamental appendages to the Torah. Even in Babylon many urged that the debates recorded in the Talmud had no interest for them, and that definite Halacha was what they needed. Their demands received attention. Some of the greatest scholars in Babylon compiled Digests of Jewish Law, *e.g.*, *Halachot Gedoloth*, *Halachot Pesukoth*. In the eleventh century, when Jewish studies were already firmly established in Spain, this short and straight road became the main thoroughfare for scholars. Some wrote digests of the rules relating to some particular side of practical religious life. To this class of works belongs the הלכתא גברתא of R. Samuel ha-Nagid of Cordova, the Halachot of R. Isaac ben Judah ibn Giat, the *Book of the Seasons*, of R. Judah ben Barzillai of Barcelona. Others simply compiled the substance of

the accepted Talmudic teaching, retaining the original phraseology. The most notable example of this form of literary activity is the Hilchot R. Yitzchak Alfasi. These methods came into use because they answered to the needs of the times. The publication of Alfasi's work was hailed with delight as offering a relief from the burden of the Pilpul. Many eminent scholars of that period made it their business to render it as complete and correct as possible. Especially deserving of credit for their labours in this direction are the Talmudists of Provençe. R. Meshullam ben Moses of Bèdres includes in his *Supplement* halachot omitted by Alfasi, and replies to the hostile criticisms on that author's work. Others, like Jonathan ben David Cohen of Lunel, and Isaac Abamari of Marseilles, the author of *Ha-ittur*, wrote commentaries on it. Others again, as, for example, R. Ephraim, Alfasi's pupil, R. Zerachia Halevi, author of the *Maor*, and R. Abraham ben David of Pasquières, furnished it with glosses and critical notes. It must not be supposed that any of those scholars who supplemented, elucidated or criticised Alfasi's work, had the least intention of destroying or diminishing its authority. Their motive was a thoroughly praiseworthy one. It was just because they ungrudingly recognised its importance that they so zealously laboured to correct its errors, and supply its deficiencies.

This tendency to curtail the Talmud and extract its essence reached its highest stage of development in Maimonides. With the object of facilitating and popularising the study of the Law, he resolved to collect all its precepts, and present them in a clear and concise form, eschewing discursive and prolix discussions. He unreservedly declared, in his Treatise on the Resurrection, that if the whole Talmud could have been condensed within the limits of one chapter, he would not have taken up two. Maimonides, always open and straightforward, fearlessly stated that his object in writing a Compendium of the Oral Law was to put on one side everything extraneous to the Halacha. For of what use, he asked, in his letter to Aknin, are Rabbinical discussions, controversies, questions, answers, and subtle distinctions to those who wish to learn their practical duties? These discussions, he thought, were not merely superfluous, but prejudicial.

Pilpulim were, in his opinion, a waste of time. He thoroughly appreciated the fact that it was not everyone who could obtain a knowledge of the requirements of our religion by a study of the Talmud, the method and style of which are too difficult for the generality of readers. The writings of the Geonim, again, were not entirely satisfactory. In his time they were

not yet fully understood, and were but ill-suited for purposes of instruction in the definite Halacha. All these considerations induced him to compile a work, clearly exhibiting the results of the Oral Law; a work which should serve, in the first place, as a text book to be studied without controversy; and, in the second, as a book of reference for those whose office required them to give legal decisions, or who wished to ascertain the law on any subject for themselves. It was to present, in a ready and convenient form, all legal details, and thus render all other works superfluous.

Maimonides' admirable work caused a great stir on its first appearance. It was eagerly and universally studied. Nor did it lack detractors. If hostile critics found fault with its author for omitting to mention the authorities whence he drew his results, they too, however, admitted its important and unprecedented character. If hostile criticism confessed so much, the encomiums of its admirers may be imagined. Most of the Rabbis in Africa and Spain regarded it as the quintessence of the Torah. They studied it, taught from it, felt that it emancipated them from the bondage of pilpul. The author had written to his favourite disciple that he had composed the book, in the first instance, for his own private use, to save himself the trouble of continual researches into the same subjects. He thus hoped to gain the leisure he needed for philosophical studies, which, he thought, would lead him to a knowledge of God and his attributes, the summit of all knowledge. Similar considerations earned for Maimonides the gratitude of his contemporaries. Hispano-Jewish scholars cherished the same interest in secular as in Jewish studies. Linguistics, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy were sedulously cultivated by them. With all these pursuits we can quite understand how they lost, in a large measure, their taste for casuistry. They desired to be relieved from Talmudical disquisitions in order to fulfil their many other intellectual obligations.

In Germany and France, however, a different state of things had always prevailed. Instead of condensing the Talmud, and extracting its essence of Halacha, divested of casuistic wrappage, the French and German scholars added to its already unwieldy bulk a mass of new discussions. For the Talmud was to them the highest and most comprehensive of sciences; its folios contained, they thought, all that was worth knowing. The reason is obvious. Apart from the Talmud, they had absolutely no intellectual occupation. Their surroundings were different from those of their brethren in the Peninsula. There the general community felt an in-

terest in science, which the Jews shared. The inhabitants of France and Germany, on the other hand, were at that time totally ignorant. Their Hebrew fellow-citizens had thus no impulse from without to cultivate secular subjects. Even Hebrew and its grammar were studied scientifically but by few. R. Machir composed a work on Hebrew Roots, called the "Alphabet of R. Machir," often quoted by Rashi; R. Menachem ben Chelbo wrote an exegetical commentary on the Pentateuch, to which Rashi frequently appeals in support of his explanations. Jacob ben Yakar, the aged teacher of Rashi, whom the latter described as his "master in Scripture and Gemara" (Pesachim 111a), seems also to have studied literal Biblical exegesis. Rashi's commentaries often mention R. Joseph Karo, and Rashbam calls him "our colleague." Before Rashi's time, however, we find neither in France nor in Germany any literal expositor of the Scriptures. Rashbam (on Genesis xxxvii. 1) indeed expressly says, "Our predecessors in their piety cultivated Homiletical expositions, and were never trained to search out the real meaning of the text." Rashi also indulges in Hagadic exegesis; but still a large portion of his commentary is scientific, and in accordance with the spirit of the Hebrew language. His method of literal exposition was followed by his grandsons, Rashbam and Rabbenu Tam, unrivalled in France and Germany for their scholarship. The Poetanim may be here omitted, as most of them did not write in accordance with the rules of Hebrew grammar. There was thus an absolute difference between the Spanish style of Talmudic study and that in vogue in the north. The whole range of the early literature of France and Germany does not exhibit the least tone of a desire to systematise Jewish science. It does not contain a single work which aims at the concise statement of the laws that govern Jewish life. All the writings of this school which deal with legal decisions are full of discussions and distinctions, and are bulkier than the Talmud itself. The compilations of R. Asher and Mordecai are apt examples. It is a remarkable and striking fact that at the beginning of the twelfth century a new tendency already showed itself in Spain. Profound and brilliant scholars, steeped in the general culture of their age and country drew, nevertheless, their inspiration in Talmud from the French school, whose method almost entirely superseded that hitherto current. Before the period of Maimonides the literary productions of the northern school were comparatively unknown to Jews of Spain and the East. R. Abraham ben David's *Book of Tradition* contains no mention of Rashi. R. Tam, Rashi's grandson, is indeed named;

but he, too, was known to the writer only by report. That Tosafist's fame was due perhaps to his intimate relations with Provençal and Spanish scholars. Abraham Ibn Ezra, for one, admired him immensely for his Talmudical erudition and general attainments. But the French method gradually gained a footing in Spain, where it found appreciative admirers. Two circumstances contributed to this recognition. The first is to be found in the leading part which the French scholars took from the beginning in the controversy that raged about Maimonides' writings. Their extensive and profound attainments, particularly in Talmud, and their distinguished piety, attracted a throng of Spanish students to their colleges to receive instruction from their lips, and induced many others to read their books. It must, in the second place, be remembered that the period was one of persecution in France as well as in Germany. Many Jewish scholars fled from those countries, and carried their learning and methods of study with them. During the first Crusade we read already of an eminent scholar, Perigors, who left France, settled in Cordova, and became the teacher of R. Isaac ben Baruch Ibn Albalia, a contemporary of Isaac Alfasi. He was followed at intervals by other learned men. Numerous persecutions took place in the thirteenth century, both in France and Germany, particularly about the year 1301, the date of the expulsion of the Jews from the former country. It was at this time that R. Ashur ben Yechiel was forced, on account of some charge, to flee from Germany to Spain, where he settled in Toledo. During this persecution possibly R. Moses de Leon left France, and took up his residence in Spain. The line of communication by which the French method of study entered Spain was Provençe, which lies between the two countries. The Provençal scholars were celebrated long before the time of Maimonides. They accepted, developed, and helped to disseminate the French method. Of these it is enough to mention the following:—Zerachia Halevi of Lunel, author of *Hameoroth*, who continually quotes and discusses Rashi's comments, occasionally also those of R. Tam; Abraham ben David, of Pasquières, celebrated for his strictures on Maimonides, habitually uses Rashi, whom he terms the French Rabbi; in his commentary to the *Sifra* he mentions also the new French scholars, the first Tosafists; his father-in-law, Abraham ben David, the ecclesiastical chief of Narbonne and author of "Eschol," quotes the French Rabbis in many places. So, by degrees, their system spread in Provençe, and thence found its way into Spain. In the generation after Maimonides most of the Spanish scholars had familiarised themselves with

and adopted it, and may already be regarded as the products of cross influences.

Maimonides' expectations were thus disappointed. When zealots disparaged and attacked his work, he consoled himself, in a letter to Aknin, with the hope that in the next age, when envy and the lust of supremacy would no longer warp men's judgment, it would be universally accepted as the sole guide, and all other writings in the same branch of literature would occupy the attention only of those who have nothing else to do with their time. This confident expectation was not realised. Hatred and jealousy had, in the next generations, already died, but there were still many who took delight in what he had condemned as a waste of time. One half of his prediction, however, came true. Israel acknowledged, as he had anticipated, the value of his work. But the rest of his hope—that his compilation would efface all other halachic literature—was falsified by events. The method of the French scholars continued to flourish, and became popular in Spain itself. Maimonides' Digest, intended by its author to check discussion, furnished food for fresh controversies. No book has called forth more casuistry than the *Yad ha-chazakah* itself.

Towards the close of the twelfth and the commencement of the thirteenth centuries, Judæo-Spanish thought experienced a complete transformation. Foreign elements were taken up in the science of religion. In the fields of religious philosophy the seeds of Cabbala were sown. And among the groves of Talmudic science, planted by former generations of Spanish scholars, offshoots of French Pilpul were set. The first to accept the French system of study was R. Moses ben Nachman (1195-1270). His first teacher was a celebrated Talmudist—R. Jehuda—whose parentage and birthplace are both unknown. He himself tells us, however, that he was a pupil of R. Isaac b. Abraham, a brother of R. Simson of Sens,[1] and, therefore, most probably also a Frenchman. Nachmanides' second teacher was R. Ezra, certainly a native of France.[2] In several of his writings Nachmanides' quotes the early Tosafists, discusses

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[1] Vide Collectanea on *Pesachim*, 117.

[2] References to R. Ezra will be found in *Tosafoth Baba Bathra* 28*a*, and to R. Ezra ha-nabi in *Tosafoth Gittin* 88*a*, and *Tosafoth Shevuoth* 25*a*. The context in Gittin, where R. Jehuda refutes R. Ezra's explanation, clearly shows that R. Ezra ha-nabi of this Tosafoth is not identical with R. Ezra, teacher of R. Jehudah. R. Azriel is also frequently mentioned in Tosafoth, and must, apparently, have lived long before Nachmanides. R. Ezra and R. Azriel, who, according to Recanate Commentary on the Pentateuch נ"שא ד', were Nachmanides' teachers, were not the Tosafists of those names. As far as I know, they are not mentioned in Nachmanides' Talmudical writings.

their explanations, and speaks of them with great reverence. Once he says,[1] "The French sages have gained over the majority to their views. They are our teachers, who elucidate all obscurities." These terms sufficiently indicate the high esteem in which he held the French masters, to whom he awarded the palm over all their contemporaries, and to whom he thought everything in the law was plain. In another passage,[2] where he congratulates himself on his explanation of a passage in the Gemara, he writes, "I do not believe that any one has ever explained it in this way, unless it be one of those who know everything and teach everything." Again, "It is impossible that the French scholars, thoroughly versed as they are in Halacha, should not already have said this." This unqualified praise he did not accord indiscriminately to all the French scholars. He knew well enough that the modern representatives of that school, who pushed Pilpul to the verge of absurdity, were not to be put in the same category with their predecessors. Of them he said that "They try to force an elephant to pass through the eye of a needle."[3]

Nachmanides was modest in the extreme. In the letter which he sent to his son from Jerusalem he exhorts him especially to cultivate humility, "the noblest of all virtues." An examination of his methods in Jewish studies and of the judgments he pronounced exhibits his deep reverence for the earlier authorities, and his dread of dissenting from their views, even when he felt sure they were wrong. Once, it is said, he expressed himself in the following terms: "Though this is not quite clear, yet we shall bow unquestioningly to the judgment of our predecessors."[4] This extreme deference led to the complete suppression of his own independent views —supported though they might be by sound arguments—in cases where earlier Rabbis, and especially the Geonim, had pronounced a decision, even if no other authorities agreed with them. According to him, "any practice introduced by the Geonim was inviolable."[5] The same sentiment made him their consistent defender and champion. Yet, without prejudice to our appreciation of Nachmanides' noble virtues, his profound Jewish lore and brilliant secular attainments, we cannot but assert that this blind devotion to his predecessors was a defect. It forced him, sometimes, out of the path of strict truth. His

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[1] Introduction to the Treatise on דיני דגרמי.
[2] Collectanea on *Berachot*, 50a.
[3] *Chidushin Jebamot*, 20b.
[4] *Asifat Zekenim* on Chethuboth, quoting Shilté Ha-giborun.
[5] Collectanea on *Megilla*, 21b.

first attempt in the character of an apologist was the *Wars of the Lord*, an answer to Zerachia Ha-levi's criticisms on Alfasi. His arguments in this work are often specious, and will, in many parts, not commend themselves to impartial readers. In his introduction he confesses as much: "Though we do not conceal the difficulties and perplexities of the work, still we shall ever defend our great teacher's (Alfasi's) words, even when we are conscious that they are not in entire accord with the plain meaning of the Talmud." In his old age he attacked Maimonides' *Book of the Commandments* because its enumeration of precepts was different to that given in the *Halachot Gedolot*. He tells us in the preface to his Criticism that, throughout his life, he consistently defended the earlier Rabbis, and that his only desire was to establish their authority. This kind of defence, indeed, is "vigorous and rigorous," but not very favourable to impartiality.

It is very difficult, however, to reconcile Nachmanides' modesty with the tone of many of his criticisms. His own productions he frequently praises, and dwells most emphatically on their excellence and truth. Innumerable are the explanations which he thus seals with his own approval. This weakness, common to many Jewish authors, particularly of the later school, and from which all Nachmanides' modesty could not save him, seems hardly consistent with true humility. It is very strange, too, that Nachmanides does not scruple to blame others for this literary vice, of which he was himself so guilty. He quotes, for instance, a boast of R. Abraham ben David that he had never been anticipated in a certain explanation, and sarcastically comments, "The explanation is from Rashi. All that the author adds is the self-praise."[1] And here we come upon the second fault in Nachmanides' character. With all his modesty and piety he could not refrain from using the weapons of sarcasm and denunciation, a sure sign of intolerance against his opponents. Some passages of his rejoinder to the criticisms of the *Maor* are very cruel. We are not aware that this bitterness of tone was at all called for. He himself has frequently to admit that his adversary was right; and in many places, where he attempts a refutation, he is fully aware of the weakness of his argument, and that its sole justification is the desire to defend Alfasi. He himself acknowledges that his work contains numerous expositions of Talmudic passages which are far from giving the true sense, and are propounded because they are convenient for his purpose.

[1] Collectanea on *Berachot*, 50.

Violence of criticism is yet more marked in his controversies with Ibn Ezra. A work of Nachmanides which gained him lasting fame is his Commentary on the Pentateuch. It appears, however, that, among the motives which induced him to undertake it a spirit of rivalry and antagonism towards Ibn Ezra was prominent. His expositions of the Bible had already in Nachmanides' time obtained for its author a high place in literature, both in France and in Spain. R. Tam, of the former country, corresponded with Ibn Ezra, addressing him as his friend, and once wrote to him in the following terms: "I am a slave of Abraham [Ibn Ezra], unto him I do homage." Maimonides also valued Ibn Ezra's writings, and in a letter to his son, says: "Abraham Ibn Ezra's lucidity is like that of the Patriarch, his namesake." Ibn Ezra's commentaries were extremely popular. But certain of his explanations show a disregard to tradition, and on that account displeased the pious Nachmanides, who resolved to discount them and neutralise their effect by a rival commentary. In his preface he remarks: "With Ibn Ezra we shall have an open quarrel, though we entertain for him a secret liking." Of the secret liking there is little evidence, but enough, and too much, of the open quarrel. Nachmanides adds sometimes to his criticism remarks that are highly unbecoming. What can, for instance, be more offensive than the following: "Molten gold should have been poured down his throat." The heinous crime that Ibn Ezra had committed, and which deserved such a dreadful punishment was only this—that he had rejected a Hagadistic and irrational explanation! It must be noted that Nachmanides himself does not accept the explanation, and takes refuge, in his embarrassment, in the mysteries of the Cabbala, the foundation, according to him, of the Torah.[1] And so he repeatedly pours contempt and ridicule on Ibn Ezra.[2]

For Maimonides, indeed, he did not merely *profess* friendship, but cherished a real love. In an Epistle to the French Rabbis he warmly defended that great luminary against the detractors who had impugned his orthodoxy and disparaged

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[1] Commentary on פ' ויגש.

[2] In his commentary to פ' חיי שרה Nachmanides says: "This man boasts of his secrets; may he be stricken dumb, and no longer be able to deride our sages' words." In פ' בשלח Ibn Ezra suggests that the phrase זכרון בספר (Ex. xvii. 14) refers to the "Book of the Wars of the Lord." Nachmanides thereupon comments: "These words are nothing but a pretext." When discussing the meaning of Azazel, he ironically exclaims, "R. Abraham is a faithful confidant, who closely guards the secret. I shall act the talebearer, and reveal it." At the end of בחוקותי he warns the reader not to be misled by Ibn Ezra's sophisms.

his scholarship. Yet he, too, suffered more than once from Nachmanides' unmeasured strictures. In his Commentary (Gen. xviii.) he quotes Maimonides' *Guide*, and adds, "This contradicts the Scripture; it must not be believed." On the text (Gen. iv. 3), "And Cain brought an offering," etc., he concludes his remarks with the sentence, "This will close the mouths of those who astound us with the reasons they give for sacrifices." The allusion here is, of course, to Maimonides. As already remarked, the tendency to invective was a radical fault in Nachmanides, too strongly rooted in his nature to be overcome by his humility.

When we come to examine Nachmanides' own character and career, he strikes us as a mass of contradictions. Now he figures as a zealous, fearless, and impartial controversialist; and again, as a partisan of the early authorities. He appreciates and eulogises scientific speculation, while he is, at the same time, a devotee of the Cabbala, the spirit of which is antagonistic to science. A literal expositor of the Scriptures, he is devoted to homiletics and allegory, and expounds texts in the spirit of hagada and mysticism. These inconsistencies become intelligible when we contrast his intellectual character with that of Maimonides. R. Moses ben Nachman, unlike R. Moses ben Maimon, had no fixed rule to guide him in his study of Judaism. The latter's researches clearly exhibit one sure principle, which may be expressed as follows: In practical religion every law and custom must be respected for which a reliable tradition exists; in dogma whatever is confirmed by common sense and consistent with reason should be accepted. But anything that science rejects, reason fails to support, and is destitute of traditional proof, is not entitled to our credence. Even if it be found in the Talmud, it may be regarded as the isolated opinion of an individual. This, however, is not the view of Nachmanides. His timorous faith and simple piety would not permit him to reject anything that the early authorities had said. The very fact of their having said it was, in his eyes, a sufficient ground for its acceptance. And thus, though he liked literal exegesis, he by no means neglected Midrash, which, he thought, contains the germ of tradition. Speaking of Nimrod, he animadverts on Ibn Ezra's literal interpretation of the phrase "a mighty hunter" after the following fashion: "His views do not commend themselves. They are a justification of wicked men. Our Rabbis had a tradition that Nimrod was wicked, and that the phrase 'a mighty hunter' means a 'hunter of men.'" Nachmanides explicitly states that Midrashic and mystical interpretations are traditional. Profuse are his

apologies for deviating from the Rabbinical explanation. "As Rashi," he says, "who is so careful to follow the Hagadic interpretation, also gives the literal sense, we are permitted to do likewise. For there are innumerable ways of explaining the Torah, just as there are many differences of opinion among our sages." We can also understand how, with his extensive range of secular attainments, he cherished so intense a devotion to Cabbala, on its speculative, as well as on its practical sides. In his exposition of the text (Gen. v. 2) he quotes Sherira Gaon on physiognomy and chiromancy. Nachmanides' sermon also contains the following passage quoted by Jellinek in his work on Cabbala, Part II., p. 5. "The Gaon's remarks on the text 'Male and female created he them,' refer to the lines of the hand and the art of palmistry, which is connected with it and is still practised." In his Introduction to his Commentary on the Torah, he touches upon the Cabbalistic combinations of letters. On the text "And Tubal-Cain's sister was Naamah" (Gen. iv. 22), he refers to spells by which to conjure up spirits. There are many passages in his writings to the same effect which we might quote, but they would take us beyond our present purpose. Maimonides exclusively directed his attention to the practical conclusions of the Talmud. The object of that work, he considered, was to teach right conduct; it was never, in his opinion, intended to become a subject of study. But Nachmanides, with his casuistical discussions, made a science of the Talmud. Despite his panegyric of the *Mishnah Torah*, we cannot believe that he was satisfied with the underlying motive and purpose of that work, which was to get the gist of the Talmud free from extraneous matter, and so put a stop to Talmudic discussion. All Nachmanides' writings show that his own aim was very different. As we have already stated, he appropriated the French method of study, and transplanted it to Spanish soil.

A Spaniard by birth, in sentiment and disposition, Nachmanides was an exact copy of the French scholars. Naturally keen-witted, he was, like them, an acute casuist and controversialist, most skilful in reconciling contradictions and solving difficulties. We might almost apply to him R. Tam's remark about himself, "Even when two passages positively conflict, I can reconcile them, not to speak of lesser difficulties."[1] Hence his disapproval of new readings. "Emendations of texts are a great sin," he declares.[2] Naturally a man of

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[1] *Sefer ha-Yashar*, 78 *b*, Ed. Vienna. [2] *Chidushim Baba Bathra*, 134 *a*.

Nachmanides' keen intellect, who did not find it a hard task to elucidate obscurities, reconcile contradictions, and justify existing readings, felt no need of corrected texts. We can well believe what later writers have told us, that when the Tosafot were almost forgotten, in consequence of the numerous persecutions, their place was taken by the *Novellae* of Nachmanides, which, indeed, are, in style and spirit, simply a branch of the old Tosafist stock.

Nachmanides, in his extreme piety, also resembled the French scholars. His teacher in Cabbala was, according to some, R. Eleazar of Worms. This, however, is not quite clear, for, in his letter to the French scholars in Maimonides' defence, passages from the *Rokeach* are quoted, in which the author, Eleazar of Worms, is mentioned, but he is not entitled Nachmanides' master. This, however, is quite certain, that his books were studied by the younger scholar. Nachmanides' acknowledged teachers in Cabbala, R. Azriel and R. Ezra, were possibly of French origin.[1] Up to his time there was no scholar in Spain who showed such devotion to this science as Nachmanides. Steeped in its fantasies, he tried by the aid of the rich imagination with which he was endowed to ascend to the mystery of the Deity. In his views and sentiments, Nachmanides thus inclined, as we have seen, to the French rather than to the Spanish school.

His relation to Maimonides is still an unsolved riddle. Maimonides was a man of logical and scientific mind; his religion was guided by reason, he reverenced the Talmud, and yet was not afraid of declaring some of its dicta to be the isolated opinions of individuals, and therefore baseless and unauthoritative. Maimonides regarded the Pilpul as a thorny maze which it was a sheer waste of time to thread; he derided the Cabbala and condemned its practice as a

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[1] It is not quite clear that R. Azriel and R. Ezra, to whom reference has been made in note 2, p. 294, and who were undoubtedly French, are identical with Nachmanides' teachers of the same names. Doubt has also been expressed as to whether R. Azriel and R. Ezra were two individuals or one. Writers, quoting from R. Azriel's works, have called the author R. Ezra. See *Jellinek's Cabbala*, Part I., p. 34, where four passages are pointed out in Recanate, in which the two names are confounded. This argument, I must confess, does not quite convince me. The confusion of names certainly proves inaccuracy on the part of the quoter, but not the non-existence of one of the scholars quoted. If anything, it is evidence that they were distinct individuals. Riconti mentions them together, as we have pointed out in note 2, p. 294. In נשא פ׳ Recanate writes, "He (*i.e.* R. Abraham ben David) handed it down to his son, R. Isaac the blind, ... who communicated it to his two disciples, one of whom was R. Ezra, the expositor of Canticles, and the other R. Azriel. Their successor was Nachmanides." These, briefly, are my reasons for mentioning both names in the text.

mania;[1] and applied the text "The fool believes everything" to those who formed cabbalistic combinations of letters.[2] Should we expect him to find a friend in Nachmanides, his exact opposite in all these points? Yet so it was, strange though it may seem. Nachmanides took up Maimonides' cause against his assailants in France generally, and Montpelier in particular, with the energy of a sincere admirer. He defended the *Madda* and the *Moreh*, and emphatically dwelt on the integrity and piety of their author and on his substantial services to the cause of Judaism. Among the Jews of Spain and France, says Nachmanides, never has there arisen Maimonides' equal. The detractors of that great luminary were overwhelmed by him with a flood of indignation. "Out of hatred and malice," he said, "have you published wicked charges, which it is a sin to hear or repeat, much more to record." One who defended Maimonides so zealously must have been a true friend. But in this, as in so many other respects, Nachmanides was inconsistent. Although he refers to Maimonides in terms of exaggerated respect, and declares that the Diaspora had no counterpart to him, yet in another passage he condemns his opinions most strongly. We have already pointed out, more than once, that this was an uncontrollable weakness in Nachmanides' character. We must not infer from the strong disapproval he expressed of some of Maimonides' views that he was his opponent universally. Like all Spaniards, he was proud of his countryman and of his works. The eulogy, in his letter to the French Rabbis, of the greatness of Maimonides' character, of his wisdom, goodness, and religiousness, are not the utterances of an antagonist. But this admiration and esteem notwithstanding, he refused to denounce, as some in Spain and Provençe had done, those French scholars who had libelled Maimonides and placed his works in the Index Expurgatorius. The fact is that Nachmanides esteemed the French scholars as highly as he did Maimonides. He reverenced them as saints on earth. And perhaps it was friendship for them, rather than love for the Spaniard that, prompted his effort to make them change their attitude towards Maimonides and his writings, and his attempt to allay the storm their excommunications had raised. The communities, he felt sure, would pay no heed to their denunciations, and refuse to obey their injunctions. Such an open contempt of their authority Nachmanides regarded as an insult offered to the Torah, for the scholars of France were, in his eyes, princes of Jewish

[1] *Guide of the Perplexed*, Part I., c. 61. [2] *Ib.*, 62.

learning, surpassing all their contemporaries in depth of erudition and in acuteness. They taught him their method of Talmudic study, which differed so widely from that of Maimonides and his Spanish predecessors. And he was the first to plant an offshoot of that method on Spanish soil.

R. Meir Halevi Abulafia, of Toledo, an opponent of Maimonides and of his philosophical teaching, was already an adherent of the French school. But his Talmudical studies did not make the same mark as those of Nachmanides; the latter may therefore be styled the leader of the movement.

The French Rabbis were opposed to Maimonides on two grounds. They objected, in the first place, to the *Madda* and *Moreh* on the score of the philosophical views enunciated in those books, particularly to the ideas expressed in them concerning the life hereafter, the resurrection, the eternity of the Cosmos, ideas which Maimonides had asserted were the teaching of Judaism. Such views French ears had never before heard, and French minds could not quite assimilate them. They had been accustomed, in all these matters, to accept literally the pronouncements of the Talmud. Here Nachmanides could not agree with the French school. But they also looked with dislike on Maimonides' plan of condensing the oral law, and giving a digest of its rules without proof or discussion. Their antagonism, on this point, was founded on a radical difference of principle. The view of Maimonides and his Spanish fellow-thinkers was, as we have already said, that the Talmud is a means to an end; a science the study of which should lead to practice. The French School held that the casuistic study of the Talmud was an end in itself. Although the scholars of France, who opposed the great Spaniard, protested that they had nothing against Maimonides the Talmudist, but that their sole quarrel was with Maimonides the philosopher, still there is hardly room for doubt that in their hearts they condemned his halachic labours, the motive and guiding principle of which were so repugnant to them. This dislike R. Simson of Sens did not take the trouble to conceal. In one of his Responsa to R. Meir Halevi,[1] he writes, "No one ought to expend labour on sealed books." This remark certainly refers to Maimonides' *Mishnah Torah.* And thus we have a French scholar, who was regarded in his day as an authority, publishing his conviction that the Mishnah Torah of Maimonides is undeserving of serious study. The reason of his dislike is obvious. The aim of the work, which was to put a stop to discussion,

[1] Letters to R. Meir Halevi, p. 131, ed. Paris, 1871.

did not commend itself to him, opposed, as it was, to the method and principle of the French school, then and since.

In the generation after Maimonides a reconciliation took place between the French and Spanish schools, the latter adopting the method of the former. Maimonides' principle had to give way before that of the French scholars.[1] R. Meir Halevi Abulafia, the Spaniard, completely accepted the French mode of study. Of this there is ample evidence in all his writings, and particularly in his criticisms on the Mishnah Torah.

Nachmanides writes in one place, "I was under the necessity of asking R. Meir Halevi"; elsewhere he says, "I consulted R. Meir, the prince of the Levites. 'The lips that answer aright deserve kisses.'"[2] Nachmanides and Solomon ben Aderet often quote him; and all the excerpts from his works that have come under my notice, as well as his criticisms of Maimonides, convince me that he must have been a keen casuist.

The next prominent Spanish disciple of the French school was R. Jonah of Gerona, a teacher at Toledo. He was a relative of Nachmanides and the favourite disciple of R. Solomon ben Abraham min hahar. He obtained considerable notoriety through his attacks on the *Madda* and *Moreh*. How entirely he had adopted the French system may be seen in the commentary to Alfasi on Berachot, written by one of his disciples, but mainly founded on his teaching.[3]

The only exception is R. Menachem ben Solomon of the family of Meir, and therefore styled *Ha-meiri*. He states, at

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[1] See Dr. M. Güdemann's *History of Culture and Education among the French Jews*, pp. 67, etc.

[2] Collectanea *Berachot*, ch. 8, *Likutim* Baba Bathra, 33*b*. The ריבש refers to the latter passage in his *Responsa*, No. 392.

[3] R. Jonah, of Gerona, was a kinsman of Nachmanides, as appears from the letters in which he bitterly complains of those who cast aspersions on the purity of R. Jonah's family. See Collection of Letters edited by Halberstamm, Nos. 9 and 10. In the *Novellae* on Alfasi to Berachot, ascribed to R. Jonah, but really by R. Jonah's pupil, the passage occurs (c. i.), "Such was my teacher Nachmanides' custom, but my master R. Jonah, etc." The phrase "my master" simply and without additions, refers to R. Jonah. The author was also a pupil of Nachmanides, whose explanations he always speaks of as "communicated by my teacher Nachmanides." When the commentary was written, both teachers must have been still living, for in the majority of instances the abbreviation נ"ר"ו is added after their names. Where ז"ל occurs, it is the addition of a copyist. The discussion about R. Jonah in the *Shem Hagedolim* is superfluous. My notices sufficiently demonstrate that he was a relative of Nachmanides. His ס' היראה and שערי התשובה were published several times. There are also *Novellae* by him on Baba Bathra and Sanhedrin, for an account of which see *Shem Hagedolim*. Solomon ben Adereth's *Novellae* also mention a ס'מגלת סתרים by this author.

the end of the Introduction to his commentary on Aboth, that his teacher was R. Reuben b. Chayim. The *Shem Hagedolim* is wrong in asserting that he was a pupil of R. Jonah. The *Meiri* composed a work in Alfasi's manner, but in the Hebrew diction of his day, on all the thirty-six treatises of the Babylonian Talmud. In a few of these, the compilation also reproduces the discussion. This is particularly the case with the digest of Betzah, which is intermingled with Pilpul, so that we might suspect it to be by another hand, but for the fact that the author quotes his relative R. Nathaniel ben Meir of Trinquetaille, whose father, R. Meir, he also mentions as a kinsman in the Introduction to his commentary on Aboth. In the opening remarks of the first chapter of his treatise on Betzah, he quotes an explanation from his בית הבחירה which proves that the two are distinct works. He pays attention to the Hagadoth in many parts of his work, not merely explaining them, but treating them, like Maimonides, as of equal authority with Halacha. The *Meiri* was born 1249, and did not attain old age. Rashba's Responses contain many answers to him. Solomon ben Adereth is mentioned by him in terms of commendation at the end of the Introduction to his exposition of Aboth. Excepting then the *Meiri*, nearly all the Spanish Talmudists of that period abandoned the principle of the early Spaniards, and followed in the footsteps of the French scholars, but the leader in the movement was, undoubtedly, Nachmanides. He was the chief authority of his time, regarded as the personification of Jewish scholarship, and he it was who gave the stamp and direction to the intellectual activity of his countrymen. From his time onward the study of the Talmud assumed another complexion. With what consequences? Novellæ multiplied; casuistry passed all bounds, and gave birth to strange and unheard of decisions. And thus the fond hope in which Maimonides had indulged, that his work, which contained every detail of the Jewish law, would do away with the necessity of consulting other books, was disappointed. His expectations were only in part realised. His *Yad* was, indeed, generally accepted as an authority, but not as an oracle. The French principle prevailed and ousted his method even in Spain. The casuistic method of the *Tosafot* became the beaten road for Talmudists. The multitude of questions, answers, controversies, and discussions produced fresh crops of *dinim*. And these *dinim*, deduced from the argumentation of the French teachers became recognised as laws of Israel. Rabbi Moses ben Nachman was the pioneer who cut the path; and it has been continually widened up to the present day.

That things took this turn and that Maimonides' purpose failed of accomplishment has, by some, been considered a good fortune for Judaism and the Jews. The French method, adopted by Nachmanides and his successors is, they contend, the *sacra via* which has preserved for us the free and unrestricted study of the Talmud. Maimonides wished, they maintain, to impose upon his people those decisions which pleased him, for the Talmud.[1] But how unwarranted and presumptuous is this line of argument! Every intelligent student of Talmudic methodology knows that Maimonides was not the originator of the מסקנא (fixed and final practical conclusions). Ever since the close of the Talmud, the Geonim and their successors never swerved from the מסקנא. Even if it were true that Maimonides forged these fetters, would it have been such a dreadful calamity to wear them? Was it he who added *dinim*? Does his codex contain a larger number than those in force at present after the French method has triumphed, and the boasted free and unimpeded investigation has done its work? The burdens which Maimonides' final decisions imposed on Judaism and the Jewish people have been multiplied sevenfold by the casuistic method which is termed "Free Investigation of the Talmud." Ever since Maimonides' clear and simple principle was set aside, the Jewish Code has become bulkier; the multitude of *dinim* and *minhagim* has increased inordinately. This is the whole result of the suppression of the principle advocated by Maimonides.

The contention that Maimonides' work was prejudicial to the true interests of Judaism, because of its rigidity, is untenable. "Our sages' words resemble goads, by aid of which the spiritual leaders of every age and country can lead their flocks in the direction which the varying circumstances of time and place render expedient. Maimonides' sentences are fixed nails that cannot be moved from their place. By his decisions he sought to remove all doubts and prevent differences; not in the manner of the Mishnah, which gives conflicting views of rabbis, so that future generations might know both sides, and select either according to the needs of the times."[2] As if the decisions and compromises of the Talmud were not already fixed in the days of the Geonim and their successors, long before Maimonides' time! Was he the first to say of the Talmud: "One must neither add to nor take from it?" It is absurd to judge Maimonides and his time by the standard of the Mishnah and its age. The standard of the Mishnah was different to that of the *Mishnah Torah.*

[1] S. D. Luzzato, *Kerem Chemed*, Vol. III., p. 66. [2] *Ib.*, p. 67.

R. Jehuda the Prince's object was to compile all the Halacha, whether it was universally or only partially accepted, whether it was clear or doubtful. The material was left to the scholars of future generations to elaborate. The Talmudic doctors did their duty and thoroughly threshed out the Mishnah. Their debates again formed the subjects for future discussions. But neither the Mishnah nor the Talmud was intended by the compilers to be binding universally and in every detail. Were their intentions carried out? After the close of the Talmud, every one of its sentences become not a hard "nail," but a living tree with many boughs, each of which drooped under a weight of legal fruit. And now who meant well with Judaism and the Jewish people; Maimonides with his fixed and rigid rules, or those who did not venture to abrogate any one of these, but added another to each rule? The result of this lauded "free" research was not to shift the yoke of the מסקנא, but to increase its weight. The wisdom of the "untrammelled investigators" has created a large number of laws of which our ancestors were in happy ignorance.

As we have already explained, the introduction of the French principle of Talmudic study into Spain was due to the influence of Nachmanides. In another department of literature, also, a new order of things arose, in which Nachmanides took a leading part. I refer to the Cabbala, which began to flourish in his days. The Cabbala made a most powerful impression on the minds of Spanish scholars, and modified not only their beliefs, but also their practice of Scriptural and traditional Judaism. It is quite true that in earlier times esoteric studies already existed. Combinations of the letters of the Divine names, amulets, charms, and the belief in their efficacy, had obtained wide currency among learned and simple. References to the employment of sacred names, to Ezekiel's vision, the cosmogony, spiritual sanctuaries, angelology, etc., will be found in the Talmud and Midrashim. These subjects engaged the minds of men in very early times indeed.[1] The same tendency continued, without interruption, during the period of the early Geonim. There were many in Babylon who made use of the sacred names of the Deity, practised exorcisms, put faith in Cabbalistic thaumaturgy, and were fully convinced that Elijah would appear to those individuals who had penetrated into the mystery of the Deity and the "secrets of the Law." According to Hai Gaon, these beliefs were particularly luxuriant in Sura, near Babylon, where the Jews learnt them from the Chaldeans.[2] In Spain,

[1] דור דור ודורשיו, part I., chap. 23. [2] *Ibid* IV., *passim*.

however, as one result of diffused scientific culture, such creeds and practices were the exception rather than the rule. Eminent scientists looked with disfavour on this pseudo-science, and discredited its pretensions. Before the time of Nachmanides and his teachers, we do not find in the Peninsula proficient Cabbalists or students brooding on the mysteries of the universe in the fashion of the Cabbalists of the twelfth century. In the whole of ancient Jewish literature there is no book that has given so much occasion for Cabbalistic interpretation as the *Sepher Yetzirah*, but it is only later commentators who have explained it in this spirit. Earlier Spanish writers followed their usual scientific methods in its exposition. Nachmanides was the first Spaniard who was at the same time a Cabbalistic hermeneutist of the book. Dr. Jellinek, it is true, maintains that R. Azriel, the teacher of Nachmanides, was the author of the commentary on the *Sepher Yetzirah*, usually ascribed to the latter.[1] Dr. Jellinek, however, expresses a different opinion in other parts of his work, and, therefore, appears to be uncertain on the subject. After a careful examination of the commentary, I fail to find the least reason for doubting that Nachmanides was the author. Its brief and enigmatic style suggests comparison with Nachmanides' Cabbalistic comments in his exposition of the Pentateuch. As early as the second generation after his death the work was attributed to Nachmanides, and it is hardly likely that scholars were even then mistaken as to the authorship.[2] Maimonides explicitly discredited the Cabbalists and condemned the folly of those who write amulets. "Such things," he says, "no sane person will listen to, far less believe."[3] He warns his readers against their use, terms those mad "who turn the ineffable name into folly."[4] "Their combinations are nothing but falsehood, the invention of fools."[5] How is it that these beliefs became rampant since Nachmanides' time? We are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that, as he reintroduced the old methods of Talmudic studies, so he re-established the science of Cabbala. Nachmanides, the most prominent figure in his age and country, learned in science,

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[1] *Cabbala* II., p. 34, but contrast p. 40, note 5 and I., p. 10.

[2] The introduction to the מערכת אלהים, assigned to R. Perez Ha-cohen, teacher of רנב"ר (not R. Perez the Tosafist), quotes Nachmanides on the *Sepher Yetzirah* for a definition of יסוד. The quotation is to be found word for word in the commentary on the *Yetzirah*, ch. i., p. 4. Another quotation in the fifth chapter of the מערכת אלהים I have been unable to find in our incomplete editions of the commentary.

[3] *Guide*, c. 61 [4] *Commentary on the Mishnah*, Sotah, ch. ii.

[5] *Guide*, Part I., c. 62.

almost unrivalled in his knowledge of Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of knowledge, esteemed Cabbala, studied it deeply, and styled it the way of truth. How could contemporary scholars help being influenced by so illustrious an example? And, indeed, during his life, and still more in the next generation, Cabbala grew in favour among the Spaniards. This was no chance coincidence. Soon after Nachmanides had set the example, the composition and publication of works on Cabbala began, and continued till the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Nachmanides himself, it seems, disapproved of this publicity. In the introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch, he warns the reader not to attempt to guess at the meaning of the allusions to the "Secrets of the Law," scattered here and there in that work. And in all his Cabbalistic expositions, he conceals far more than he reveals. Again and again he remarks that it is not well to dilate on such topics in books. But what weight could such a recommendation carry when he himself failed to act up to it? The comparative length or brevity of his mystical comments is immaterial. If anything, their brevity only served to stimulate curiosity as to their meaning. The wish for reticence that he professed was not respected. R. Isaac of Acco, said to have been one of his disciples, elucidated the mystical passages of his commentaries in a book called *Meirot Enayim*. R. Shem Tob ben R. Abraham Gaon wrote a work entitled *Keter Shem Tob*, with the same intent.[1] The second generation after Nachmanides witnessed the apogee of Cabbala in Spain. Authors devoted special attention to the subject. Then appeared the *Zohar*, ascribed to Simeon ben Yochai, the Tanaite. Critics are agreed that this authorship is spurious. The real writer was a Spanish Cabbalist, who lived after Nachmanides. Many more works of the same class were then produced in Spain.[2] The desire

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[1] *Mazref la-chochmah*, 34 *a*.

[2] The *Zohar* is attributed by some, *e.g.* Yuchasin, ed. Amsterdam, and Yuchasin ha-shalem, to Moses de Leon. Dr. Jellinek takes the same view, in support of which he collates from the Zohar and De Leon's acknowledged writings many passages similar in style and sentiment. *Landauer*, quoted by Jellinek, Part I., attributes it to Abraham Abulafia, on whom Solomon ben Aderet makes some remarks in his *Responses* No. 548, which are quoted by Judah Chayat at the end of the preface to his commentary on מערכת אלהות, and requoted in מצרף לכסף, 31 *b*. The Spanish birth of the author, however, is undisputed. I will only call attention to Chayat's statement that he compiled from the scattered fragments the larger portion of the work, whence it would appear that as late as the end of the fifteenth century the *Zohar* was not yet extant in complete form. See *Jellinek*, Part I., sections iii. and vi. It is strange, by the way, that this critic does not notice this passage. These two scholars, De Leon and Abulafia, composed numerous

to make a mystery of the science no longer existed in its original strength. On the contrary, writers flung the doors of the Cabbala wide open to all who desired to penetrate into its secrets. A pupil of one of Nachmanides' disciples, the celebrated Cabbalist R. Judah ben Abraham ibn Gikitalia, wrote the *Gates of Light* as an introduction for beginners. He further laid down general rules and principles to facilitate the study of this science. R. Bachya ben Asher of Saragossa wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch almost entirely Cabbalistic, but in a style so simple as to make it easily understood. In course of time, Cabbala became very popular, and the reluctance to discuss it in public completely vanished. Some wrote books expressly for the class of scholars, students, and the perplexed in faith, "to teach them the secrets of religion, and open the eyes of the blind." By revealing these inner mysteries, they hoped "to bring back those who had strayed from the fold."[1] The whole purpose with which the *Zohar* was written was to unfold to all students of Jewish literature those mysteries which were formerly the exclusive possession of a few individuals. The blame meted out in several passages of the book to those who neglected this science, and the praise bestowed on those who cultivated it sedulously were not without their effect. Gradually the custom of introducing Cabbala into public discourses spread in Spain. These *Darshanim* are severely handled in the *Mazref-la-chochmah*, 12*a*. "Who gave them the liberty," asks the author, "to discuss and invent mysteries? These men have done a good deal of harm to Cabbala." Even if *Darshanim* here does not exactly refer to the preachers, still there is ample evidence in their published writings to show that they introduced mysteries and arithmetical combinations into their popular discourses. This is not the place to enter into a detailed exposition of this branch of knowledge. We only wish to call attention to the fact that its popular diffusion brought about a transformation in religion. Foreign conceptions were taken up into Judaism. Not only its dogmas but also its practice became largely modified through Cabbalistic influences. A multitude of new rules and customs came into existence, for the origin of which

works on Cabbala. Worthy of mention also is R. Menachem Recanate, author of a Cabbalistic Commentary on the Pentateuch, and טעמי המצות, most of which is Cabbalistic; the מערכת אלהות, ascribed to R. Perez Ha-cohen; R. Joseph Ibn Gikitalia, who, according to *Jellinek*, Part II., No. 8, lived a generation after Nachmanides, and composed many Cabbalistic works, already quoted in the essay, and to be quoted in it hereafter, which helped to disseminate the knowledge of this esoteric science. Yuchasin wrongly gives a late date to Joseph Ibn Gikitalia.

[1] Gikitalia's *Ginath Egoz*, end of Part II.

we must look to Cabbalistic writings like the *Zohar*. Thence they found their way into Halachic literature, and became accepted as part of Judaism. Particularly was this the case with the rules relating to Divine Service and the Ritual. Many prayers, that are almost destitute of meaning, have been adopted into the liturgy, because they were composed by Cabbalists, and are now regarded with as much reverence as if they had been instituted by the men of the Great Synagogue. The sum of the foregoing is that from the time of Nachmanides Cabbala attained a large measure of popularity, and, in time, universal acceptance, which was, in many respects, prejudicial to the purity of the Jewish Law, and fathered upon it many laws that have no real authority.

Codists have derived innumerable new rules from the Talmudic writings of Nachmanides. His *Novellae* were a favourite study of all succeeding teachers. His reasoning is, indeed, most profound, and his idiom very exact. Some who composed treatises on Talmudic methodology supply rules for the interpretation of the writings of Nachmanides.[1] His decisions, if the testimony of these compilers is trustworthy, were implicitly relied on throughout Catalonia, as if they had come from Moses on Sinai.[2] Of these, only a portion is extant. In completion of Alfasi's work, he wrote Digests of Nedarim and Berachot, which his disciples named *Pirké Halachot*.[3] His *Torat ha-adam* on the laws of mourning and *Niddah* has also kept its place. The first part is full of casuistic discussion; the second, however, gives, in Maimonides' style, clear and precise rules, as also excerpts from older authorities. His Novellae on Gittin also contain conclusions on דיני דגרמי. These are not practical decisions, but only the final results of preceding arguments. One of his disciples, R. Solomon ben Adereth, frequently uses the phrase, "and thus my master wrote in the *Halachot*."[4] Hence the inference might be drawn that Nachmanides wrote other Halachic works besides those just noted. It is more probable, however, that the allusion here is not to Nachmanides, but to his chief teacher, R. Jonah, whom he, indeed, mentions by name in another passage.[5] The numerous Halachoth that we have from Nachmanides' pen sufficiently show that he adopted the French system in this department of study. His remarks on Cabbala are nothing else than mysterious hints. He expressly warns readers not to indulge in guesses as to their meaning,

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[1] Shem Hagedolim on Nachmanides.
[2] Questions and Responses of ריב"ש, 415.
[3] Novellae of רשב"א on Nedarim, 20*b*.
[4] *Novellae Sabbath*, 21*b*.
[5] *Ib*. 8*a*.

for they could only be correctly interpreted by a Cabbalist to a Cabbalist. (Introduction to the commentary on the Pentateuch.) His exposition of the *Sepher Yetzirah* (the Book of Creation) is also full of subtle allusions. Because he was careful not to reveal the "secrets of the Law," it must not, therefore, be hastily concluded that he wrote none of the Cabbalistic literature attributed to him. With all his scruples, he could not keep Cabbalistic mysteries out of his commentary on the Pentateuch. And if he wrote these Cabbalistic notes, why not Cabbalistic works? The commentary on the *Sefer Yetzirah* already passed under his name two generations after his death. A close and careful scrutiny is, however, necessary to determine whether any work, of which Nachmanides is said to be the author, has been rightly attributed to him. His style in this subject is not as crabbed as that of his successors became under the influence of the *Zohar*. And before we pronounce the commentary on the *Ten Sefirot*,[1] or the exposition of the *Tetragrammaton*[2] to be really by him, as they are said to be, we must compare their style with that of our author's certain Cabbalistic writings. The authenticity of the treatise on *Faith and Trust*, hitherto uniformly attributed to him, has recently been questioned.[3] These details

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[1] MS. Munich. [2] Catalogue *Ozar Ha Sefarim* s.v. פירוש.

[3] On the authorship of *Faith and Trust*, Dr. Jellinek quotes Landauer's opinion, expressed in the *Orient*, that it is erroneously ascribed to Nachmanides. Jellinek agrees with Landauer, and gives the following reasons: (1) Nachmanides carefully avoided writing on Cabbala. (2) The exposition of the Decalogue in the *Faith and Trust* is different from that given in the Commentary on the Pentateuch. (3) Recanate, who quotes the whole book in his exposition of the Torah, nowhere names Nachmanides as the author. These arguments are, in my opinion, inconclusive. In Recanate's טעמי המצות, Precept 45, the remark occurs, "The mystery of the staves" (Gen. xxx.) has been explained by "the great teacher." This term always refers in the literature of that time to Nachmanides, who is so quoted by Rashba, Bachya, and Ribba. The explanation of the "secret of the rods" is found in *Faith and Trust* (c. xv.), which, we thus see, Recanate ascribed to Nachmanides. A passage in this work (c. ix.) beginning כבר אמרו רז"ל אין מקרא יוצא מידי פשוטו, and ending אעפ"פ שיש לתורה ע' פנים אין אחד מהם מכחיש הפשט, is to be found, word for word, in Nachmanides' criticism of the המצות ס', Principle II. Chayat in his *Minchat Jehudah* (c. iii., pp. 28 *a*, 36 *b*) quotes a long discourse from Riconti's טעמי המצות, in which an explanation of the Talmud dictum הרוצה להחכים ידרים, "He who wishes to become wise should go the south" is given. This explanation is to be found in *Faith and Trust*, c. v. Against these considerations must be set the discrepancies between the views expressed in this book and those contained in the Commentary on the Pentateuch. One of these I quote. On Exodus xxiii. 20, "Behold I send an angel before thee, etc.," *Faith and Trust* comments, "The angel here promised is the one appointed for the blotting out of sin, the seraph of Isaiah's vision." In the Pentateuch *ad locum* it is explained as, "The מלאך הגואל, in whom is the Divine name."

do not affect the main point, of which there can be no doubt, viz., that Nachmanides' example exercised a considerable influence on the general development of Cabbala. His example found eager imitators among his disciples. And, without exaggeration, we may say that it was he who gave the impulse to the mighty revolution which Cabbala wrought in the theory and practice of Judaism.

Nachmanides' innovations were carried far and wide by his disciples, and the majority of his Spanish successors. He was a shining light to his followers, who reverenced him almost as an angel. In the devoted attachment of his disciples, he had his reward during his lifetime. A bitter drop in his cup was the conversion to Christianity of one of his most promising pupils, Abner, who became a relentless foe to his former coreligionists. Abner wrote many works on Jews and Judaism. Of these the *Wars of the Lord* and an *Offering of Zeal* may be named. According to Leo Modena, who read the latter book, its author must have been a profound philosopher, logician, and Talmudist. The Italian scholar was strongly inclined to burn the book, for fear that it might fall into the hands of one who might find its arguments unanswerable, and be misled by them. We shall not be wrong, perhaps, in asserting that philosophy and Cabbala shattered at that time the faith of many Talmudists. Philosophy led to atheism, Cabbala to Christianity. From the ten *Sefiroth* to the Trinity the transition was easy. There is a legend that this apostate disciple became a violent persecutor of his master, and embittered his life.[1] That period was a troubled one to all Jews in Spain. The Christian priests harassed them with their arguments, and forced them into controversies on the respective merits of their creeds. Nachmanides took part in a debate of this character before Alfonso, of which he published a record, still extant, under the title of מלחמת חובה. Episodes of this kind, and the circumstances of the Jews in Spain were, perhaps, one reason why the Spanish rabbis regarded the manners and ways of their countrymen with disfavour, and envied the simple piety of

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[1] The שלשלת הקבלה (*Chain of Tradition*) gives an ample account of Abner, and legends about him, some of which may, possibly, be true. The introduction of Reggio to Leo de Modena's *Bechinat ha-Cabbalah* (the *Examination of Tradition*) dilates (p. 12) on Abner's story, and states that he wrote a polemical work called *Milchamot Hashem* against R. Joseph Kimchi's book with the same title, and another called *Minchat Kenaot*, to which Leo de Modena makes some allusion in his preface, quoted by Reggio in his *Prolegomena*. In the קול סכל, "The Fool's Voice," a section of the *Bechinat ha Kabalah*, p. 400, excerpts from Abner's book are ridiculed.

the Jews of France and Germany, who neither knew nor cared for philosophy and its methods, but devoted themselves instead with heart and soul to the exclusive study of the Torah. Hence the adoption of their method of study by Nachmanides and the pious Jews of that time. Nachmanides openly and honestly declared that his ardent desire was to induce the younger generation entirely to renounce all scientific pursuits, and give themselves up to the study of the written and oral laws, which are the core of our being, and the instruments of our elevation.[1] His object was not achieved all at once. There were still many scholars and students who regarded Pilpul in the French fashion, as only a waste of time. Even after Nachmanides' death, some questioned the use of Talmudic casuistry, and thought it would be better to learn the legal decisions, so as to have time to become proficient in other sciences. Yet the new casuistic method in Halachic studies which Nachmanides introduced into Spain, gradually became paramount. His disciples extended and amplified it, and it has been the accepted method ever since.

I. H. Weiss.

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[1] *Iggeroth Kenaoth*, p. 10, ed. Leipsic.

THE FUTURE LIFE IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

I.

It has often been asserted that the rewards and penalties of a future state had little or no influence on the Jews of the Middle Ages, and that, therefore, the history of the persecutions they endured becomes doubly touching and pathetic; the tragedy of their death is not brightened by any hope of recompense, human or divine, earthly or heavenly. To show the erroneous nature of this supposition, the following pages have been written.

With respect to the Old Testament, the barest summary of the most probable conclusions upon the subject is all that is here necessary. A number of books are accessible to every student in which the arguments and illustrations for every side of the question have been fully worked out. Our business is with the Jewish beliefs in post-Biblical ages.

Neither the authors of the Pentateuch nor the prophets ever taught the Hebrew people that after the death of the body the soul would enter upon another life, in which the good would find eternal happiness, and the wicked everlasting pain. On the contrary, every action is to meet with its reward or punishment in this world. Good health, long life, plentiful harvests, and numerous offspring are held out as a recompense to those who faithfully obey the divine precepts, while those who disregard them are threatened with disease, premature death, barren soil, and childless homes. These are the recompenses and punishments of the individual, while to the people as a whole, liberty, independence, and victory are contrasted with political weakness, enslavement, and captivity.

Yet the Hebrews, like every other nation of antiquity, were far from believing that the soul perished with the body. The old Hebrew conception of Sheol, and the dream-like unsubstantial life of the shades in that dismal region, is too well known to need further exposition in this place.

Yet true as it is that the ancient Hebrews recognised a life

beyond the grave, it is equally true that they did not set forth a belief in a future state as a compensation for the good and evil of this earthly existence.

To the old Hebrews death and Sheol are gloomy and comfortless. Their most fervent prayers are for "length of days." Sheol is the place of darkness where there is no remembrance of God, and his praises are unsung. And from Sheol there is no return.

Thus legislators and prophets have only temporal rewards and punishments to hold out as an inducement to follow God's laws, and avoid disobedience to his teaching. As, however, the reward of virtue is not always bestowed in this life any more than is the punishment of vice, it was inevitable that the problem, so terrible to every religious man, how to reconcile the apparently unjust distribution of the joys and sorrows of this world with the idea of a divine providence, should present itself more than once to the mind of the Hebrew writers. It forms the entire argument of the Book of Job; the author of Ecclesiastes touches on it several times;[1] it is mentioned in certain passages in Proverbs,[2] as also in the writings of the prophet Jeremiah,[3] and in those of two of the Psalmists.[4] So early was the problem set, but it cannot be said that it has ever been solved.

The conclusion of the Book of Job is worthy of note. The Lord appears to the persecuted martyr, and, in a series of questions, demonstrates to him the infinite power of the Deity. Job at last, in his confusion, is compelled to admit that the human mind cannot and ought not to scrutinise the mysteries of Providence. But this is not a solution of the problem; it is only a way of showing that while the problem exists, it must for mankind remain unsolved. This alone is enough to prove that the Book of Job contains no allusion to a future life, and that the passages, to which such an interpretation has at times been given, bear, on the contrary, a wholly different meaning, inasmuch as the author was convinced that the dying man goes, without hope of return, to a land of darkness (x. 21[5]), and lies down never to rise again (xiv. 12).

Jeremiah, the Psalmists, and the wise men of Proverbs are all equally impotent to solve the riddle. None of them (not even the author of Psalm lxxiii.) look to a future life as affording the slightest clue to the complex mystery. They can only take refuge in the firm conviction that God is just, be

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[1] ii. 21-25; vii. 15; viii. 14; ix. 2.

[2] xxiii. 17 *et seq.*; xxiv. 14, 19 *et seq.* [3] xii. 1-5. [4] xxxvii.; lxxiii.

[5] Compare *Della Poesia Biblica*, page 540 *et seq.*

appearances what they may. Whatever the facts of life may seem to prove, any interpretation of them conflicting with God's justice is erroneous. Before that infinite and inscrutable power man, the creature of a day, must humbly bow.

Little by little the eschatological beliefs of the Israelites underwent change and modification, and in the writings subsequent to the Babylonian exile we find the doctrine of a life beyond the grave, not merely accepted by the learned, but beginning to take a more precise and definite outline.

The hope of being saved from the dark and dreary abode of Sheol, and of dwelling in heaven in nearness to God, is touched on in passing by the poet author of the late 49th Psalm. In this beautiful hymn death is described as the destiny of all men, which none can hope to escape. But in the fifteenth verse, the poet says, "God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol, for he shall receive me." The word "Sheol" cannot here be used figuratively to signify death, as the poet could not express a hope that would be in contradiction to his first statement that none can escape from death. It would, therefore, not be far-fetched to admit, in common with some interpreters, that in this passage the author hints at a diversity between the fate of human beings in general and that of those who, by their special merits, may after death aspire to a dwelling-place, not sad and gloomy like that awaiting the spirits in Sheol, but a region of everlasting beatitude. In later times, in fact, Sheol became one of the names for hell, or for a part of hell,[1] and was thus changed into a special place of punishment for the wicked only.

The question as to the fate of the human soul is clearly propounded in Ecclesiastes. Whatever opinion may prevail as regards the date of this book, it is obvious to all who have read it by the light of reasonable criticism, that it must have been written *after* the period of the Persian rule. It is undeniable that the writer hints at the belief that the spirit of man has a destiny different from that of other animals (iii. 21). He himself does not deny that this *may* be the case; he merely says that death is the common lot of both man and beast—what becomes of their spirits after death remains uncertain.[2] But subsequently at the conclusion of the book, the author distinctly asserts that the spirit returns "unto God who gave it" (xii. 7). This return is possibly conceived as a mere re-absorption into or a union with the one and indivisible spiritual essence, in the same

[1] *Erubin*, 19*a*, *Midrash on Psalms*, 11, 7.

[2] The "ה" in the twenty-first verse is to be taken interrogatively, and not demonstratively.

way as the body returns after death to the dust of the earth from which it was taken. But even this cannot be asserted with absolute certainty. The author of the Book of Ecclesiastes is not a materialist, a pantheist, or a spiritualist; he is a sceptic, and he accepts as positive truths only those facts that experience has proved to be unassailable. As a useful rule and guide in practical conduct he seems to borrow from the current religion the maxim, "God will judge all the works of man" (xi. 9), but whether the judgment is to be in this life or another is not said, perhaps is purposely left vague. One passage (iii. 17) is too obscure to allow us to draw any definite conclusion from it.

As regards the Resurrection of the Body, a form of the doctrine of a future life to which some commentators have discovered allusions in several passages of the Old Testament, it cannot be said to be really touched upon anywhere, unless it be in the Book of Daniel (xii. 2, 3, 13), which certainly is not older than the period of Grecian dominion. All the other passages in the Old Testament[1] that speak of the resurrection of the dead do so in a figurative sense, as a symbol, to represent the resurrection of the people of Israel. Nor is the resurrection of the dead ever suggested in the Book of Job, because if the author of that book had entertained such a belief, the solution of the problem forming the argument of his immortal work would have been found in that belief, and not in the inscrutable omnipotence of God.

To sum up, then, all that can be gathered from the Old Testament (not including the writings known as the Apocrypha) respecting a future life amounts to this: A belief in the existence of a life beyond the grave was popularly current among the ancient Hebrews, but their early writers and lawgivers never transformed the crude popular belief into a moral and religious doctrine. After the Babylonian exile, however, the future life became more clearly defined under the double form of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.

On turning to the Apocrypha, we find this statement confirmed, as the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is clearly set forth in the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, and that of the resurrection of the body in one of the books of the Maccabees. The author of the Wisdom of Solomon, who was notoriously deeply influenced both by Platonic and Stoic philosophy, dwells in more than one passage upon the doctrine of the soul's immortality (cf. ii. 21; iii. 10; v. 15 ff.). To him (his

[1] Hosea vi. 1, *seq.*; Isaiah xxvi. 19; Ezekiel xxxvii. 1-14.

date cannot be earlier than the second century before Christ) there is no longer any doubt that man's destiny will be perfected in another state of existence, where all the apparent injustice of this life will be abundantly rectified.

The parallel doctrine of the resurrection of the body is dwelt upon by the more purely Judaic author of the second book of the Maccabees. (Compare the speech of Eleazar, "Living or dead, I cannot escape from the hand of the Almighty" (vi. 26), and the boast of the martyrs, "The King of the universe shall raise us up unto everlasting life" (vii. 9, 11, 14, 36), with Judas's sin-offering for the souls of the dead, and the author's approving comment, "if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead . . . . . it was a good and holy thought, that he made a supplication for the dead that they might be delivered from sin," xii. 44, 45).

Nevertheless, though the belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body was becoming more and more clearly defined among the Hebrews, there were still writers and thinkers who, even at as recent a date as that of the Grecian rule, maintained the old ideas about death, and Sheol, considering the former as a hopeless calamity and the latter as a region of gloom and oblivion.

The author of Ecclesiasticus advises man to enjoy himself in this life, in which he will earn the fruits of all his knowledge and wisdom, for "there is no seeking for pleasure in Hades" (xiv. 16), nor can any there "praise the Lord" (xvii. 27, etc.). After these distinct statements respecting the dreary hopelessness of a life beyond the grave, another passage in the same book cannot be said to refer to the resurrection of the dead. Speaking of the twelve minor prophets, the author of Ecclesiasticus says that on account of their special merits "their bones blossom in their abiding-place." But if he had believed that the dead would arise and their bones be restored to life, he would not have said that there was no joy or praise of God to be found in Hades, as the righteous after the resurrection of the dead would enjoy everlasting bliss and sing praises for ever to the Eternal. With his opinions it is evident that the writer intended the blossoming of the prophets' bones to be understood as the invocation of a blessing on their graves, much as we say now respecting the dead, May the earth lie lightly upon them. The author of the apocryphal book attributed to Baruch held similar opinions respecting the dead, who, he says, cannot in Hades "give glory to the Lord" (ii. 17).

This variety of opinions is easily explained by the often

repeated fact, that whereas some minds are so constituted as to readily accept new ideas, others are so intensely conservative that they refuse to entertain anything new, and, without first examining whether the novelty be good or useful, pronounce it harmful for the very reason of its novelty.

This was long the case amongst Hebrews with regard to the doctrine of a future life. When the political and religious sects became more distinct, the Pharisees accepted and assimilated the belief that the destiny of man does not end with this life, while the Sadducees not only did not go beyond what they read in the Old Testament, but argued that the soul died with the body.[1]

This being the case we are naturally led to turn our attention to the doctrines of the Pharisees on the subject of a future state. Their teaching is contained in the Talmuds, and in the copious literature of the Hagada and the Midrash.

II.

It is well known that one of the chief defects of Talmudic literature is its lack of systematic arrangement, so that it cannot be said to contain a categorical statement of what the faithful ought to believe. Dogmas of all kinds are scattered through the Talmud and Midrashim in a confused and apparently incidental manner, as if they were supposed already to form part of Judaism, and the doctrine of a future life is similarly treated. The statements concerning it, though often expressed in short and disconnected sentences, are repeated very frequently, more frequently perhaps than those on any other subject. We do not, therefore, propose to give here all that is said concerning a future life in the vast field of Talmudic literature, but only to collect and set forth the most important points, avoiding all needless repetitions.

To prove that the Pharisees clearly and distinctively admitted the existence of a future life, the following citations will suffice: "God has created two worlds—'*olam ha-zeh*,' the present and '*olam ha-ba*,' the world to come.[2]" This world, moreover, is not considered to be the real life, but as compared to the life to come, it is the vestibule or ante-room, through which we pass to the banquet-hall, and we are exhorted to prepare ourselves in the "olam ha-zeh," in order to be admitted to the "olam ha-ba."[3] Again we are told that

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[1] *Josephus, Ant.* XVIII. i. 4; *Wars*, II. viii. 14.

[2] *Menachoth*, 29*b*; *Bereshith Rabba*, § 12.

[3] *Aboth*, iv. 16.

one hour of bliss in the future world is worth more than the whole of our present life.[1]

It is necessary to point out here, what I have dwelt upon elsewhere,[2] that the expression "the world to come" has different meanings in different parts of the Rabbinic writings. In some passages it signifies the way in which the soul lives after the death of the body; in some the Messianic age, and in others the life of mankind after the resurrection of the dead. The subject of the Messianic age does not concern us here, and it need only be spoken of in so far as it is connected with the resurrection. As regards the doctrines of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, the latter is the one more distinctly taught in the Talmud, though the former is also very clearly and definitely asserted. Maimonides was therefore in error, when with the intention of interpreting the doctrines of the Pharisees in a philosophical and rational manner, he maintains that in the Talmud the world to come ("olam ha-ba") is only considered to signify the separate existence of the soul after the death of the body.[3] No doubt this was often the case, but not always, as shall now be proved.

The two classic passages in the Talmud treating of the resurrection and the last judgment are in the eleventh (or in other editions the tenth) chapter of the treatise *Sanhedrin*, and in the first chapter of *Rosh-hashana*. I proceed to give a translation of the former—that is to say of the Mishna—and shall then proceed to examine the glosses and amplifications of the Gemara.

1. "All the Israelites have their portion in the world to come, as it is said (Isa. lx. 21): Thy people shall also be all righteous—they shall inherit the land for ever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified. But these are they who have no portion in the life to come; he who says there is no resurrection of the dead according to the Scriptures,[4] he who says the law is not divine, and the Epicurean. Rabbi Akiba said: He also who reads strange [foreign] books, and he who uses incantations for wounds, saying (Exodus xv. 26): I will put none of the diseases on thee which I have put upon the Egyptians, for I am the

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[1] *Aboth*, iv. 17.

[2] *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, page 248, &c.

[3] *Hilchoth Teshuba*, ch. viii., 2.

[4] The words "according to the Scriptures" are found in most editions of the *Mishna*, but are wanting in the Cambridge edition, edited by Lowe, and also in the parallel passages of the Talmud Yerushalmi, *Pea* I. 1. Cf. Rabbinowicz, *Variæ Lectiones*, ix. 247.

Lord that healeth thee. Abba Saul likewise said: And also he who pronounces the [Divine] name as it is written.

2. Three kings and four private individuals have no part in the world to come. The three kings are Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh. But Rabbi Jehuda said: Manasseh will have his portion in the world to come, as it is said (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13): And he prayed unto him, and he was entreated of him and heard his supplication and brought him again unto Jerusalem, unto his kingdom. It was replied to this, that he brought him again unto his kingdom, but not unto the life of the world to come. The four private individuals are Balaam, Doeg, Ahithophel, and Gehazi.

3. Those who perished in the deluge will have no part in the life to come, and will not arise at the judgment day, as it is said (Genesis vi. 3): My spirit shall not strive with man for ever. The generation that built the tower of Babel will have no part in the world to come, as it is said (Genesis xi. 8): The Lord scattered them abroad from thence over the face of all the earth"—that is to say, in this world, while the repetition of the statement in the following verse refers to the world to come. The inhabitants of Sodom will have no part in the world to come, as it is said (Genesis xiii. 13): The men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the Lord exceedingly — *wicked* in this world, *sinners* in the world to come, but they will arise at the day of judgment. Rabbi Nehemiah said: Neither the inhabitants of Sodom nor those who perished in the deluge will arise at the judgment day, as it is said (Psalm i. 5): The wicked shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous *The wicked shall not stand in the judgment* alludes to those who perished in the deluge, and *the sinners in the congregation of the righteous* to the inhabitants of Sodom. They answered him thus: They will not arise in the congregation of the righteous, but they will arise in that of the impious. The men who went to search out the [promised] land will have no part in the world to come, as it is said (Numbers xiv. 37): Those men that did bring an evil report of the land, died by the plague before the Lord—*died* in this world and *by the plague* in the world to come. Those who perished in the wilderness will have no part in the world to come, and will not arise at the day of judgment, as it is said (Num. xiv. 35): In this wilderness they shall be consumed and there they shall die. This was Rabbi Akiba's opinion, and Rabbi Eleazar said it has been said for them (Psalm l. 5): Gather my saints together unto me, those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice. The companions of Korah will not arise again

[from their abyss], as it is said (Num. xvi. 33): The earth closed upon them, and they perished from among the assembly —*the earth closed upon them* in this world, *and they perished from among the assembly* in the world to come. This was Rabbi Akiba's opinion, but Rabbi Eleazar said that for them it has been said (1 Sam. ii. 6): The Lord killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up. . . . .[1]

4. The inhabitants of a city condemned for idolatry will have no part in the world to come, as it is said (Deut. xiii. 14): Certain evil men are gone out from the midst of thee."

This passage presupposes so many things that it requires some commentary. First, the world to come, *olam ha-ba*, is spoken of in a sort of impromptu manner, before any definition of its meaning has been given. Secondly, we find it stated that all the Israelites will be called to enjoy the beatitude of the world to come, as if they were all righteous and not even the greatest sinners were to be excluded. Those only were to be deprived of future bliss, who did not believe in the law, those who transgressed two commandments of no moral importance, and finally certain historical individuals and certain classes of persons, as for instance the inhabitants of a city condemned for idolatry. Again, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body appears incidentally in the statement that he who does not believe that this doctrine is taught in the Scriptures will have no part in the world to come, a phrase, which in the context where it occurs, certainly means a life *after* the resurrection. The portion of the Gemara, which touches on this passage, says that he who denies that this doctrine is found in the Scriptures is punished as he deserves — he denies the resurrection of the dead, and in consequence shall not enjoy it himself. There is therefore no doubt that in this passage the expression *olam ha-ba*—the world to come—is intended to mean the resurrection of the dead. But it was not sufficient for the Talmudists to propound the dogma that the dead are destined to arise again; they considered it necessary to prove that this doctrine is to be found in the Scriptures.

It would be tedious to repeat here all the strained interpretations, by means of which Biblical passages, similar to those

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[1] I omit what is said of the ten tribes, because, although in the ordinary editions of the Talmud, the *Tosefta* says (f. 110*b*), "The ten tribes will have no part in the world to come," I consider the more correct version to be, "they will not return," *i.e.*, to the promised land in the Messianic age.

used in the *Mishnah Sanhedrin*, are twisted into meanings that they cannot possibly contain. It will be sufficient to mention that two learned men, Rabbi Ashi and Rabina, with more good sense than their colleagues, deduced the doctrine of the resurrection from the one passage that really alludes to it—that namely in the Book of Daniel (xii. 2, 13).

It is important to notice that in those discussions in the Gemarah, where the Sadducees dispute with Rabbi Gamaliel (*Sanhedrin*, fol. 90 *b*), they accept as convincing only one of the Scriptural proofs which he offers, although to say the truth, this special one does not seem any more logical or convincing than the others[1]:—

It is narrated that a Roman emperor[2] asked R. Gamaliel how he could maintain that the dead would arise after they had turned into dust. To this question, the daughter of the Rabbi replied to the emperor: "In our city there are two vase-makers—one makes his vases from water, and the other from potter's clay. Which is the more praiseworthy?" The emperor answered, "He who makes them of water." From which she drew this conclusion: "If then God has made man out of a liquid, is there not all the more reason that he should create them anew out of clay—out of the dust?"

In the school of Rabbi Ishmael the possibility of the resurrection of the body was proved by another comparison. They said, if objects of crystal, which are formed by the breath of man can be mended when they are broken, how much more easily can man himself, who is formed by the spirit of the Most Holy (blessed be he) be created anew.[3]

It is further related that a heretic[4] asked the same question of R. Ami that the emperor had put to R. Gamaliel, and received the following answer: "I will tell thee to what this may be compared. To a mortal king, who commanded his subjects to build him a number of grand palaces in a place where there was neither earth nor water. They went and built

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[1] Compare in the New Testament (Matthew xxii. 23-33; Mark xii. 18-27; Luke xx. 27-40) similar discussions between the Sadducees and Jesus.

[2] Most of the editions have here *renegade, apostate* (Chofer), but the codices and the ancient editions have *Cæsar* emperor. Compare Rabbinowicz, *op. cit.*, page 250, n. 6.

[3] Compare *Beresith Rabba*, § 14.

[4] The MSS. of Munich and the early editions have *Mina* (See Rabbinowicz, *op. cit.*, ix. 250), which we translate *heretic*. The modern editions have צדוקי, *Sadducee*, because in the Talmud Min or Mina often signifies Christian. Here, however, neither a Christian nor a Sadducee can be meant; the latter, because at the time of R. Ami that sect no longer existed; the former, because the resurrection of the dead was one of the dogmas of Christianity. Some kind of heretic must have been meant adverse to Judaism, perhaps a Gnostic. (*Hamburger Real Encyclopædie*, I., 127.)

them, but after a time the palaces fell in ruins; and the king told them to go and build others in a place, where there was both earth and water. They replied that they could not. The king was angry with them and said: 'You built them first in a place, where there was neither earth nor water, ought you not to do so all the more easily now you have both?' And if thou dost not believe this," continued the sage, "go into a valley and look at a mouse that to-day is half earth and half flesh,[1] to-morrow it moves and is all flesh. And if thou sayest that takes a long time, go up a hill and see that to-day there is not a single snail, and to-morrow it rains and everything is full of snails."

Finally, we are told of a heretic, who said to a Pharisee: "Woe unto you, ye sinners, who say the dead will live again. The living die; how then shall the dead live again?" He answered: "Woe unto you, ye sinners, who say that the dead will not live again. Those who did not previously exist are made alive; how much more then those who have already once been among the living?"

But, as everyone must see for himself, such arguments prove very little. Such comparisons and hypothetical arguments cannot prove a fact so contrary to the laws of nature as the resurrection of the dead. It is, however, of no importance to us here whether the Pharisees argued well or ill; we only desire to show how high a value they set on the belief in the resurrection of the dead, and how they tried to prove it by every kind of argument. We may mention yet another way in which they tried to prove their point by reference to divine justice, which ought, they said, to punish or reward body and soul together, since both were equally deserving of reward or punishment. Respecting this matter we are told that the Emperor Antoninus[2] put the following questions to Rabbi: The body and the soul may both free themselves from judgment and punishment in the following manner:—"The body may say, It is the soul, which has sinned, for the instant

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[1] In the Talmud (as with other ancient nations) the theory of spontaneous generation was held with regard to certain animals.

[2] Who the emperor was that was contemporary with Rabbi (Jehuda the Holy) has been a matter of dispute. The philosophical opinions attributed to him in the Talmud might suggest either Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius, but in both cases we are met by the chronological difficulty that Jehuda the Holy flourished after the death of these two emperors. As, however, the whole of the intercourse between Jehuda the Holy and the emperor is legendary, the identity of the latter is not of much importance, but it is a point of moral and theological interest to see what were the imaginary relations between a Roman Emperor and a Jewish sage in the first centuries of the Christian era.

it has departed from me, I am like stone immured in the grave. And the soul may say, It is the body, which has sinned, for the instant I have departed from it, behold I fly upwards through the air like a bird." Rabbi answered: "I will tell thee a parable, which this matter resembles. A mortal king had a beautiful garden, full of fine fruit, and placed two men to guard it—one lame and one blind. The lame man said to the blind man: 'I see some fine fruit in this garden; come, take me on your back, and we will go and eat it.' Accordingly the lame man got on the blind man's back, and they took and eat the fruit. After a time the master of the garden came and said: 'Where are my first fruits?' The cripple answered: 'Have I feet that would enable me to reach your fruit?' And the blind man said: 'Have I eyes to see?' What did the master do? He put the lame man on the blind man's back and punished both together. Thus the Most Holy (blessed be He) leads the soul back to the body, and judges both together" (*Sanh.* fol. 91).

III.

The fact of the belief in the resurrection of the dead is thus superabundantly established. At this point various minor questions present themselves. Will *all* the dead arise again, or only the Israelites, or only the righteous? When and where will this resurrection take place? In what condition will the body arise? Will the life after the resurrection be eternal, or will it end after a shorter or longer period? And, finally, what becomes of the soul from the day of the death of the body until the day of the resurrection?

The Talmud does not contain precise and consistent answers to any of these questions. The answers vary according to the time and place in which they were written, the influence of alien doctrines, and also the development of the personal ideas of the writers.

With regard to the first question, if we accept what is stated in the passage quoted from *Sanhedrin*, the answer is simple. First, all the Israelites will have their part in the world to come, with the exception of certain specified sinners. But even the phrase, "*have their part*," gives rise to some doubt. Does it mean merely that they will arise from the dead, or that they will enjoy the bliss that is to follow the resurrection? And here again we find some disagreement. Why, in the first paragraph of the passage quoted above, is the resurrection spoken of as a reward in itself, while in the

conversation between the emperor and Rabbi, the resurrection of the body appears to be the lot of both good and bad, in order to enable the former to receive their reward and the latter their punishment? Again, in a passage of the Mishna (*Aboth*, iv. 22), where the resurrection is briefly but clearly inculcated, no distinctions are made, but it is simply stated that as those who are born are destined to die, so those who die are destined to rise again. It is evident that these two propositions would not correspond, if a large number of the dead were excluded from the resurrection. Elsewhere, however, we find it affirmed that the resurrection is only for the righteous: "A day of rain is worth more than that of the resurrection of the dead, because the former is alike for the righteous and the unrighteous, and the latter is for the righteous only" (*Taanith* 7[a]).

Confronted by such diverse opinions, it seems clear that the only way to establish some sort of order is to distinguish the different beliefs prevailing among the Hebrews with regard to a future life.

At first (and this principally in the Palestinian school) the theory of the soul after death having an existence separate from the body was not maintained, and for some time there was prevalent the old vague idea of Sheol—a life beyond the tomb, where all the shades were united in a dreary, shadowy existence, deprived of all earthly felicity. Then the desire felt by all religious men of finding some way of reconciling the sorrows of the righteous with the dogma of divine justice, led them to conceive the doctrine that after a longer or shorter period, the righteous would in a new life enjoy the felicity of which in this world they had been deprived. But this new life was not only that of the soul, but also of the body, as if death were not annihilation, but only the suspension of life.

It is possible that this doctrine was, as some think, first adopted by the Hebrews under the influence of the religious ideas of the Parsees; but, doubtless, their own religious development led them also to find in the allegorical expressions of the prophets a foundation on which to construct a doctrine which many considered—what, in fact, it was—a startling innovation. It was easy for the Pharisees to take literally such figurative expressions as the following: "I kill and I make alive" (Deut. xxxii. 39); "The Lord killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up" (1 Sam. ii. 6); "After two days he will revive us, on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him" (Hosea vi. 2); "Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as

the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead" (Isaiah xxvii. 19); "He hath swallowed up death for ever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces" (Isaiah xxv. 8). Finally, the well-known thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel was likely to make a deeper impression than any other passage.

At the same time, however, belief in the resurrection was mingled with Messianic hopes, and with a faith in the political and religious revival of the whole people.

A more careful consideration must be given to that passage in the Book of Daniel, which, as I have already said, is the only one in the Old Testament (excluding the Apocrypha) that distinctly alludes to the resurrection. After having announced the gravest misfortunes under the Seleucids, the author promises the deliverance of the people, and adds: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (Daniel xii. 2, etc.). Even the dead, then, are to enjoy the revival of the Hebrew nation—that is to say, the righteous among them—while the wicked are to suffer eternally according to the greatness of their sins. This general conception was subsequently further developed by the following reflections.

During all the persecutions of the Hebrews, though there were many sinners, there were also many righteous, and among these latter, the martyrs were undoubtedly the most praiseworthy. Why, then, should not they who died in a time of national misfortune enjoy the Messianic revival? If they did not, where was the justice of Providence? If a belief in the immortality of the soul had once been clearly and distinctly conceived, the answer would have been easy. The souls of those Hebrews who had died during the period of national misfortunes would not only enjoy the felicity of heaven, but would moreover from their abode of bliss have the happiness of beholding the fulfilment of the Messianic promises. But as the belief in the immortality of the soul had not been formulated with absolute precision, men were naturally led to imagine that the righteous would return to life again to enjoy that which they had hoped for, in a more or less distant future. It was this hope, which, as we have already seen, encouraged the martyrs to face undauntedly the most cruel tortures, and even death itself. We die now, they said, but the national revival will come sooner or later, and then we, too, shall be raised up to life again by the will of God, and shall enjoy the victory of

our people. This is "the world to come," in which, as the Talmud says, all the Israelites will have their portion (excepting some specified sinners), and, as will be seen from the following passage, it was taught that other nations were excluded from this Messianic revival, which all the Israelites were to enjoy. Rabbi Chiya bar Abba said, "The rain is greater than the resurrection of the dead, for the latter is for man only, and the former for man and beast; the resurrection of the dead is for Israel, and the rain for all nations."[1]

This is the national side of the Jewish belief in the resurrection of the dead. But, on the other side, Judaism passes the limits of a national religion, and if it is not actually a universal religion, it has allowed the road to be opened by which to become one. As in the literature of the rabbis, "Jehovah" becomes "Adonai," the Lord, the God of all that is created, his retributive justice cannot restrict itself to the children of Israel, but must embrace all men of every race and of every creed.

If all the Israelites are destined to live again in a new earth and under a new heaven, this does not mean that only they are to be thus highly favoured. In fact the Talmud's teaching on this point is perfectly clear.

We have seen that Balaam is mentioned among those excluded from the world to come. He, as is well known, was not one of the Hebrew people, and the Talmud consequently argues very reasonably as follows: Balaam will have no part in the world to come, but others—that is others not of the Hebrew race—may have part in it (*Sanhedrin* 105*a*). This Talmudic deduction is perfectly logical, because if all the non-Jews were to be excluded from the joys of the world to come, it would have been useless to mention one of them in so explicit a manner. It is true that amongst the Pharisees there were some who maintained the intolerant opinions that all non-Jews would be excluded from the joys of the world to come. But in opposition to this opinion of Rabbi Eleazar, a very learned, but very narrow-minded man, there prevailed, the far more liberal view of Rabbi Joshua, expressed in the well-known sentence, "The righteous of all nations will have part in the world to come."[2] In other passages of the Talmud the righteous and the wicked are spoken of as having to appear before the divine justice, without any distinction being made between the Israelites and other nations. It is therefore clear that, though the New Testament repeatedly speaks of the

[1] *Bereshith Rabba*, § 13; compare *Vayikra Rabba*, § 13.
[2] *Tosefta*, *Sanhedrin*, ch. xiii.

resurrection being the destiny of all mankind, this doctrine was already current among the Pharisees, and was merely adopted and subsequently taught by Christianity.

Who, according to the Pharisaic doctrine, will be excluded from the enjoyment of celestial life after the resurrection? Among the first mentioned, as we have seen, are those Jews who deny that the doctrine of the resurrection can be proved from the Scriptures. The Gemara comments on this point in the following manner: He who denies the existence of a certain benefit, ought not to be permitted to enjoy it himself, for God rewards and punishes, measure for measure.

The second category of those excluded by the Mishna contains those who deny the divine origin of the law of Moses. The *Boraitha* carries this exclusion to the utmost limits, and even those who consider a single verse of the law to be the mere product of the human mind, or those who deny the divinity of the deductions which the sages have drawn from the Law's text are doomed to exclusion. Rabbi Meir moreover says, He who studies the Law and does not teach it, despises the Law, and is therefore excluded from the resurrection. Rabbi Nathan considered that he who did not sufficiently value the Mishna would share the same fate, and finally Rabbi Neharai pronounced sentence of exclusion against those who, though able to study the Law, had neglected to do so. Rabbi Ishmael, on the contrary, considered "despising the law" to be identical with the sin of idolatry.[1]

The third category is filled by the Epicureans. There can be no doubt that the followers of Epicurus are designated by the Mishna under the title of "Epicuros." The intimate relations existing at the time of the sages of the Mishna, between the Jewish and the Græco-Roman nations, explain sufficiently how it was possible for the doctrines of the Epicureans to have found not a few followers among the Hebrews. It was, therefore, natural that the Pharisee Rabbis considered those excluded from the enjoyment of a future life who denied the divine agency in the government of the world, and considered pleasure, however refined, to be the foundation of practical life. In fact the explanation of the word "Epicuros," given in an early addition to the Mishna, may be very well applied to the Epicureans, "despisers of the Word of God."[2] But it appears that at a later date, when the Gemara

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[1] *Sanhedrin*, 99*a*.

[2] Maimonides included among the "Epicureans" whoever denied that God knew all the works of man (Cf. *Teshuba*, III., 8), which is tantamount to denying the existence of Providence, one of the chief points of the Epicurean philosophy.

was compiled, the real meaning of the word "Epicuros" was forgotten, and Rab and R. Chanina restricted it to those who despised the majesty of the law, and R. Jochanan and R. Joshua b. Levi, to him who despised his companion in his presence (*Sanhedrin*, 99 *b*). If we enter into particulars as to the sort of contempt to which the sages of the law referred, it is recorded that the wits of the period said: Of what use are they [the sages]? They read and explain the Scriptures for themselves. Or again they said: Of what use are those learned in the law? They have never allowed anybody to eat a raven[1] or forbidden a dove.

In the Talmud Yerushalmi and in other portions of the Mishna there are further enumerated, as excluded from the life after the resurrection, those who disobey the law, though they acknowledge its divine origin, those who transgress the covenant of Abraham and those who explain the law in a sense different from that accepted in the ritual (*Sanhedrin*, x. 1). There is no doubt that this is the meaning of the most ancient text, but the Gemara, on the contrary, explains it to signify the man who transgresses the precepts of the law in public. R. Eleazar added to the list him who treated sacred things as if they were profane, him who did not keep the solemn feasts, and him who shamed his companion in public;[2] he also follows the Mishna in counting as sinners those who explain the law in a different sense from that accepted by the ritual.

The opinion of R. Akiba, that he who reads strange books is to be reckoned among the sinners, is also worthy of note, first, on account of its intolerant severity, and secondly, because it naturally occurs to us to ask what is meant by the Rabbi's "strange" books. The first explanation given in the Gemara (100*b*), that strange books mean heretical books, seems to us the most acceptable. The opinion which includes Ecclesiasticus among prohibited books is groundless, as the book of the son of Sirach is not only quoted in the Talmud as one of sound doctrine, but is invested with almost religious authority. It is therefore important to observe that the Talmud Yerushalmi teaches that the works of Homer and all others written from that time forward may be read like any other literature. It is thus clearly evident that the Pharisees, at least at certain times and in certain schools, did not prohibit the study of foreign literature.

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[1] Mentioned Leviticus xi. 15 among the birds prohibited for food.

[2] *Aboth*, III., 11; *Aboth of R. Nathan*, 54; cf. *Baba Mezia*, 58*b*, the last part of which is attributed to Rabbi Chanina.

Rabbi Chanina included the adulterer in the list of sinners, but held that his sin was considered expiated if he had suffered for it the penalty of death (*Baba Mezia*, 58*b*).

We find further that Rabbi Eleazar considered that the proud would be excluded from the resurrection, which he distinctly declares to be the reward of humility (*Sota* 5*a*). According to others, all those who are ignorant of the law, or at least those who have not in some degree aided or been useful to those who study it, are excluded from the blessedness of the resurrection (*Chethuboth* 111*a*). But this excessively severe view was not generally adopted.

In another passage of the Talmud (*Rosh Hashana* 17*a*), which we shall examine in detail later on, the list of sinners includes those who betray their own countrymen, and the tyrannical governors of peoples and provinces. Maimonides also adds homicides, whom he calls shedders of blood, to the list (Cf. *Teshuba* iii. 6). And finally, who would think that some of the Rabbis among the Pharisees excluded usurers from the resurrection (Tosafoth, *Sota* 5*a*)? It certainly is remarkable that the Hebrews, whom other nations have frequently considered the usurers of mankind, should have amongst their religious teachings so severe and explicit a condemnation of usury.

If we now resume the examination of our passage from *Sanhedrin*, we shall find that Rabbi Akiba's exclusion of those who pretended to cure wounds by repeating a verse of the Scriptures as a spell, shows how anxious he was to keep the Hebrews apart from the superstitious beliefs in incantations so common among other nations. The Gemara, however, restricts the prohibition to those cases, where besides repeating a verse of the Scriptures, an irreverent act was committed, such as spitting, which was customary on those occasions.

The dictum of Rabbi Saul, who included among the sinners those who pronounce the divine name as it is written, shows that at that time it was already considered ineffable for any laymen.

As regards the condemnation of individuals, it seems at first sight astonishing that the Mishna places only the three kings, Jeroboam, Ahab and Manasseh on the list of sinners, to the exclusion of many other kings of Judah and Israel, whom the Bible describes as impious and wicked. But according to another opinion, attributed to R. Meir, not only these three, but also Ahaz, Ahaziah, and all those kings of Israel of whom it is said that they did evil in the sight of the Lord, will not arise at the resurrection, nor will they be

summoned to the last judgment.[1] Rabbi Meir further included Absalom in the list, because he rebelled against his father.

But elsewhere we find milder opinions prevailing with respect to the three kings and to three of the other individuals enumerated in the list of sinners. They are all to be pardoned and allowed to enjoy the future life, with the sole exception of Balaam, who receives no pardon.

It is noteworthy that even Doeg and Ahithophel, who betrayed David, are to meet the latter in the world to come, without his feeling any indignation at beholding them among the blest, as God himself will act as peacemaker between them.[2] This last idea, though expressed in a popular form and without avoiding the anthropomorphism, from which no positive religion can be entirely free, shows nevertheless the Pharisees' pure and elevated conception of the future life. In it, they said, benign sentiments alone exist, and those who have been the fiercest enemies on earth will there be united in the bonds of friendship and benevolence.

It is important to notice the distinction which is made between "enjoying the world to come," and "arising for the judgment-day." Thus it is stated that those who perished in the flood will neither enjoy the world to come, nor arise at the Day of Judgment, while, according to the general opinion, the inhabitants of Sodom will arise at the Day of Judgment, but will not be permitted to enjoy the world to come. Rabbi Nehemiah held that they would be deprived of both, on account of their wickedness, but those who maintained the opposite opinion replied that they would arise in the assembly, not of the righteous, but of the wicked. This is an important point, because we may deduce from it, that, according to the doctrine of the Talmud, the resurrection will be for all mankind, with but a few specified exceptions. But not all who thus arise will be among the blest. On the contrary, everybody will be judged according to his merits, and after the resurrection will either enjoy beatitude or suffer an eternity of torment.

IV.

The next point which I propose to consider is the time when and place in which the resurrection is to occur. If it be re-

[1] *Sanhedrin*, 103*b*, compare Yerushalmi, *Sanhedrin* 10, 2; *Vayikra R.*, §§ 36, where the same opinion is attributed to Bar Kappara.

[2] *Sanhedrin* 104*b et. seq.*; compare Yerushalmi *loc. cit.* and *Bamidbar Rabba* 14 (beginning).

membered that the resurrection of the dead was in the first place imagined to be the reward of the righteous Israelites who died before the coming of the Messiah, it is easy to understand that its advent was supposed to coincide with that of the Messianic age. In fact, the miracle of raising the dead was one of the wonders which the Messiah and his precursor, Elijah, were foretold to perform.[1]

In consequence of this theory it was further held that only those buried in the promised land would rise again.[2] And when it was objected to this, that it would be unjust if the righteous who had been buried in other countries were to be excluded from the resurrection owing to no fault of their own, the answer was one of those expedients so common in the dialectics of the Talmud—namely, that the bodies of the righteous buried in other countries would be conveyed subterraneously to the promised land, whence they would then emerge to the enjoyment of a new life.

But since the doctrine of the resurrection was extended so as to include the entire human race, the dogma was established that the resurrection was to be not merely a national recompense for the Israelites, but a final and conclusive distribution of rewards and punishments, due to the righteous and the wicked of all nations and of all creeds. This teaching is clearly set forth in the following passage:—

"And the most Holy—blessed be he—will ordain the resurrection of the dead in the time of the son of David (the Messiah), in order to give a reward to his followers and to those who fear him, and he will ordain a resurrection in the world to come to give justice and equity."[3]

A passage in the Talmud speaks still more clearly and conclusively of the final judgment awaiting not only the Israelites, but also the other nations:—

"The school of Shammai said: 'There will be three classes at the Day of Judgment; the first will be the righteous, the second the wicked, and the third all those who are neither very righteous nor very wicked. The righteous are immediately inscribed and sealed for eternal life, the wicked for Gehenna, as it is said (Daniel xii. 2): And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt; while those who are neither very righteous nor very wicked will descend into Gehenna, but after remaining there

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[1] Talmud Yerushalmi *Sabbath* I., 5; *Shekalim* III., 4; T. B. *Sota* 49*b*; *Pirke R. Eleazar*, 32; Midrash on *Proverbs*.

[2] *Chetuboth*, 111.

[3] *Tana debe Eliyahu Rabba*, 5.

for a time they will come forth again, as it is said (Zech. xiii. 9): I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried; they shall call on my name, and I will hear them. Hannah said of them: The Lord killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up (1 Sam. ii. 6).' The school of Hillel said: 'He who is great in pity (God) inclineth unto pity, and for them [*i.e.*, the moderately righteous] David has said: I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice (Psalm cxvi.); and further in the same Psalm: I was brought low, and he saved me. The Israelites and the sinners of other nations who sinned in the body will descend into hell, and will be punished there for twelve months, after which their bodies will be consumed, and their bones will be burned and scattered under the feet of the righteous, as it is said (Malachi iv. 3): And ye shall tread down the wicked, for they shall be as ashes under the soles of your feet. But the heretics, the betrayers of their countrymen, the Epicureans, those who deny the law or the resurrection of the dead, those who separate themselves from the religious community, those who have inspired fear in the land of the living, those who have sinned themselves and caused the multitude to sin, like Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and others like him [*i.e.*, special classes of great sinners], will descend into Gehenna, and will suffer there for endless centuries, as it is said in the Scriptures (Isaiah lxvi. 24): And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh. If hell ended, they would not end.'"[1]

The Judgment Day, which is mentioned in this passage, must necessarily be the final judgment at the resurrection of the dead. This is proved by the citation of the passage in the Book of Daniel, which shows that it cannot be supposed to mean the judgment of the individual after death. Most of the commentators agree on this point, and it will be sufficient to mention the Tosafists, who, moreover, foresaw the possible suggestion that a universal judgment would be useless if each individual had already been judged separately immediately after death. The Tosafists held that the individual judgment had only a temporary effect, while that of the great Day of Judgment was for eternity.

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[1] *Rosh Hoshana*, 16*b*, *seq.*, compare *Seder Olam*, ch. III., *Tosefta of Sanhedrin*, ch. XIII.

The above passage, however, presents certain other difficulties, of which an explanation must be attempted.

According to the school of Shammai those whom we may describe as neither great saints nor special sinners were to suffer for a time, and then to emerge purified from the place of punishment. The same opinion is expressed in another part of the Talmud (*Sabbath* 152*b*), where it is said that these mediocre souls and those of great sinners would both alike be consigned to the evil spirit "Duma," but that the former would ultimately find repose, while the latter would not.

The school of Hillel, on the contrary, held that God would treat this medium class according to the full measure of His mercy, and would place them among the blest immediately after the resurrection, without inflicting on them any preliminary punishment. This view would at first seem to make no distinction between the moderately righteous and the perfectly just, but the difference, according to the Hillelites, is to be found in the penalties which the former will have to endure *before* the resurrection.[1]

One of the commentaries of the Gemara explains that the Israelites who "sinned in the body" meant those who neglected to wear the phylacteries, while the strangers thus spoken of were those guilty of incest and similar crimes. This interpretation appears impossible for three reasons: First, the sin of omitting phylacteries is too slight to be visited with eternal punishment. Secondly, it is most unlikely that such very different sinners should be classed under the same head, even though the one division comprised Israelites and the other "strangers." Thirdly, it cannot be imagined that the words "sinned in the body" can be applied to the transgression of a rite concerning a sacred adornment. The words "sinned in the body" are, therefore, applied by the author of this *Boraitha* to all those guilty of adultery, incest, and other similar crimes, who were to be condemned, not to eternal punishment, but to the annihilation of body and soul. This appears to be the meaning of the burning of the soul and dispersing it to the winds.[2]

It is worthy of note that it is only in speaking of those

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[1] Compare Talmud Yerushalmi *Pea* i. 1, *Sanhedrin* x. 1, where the same opinion is attributed to Rabbi Eleazar.

[2] Nachmanides (*Shaar-haggemul*) gives this Talmudic passage a very different interpretation from the simple and literal one. He states that after twelve months of suffering, these sinners will not be destroyed, but will pass into a state devoid both of pain and pleasure, like that of the souls in limbo. But can this interpretation be possibly given to the words of the Talmud?

who "sinned in the body" that sinners not of Hebrew race are specially mentioned, and that they are to receive the same punishment as the Israelites. In all the other classes no mention is made of nationality.

The date of the general resurrection must clearly be subsequent to the end of the world. This is proved by the passage already quoted from "Tana debe Eliyahu," which marks off the Messianic age from that of the resurrection. It is further confirmed by a passage from the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy (§ 357), in which it is said that before Moses' death God showed him the whole history of the world from the day of the creation to that of the resurrection of the dead. It is evident that the resurrection of the dead is considered the end of the world, whereas the coming of the Messiah, according to the Jewish belief, was to be followed by a national revival ushering in the Messianic age.

There are, therefore, apparently, according to the dogmas of Judaism, two resurrections at different times and for different purposes; one for the people of Israel at the coming of the Messiah, and one for the whole race of man when the end of time brought the Day of Judgment.

In what condition will the dead arise? With their former physical defects or in perfect health; clothed or naked? To the first question it was replied (*Sanhedrin*, 91*b*) that all the dead would arise in the same state as that in which they had been at the time of their death, but that God would then heal the righteous of every bodily infirmity, as otherwise they would not be able to enjoy perfect happiness. As to the second question, Rabbi Meir is said to have given the following answer to a certain queen named Cleopatra[1]: Let us take an argument from the grain. If the grain, that has been sown in the ground, arises thence fully clothed, how much more will this be the case with the righteous, who are buried in their garments.[2]

Will the life after the resurrection be eternal or finite? On this point the Talmud expresses itself with decision: "The righteous, whom the Holy One, blessed be He, will cause to arise at the resurrection will never return to the dust."[3] Here no distinction is made between the Messianic resurrection and the universal resurrection of the Judgment Day; it is merely

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[1] This cannot be the famous Queen of Egypt, nor the wife of Herod, or of Gessius Florus, nor the Queen of Syria mentioned by Josephus, as they all lived prior to Rabbi Meir. It is, however, possible that there is an anachronism in this more legendary than historical dialogue.

[2] *Sanhedrin*, 90*b*.

[3] *Sanhedrin*, 92*a*.

stated that after the resurrection there will be no more death. The question might also be asked concerning those who will be living at the time of the coming of the Messiah and those who will be born after that event.[1] According to some authorities death will cease after the commencement of the Messianic age, inasmuch as death being the consequence of sin, the former will naturally disappear when the latter becomes impossible.[2] But others hold that none born of women can escape death, and that, therefore, those Israelites who are living at the time of the Messiah's coming, and even those who are born afterwards, will have to die; some add the opinion that after death they will immediately arise again to enjoy the Messianic revival, while others consider that they will die after an unusually prolonged life, not to rise again until the final and universal Judgment Day.

V.

The foregoing picture of Talmudic eschatology has been confined to its teaching in respect to the resurrection of the body. It has now to be asked what becomes of the departed from the hour of death to the day of resurrection; and this question leads up to immortality of the soul. For if the Pharisees had not considered the soul as an entity distinct from the body, they could, even while admitting the doctrine of the resurrection, have formulated the theory that the period between death and the resurrection was one if not of absolute lifelessness at least of vital suspension. This, however, was not the case. The Pharisees distinguished the soul from the body, for when they speak of the creation of man they say that God first formed Adam as one would form a mass of clay and then infused into him a living soul,[3] thus almost literally repeating the passage in Genesis (ii. 7).

The problem whether the soul animates the, as yet, unborn infant for a longer or shorter period before birth is frequently touched upon, and is the subject of a conversation between the Emperor Antoninus and Rabbi (*Sanhedrin*, 91*a*), in which the latter professes himself convinced by the emperor that the union of body and soul long precedes the birth of the child.

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[1] Saadiah, *Emunoth vedeoth*, vii. 1.

[2] Compare *Pesachim*, 68*a*, *Sanhedrin*, 91*b*, *Midrash Koheleth*, I. 4, *Midrash Shemuel*, § 24.

[3] *Bereshith R.*, § 14; compare *Vayikra R.*, § 9, where it is said that Adam is made partly of inferior and partly of superior substances.

The relation between soul and body is compared to the relation between God and the universe. "As the most Holy, blessed be he, fills the whole universe, thus the soul fills the whole body; as the most Holy, blessed be he, sees and is not seen, thus the soul sees and is not seen; as the most Holy, blessed be he, vivifies the whole universe, thus the soul vivifies the whole body; as the most Holy, blessed be he, penetrates the inmost parts, thus the soul penetrates the inmost parts" (*Berachoth*, 10*a*).

Elsewhere we find it stated that whereas it is from its parents that the child derives its bodily form, "The most Holy, blessed be he, gives it spirit and soul, sight and hearing, the power of speech and motion, knowledge, intelligence, and intellect. Then, when death is approaching, The most Holy, blessed be he, takes away the part that he has given and leaves the rest to the father and mother." [1]

It is thus evident that a distinction was made between body and soul, both in life and death, and, as we have seen, this distinction is also alluded to in certain parts of the Old Testament, in which the soul is spoken of as returning to God, who gave it. And though the wicked are destined for a very different fate, yet even for them death is represented as the separation of the soul from the body—a separation ordained by God. "When God takes away the soul of the just, he takes it with a tranquil spirit . . . . when he takes the soul of the wicked he consigns it to malicious and cruel demons" (*Sifre*, Ed. Friedmann, 149*b*).

But to avoid such a misfortune everybody is exhorted to keep his soul as pure as it was given him by God, so that it may be returned to him clean and sinless. The following parable, commenting on the well-known verse of Ecclesiastes (xii. 7), was designed to impress this still more forcibly: "The spirit shall return unto God who has given it. Return it to him pure as he gave it to thee. Even as a mortal king, who gave regal garments to his servants; the wise put them away carefully in a chest, the foolish wore them when they went to work. After a few days the king required them to return the garments to him, the wise gave them back pure and unsullied; the foolish soiled and stained. The king was pleased with the former and said: 'Let my garments be placed in my treasury and let those who guarded them so well go in peace unto their homes.' But he was angry with the foolish wearers, and said: 'Let my garments be cleaned and let those who

[1] *Nidda*, 31*a*. I have quoted the version of the *Sheeltoth* of R. Achai, which is confirmed by the Tosafists in *Baba Kama*, 25*a*.

soiled them be bound in prison.' Thus the most Holy, blessed be he, says of the bodies of the righteous: 'He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds' (Isaiah lvii. 2); and of their souls he says: 'The soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God' (1 Samuel xxv. 29). Concerning the bodies of the wicked, God says: 'There is no peace for the wicked' (Isaiah lvii. 21); and of the souls of the wicked he says: 'The souls of thine enemies them shall he sling out as from the hollow of a sling'" (1 Samuel xxv. 29).[1]

The idea that the soul should be returned to God pure as it was given by him is found in the morning prayer of the Hebrew ritual, which is certainly of considerable antiquity. "My God, the soul which thou hast given me is pure—thou hast created and formed it, and breathed it into me: thou dost carefully preserve it within me, and thou wilt hereafter take it from me to restore it to me in futurity." (*Berachoth*, 60*b*.) In these brief words the Israelite daily expresses his belief in the Divine origin of the soul, in its immortality, and in the resurrection. But this belief once taken for granted, it follows of necessity that the soul must have an independent existence from the day of its separation from the body to that of the resurrection; a theory which presented but little difficulty to the Pharisees, inasmuch as they considered the soul, if not eternal, at any rate to have existed from the day of creation, and therefore long before the body was formed.

It is said that God took counsel with the souls of the righteous in creating Adam;[2] and that the spirits and souls destined to give life to the body have their dwelling-place in the seventh heaven, called *Araboth*.[3] It is further stated that the Messianic age cannot begin until all the souls destined to give life to bodies have entered on their terrestrial existence;[4] and in a legendary work of more recent date there is a description of the repugnance with which the soul descends to animate the body, and of its attempted resistance to the Divine will which compels it to do so.[5]

A belief in the pre-existence of the soul not only facilitates a belief in its continuing to exist after the death of the body, but even leads to it as a necessary and logical conclusion. The Talmud frequently speaks of this life of the soul after death and before the body's resurrection, and of rewards and punishments beyond the limits of this life, but unconnected with those attending the resurrection of the dead. A previously quoted parable taught how the re-united body and

[1] *Sabbath*, 152*b*. [2] *Bereshith R.*, § 8. [3] *Hagiga*, 12*b*.
[4] *Yebamoth*, 62*a*. [5] *Tanchuma*, בקרי, 3.

soul at the resurrection were to meet with judgment; another will show how just it is that the soul rather than the body should be called to account:—

"A priest had two wives, one the daughter of a priest, the other of a layman; he gave them charge of a meal offering, which they made unclean. When he asked, 'Which of you has done this?' they both denied their guilt, and laid the blame upon each other. What did the priest do? He did nothing to the daughter of the layman, and began to punish the priestess. She said, 'My lord priest, why dost thou leave the daughter of the layman and punish me? Are we not both equally guilty?' The priest replied, 'She is the daughter of a layman, and has not been taught these things by her father. Thou art the daughter of a priest, and hast been taught these things by thy father; that is why I leave her and punish thee.' Thus in the time to come, when body and soul present themselves at the judgment-seat, what will the most Holy—blessed be he—do to them? He will leave the body, and will put the soul on its trial. The soul will say: 'Father of the universe, we have sinned together, why dost thou leave the body and put me on my trial?' He will answer: 'The body is made of an inferior substance, and taken from a place where sin is habitual; thou art made of a superior substance in a sinless place; therefore I leave the body, and put thee on thy trial.'"[1]

This trial, the judgment of God, to which the soul has to submit itself, is enumerated by Akabya, son of Mahalalel, amongst the considerations which are to be kept in mind as a moral safeguard. "Consider three things, and do not expose thyself to sin: know whence thou comest, whither thou goest, and before whom thou wilt have to render an account. Whence comest thou? From the dust. Whither goest thou? To a place of dust and worms. And before whom must thou render an account? Before the King of kings, the most Holy, blessed be he."[2] And from this fate—the inexorable lot of all—none can escape. "Those who are born must die, those who die will arise again, and the living will be judged, to know, teach, and acknowledge that he is God, he is the maker, he is the creator, he is wisdom, he is justice, he is witness, he will give judgment; blessed be he, before whom there is no injustice, nor forgetfulness, nor respect of persons, nor receiving of gifts. And know that all is according to reason; nor must thou think that thy temptations will be a refuge unto thee, for it was not by thine own will that thou

[1] *Vayikra R.*, § 4. [2] *Aboth*, iii. 1.

wast formed, not by thine own will that thou wast born, not by thine own will dost thou live, not by thine own will dost thou die, nor is it by thine own will that thou wilt have to render an account before the King of kings, the most Holy, blessed be he." [1]

Man should moreover always hold himself prepared for this judgment day, when he will have to render an account of his doings, since nobody knows when death will overtake him. "R. Eleazar said: Repent the day before thou diest. His scholars asked him: How can a man know when he will die? He answered, For that very reason thou shouldst repent every day; thou mayest, perhaps, die to-morrow, and thus every day will find thee penitent. Solomon says, in his wisdom: Let thy garments be always white, and let not thy head lack ointment (Eccles. ix. 8). Jochanan ben Zaccai said: It is like a king, who had invited his ministers to a banquet, without fixing the time. The wise attired themselves for the banquet, and stood waiting at the door of the palace, for they said: 'Can anything be wanting in the king's palace?' The foolish went after their own affairs, for they said: 'Can there be a banquet without the trouble of preparing it?' Suddenly the king summoned his ministers; the wise presented themselves in suitable attire, the foolish in unseemly guise. The king approved of the former, and was angry with the latter, and said: 'Let those who are attired for the banquet sit and eat, while the others stand and look on.'" [2] This judgment, which none can escape, caused great terror, even to those who might have considered themselves most righteous; so that even R. Jochanan, when near to death, was, we are told, found weeping by his disciples, who went to visit him. They said unto him, 'O our master, light of Israel, strong pillar, mighty hammer, why dost thou weep?' He answered, 'If I were to be led before a mortal king, one who is here to-day and to-morrow in the grave, and he were angry with me, his anger would not be eternal; if he imprisoned me, it would not be for ever; even if he had me put to death, it would not be an eternal death; I could, perhaps, conciliate him with words, or buy his favour with money, and yet I should weep. How much more, then, should I weep now that I am to be led before the King of kings, the most Holy, blessed be he, who lives

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[1] *Aboth*, iv. 22.

[2] *Sabbath*, 153*a*. Compare *Aboth*, ii. 10, *Aboth of R. Nathan*, 15. This Talmudic theory coincides perfectly with that of the New Testament, Matthew xxi. 46-51, Mark xiii. 33-37, Luke xii. 40-48, and other passages.

for ever; whose wrath, if he be angry with me, is eternal; who, if he throws me into prison, will keep me there for all time; who, if he condemns me to death, does so for all eternity; whom I cannot conciliate with words, nor buy his favour with money; and, besides all this, there are before me two lives—one in hell, the other in paradise, and how do I know whither I shall be led?'" [1]

Further details are given respecting the way in which the soul is to be judged, and it is stated that the principal questions that will be asked will be concerning man's moral conduct to his fellow-men, his obedience to natural laws, his faith in the divine promises, the education of his own intellect by means of study, and, above all, concerning his fear of God. Rabbi taught that "when man is led to judgment, the following questions are asked him: Hast thou conducted thy business matters honestly and in good faith? Hast thou set aside a portion of thy time to study the Law? Hast thou become the father of a family? Hast thou believed in the redemption? Hast thou discussed the Law with wisdom? Hast thou been able to deduce one conclusion from another? and for all this, if he possessed the fear of God, he is acquitted, if not, not." [2]

Though it is admitted that the soul, after the death of the body, must present itself before the judgment seat of God, it is also stated that from the very moment of death the fate of the righteous differs from that of the wicked, because God knows, even before judgment is given, what have been the deeds of all mankind, and consequently how each one ought to be treated. It is stated that "at the moment when a righteous man departs from this life, certain ministering angels proclaim before the most Holy—blessed be he:—Lord of the world, a righteous man cometh. He replies, Let the righteous come. And they go forth to meet him, and they say: Come in peace; they [the righteous] rest in their beds. (Isaiah lvii. 2.) R. Eleazar said: At the moment when the righteous departs from this world, three bands of ministering angels go forth to meet him; one says, Go in peace, and another says, He enters on his right, and the third says, Come in peace, they rest in their beds. But when a wicked man departs from this world, three bands of demons go forth to meet him, and one says: There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked (Isaiah lvii. 21): the next says: Lie down in sorrow (Isaiah l. 11); and the third says: Go down and be thou laid with the uncircumcised" (Ezekiel xxxii. 13). [3]

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[1] *Berachoth*, 28*b*. [2] *Sabbath*, 31*a*.

[3] *Chetuboth*, 104*a*; *Bamidbar R.*, § 11.

If then God already knows the merits and failings of every individual, so that from the very moment of death the angels are able to foretell the fate of the departing soul, why, it may be asked, should that soul be brought to judgment when the verdict is given beforehand? It may be answered that in this way every individual is duly shown why he is either rewarded or punished, and moreover the sinners are made to see that no defence is of any avail, and to acknowledge the justice of the supreme decree. This is, in fact, the explanation given in the Talmud. "Those who have transgressed the will of the most Holy—blessed be he—acknowledge the justice of their punishment, and proclaim before him: Father of the world, thou hast judged rightly, thou hast rewarded rightly, thou hast punished rightly, thou hast rightly created Gehenna for the wicked, and the Garden of Eden for the righteous.'"[1]

When the sentence has been thus pronounced, what will happen to the soul thus separated from the body? From the passages hitherto quoted from the Talmud, it is obvious that the Pharisees had no doubts on the subject—the souls of the righteous are to enter the Garden of Eden, or Paradise, those of the wicked Gehenna, or hell. In certain passages of the Talmud we are told who are to be reckoned among the righteous, and who among the wicked. Amongst the former are the temperate, the humble, the abstemious, the chaste; amongst the latter, the intemperate, the proud, the greedy, the shameless,[2] and those who talked too much with women.[3] Tricksters, forgers, hypocrites, and slanderers cannot present themselves before God.[4] Those, on the contrary, who are contented with their lot, who live on their own earnings,[5] and who lead a life of privation in order to be able to study the Law, are destined to take their place among the blessed.[6]

But there are other passages in which the fate of the wicked is very differently described. "The souls of the righteous dwell beneath the throne of divine glory, while those of the wicked wander about the world without repose."[7] It is further stated that even the souls of the righteous descend from heaven for the space of twelve months to visit their own bodies, and do not enjoy complete repose until the end of that period.[8] Again, some Talmudists, without admitting the existence of a fixed place of punishment like hell,

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[1] *Erubin*, 19. Compare *Taanith*, 11*a*; *Sifre*, II., § 307.

[2] *Aboth*, v. 19-20. [3] *Ibid.*, i. 5. [4] *Sota*, 42*a*; *Sanhedrin*, 103*a*.

[5] *Aboth*, iv. 1; *Chullin*, 44*a*. [6] *Aboth*, vi. 4.

[7] *Sabbath*, 152*a*. Compare *Midrash Koheleth*, iii. 21; *Tanchuma Vayikra*, § 8. [8] *Sabbath*, 152*b*.

say that the wicked are destined to be burnt by a fire which will be kindled by themselves, and by excessive atmospheric heat.[1]

The general opinion, however, that prevails in Talmudic literature as to the punishment of the wicked, and the reward of the righteous is that even before the creation of the world, hell was prepared for the former and paradise for the latter.[2] Some, on the other hand, hold the theory that only the infernal region, and not its consuming fire, was fashioned before the world, and that the fire was kindled on the second day of the creation, because that is the only day of which it is not said, "And God saw that it was good."

Elsewhere further particulars are given with regard to the dimensions, the divisions and the pleasures and torments of heaven and hell. Thus some Talmudic authorities state that the garden of paradise is sixty times as large as the world, that Eden, which is described as a distinct and separate locality, is sixty times as large as paradise, and that hell is sixty times as large as Eden (*Berachoth*, 34*b*). Others again maintain that both paradise and hell are infinite (*Taanith* 10). Both have been divided into seven sections, destined for the dwelling-places of the various classes of the righteous and the wicked, who are thus rewarded or punished according to their deserts.[3] Gradually a sort of legendary literature sprang into existence, entering more and more fully into detailed descriptions of a future life,[4] but this belongs more to poetry and popular literature than to theology and moral teaching. I need not, therefore, dwell upon it here in further detail, especially as it frequently deals in coarse and sensual images, chiefly intended to astonish or terrify the "general reader." On the other hand, Hebrew theologians of more recent date have endeavoured to free the conception of a future life from every vestige of sensuality, and to represent both its rewards and its punishments from a purely spiritual point of view.

But even here the Talmudists have in many cases forestalled them in their endeavours to spiritualise as much as possible the idea of a future state. They even went so far as to say (*Berachoth*, 34*b*) that no human being could form any conception of the bliss of Eden, and that the world to come cannot in any way be compared with the world of earth.

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[1] *Bereshith R.*, 6. Compare *Aboda Zara*, 3*b*; *Nedarim*, 8*b*.
[2] *Nedarim*, 39*b*; *Pesachim*, 54*a*; *Tanchuma*, נישוא, 11.
[3] *Midrash* on Psalms, xi. 7. Compare *Erubin*, 19*a*; *Vayikra R.*, § 30.
[4] *Massecheth Gehinnam*; *Midrash Chonen*; *Massecheth Echaloth*; *Maase di R. Jehoshua*; *Seder Gan Eden*.

"In the world to come there is no eating, nor drinking, nor marriage; no envy, no hatred, no rancour; but the righteous sit with crowns on their heads, and enjoy the divine splendour" (*Berachoth*, 16*a*).

Following this spiritualised conception, Maimonides admitted the theory of everlasting beatitude for the righteous, but not being able to conceive a spiritual punishment, he was led to conclude that the souls of the wicked would not live for ever after the death of the body, but be condemned to complete annihilation.[1] (This view had indeed been partly entertained by the Talmudists, who, as I have previously indicated, held that the souls of a certain class of sinners were punished by absolute destruction.) Thus even Maimonides did not consider immortality as an essential and intrinsic quality of the soul, but only as a reward for righteousness; immortality is coupled with beatitude. The punishment of the wicked will be death. This opinion was not, however, held by other Hebrew theologians. Some reproached Maimonides for thus deviating from the traditional teaching; others sought to defend him, by explaining his opinions in a different sense and by bringing them into accord with the Talmudic authorities on the subject of the resurrection and hell.[2] It is indeed undeniable that the prevailing tenets of Judaism are in favour of the soul's continued existence after the death of the body—the righteous to be rewarded and the wicked to be punished.

But is the punishment of the wicked eternal? The generally accepted opinion is that the hell of Jewish theology is only temporary according to the passage in the Mishna (*Eduyoth* ii. 9), which declares that the punishment of the wicked lasts twelve months, of which, according to the references below, six are spent in fire and six in ice.[3] But this opinion cannot be considered correct, inasmuch as this special form and duration of punishment applied only to a certain class of sinners, not to the wicked in general. A previously quoted Talmudic passage (from Rosh-Hashanah) states decisively: Hell is eternal, the punishment of certain sinners will last for ever.[4]

From this it may be concluded that though the Talmud assumes the existence of a temporary hell—in other words a sort of purgatory—it nevertheless also propounds the

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[1] *Teshuba* viii.

[2] Nachmanides, *Shaar Haggemul*, page 19 (Vassavia, 1840).

[3] *Yerushalmi*, *Sanhedrin*, x. 3; Tanchuma וארא, § 13 (§ 10 Ed. Buber).

[4] Compare the Commentaries of Abraham ben David and Yom Tob Lipmann on the passage from *Eduyoth*, also the Tosafists on *Hagiga* 27*a*.

theory of a place of eternal punishment, into which the worst and most impenitent sinners will be cast even after the resurrection. Talmudic theology even goes so far as to deny that certain sinners, such as, for instance, those who perished in the flood, will rise at the resurrection, because as they are inexorably condemned to everlasting punishment, it would be useless for them to appear at the judgment seat. And, though R. Simeon ben Lakish maintained that there would be no hell in the world to come[1] (that is to say after the resurrection), he did not by this mean to imply that the sufferings of the wicked would cease, but that they would be eternally burned by the heat of the sun, which on the contrary would prove beneficent and life-giving to the righteous. This opinion practically admits the eternity of punishment; whether there exists a separate place, where the wicked are to be eternally imprisoned, is a merely secondary consideration.

The Talmudic belief in an abode of temporary punishment, or purgatory, had the same results in Judaism as a similar belief in Catholicism. Alms and prayers for the dead, especially those of relations, most of all those of the children of the deceased, became gradually accredited with the power of shortening the time that the soul was destined to spend in purgatory. Gradually too certain fixed times were appointed for these prayers, the first twelve months after death and the anniversary of that event for each individual, and the days of solemn feasts, especially the Day of Atonement, for the dead in general.[2]

VI.

The moral side of the Jewish doctrines concerning a future life consists, however, in considering the real end and aim to which man is called, and in finding in it the recompense for the apparent injustices of fate in this earthly life. This is especially taught concerning those who voluntarily renounce the splendours of the world and suffer for the sake of righteousness. In the language of the Talmud righteousness is synonymous with the divine Law.

"He who makes himself little in this world for the sake of the words of the Law is made great in the world to come, and he who is a servant for their sake in this world is made free

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[1] *Nedarim*, 8*b*; *Aboda Zara*, 3*b*.

[2] *Sifre*, II., § 210; *Pesikta R.*, 20; *Tanchuma*, האזינו.

in the world to come."[1] "He who suffers hunger in this world for the sake of the words of the Law, the most Holy, blessed be he, will satisfy in the world to come."[2]

Certain celebrated passages in the New Testament (Matthew xix. 30, Mark x. 16, Luke xiii. 30) find their exact counterpart in the following Talmudic legend: "R. Joseph ben R. Joshua b. Levi was ill and fainted away. When he recovered consciousness, his father asked him what he had seen in his swoon. He said: 'I saw the world upside down—the humble above, the proud below.' His father said: 'My son, thou hast beheld the world to come.'"[3]

The conclusion to be gathered from this line of argument is clear: the humble and the afflicted in this life will triumph in that future state, which to the faithful is the real life. Now this, to put it briefly, is the consoling promise which Christianity has given to the world. Judaism has taught the self-same lesson, but there is this difference between them: all the world knows this to be the teaching of Christianity, hardly anybody is aware that Judaism holds the same doctrine. And why? Because Judaism is among the lowly in this world, while Christianity, since the days of Constantine, has taken its place among the lofty.

It will therefore be advisable to enter into further details to show how the school of the Pharisees taught that a future life will recompense the righteous for their earthly sufferings. The long-standing problem of the troubles of the righteous and the triumphs of the wicked could not fail to present itself to the minds of the Talmudists, and as great liberty of opinion was allowed to all, it was said, "It is not in our power to explain the peace of the wicked, nor the sufferings of the righteous" (*Aboth* iv. 15). So great was the importance attributed to this question, that one of the boldest of the Talmudic legends represents Moses asking God himself for a solution of the problem and receiving this answer: "The righteous who suffer in this world are not perfectly righteous; the wicked who are happy are not altogether wicked" (*Berachoth*, 7*a*).

This solution of the problem is elsewhere amplified in the following manner: Even the wicked sometimes do some good action for which God rewards them with earthly happiness, so as to punish them afterwards in a future life; even the righteous are not quite perfect, and commit some transgression, for which God punishes them in this brief life, in order

[1] *Baba Mezia*, 85*b*. [2] *Sanhedrin*, 100.
[3] *Pesachim*, 50*a*; *Baba Bathra*, 10*b*.

to reward them hereafter for their virtue with everlasting beatitude. It is difficult, almost impossible, to reach such a pitch of moral perfection that deserves a reward both in this world and in the world to come. This is expressed metaphorically in the Talmud: "Not every man deserves to sit at two tables" (*Berachoth*, 5*b*).

The same idea is still more clearly explained in the following passage:—"Blessed are the righteous, whose lot in this world is the same as that of the wicked in the world to come; woe to the wicked, whose lot in this world is the same as that of the righteous in the world to come."[1] Some Talmudists, it is true, admitted the possibility of the righteous enjoying felicity both in this world and the next; thus we find that certain disciples, on parting with their master, wished him double joy: "happiness in this world and the fulfilment of thy hope in eternity."[2] It may be observed that with the wish for temporal happiness came always the wish for the fulfilment of the hope of the righteous in the world to come, a moral principle which is accentuated in several other Talmudic passages. Various good deeds are mentioned as deserving reward in both this world and the next, but the chief recompense is always to be found in the latter, or as it is metaphorically expressed: the interest [of good deeds] is to be enjoyed here, but the capital is reserved for the world to come.[3]

But in general the double felicity of the righteous and the double sufferings of the wicked were considered of rare occurrence, and the theory explained above is not only the most prevalent, but also seems most consistent with the usual course of terrestrial events. The verse in Deuteronomy (xxxii. 4), "A God of faithfulness and without iniquity" was thus expounded as a commentary on this proposition. "*A God of faithfulness:* even as the wicked are punished in the world to come for a trifling sin, thus the righteous are punished in this world for any trifling transgression. *And without iniquity;* even as the righteous are rewarded for the smallest act of virtue in the world to come, thus the wicked are rewarded for the smallest act of virtue in this world."[4]

The Talmudists considered this doctrine so important, and so fundamental to religion, that they lost no opportunity of impressing it on the minds of the faithful. The following similes are attributed to R. Eleazar b. Zadok:—"Why are the

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[1] *Horayoth*, 10*b*. [2] *Berachoth*, 17*a*.
[3] *Pea*, i. 1; *Sabbath*, 127*a*; *Kiddushin*, 39*b*; *Sifre*, II., § 336; *Debarim R.*, § 3. [4] *Taanith*, 11*a*; *Sifre*, II., § 307.

righteous in this world like a tree which grows in a pure place, while its branches stretch into an impure place? Because if the branches are cut, the tree is then wholly in a pure place. Thus the most Holy, blessed be he, makes the righteous suffer in this world, so that they may enjoy the world to come, as it is said in the Scriptures (Job viii. 7): 'Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end shall greatly increase.' And why are the wicked in this world like a tree that grows in an impure place, whose branches stretch into a pure place? Because if the branches are cut, the whole tree is in an impure place. Thus the most Holy, blessed be he, permits the wicked to enjoy happiness in this world in order afterwards to cast them into the lowest depths of hell, as it is written in the Scriptures: 'There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death'" (Prov. xiv. 12).[1]

R. Akiba teaches the same doctrine to account for the earthly happiness of the wicked and the sorrows of the righteous. The following saying is also ascribed to him:[2] "Eden and Gehenna were created for all mankind, but he who deserves to be called righteous enjoys in Eden not only his own share, but that of his neighbour also, while he who is condemned as wicked suffers in Gehenna his own share [of torment] as well as that of his neighbour."

In a word, the doctrine that good deeds find their reward in a world to come is taught in every possible form. R. Jacob, after enunciating the principle that good deeds do not meet with their just recompense in this world, relates the following anecdote to illustrate it: "A father one day desired his son to take some pigeons out of a nest on the roof of the house. The son climbed on to the roof, and, in obedience to the precept of the Law, chased away the mother-bird before taking the young ones, in order to preserve the race. Unfortunately, in descending from the roof, he fell down and was killed. Now as the Scripture promises a long and happy life to him who obeys his father and mother and does not transgress the precepts of the Law, it was asked: 'How about long life and happiness for this righteous man?' To which it was answered: 'He has entered into a world of perfect and eternal happiness—that is to say, into the world to come.'"[3]

The reward of the righteous is therefore to be sought for

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[1] *Kiddushim*, 40*b*; *Aboth de R. Nathan*, 39.

[2] *Hagiga*, 15*a*; *Bereshith R.*, § 33.

[3] *Kiddushim*, 39*b*.

in a future life,[1] and the precepts of the Law must be followed to-day[2]—that is to say, in this world, so as to receive the reward to-morrow, that is, in the world to come.

But in order to gain the reward of future beatitude, it is not enough to be righteous for a time only. Virtue must be man's companion till the end of his life. He who at the end of his days becomes an apostate, loses all that he had gained by his previous righteousness, for he ought to have remained faithful till nightfall—that is, till the end of life.[3] On the other hand, the most Holy, blessed be he, receives even the greatest sinner who has repented at the end of his life,[4] and the Talmud gives many examples of sinners who were, nevertheless, summoned to eternal bliss as a reward for one good deed performed at the end of their lives. Of such it is that Rabbi says, "They have gained the world to come in an hour, while others have to toil for it through many years."[5]

Not only are the penitents received among the blessed, but some Talmudists have even maintained that they will be called to a higher degree of bliss than the perfectly righteous. This is, however, a disputed point, as other theologians hold that penitent sinners will never enjoy the beatitude to which the righteous will be entitled—the contemplation of the Divinity (*Berachoth*, 34*b*).

But great obstacles beset the path of the penitent, while it is only too easy even for the righteous to fall into sin. Hence the just, though mournful theory, that the elect are few in number. The two worlds, that is, this world and the world to come, were created with two letters[6]—the former with *He*, the latter with *Yod*. Now Yod is the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet, and is, therefore, significant of the small number of the elect.[7] R. Simeon b. Yochai said, "I have seen the elect in the supreme abode, and they are few in number. If they are a thousand, I and my son are among them; if they

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[1] *Aboth* ii. 16. Although the words לעתיד לבא may in general be taken to mean a future time, as Strack says in his note on that passage, yet here it evidently means the life to come, and other commentaries take it in that sense. Compare Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, page 55, n. 50.

[2] *Erubin*, 22*a*. [3] *Baba Mezia*, 83*b*.

[4] *Kiddushim*, 40*b*; *Yerushalmi*, *Pea*, 1.

[5] *Aboda Zara*, 10*b*, 17*a*, 18*a*. Jesus also on the cross said to the penitent thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise" (Luke xxiii. 44). Compare also Dante, *Paradiso*, xiii. 139*ff*, *Purgatory*, iii., 122*ff*.

[6] The imaginary value and creative power of the letters of the alphabet is part of the mystic doctrine of the *Sefer Yetsira* and other similar works.

[7] *Menachoth*, 29*b*. Compare Matthew xx. 16: "Many are called; few are chosen." 2 Esdras ix. 15: "There be many more of them which perish than of them which shall be saved."

are a hundred, I and my son are among them; if they are two, those two will be I and my son."[1] It must, however, be stated that theologians of a later date have endeavoured to soften and mitigate the severity of a sentence which seems to class by far the largest part of mankind among the wicked. These writers have interpreted the words of R. Simeon as referring not to *all* the elect, but to the small number of specially righteous souls, who were to be permitted to contemplate the Divine glory in all its splendour, while those only worthy of beholding it less clearly were to be far more numerous.

I have now set forth the principal teachings of ancient Jewish theologians with regard to a future life. They appear to me more than sufficient to prove that one of the fundamental doctrines of Judaism is the immortality of the soul and the rewards and punishments of a future state. This Jewish doctrine is, in fact, neither more nor less than what Christianity—and even Catholicism—teaches on the same subject, as it admits among its tenets eternal damnation for sinners, eternal bliss for the elect, a temporary hell, which is practically no other than purgatory, the efficacy of the prayers of the living on behalf of the departed, and the resurrection of the body, to be judged with the soul at the universal day of judgment.

Nor does the sect of the Karaites differ fundamentally from the Talmudists on this subject. They also inculcate the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.[2]

These theories were subsequently variously interpreted and expounded, when the Hebrews devoted themselves to philosophical studies, and endeavoured, in common with the followers of other religions, to reconcile the dogmas of faith with the philosophical doctrines that have successively held the chief place in the scientific world. But I shall not here enter upon these philosophic explanations, because they are the outcome of individual opinions, while for the Hebrews only the teachings of the Talmud, in matters of faith, have a religious authority.

I will merely remark that the Kabbalistic doctrines, which arose in Judaism towards the end of the twelfth century, made important modifications in the ordinary dogmas relative to a future life.

Thus one of the fundamental doctrines of the Jewish

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[1] *Succa*, 45*b*; *Sanhedrin*, 97*b*.

[2] See Aaron ben Elia, *Ez Hayyim*, ch. civ.-cxi. (ed. Delitzsch).

Kabbala is metempsychosis, by means of which the soul is not condemned to eternal punishment, but is destined to be purified by living again in another body, and by passing successively through diverse separate existences. According to this doctrine, sin and hell cannot endure for ever, but at last all souls are destined to be purified, and to return to the region of absolute goodness and perfection. In short, as one of the most celebrated Kabbalists teaches, "In truth, thou hast nothing eternal, if not on the side of good."[1]

DAVID CASTELLI.

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[1] Azaria da Fano, *Maamar Higgur-din*, v. 1. Compare Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, xxxi. 7.

THE NATIONAL IDEA IN JUDAISM.

ONCE find a man's ideals, it has been well said, and the rest is easy; and undoubtedly to get at any true notion of character, one must discover these. They may be covered with close conventionalities, or jealously hidden, like buried treasures, from unsympathetic eyes; but the patient search is well worth while, since it is his ideals—and not his words nor his deeds, which a thousand circumstances influence and decide—which show us the real man as known to his Maker. And true as this is of the individual, it is true in a deeper and a larger sense of the nations, and most true of all of that people in whom for centuries speech was impolitic and action impossible. With articulate expression so long denied to them, the national ideals must be always to the student of history the truest revelation of Judaism; and it is curious and interesting to trace their development, and to recognise the crown and apex of them all in battlefield and in "Vineyard," in Ghetto and in mart, unchanged among the changes, and practically the same as in the days of the desert. The germ was set in the wilderness, when, amid the thunders and lightnings of Sinai, a crowd of frightened, freshly-rescued slaves were made "witnesses" to a living God, and guardians of a "Law" which demonstrated his existence. Very new and strange, and but dimly understanded of the people it must have been. "The lights of sunset and of sunrise mixed." The fierce vivid glow under which they had bent and basked in Egypt had scarcely faded, when they were bid look up in the grey dawn of the desert to receive their trust. There was worthy stuff in the descendants of the man who had left father and friends and easy sensuous idolatry to follow after an ideal of righteousness; and they who had but just escaped from the bondage of centuries, rose to the occasion. They accepted their mission; "All that the Lord has spoken we will do," came up a responsive cry from "all the people answering together," and in that supreme moment the ill-fed and so recently ill-treated groups were transformed into a nation. "I will make of thee a great people;" "Through thee shall all families of the earth

be blessed;" the meaning of such predictions was borne in upon them in one bewildering flash, and in that light the national idea of Judaism found its dawn; they, the despised and the down-trodden, were to become trustees of civilization.

As the glow died down, however, a very rudimentary sort of civilization the wilderness must have presented to these builders of the temples and the treasure cities by the Nile, and to the vigorous resourceful Hebrew women. As day after day, and year after year, the cloud moved onward, darkening the road which it directed, as they gathered the manna and longed for the fleshpots, it could have been only the few and finer spirits among those listless groups who were able to discern that a civilization based upon the Decalogue, shorn though it was of all present pleasantness and ease, had a promise about it that was lacking to a culture "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." It was life reduced to its elements; Sinai and Pisgah stood so far apart, and such long level stretches of dull sand lay between the heights. One imagines the women, skilled like their men-folk in all manner of cunning workmanship, eagerly, generously ransacking their stores of purple and fine linen to decorate the Tabernacle, and spinning and embroidering with a desperately delighted sense of recovered refinements, which, as much perhaps as their fervour of religious enthusiasm, led them to bring their gifts till "restrained from bringing." The trust was accepted in the wilderness but grudgingly, with many a faint-hearted protest, and to some minds in some moods slavery must have seemed less insistent in its demands than trusteeship.

The conquest of Canaan was the next experience, and as sinfulness and idolatry were relentlessly washed away in rivers of blood, one doubts if the impressionable descendants of Jacob, to whom it was given to overcome, might not perchance have preferred to endure. But such choice was not given to them; the trust had to be realised before it could be transmitted, and its value tested by its cost. With Palestine at last in possession of the chosen people, the civilization of which they were the guardians by slow degrees, became manifest. Samuel lived it, and David sang it, and Isaiah preached it, and the nation clung to it, individual men and women, stumbling and failing often, but dying each, when need came, a hundred deaths in its defence; perhaps finding it on occasion less difficult to die for an idea than to live up to it.

The securities were shifted, the terms of the trusteeship changed when the people of the Land became the people

of the Book. The civilization which they guarded grew narrowed in its issues and limited in its outlook, till, as the years rolled into the centuries, it was hard to recognize the "witnesses" of God in the hunted outcasts of man. Yet to the student of history, who reads the hieroglyph of the Egyptian into the postcard of to-day, it is not difficult to see the civilization of Sinai shining under the folds of the gaberdine or of the *san benito*. It was taught in the schools and it was lived in the homes, and the Ghetto could not altogether degrade it, nor the Holy Office effectually disguise it. Jews sank sometimes to the lower level of the sad lives they led, but Judaism remained unconquerably buoyant. Judaism, as they believed in it, was a Personal Force, making for righteousness, a Law which knew no change, the promise of a period when the earth should be filled with the knowledge of the Lord; and the "witnesses" stuck to this their trust, through good repute and through evil repute, with a simple doggedness which disarms all superficial criticism. The glamour of the cause, through which a Barcochba loomed heroic to an Akiba, the utter absence of self-consciousness or of self-seeking, which made Judas in his fight for freedom pin the Lord's name on his flag, and which, with the kingdom lost, made the scrolls of the Law the spoil with which Ben Zaccai retreated,—this was at the root of the national idea, and its impersonality gives the secret of its strength. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name!" This vivid sense of being the trustees of civilization was wholly dissociated from any feeling of conceit either in the leaders or in the rank and file of the Jewish nation. It is curious indeed to realize how so intense a conviction of the survival of the fittest could be held in so intensely unmodernized a spirit.

The idea of their trusteeship was a sheet anchor to the Jews as the waves and the billows passed over them. In the fifteen hundred years' tragedy of their history there have been no *entr'actes* of frenzied stampede or of revolutionary revengeful conspiracy. A resolute endurance, which, characteristically enough, rarely approaches asceticism, marks the depth and strength and buoyancy of the national idea. Trustees of civilization might not sigh nor sing in solitudes; nor with the feeling so keen that "a thousand years in Thy sight are but as a day," was it worth while to plot or plan against the oppressors of the moment. Time was on their side, and "that which shapes it to some perfect end." And this attitude explains, possibly, some unattractive phases of it, since however honestly the individual consciousness may be absorbed in a national

conscience, yet the individual will generally, in some way, manage to express himself, and the self is not always quite up to the ideal, nor indeed is it always in harmony with those who would interpret it. When a David dances before the Ark it needs other than a daughter of Saul to understand him. There have been Jews in David's case, their enthusiasm mocked at; and there have been Jews indifferent to their trust, and Jews who have betrayed it, and Jews too, and these not a few, who have pushed it into prominence with undue display. The infinite changes of circumstance and surrounding in Jewish fortunes no less than differences in individual character have induced a considerable divergence in the practical politics of the national idea. The persecuted have been exclusive over it, and the prosperous careless; it has been vulgarized by superstition, and ignored by indifferentism, till modern "rational" thinkers now and again question whether Palestine be indeed the goal of Jewish separateness, and make it a matter for academic discussion whether "Jews" mean a sect of cosmopolitan citizens with religious customs more or less in common, or a people whose religion has a national origin and a national purpose in its observances. With questioners such as these, Revelation, possibly, would not be admitted as sound evidence in reply, or the promise "Ye shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" would, one might think, show a design that ritual by itself does not fulfil. It was no sect with "tribal" customs, but a "nation" and a "kingdom" who were to be "holy to the Lord." But though texts may be inadmissible with those who prefer their sermons in stones, yet the records of the ages are little less impartial and unimpassioned than the records of the rocks, and doubters might find their answer in the insistent tones of history when she tells of the results of occasional unnatural divorce between religion and nationality among Jews.

There were times not a few, whilst their own judges ruled, and whilst their own kings reigned in Palestine, when with a firm grip on the land but a loose hold on the law, Israel was well nigh lost and absorbed in the idolatrous peoples by whom they were surrounded; when the race, which was ceasing to worship at the national altars, was in danger of ceasing to exist as a nation. Exile taught them to value by loss what was possession. "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" was the passionate cry in Babylon. Was it not the feeling that the land was "strange," which gave that new fervour to the songs, choking off utterance and finding adequate expression only in the Return? Did Judas, the Maccabee, understand something of this as he led his patriotic

"zealous" troops to victory? Did Mendelssohn forget it when, nineteen hundred years later, he emancipated his people from the results of worse than Syrian oppression, at the cost of so many, his own children among the rest, shaking off memories and duties as lightly as they shook off restraints? Over and over again in the wonderful history of the Jews, does religion without nationality prove itself as impossible as nationality without religion to serve for a sustaining force in Judaism. The people who, while "the city of palm trees" was yet their own, could set up strange gods in the groves were not one whit more false to their faith, nor more harmful to their people than those later representatives of the opposite type, Hellenists, as history calls them, who built a temple, and read the law and observed the precepts, whilst their very priests changed their good Jewish names for Greek sounding ones in contemptuous and contemptible deprecation of their Jewish nationality. One inclines, perhaps, to accentuate the facts of history and to moralise over the might-have-beens where these fit into a theory; but so much as this at least seems indisputable—that those who would dissociate the national from the religious, or the religious from the national element in Judaism attempt the impossible. The ideal of the Jews must always be "from Zion shall come forth instruction, and the word of God from Jerusalem;" and to this end—"that all people of the earth may know thy name, as do thy people Israel." This is the goal of Jewish separateness. The separateness may have been part of the Divine plan, as distinctive practices and customs are due in the first place to the Divine command; but they are also and none the less a means of strengthening the national character of the Jews. Jewish religion neither "happens" to have a national origin, nor does Jewish nationality "happen" to have religious customs. The Jewish nation has become a nation and has been preserved as a nation for the distinct purpose of religion. This is the lesson of history. And this is its consolation: that the faithful few who see the fulfilment of history and of prophecy in a restored and localised nationality—a Jerusalem reinstated as the joy of the whole earth; the careless many who, in comfortable complacency, are well content to await it indefinitely, in dispersion; the loyal many, who believe that a political restoration would be a retrogressive step, narrowing and embarrassing the wider issues; the children of light and the children of the world, the spiritual and the *spirituel* element in Israel, alike, if unequally, have each their share in spreading the civilisation of Sinai, as surely as "fire and hail and snow and mist and stormy wind"

all "fulfil His word." The seed that was sown in the sands of the desert has germinated through the ages, and its fruition is foretold. The promise to the Patriarch, "I will make of thee a great nation," foreshadowed that his descendants were to be trustees, "through them shall all families of the earth be blessed." There are those who would read into this national idea a taint of arrogance or of exclusiveness, as there are some scientifically minded folks, a trifle slow perhaps, to apply their own favoured dogma of evolution, who can see in the Exodus only a capriciously selected band of slaves, led forth to serve a tribal deity. But the history of the Jews, which is inseparable from the religion of the Jews, rebukes those who would thus halt midway and stumble over the evidences. It lifts the veil, it flashes the light on dark places, it unriddles the weary puzzle of the travailing ages, leaving only indifferentism unsolvable, as it shows clear how the Lord, the Spirit of all flesh, the universal Father, brought Israel out of Egypt and gave them name and place to be his witnesses, and the means he chose whereby "all families of the earth should be blessed."

KATIE MAGNUS.

THE AGE AND AUTHORSHIP OF ECCLESIASTES.

In my former paper on Ecclesiastes I attempted to analyse the contents of the book; I traced its plan, and showed that there is unity and continuity in it. Whenever the name of the author had to be mentioned, the original term Koheleth was employed without any explanatory addition. It is now my purpose to investigate who Koheleth was, and when he lived.

To some it may appear strange to find a question raised which seems to have been answered more than two thousand years ago, in the heading of the book, "Words of Koheleth, son of David, king in Jerusalem," *i.e.*, of King Solomon. Even if it were true that the heading is later than the book itself, and is an addition made by a later hand, it would, nevertheless, have to be accepted as a very old document, and its evidence could not be rejected without a demonstrative proof of its worthlessness. Maimonides in his *Guide* (I. li.), says: "There are truths which are manifest and obvious; some of these are innate notions, or are based on direct observation; such truths would, in fact, require no further proof, if man's thoughts had not been misled. False notions, however, are spread by persons that labour under an error, or have some particular end in view, and thus theories are set up contrary to the real nature of things. Scientific men are then compelled to demonstrate truths which are self-evident, or to disprove the existence of things which only exist in man's imagination." The trustworthiness of our witness has been impugned, and a closer examination of his evidence, as well as of the arguments of his objectors, has thus become necessary.

One of these objectors suggests that the phrase "son of David" has its source in the erroneous judgment of those who added the heading, since the phrase is not found in the book itself. But he fails to show the necessity for the appearance of the words "son of David" in any passage of the book. It was not without purpose that the author, in i. 12, says even with a certain amount of emphasis, "I, Koheleth,

have become king over Israel in Jerusalem." He lays stress on the fact that he was king over the whole of Israel, with his residence in Jerusalem, the capital of the undivided nation, untroubled by any such war or rebellion as had disturbed David's reign. By this introduction he intended to show that he had the leisure and the means required for the task he had proposed to himself. The addition of the phrase "son of David" would have been superfluous.

Another argument against the identity of Koheleth and Solomon is based on the use of the Hebrew "*ben*" in the general sense of "descendant," just as *abh* or *abhi* has in many passages of the Bible the meaning "forefather" or "founder" of a family or tribe. I do not deny this fact. We call ourselves בני ישראל, "children of Israel," and speak in our prayers of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as אבותינו, "our fathers," and Messiah, for whose coming we sincerely hope and earnestly pray, is בן דוד and צמח דוד. We may go even further, and take בן דוד as a collective term, including all the kings of Judah, and explain "words of Koheleth" to mean "words spoken by an imaginary representative of the kings of Judah," after the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. I hold, however, that of all *possible* meanings of the term "son of David," in the heading of the book, the literal one, son of David, that is, Solomon, is most acceptable.

But before giving positive proofs for this assertion, we will first examine the arguments of those who reject the identity of Koheleth and Solomon.

1. Koheleth says (i. 16), "Behold I have gathered wisdom more than all that were before me over Jerusalem;" and again (ii. 9), "I have collected treasures more than all that were before me in Jerusalem." If Koheleth were identical with King Solomon, it is argued, he would not have uttered these words, since there was only one Israelitish king in Jerusalem before Solomon.

I have already stated in my first paper that Ecclesiastes was not exclusively addressed to Israelites, but to a mixed audience of kings and princes that came from all countries to hear the king's wisdom. Jerusalem was an ancient town, probably the Shalem of Malchi-zedek. It is to the numerous wise and mighty princes that ruled in Jerusalem from the days of Malchi-zedek that Solomon refers in the words "more than all that have been before me in Jerusalem."

2. It is further argued that King Solomon could not have said היתי מלך as Koheleth says, i. 12; and that the author betrays by this phrase that he merely introduces a king of

the past as speaking. The use of the past tense הייתי is probably also the origin of the well-known legend found in Midrash and Targum that Solomon was חדיוט מלך וחדיוט "crownless, crowned, and again crownless," and מלך חדיוט, ומלך "a king, deposed and reinstated." According to the literal interpretation, the past tense is simply used because the speaker refers in this and the succeeding verses to what has happened in past years. We find the same word הייתי in the same sense (Prov. iv. 3), "I was a son to my father, and he taught me." The past tense does not imply that he ever ceased to be a son to his father. So, also, in Koheleth, the phrase "I was king" does not imply that he was not king at the time when he said this. But the verb היה has also the meaning "to become," and the meaning of the passage is this: When I became king over Israel in Jerusalem I devoted myself to investigating the nature and value of man's actions.

3. Koheleth says, ii. 18: "I hated all my labour which I took under the sun; because that I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me." Koheleth speaks here, the critic says, like one that has no children; King Solomon had children, consequently Koheleth and King Solomon are two different persons. The critic, however, ignores two things; first, that the term אדם "man" does not *exclude* the son of the king; secondly, that Solomon was distinctly told by God (1 Kings xi. 11), "I will surely rend the kingdom from thee and give it to thy servant."

4. Some find it impossible that King Solomon should denounce idleness and feasting in the way that Koheleth does, x. 16, *sqq.* Solomon may have feasted and indulged in pleasures, but he was by no means idle nor neglectful of his duties towards his country. Besides, it is inherent in human nature that we are far more inclined to criticise others than ourselves.

5. Another argument against the identity of Koheleth and Solomon is the following:—Oppression, violence and misery are depicted in the beginning of chapter iv. as existing in the time of Koheleth. This does not seem to harmonise with the peaceful reign of Solomon. But the oppressions mentioned here are wrongly supposed by the objector to have been caused by a cruel conqueror in Jerusalem and in the land of Israel. There is no support for this assumption in the text. The crime and misery of oppression did, if not flourish, certainly exist even in the age of Solomon (comp. v. 7), and if there was not much oppression in Palestine we must remember that Koheleth in ch. iv. treats of "oppressions that

are done under the sun," without any special reference to Palestine or Israelites. But certain kinds of oppression exist everywhere, even in times of peace; one class is, or believes itself to be, oppressed by another, one individual by another, the weak by the powerful, the simple by the cunning. Cries of the oppressed have been heard and are being heard, even in our age, in the most civilised countries, and were probably heard also in the dominions of king Solomon. Koheleth noticed cases in which neither the tears of the oppressed nor the consequent additional violence of the oppressor created any sympathy for the sufferers. The source of this evil is not foreign occupation, but the race for pleasure and wealth. The author says distinctly, in the passage referred to, "I saw that all labour and skilful work were but envy of one toward the other." "If thou seest oppression of the poor and violation of justice and righteousness in the city, be not surprised at it. For over the high there is still a higher watchman, and again higher ones over these" (v. 7), so that even among those that have to watch over the acts and the conduct of others, there is the same inducement as among ordinary people to join in the common race for wealth and power. These cases are, besides, described only as possible, as a contingency, and not as of frequent occurrence.

It may, nevertheless, appear strange that Solomon, a wise and just king, endowed, as it seems, with absolute power, should have suffered any sort of injustice to continue in his dominions, and yet have complained of it "as the evil deed that is done under the sun." In reality it is not strange; the passage simply contains the king's confession of his weakness, of human imperfection, like that described in the first three chapters. He, the wise and powerful ruler, had been unable to solve the social problem that still awaits its final solution; the problem how to remove all inequalities, and how to make everyone contented and happy.

6. Another argument is based on iv. 13, 14: "Better is a poor and wise child than that old and foolish king who did not know any more how to guard himself. For from the prison he came forth to rule; for also in his kingdom he became poor." According to Professor Graetz, King Herod is the foolish old king, and the wise and poor child is his son Alexander, who was imprisoned on a charge of high treason. If this be correct the book was not composed by King Solomon, but is the work of an author that wrote just at the time when Alexander was in prison. But Alexander never reigned; he was tried and executed. In order to uphold his theory Professor Graetz is obliged to have recourse to emenda-

tions, changing the past יָצָא into the future יֵצֵא, and interpreting the verse thus: for he will—as it was then hoped—some day come forth from the prison and ascend the throne. Professor Graetz was further compelled to apply the first half of the verse to Alexander, the second to Herod, although the text does not indicate that two different persons are intended. Besides, Alexander scarcely deserves the attributes poor and wise; as the son of king Herod he was not poor, and, as to his wisdom, history has not preserved any instance of his wise doings or sayings. It is not necessary at all to think here of a particular child and a particular king. The author states, in general terms, that a poor, wise child is happier than a foolish old king, who isolates himself from his people and keeps himself like a prisoner surrounded by a guard; for even בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ "in his reign" נוֹלַד רִישׁ he has become poor, having neither power nor wisdom. The king is abandoned by his followers; the nation waits impatiently for the successor, who, like his predecessors, is at first greeted with joy, and disliked in the end. The use of the past tense in the original merely shows, that instances of this kind had occurred, and probably, also, in the time of Solomon, but it is not necessary to assume that one particular case was here referred to.

In like manner, commentators have gone too far in their endeavour to find historical allusions in other passages. The author, reflecting on the fact that the condition of a country varies according to the conduct of its rulers, exclaims (x. 16, 17), "Woe to the land whose king is a slave;" "Happy the land whose king is a free man." Notwithstanding the general character of the passage, the inference has been drawn, by several commentators, that the author must have lived in a country whose king was a slave, and attempts have been made to trace the name of the king. No notice is taken of the fact that the author mentions in the same breath the happy land whose king is free, in which the author may well have lived, and which he may have praised as a model state in contrast to some neighbouring state ruled by a slave.

7. Koheleth contains, as critics assert, attacks upon the Essenes and their principles. For "He that feareth an oath" (ix. 2) must be an Essene who refused to swear the oath of allegiance to king Herod; and "He who knoweth not how to go to the city" (x. 15) is likewise a member of this sect, because the Essenes preferred to live in villages. "Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken" (iv. 9-12). "Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of

the life of thy vanity" (ix. 9). These and similar passages have been interpreted as directed against the Essenes, who were in favour of celibacy. There are some who consider these maxims as directed against the school of Shammai, who is believed to have indulged in a pessimistic view of human life. In fact, however, the verses quoted, and similar ones, are far from betraying any acquaintance of the author with the rules of the Essenes or the teachings of the Shammaites. "He who feareth an oath" is as little a member of a certain sect as "the righteous," "the clean," and "he that sacrificeth," mentioned in the same verse. Neither is "he who knoweth not how to go to the city" necessarily an Essene; it must have been a peculiar age in which no one ever lost his way except the Essenes. On the contrary, villagers, as a rule, know the way to town far better than those who live in towns. Koheleth gives, in this passage, the characteristic distinction between a wise man and a fool; the latter "multiplieth words; yet man knoweth not what shall be; the labour of the fools wearieth him who doth not know the way to the city," and happens to ask a fool for directions.

As to the supposed protest of Koheleth against the pessimism of the Shammaites, we find no trace of it in the book. Koheleth repeatedly exhorts us to labour, to be happy with our labour, and to enjoy the fruit thereof. The numerous sayings of the Shammaites related in the Talmud contain nothing to the contrary. "Receive every man with a friendly, happy face," was the maxim of Shammai. When the Shammaites declared "It would have been better for man if he had not been created" (Babyl. Talm. Erubin 13 b), it must not be forgotten that the Hillelites, though reluctantly, agreed with them. Whatever may have been the force of this dictum, both were of opinion that "man, having been created, must be careful with regard to his actions" (Ibid.).

8. It has further been asked, why the name Koheleth is used instead of Solomon, if the two names are identical. Let us first investigate the meaning of the feminine noun Koheleth. It is evidently a participle Kal of the verb קהל, and means "one who assembles or collects"; in this very sense it is used in our book, vii. 27: "Behold, this have I found, saith she who collecteth one by one to find a result." The question naturally suggests itself, Who is she? Koheleth does not let us wait for the answer; in the verse which follows he tells us distinctly: "what my soul (נפשי) sought." It is the soul of the author that searches after truth, and that collects facts one by one, in order to arrive in the safest manner at a correct conclusion. The same rule that explains the contraction of

אנשי מלחמה into מלחמה (1 Kings v. 17), אנשי קריה into קריה (Isaiah xxv. 3), איש תפלה into תפלה (Psalm cix. 4), explains also the use of קהלת as an elliptical phrase for בעל קהלת. The soul of the author is originally the Koheleth which observes, collects, and arranges the single facts upon which the philosophical edifice is founded. This explains, also, the use of the feminine form "Koheleth." The name Agur (Proverbs xxx. 1) has the same meaning, the root אגר signifying "to collect." It is noteworthy that "the words of Agur" likewise declare the weakness of man and the insufficiency of human reason if unassisted by the All-wise and Almighty.

If Koheleth and Solomon are names of the same person, why was the name Solomon entirely withheld from the book? The reason may be this: whilst Solomon שלמה was the name of a king whose special mission it was to establish peace (שלום) and prosperity in his country, the king confesses here that, with all his wisdom and power, he could not fulfil his mission; that the bright sunshine of his reign and his prospect for the future had commenced to grow dim behind dark clouds that rose from all sides. It was no longer Solomon (שלמה) that spoke, but Koheleth, who had learnt by experience the vanity and frailty of human power and glory.

9. It has been further argued that Koheleth contains Greek philosophy, that the search after the *summum bonum* was borrowed from Greek thinkers. This is not true. The theme of the book engaged already the mind of King David, the father of Solomon, who gave expression to his thoughts on the vanity of man's life in the thirty-ninth Psalm. The subject was, therefore, not new to the author of Koheleth, and there was no necessity whatever to go abroad and import ideas on human life from Greece. Neither the method employed nor the result arrived at betrays any non-Jewish element.

10. Omitting other objections as of little importance, we proceed to the last and seemingly strongest argument, based on the style and diction of the book. Owing to the peculiar subject, and to the peculiar treatment of the subject, peculiar expressions had to be introduced, which do not occur, or rarely occur, in other books of the Bible. That a peculiar subject and a peculiar method demand peculiar expressions no one will venture to deny. The second half of chapter iii. of Isaiah, on the luxuries of Jewish ladies, contains expressions that do not occur in the other sixty-five chapters of the book. Compare the parable of the vineyard in chapter v., with the song on the vineyard, in chapter xxvii.

and you will hardly recognise the same authorship in both; or compare Psalms xviii., xix., xx., three Psalms all ascribed to David, and notice the great difference in their style and diction, owing to the different subjects that engaged the mind of the poet.

Ignoring this fact, critics have attempted, by means of such rare words, to fix the date of Ecclesiastes. Some of them trace the origin of these words to Babylonia, and assume that Koheleth could not have been written before the Jews came into contact with Babylonia in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. They entirely forget that there was a constant intercourse between the Israelites and their Eastern neighbours, the Aramaic tribes, from their earliest settlement in Palestine, an intercourse lively enough for the exchange of a few expressions. Others discover Persian elements, and similarity with the Book of Esther, and hold that Koheleth was written during the Persian rule in Palestine. Still others find Greek roots and constructions in Koheleth, and declare that the author must have lived in the time of Alexander the Great or his successors, when the Jews commenced to learn Greek language and literature. There is even a fourth view that considers the language of Koheleth as approaching the New-Hebrew of the Mishnah, and assumes that Koheleth was written in the time of the earlier Tanaim. Krochmal, in his *Moreh nebhuche ha-zeman*, treats these rare words as of Chaldean origin, and divides them into two classes. The first class consists of those which are entirely borrowed from the Chaldee; the second class comprehends those which are a mere imitation of Chaldee expressions. Instances of the first class are: פתגם, כשר, בטל, תקן; of the second, על דברת, כל עמת ש. On examining these terms, we find every one of them pure Hebrew. The circumstance that they occur also in Chaldee only proves that the two dialects Hebrew and Chaldee both had the same roots; we cannot expect to find in the Biblical literature all words that were in use among the Hebrews. Many of the words mentioned appear according to their meaning in Koheleth more original than the corresponding expressions in Chaldee. I will only cite one instance from each division: פתגם is used in Hebrew in a particular sense: decision, decree, equal to the post-Biblical גזרה, whilst in the Targumim it occurs in the general meaning, word. It is derived from a root פתג "to decree" with the archaic noun-ending ם־, which is met with in some proper nouns, and in some adverbs, originally nouns, as ריקם, יומם, חנם, מומם. In Hebrew the word fell out of use, in Chaldee it developed and received the more general sig-

nification of "word" or "speech." Of the second division, I mention כל עמת ש, which is believed to be an imitation of the Chaldee כל קבל די. The Hebrew, however, is more original; it has still the force of the emphatic כל "entirely," whilst in Chaldee the meaning of כל is quite indifferent. We have, besides, to oppose to this theory the following two arguments: First, if the rare expressions were not owing entirely to the peculiar subject and method of the book, but to the contact of the Jews with the Babylonians, why are the other books written in and after the exile free from these Chaldaisms? Secondly, why do we not find in Ecclesiastes any of the peculiar Chaldaic forms, as the genitive די or the so-called emphatic form ending in א־, the *aphel* or the *ithpeal?*

Two instances have been pointed out as of Persian origin, פרדס, "paradise," and מדינה "the province." If *paradise* were of Persian origin, it would be very strange that the book of Esther should only know the גנת הביתן and not the פרדס, which was known already to the author of the Song of Solomon. Nor is מדינה of Persian origin. It occurs in the beginning of Lamentations. Besides, it seems that the term *medinah* is used neither in Koheleth nor in Lamentations in the sense of "province," but in the more original sense of "metropolis," the seat of government and justice. If the author, as is supposed by some commentators, had intended to depict Persian misrule, the פחות, סריסים and אחשדרפנים would not have been absent.

As to the Greek element present in Koheleth, I admit that we meet in the book with phrases that remind us of Greek phrases used in the same sense, and with words that sound like certain Greek words. But there is nothing that could convince us that the Hebrew author has borrowed any of his ideas and expressions from the Greek. How misleading a similarity of sound is in this respect may be inferred from the fact that of the Grecisms enumerated by one critic, fourteen are rejected by another who is likewise in favour of this theory. Those which are admitted and added by the latter are as untenable as the rest; *e.g.*, the verb ראה "to see" has in Koheleth in a few passages the same meaning as ידע "to know." Now there is in Greek the same root for the two verbs *ἰδεῖν* "to see," and *εἰδεναι* "to know." It is, therefore, from the Greek that Koheleth learnt the use of ראה in the sense of ידע. Such is the conclusion, though this use of the verb "seeing" is met with almost in every language. Long before the Israelites came in contact with the Greeks they had two expressions for the interrogative "why," מדוע "what knowing," and מה ראית "what seeing." Another instance of the supposed

Grecisms is the following: the list of various kinds of luxury in which Koheleth indulged for experience's sake concludes with the phrase ותענגות בני האדם שדה ושדות. *Shiddah* which sounds like the Latin *sedes*, Greek σεδος, has been explained to mean "sedan chair, carriage," an essential element in Greek and Roman luxury. But this is not sufficient reason why "carriages" should be singled out as the climax of "delights of the sons of man," and why the plural "delights" should be used. But שדה has the appearance of a genuine Hebrew word, and in fact is pure Hebrew, derived from שדד "to be strong"; it means "multitude" or "host," like חיל "host," from חול "to be strong." The phrase simply summarises the objects of pleasure, and is to be translated "and of the delights of the sons of man, a multitude and multitudes."

The noun פתגם, a Hebrew word, is held by some scholars to be of Greek origin, corresponding to φθεγμα or ἐπιταγμα. It is noteworthy that in the LXX. פתגם is rendered νομος and αντιρρησις, not φθεγμα or ἐπιταγμα. The similarity of sounds simply proves that a certain stem is found, like many others, both in the Semitic and the Aryan languages. The rest of the supposed Grecisms are likewise built up on extremely weak foundations, and to the scholar who, in defending this theory, has the boldness to exclaim "Nur Eigensinn will sie nicht anerkennen," I reply, in the words of a German critic of the last century, "Die Beispiele sind wirklich blendend, aber eine genauere Beleuchtung der ruhigen Prüfung scheinen sie nicht auszuhalten."

Equally untenable is the fourth theory, that the presence in Koheleth of words which are rare in other books of the Bible, or entirely absent from them, but partly found in post-Biblical Hebrew writings, proves that Koheleth was the last of the Biblical books, that its language is the transition to Mishnic and Rabbinical Hebrew, and that the book was written in the times of the earlier Tanaim. There is a far greater difference between the style of Koheleth and that of the earliest Rabbinical writings, as, *e.g.*, the first chapter of Pirke Abhoth, than there is between Koheleth and the Pentateuch. The forms peculiar to Rabbinic Hebrew, the forms of the verbal noun, *e.g.*, שִׁמּוּר or שמירה, are entirely absent from the book of Koheleth, which abounds in abstract and verbal nouns; so, also, the frequent use of the participle with the copula instead of the finite verb היה אומר. On the other hand, expressions peculiar to Koheleth we do not meet with in early Rabbinical writings, *e.g.*, the verb ענה in the sense of ענין; פתגם, מסכן, עדן, עדנה, שחרות, etc., etc

The words in question may therefore be considered as rare and archaic, perhaps of Aramaic origin, and substituted by the author for more common terms when the latter did not fully convey the notion which the author desired to express. In the course of time, through the renewed contact with the Chaldee, some of these expressions reappeared in the Mishnic Hebrew.

The conclusion thus arrived at is, that Koheleth does not contain any fact or circumstance that *necessarily* points to a period later than King Solomon. It is, however, *possible* that the ideas and arguments taught by King Solomon were handed down *viva voce* from generation to generation, and written down at a later period in the style and diction of that period. This theory is supported by a certain tradition in Talmud and Midrash, to the effect that "the men of Hezekiah," who were engaged with examining or writing down the Proverbs of Solomon (ch. xxv. 1) and Koheleth, could not come to a final decision with regard to the latter and the men of the Great Synagogue resumed the work, examined the book, and approved of its contents.

In addition to the above negative proofs, there are also some positive proofs for the identity of King Solomon and Koheleth, viz.:—

1. Koheleth is king over Israel in Jerusalem. The kings after Solomon reigned only over Judah, and not over Israel.

2. Koheleth speaks of his great wisdom as of an undisputed fact, and it is on this ground that he claims confidence and faith in the results of his investigations. None but King Solomon could speak in this way. He had prayed for wisdom, and God told him that his prayer for wisdom was granted. "Wisdom and knowledge shall be given unto thee" (2 Chron. i. 12), and "all Israel saw that divine wisdom was in his heart," and "people came from all countries to Solomon to hear his wisdom" (1 Kings x. 23). We find neither in the books of Kings nor in the Chronicles any other king of the house of David endowed with the attribute "wise;" even the more complete chronicles, to which reference is made in our books of Kings and Chronicles, appear to relate only of "the mighty deeds and the wars of the kings," and nothing of their wisdom.

3. "Koheleth built houses for his pleasure; planted vineyards, gathered riches and the peculiar treasure of kings and cities" (ii. 8). To which of the kings of Judah does this apply? "Rehoboam had war with Israel all his days" (1 Kings xiv. 30); Asa was obliged to exhaust not only the royal treasure, but also the treasure of the house of the Lord,

in order to bribe Hadad ben Tabrimon; Joshaphat, the ally of King Ahab, joined the latter in his unfortunate wars with Syria, and was also unsuccessful in his mercantile undertaking; Hezekiah sent the golden doors of the Temple as tribute to the Assyrian king; Uzziah was much engaged in building, but only in works of fortification and defence, not palaces for comfort and pleasure. None but King Solomon was enabled to spend thirteen years in building his house (1 Kings vii. 1), and to build "the house of the forest of Lebanon," and "his desire which he was pleased to do" (*Ibid.* ix. 1; 19).

4. Koheleth appears to indicate that it was towards the close of a long reign that he uttered these philosophical doctrines. He says, What can the ordinary man do, that cometh after the king, *i.e.*, after Koheleth, whom they have made or proclaimed (*sc.* king) long ago. Solomon reigned forty years.

5. We infer from the tone and character of the book that Koheleth himself had many disappointments, and had learnt by experience that all earthly successes were but vain and transient. It is true that disappointments were not the peculiar fortune of King Solomon; many other men, kings and commoners, have been disappointed in their hopes. But, in the case of King Solomon, the disappointment created a peculiar contrast between the bright beginning of his reign and the gloomy prospects which darkened his latter days. It was hoped that his reign would be an era of peace. Solomon, "peace," was his name, and it was his mission to establish peace. To this end David had advised him how to rid the country of the most troublesome and dangerous elements, Joab and Shimei. With all neighbouring states he was at peace. And yet, towards the end of his days, rebellion threatened within and war from without. Even his father-in-law, the king of Egypt, harboured and supported the enemies of Solomon. He was the wisest of kings, and yet he found that he had failed to secure peace and prosperity to his people; he had been called Yedidyah, "loved by God," and now he was told that God rejected him; all had rejoiced when he commenced to reign (1 Kings viii. 66), and now he was hated by many.

6. Koheleth speaks of scenes witnessed by himself, "when man had dominion over man to his own injury" (viii. 9); when the אדם, the ordinary man, who had no claim upon the throne, endeavoured to usurp the power of ruling over others. Such scenes were witnessed by Solomon in his earlier days, in the lifetime of David. He must have seen the rebellions of Absalom, Sheba ben Bichri, and Adonijah, and noticed the

crimes perpetrated on these occasions. It was indeed "to their own hurt" that these three attempted to obtain royal power: and it is to these rebels that the tenth verse of the eighth chapter most fitly applies: "I have seen wicked men buried, and them who acted thus—*i.e.*, wickedly, by seeking to obtain dominion over their fellow-men—descend from their might, and go away from the holy place, to be soon forgotten in the city."

There are numerous passages in the book of Koheleth that betray a near relationship with other Biblical books ascribed to King Solomon. We have seen that the fundamental idea of Ecclesiastes is the dependence of man's success on the will of God. In the book of Psalms there are two chapters superscribed *li-Sh'lomoh* "by Solomon," and one of these (ch. cxxvii. 1-2) proclaims the same principle: "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh in vain. It is in vain for you to rise up early, to sit up late, to eat the bread of sorrows; for so he giveth his beloved in sleep." We do not expect to find in the love-songs of Shir ha-shirim, Song of Solomon, many points of comparison with Koheleth. It may, nevertheless, be interesting to notice that Koheleth, in describing the course of the wind (i. 6 and xi. 3), mentions only the north and the south winds; so also in Shir ha-shirim (iv. 16) the bride summons only the north wind and the south wind to diffuse the perfumes of the flowers in the garden on the arrival of her beloved. The Book of Proverbs, likewise ascribed to King Solomon, emphasizes the lesson of man's absolute dependence on the will of God in numerous sayings, of which I quote a few: (xvi. 1) "The preparations of the heart are made by man and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord"; (9) "A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps"; (33) "The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord"; (xxi. 31) "The horse is prepared against the day of battle: but safety is of the Lord"; (xxix. 26) "Many seek the ruler's favour, but every man's judgment cometh from the Lord."

In both books, Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, we are told that the wicked cannot prosper. "To the sinner he gives travail," says Koheleth (ii. 26) "to gather and to heap up, that he may give to him that is good before God," and in the Book of Proverbs we read "the wealth of the sinner is laid up for the just" (xiii. 22). The doctrine that the obstinate sinner is sure to be overtaken by just punishment is taught by Koheleth and Solomon; this doctrine is by no means peculiar to them; we find it expressed or implied on every page of the Bible.

God is long-suffering, and the punishment is frequently put off for a long time, and Koheleth (viii. 11) declares that this delay of the just punishment tempts man to sin. "Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil." This same view we find repeatedly expressed in the Book of Proverbs in the advice given to the parent not to spare the rod (xiii. 24); "Is foolishness bound in the heart of a child; the rod of correction shall drive it far from him" (xxii. 15). Koheleth repeatedly gives utterance to his feeling of uneasiness when he desires to lift the veil that hides the future from him, and becomes aware of his short-sightedness: "Man doth not know that which will be:" similarly, we read in the Book of Proverbs (xxvii. 1), "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Since we are unable to know "what is good for man in this life" (Ecc. vi. 12), Koheleth advises us to entrust ourselves unconditionally to the Divine guidance, and to submit to the authority of the law (מצוה): "Whoso keepeth the commandment shall know no evil thing" (viii. 5). Solomon says, almost in the same words, "He who keepeth the commandment keepeth his own soul" (xix. 16). Koheleth exhorts us to enjoy life, to be glad, and "to rejoice in our own works" (iii. 22). The same we are taught in the Book of Proverbs: "When heaviness is in the heart of man, let him subdue it; and a good word shall turn it into gladness" (xii. 25). We may pass over the agreement of both Ecclesiastes and Proverbs in praising industry, justice, and wisdom, in denouncing idleness, injustice and folly, in warning against rash vows, and in describing the sacrifices of the wicked as an abomination in the eye of the Lord. But it is noteworthy that both Koheleth and Solomon, in demonstrating that wisdom excels strength, employ the past tense—illustrate, as it were, the lesson by some past event. In Koheleth we read (ix. 14): "There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it and besieged it. . . . Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city." In Proverbs: "A wise man scaled the city of the mighty, and cast down the strength of confidence" (xxi. 22). As regards the belief in a future world, in the immortality of the soul, I have noticed in my first paper the sure signs of the author's conviction that man's existence does not, like that of the beast, end with the dissolution of the body; that man's life continues after death, though in another form. There are, in the Book of Proverbs, several sayings which imply the same belief: "Behold the righteous shall be recom-

pensed *on the earth*, much more the wicked and sinner" (xi. 31); that is, from the fact that the righteous are seen in distress, we have to infer that the wicked, though prosperous on earth, will not entirely escape punishment; they will suffer elsewhere. Again (xii. 28) "In the way of righteousness is life, and it is the pathway in which there is no death" but immortality. It deserves to be noted that, although fools of every description are met with everywhere, it was the special privilege of the wise King Solomon and the wise author Koheleth, to make the acquaintance of the well-nourished, thick-loined *Kesil*, that is unknown to all other Biblical authors. The tenth verse of chapter xii. runs as follows: Koheleth sought to find out acceptable words, and that which is written is upright, even words of truth." Similarly, we read in Proverbs xxii. 20, at the conclusion of one section of the Book of Proverbs, "Have not I written to thee excellent things in counsels and knowledge, that I might make thee know the certainty of the words of truth?" Lastly it may be noted that both books conclude with an exhortation to fear the Lord.

Having established the unity and authenticity of Koheleth, I proceed now briefly to investigate two important questions: 1. When was Koheleth received into the collection of Holy Scriptures? 2. When was the Canon of Holy Scriptures fixed? and by whom? As to the first question, we have various traditions. One Talmudical passage says: Hezekiah and his colleagues כתבו wrote, or added to the Holy Writings Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes, (Baba-bathra 15a). A different tradition is given in Aboth di Rabbi Nathan (i. 1) to this effect: Proverbs, Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes, after having once been rejected as originating in human thought and not in divine inspiration, were taken into reconsideration by the men of Hezekiah, who did not rashly decide, but examined the books carefully, and ultimately the three books were received into the collection of Holy Writings, by the men of Hezekiah, or according to an other version of this same tradition, by the men of the Great Synagogue.

The second question, as to the fixing of the Canon, I fear, will never be answered with certainty. We have no record whatever of any decision in this matter. When Malachi, the last of the prophets, added his words to those of his predecessors, and no other prophet succeeded him, the Canon of the Prophets was *eo ipso* concluded. Those Holy Writings that had not been included in the collection of the prophets, viz., Psalms, Lamentations, Ruth, etc., formed a separate collection

which was then still left open for further additions; this collection was probably considered as closed when a long period had passed without the publication of any addition to the Holy Writings. The Syrian oppression and the Maccabean wars were perhaps the causes of that discontinuity. Ben Sira seems to have known already the Holy Scriptures as Pentateuch, Prophets and other writings (*τα πατρια*). Krochmal assumes that certain discussions reported in the Talmud about the relative sanctity of some of the Biblical books, implied the question concerning the canonicity of these books, and consequently would help us to determine the time of the fixing the canon. The following is the discussion referred to (Yadayim iii. 5): "Does the general rule מטמא את הספר חידים, 'A holy book causes the hands that touch it to be unclean,' apply to Koheleth? The Shammaites say 'No,' the Hillelites say 'Yes.'" Many assume that this amounts to the same thing as saying that the Shammaites would not grant Koheleth a place among the Holy Writings, whilst the Hillelites admitted it into the Canon of the Bible. This is wrong. For first, in the above discussion, repeated frequently in the Talmud, it is not once said that Koheleth should be suppressed because it did not belong to the Holy Writings. Secondly, it is distinctly stated, that the cause of the above-mentioned law was this: people were accustomed to keep holy writings and holy food together, and thus the holy books were frequently damaged. The book Koheleth must therefore have been known as a *holy* book, when this question was raised. The Rabbis only discussed whether there was any necessity to impress on the minds of the people by some exceptional law, that Koheleth contained the wisdom of Solomon and not a divine revelation. From this point of view the Shammaites would in this case, as in most cases, be לחומרא "more stringent," although seemingly לקולא "less stringent." Thirdly, the Rabbis of the period of the Hillelites and Shammaites would not ignore the decision of the men of Hezekiah, or of the men of the Great Synagogue.

It has been contended by many commentators that the last verses of Koheleth formed the conclusion to the Biblical books, and contained the decision of the wise men who fixed the Canon. This theory is principally based on a Midrashic interpretation of verses 11 and 12, entirely disregarding the Massoretic accents. The literal rendering of the last verses in Koheleth is as follows:—

9. And furthermore, as Koheleth was wise, he further taught the people knowledge, and weighed and searched, and made many proverbs.

10. Koheleth sought to find acceptable words; and that which is written, is uprightness, words of truth,

11. Words of wise men, which are like the goads and like fixed stakes, that keep the flocks together, [and which] are given by one shepherd.

12. And more than these (words of the wise) my son, learn; the making of many books without end, and much reading, is weariness of flesh.

13. The end of the word, when all is heard, remains: Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole [duty] of man.

14. For every action will God bring to judgment, together with every hidden [thought], whether it be good or evil.

In verse 11 Koheleth declares that his words in addition to their being "words of truth" are "words of the wise," which he compares, as regards their twofold object, to the goads that drive the animal further, and to the stakes that keep the flock within certain bounds. Thus Koheleth gave in his book the impulse to search, to ask, to doubt; and exhorts his audience or readers to proceed on this path; but there must be a boundary even to this doubting and searching: making many books and reading much without end is only weariness of flesh, no real gain. There must be stakes מסמרות נטועים בעלי אספות, there must be a סוף דבר, an end and aim to the word: and that end is Fear God!

M. Friedländer.

ENGLISH JUDAISM.

A Criticism and a Classification.

"Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be. Why, then, should we desire to be deceived?"—Butler.

Two brilliant articles in the first number of this Review, both dealing with the most vital question with which a Jewish Review can be concerned—viz., What is Judaism?—offer such startlingly contradictory answers, that a simple layman like myself feels prompted to exercise his simple faculty of logical analysis in endeavouring to unravel the reasons of the difference. The more so when he calls to mind the many other answers he has seen or heard, the mutual contradiction of which, to speak algebraically, reduces the sum of meaning of the term "Judaism" to zero.

There must be something more than logomachy in this wrangle of *responsa*, though that never absent form of warfare is far from unpractised in it. Probably all the answers have a measure of truth. Judaism, as a religion, is so many-sided as to give scope for as many one-sided views of it; while the history of Judaism and the Jewish race (with the ever-present polarity which Professor Graetz himself has detected in it) has been so complex, and has been written and commented upon by so many persons, each with his attendant "equation," that the wonder would be if two independent inquirers like Professor Graetz and Mr. Schechter had answered or even understood the question in precisely the same way.

"What is Judaism?" asks Professor Graetz; and accepts the answer of Renan, "A minimum of religion," "moralised monotheism," "a religion without dogmas." "What is Judaism?" asks Mr. Schechter, and proceeds to enumerate the dogmas which have at different times and by different thinkers been supposed to constitute Judaism. But these answers are not so opposed as they seem at first sight. A very superficial examination reveals the fact that, paradoxi-

cally enough, Professor Graetz, the historian, takes the question in an abstract theological sense, and answers it by a philosophic formula of the essence of Judaism; while Mr. Schechter, who is inclined to abstract theology, takes it in an historical sense, and answers it by a review of past beliefs. Professor Graetz, piercing through the complexities of historical Judaism, strives to grasp its secret, to disentangle the ideal element which has served as the soul to a succession of bodies, beautiful, homely, or grotesque. Mr. Schechter strives rather to recall to us the successive avatars or re-incarnations of this immanent spirit. Professor Graetz is thus led on to assert that Judaism is or need not be anything but all soul; while Mr. Schechter contends for a certain proportion of fleshly garniture, though omitting to say how much is indispensable.

For it is to be noted that Mr. Schechter denies that the question "What is Judaism?" can be answered in Professor Graetz's sense at all. He appears to repudiate the idea that there can be an abstract theoretical Judaism, as there is a Nicene creed. Perhaps he does not sufficiently distinguish between Judaism as a definite body of beliefs, and Judaism as embodied in concrete Jews. "What is Judaism? It is impossible to say." Despite his protest against "the dogma of dogmalessness," he refuses to pin himself to any formulisation of articles. He, indeed, lays down two vague principles of faith and hope towards the beginning, and is tempted into some constructive suggestions towards the end, but on the whole he remains the purely scientific observer. The Jew by birth, seeking to know what he must believe to be a Jew by faith, gets some sort of answer from Professor Graetz, who starts by saying there are *no* articles of belief; but from Mr. Schechter, who starts by saying that there *are* articles of belief, he gets no answer at all. "So many Jews, so many Judaisms," is what Mr. Schechter plainly teaches. And if, in accordance with it, we seek at least some enlightenment in the knowledge of what is the conception of Judaism held by the Jew, Mr. Schechter, all we really learn is that it is "so many Jews, so many Judaisms." Though he emphasizes the necessity of religious dogma as opposed to hygienic or social conceptions of Judaism, he lays down only general maxims of purity and holiness in thought and act, which are common to most religions.

The history of theology is thickly strewn with grotesque propositions, but it would be difficult to find even in the treatises of the Schoolmen or the doctrine of the Sandemanians anything more monstrous than the idea, at which Mr.

Schechter himself directs such exquisite satire, that a great historical religion, by which millions have lived, and for which myriads have died, has no definite set of beliefs. Even if these had never been reduced to a formula, they would still be implied in the actions of the followers of the religion; the most mechanical Mohammedan who observes the Ramadan, the most automatic Buddhist turning his prayer-wheel, thereby evidences the possession of a certain belief, howsoever little the intellectual proposition involved be present to his consciousness. Action has been asserted by Bain to be the only test of belief; it is, at any rate, a mark of it, on the assumption, of course, that the act is not hypocritical. And, therefore, to say with Professor Graetz that we ought not to speak of "the Jewish *faith*" because he chooses to narrow the meaning of the "ecclesiastical" term faith to a belief in the incredible (although Paley and Butler and Maurice, and hundreds of other Christian theologians, would assert the very opposite of *Credo quia absurdum*) is to offer a transparent temptation to the faithless, and a transparent absurdity to the faithful.[1]

What then is this body of beliefs? The differences between the answers of Professor Graetz and Mr. Schechter arise principally, as we now see, from their different ways of interpreting the question. But as Moses would probably not have recognised his religion in either of their expositions, we have still to inquire what, if anything, constitutes Judaism, and why so many discrepant things are said to do so, that Judaism is now literally "all things to all men." This inquiry will necessitate a deeper analysis.

But here some one may tell me that for *English* Judaism at least such an analysis is a work of supererogation. Admitting that Continental and Transatlantic Judaism is in places nebulous in outline, he may contend that, apart from a small minority of wrong-headed reformers, the bulk of English Jews are far from elastic in their religious conceptions, and that an impartial outsider examining our ecclesiastical organisation and our pulpit utterances could not but conclude that English Judaism is strong, solid, and self-consistent. In this strength of English Judaism lies its chief weakness.

The Reformation in English theology was the child of the Renaissance; not the Reformation in its narrow Lutheran sense, but the whole broadening of religious thought from the

[1] The fact is that Professor Graetz, like many other Jews, having observed with joy that Judaism does not make so great a demand upon "faith" in the bad old sense as Christianity, has rushed to the other extreme, and asserted that it makes no demand at all.

sense of new horizons. As in the mind we cannot get intellect detached from emotion, so there can be no great change in the intellectual sphere without telling in the moral and religious sphere. English Jews (in their upper sections at least) have been subjected lately, in common with the whole civilised world, to a scientific Renaissance, in which the evolution doctrine has been only one of a host of dissolvent influences. There has been a great shaking up of old bones, much movement in sects and circles. Many of the Christian bulwarks have been swept away; but Judaism stands, so Jews assert, untouched. The breath of new knowledge has passed through English Judaism, the wind has passed with its pollen-dust; but has impregnated nothing. Even the Reform movement was more a natural and very trivial branching-out from the compulsion of inner forces, than a result of any new external influences.

When Professor Graetz said in his discourse at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition that "If Israel is to think of realising its ideal task of bringing light to the nations, it must first and above all have light within itself," he uttered a truth; when he said that Anglo-Israel had this light, he uttered a compliment. For not only are we not irradiated with the light of the new knowledge, but we seem to have lost the light of the old. No one arises to offer us an authoritative "Moreh Nebuchim." English Judaism, like English Christianity, is an immense chaos of opinions—we do not know where we are, we have endless disputes in the press, where the real issue is obscured; endless arguments where neither party is convinced, because each starts from a different platform, and his reasonings gyrate in solitary superiority in a different "universe" or "closed sphere of thought"; terms are juggled with or used in different senses; all sorts of half-beliefs and no beliefs flit through the common mind; all sorts of compromises, more or less politic and more or less well intentioned, have been struck between faith and unfaith; all sorts of strange divorces have been effected between profession and practice; while smaller or larger doses of anodynes and opiates have been swallowed by not a few.

To attempt to flash the lantern of analysis on this fog cannot then be a work of supererogation.

I am quite aware that there are many who would prefer not to have the fog raised—for the fogs of the mind are rather comfortable than otherwise, and in any case come to be so. For there is a modesty of the mental organisation as of the physical; and an even greater modesty, for it shrinks even from the sight of its own nakedness. To some the veil

of fog brings mental repose, and to some creature-comforts, and very few care to carry torches, much less to agitate for the mental equivalent of consuming your own smoke. The great fog-disperser of antiquity was the rather got rid of by hemlock.

But now, as ever, there are still a few who wish to know what to believe rather than what they are wished to believe. Honest men have their rights as well as their wrongs, preponderant though the latter be; and among these rights, the right of pure air and sunlight is one that they will not have denied. No doubt the cry of "Let us alone" has some justification, and stirs a not unsympathetic fibre even in the heart of the iconoclast himself. For, in his weaker moments the iconoclast is apt to lament that he was born at a period of mental unrest, of criticism instead of conservatism or construction, till he philosophically reflects that the source of unrest is in his own constitution, that "*locum non animum mutant*" is equally true if we substitute "*tempus*" for "*locum*"; that no period is changeless; that the goal of to-day is the starting-point of to-morrow; that every age has its dissatisfied souls: that the problems of life are problems of dynamics, not of statics; that the eternal spirit of man toils in pursuit of ever-receding horizons of truth and morality.

II.

The first thing to require of a man who presumes to answer the question, "What is Judaism?" is his attitude towards the dogma of Revelation. For the keystone of Judaism, as it is now understood by the great majority, and as it has always been understood, *is* Revelation. Judaism is a *revealed* religion. Of that there can be no doubt. It claims to light up the darkness of earth with light from heaven. Life, which the Anglo-Saxon Ealdorman truly figured as a lighted chamber, through which a bird flies from darkness to darkness, is by it *trans*-figured into a chamber wherein the bird flies from light and through light, till it *ceases* its flight at the uttermost extremity. Not from "Chaos and black night" comes the bird, but from the bosom of a righteous and loving, though stern and unchangeable, Being.

The physical principles of gravitation, of repulsion, the law of variation inversely with the square of the distance, the sine of refraction of water, the properties of isomorphous crystals, have not been laid down by human volition, though human volition has worked in all ages on these ready-made lines.

So with Judaism. Judaism is an arbitrary system, a system which may, indeed, be rational, but no more ceases to be arbitrary on that account than the rates of vibration of sound and light waves cease to be arbitrary because music and colour-harmonies spring from the tremor.

Yes, Judaism rests upon Revelation; and upon that revelation which is embodied in the Bible, or at least in the Pentateuch. Logically, indeed, in view of the marvellous nature of the history of Israel, in view of the unique character of the alleged bond between Israel and its God, of its supreme insistence on ethics at a period when the surrounding nations do not appear to have begun to work their way through the primitive beliefs of early man, or even in view simply of its historical persistence, one might conclude *a posteriori* that there must have been some peculiar revelation or inspiration vouchsafed to this people, and that Israel was, indeed, the chosen channel through which the knowledge of God was to flow to all men; though, at the same time, one might hold that the actual facts of this revelation or inspiration are distorted in the Biblical reflection of them. This is, perhaps, the view of Professor Graetz, though it is difficult to seize his precise attitude. And, indeed, the argument *a posteriori* is by no means to be sneered at; it may, not impossibly, convert men already deists into Jews, which is, perhaps, what Professor Graetz looks for; or it may even make Jews of atheists at one swoop. But, although this distinction between Revelation and the Bible is logically conceivable, I cannot call to mind any one who has made it explicitly.[1] Practically the two have, hitherto, stood or fallen together. Practically, also, each was the other. To deny Revelation meant to deny the Bible. To reject the Bible was to reject Revelation.

According to the dogmas and teachings of that Judaism in which for so many centuries Israel has lived and moved and had its being, the Judaism which I, like everyone else, was taught at school, and on which our whole religious organisation has been based, God revealed himself to Moses (through whose inspired authorship the Jews also obtained a cosmogony and a chronological history of the world from the Creation), and to the Hebrew nation, which he had long ago selected (as predicted to Abraham) to be the means of blessing all the families of the earth. The nation, convinced of God's power

[1] Various recent books, *e.g.* R. F. Horton's "Inspiration and the Bible," take an analogous view in making the inspiration constituted by the moral and spiritual glow of the Bible, and allowing for the necessary limitations of its authors. This is a typical nineteenth century standpoint, and is that occupied by Ewald.

by its miraculous deliverance from Egypt, bound itself to obey not only the Decalogue, but a complicated code of religious and social polity, in which sacrifices played a large part. It wandered forty years in a wilderness, alternately punished and caressed like a froward child, showing, by its frequent revolts and backslidings, that the new morality was an accretion from without, and not yet an efflorescence from within. By the aid of its God it won a kingdom for itself, had a greater and a lesser period of material prosperity, both marked by the possession of a national temple, and divided from each other by a period of captivity; after which its history, though occasionally chequered by sunshine, is mainly a record of sorrow and exile, dispersion, persecution, and martyrdom, and of internal aberrations, schisms, and derelictions, tempered by undying hopes, gross or refined, of a golden future when its God would be the God of the whole earth, and Israel again a nation. In its highest spirits, in men like Jehuda Halevi, the nationalistic and religious conceptions were fused together in a glow of aspiration like the devotion to spiritual and to patriotic ideals in Mazzini; but even the humblest clay was vivified by a spark of the Promethean fire. Early in its history its connection with God became less direct; gradually its inter-communion with the Almighty faded away, till only an occasional Bath-Kol broke the divine silence, soon to become eternal. It preserved, however, the golden bridge of the Torah, with its vast supplementary traditions (partially, at least, necessitated by the inexhaustive phraseology of some of the Biblical precepts), afterwards not crystallised, but set down in all their heterogeneity; and created for itself a literature both parasitic and original, every word of which not merely breathes a faith in Bible and revelation, but exists only by virtue of Bible and revelation, as our modern treatises on astronomy owe their existence to that of planets and comets, as our modern studies of the right move in a particular chess gambit are only called into being by the arbitrary laws, long ago fixed, of the movements of the pieces. The divine records were studied as precious finalities—infallibilities; and not only was every book of the canon inspired, so that it was possible for a text from Zechariah to throw light upon or supplement a text from Genesis, but a certain measure of divine inspiration and of consequent unchangeability was even supposed to attach to the oldest commentaries on the oldest of the books of the first degree of inspiration. What wonder if every word was supposed to have a meaning apart from its force as an element of a sentence, every letter apart from its value as a component of a

word, every spur or flourish apart from its intention as an ornament of a letter? What wonder if R. David ben Yom-Tov Bilia seeks to make the existence of an allegorical meaning in the Torah an article of Judaism, if Abarbanel or David Ibn Simra declares that every word constitutes a dogma, or if the Cabbalists and others draw worlds of meaning from the puerilities of גמטריאות? Nowhere has *Mysticismus* a better excuse than when it has a divine but occasionally obscure document for the material of its web-spinning. The commandments were enumerated, and mystical reasons assigned for their number, while zealots sought to deduce additional precepts from them; all this exegetical and deductive activity developing a marvellous subtlety, as of a lawyer who finds or reconciles flaws in legal documents, or of a geometrical theorist who deduces ever smaller and smaller sub-theorems from the axioms granted and the propositions already proved. Such was the intense enthusiasm for the service of God that, like the king who offered a reward to the man who invented a new pleasure, the old rabbis were ready to award the palm to the man who could invent a new *Mitzvah*. So close, too, was the connection between *Mitzvoth* and morality, that ultimately they became interchangeable. A good deed was a precept, and a precept was a good deed. To give a man a precept means, in the idiom of the synagogue, to give him the opportunity of performing a pious act (which may be merely a custom), and implies, also, an addition to his spiritual wealth. Public and private conduct alike were pervaded by a deep sense of intimacy with God and special election, the "peculiarity" of the relations with the Almighty being emphasized at every step and turn by a host of ceremonial actions and expressions, and by a series of fasts and feasts, some Biblical, some growing out of the national history. The ever-lengthening chain of tradition was always attached to Sinai; the Mishna, itself a link between the eras before and the eras after Christ, enumerates the links by which it reached down to Hillel and Shammai; and thus Israel always preserved its unique consciousness of "personal identity," because it preserved a continuous recollection of its past life, and projected itself imaginatively into the future.

> "For in the background figures vague and vast
> Of patriarchs and of prophets rose sublime,
> And all the great traditions of the Past
> They saw reflected in the coming time."

Such, amid innumerable local and temporary variations, was the general composition of the religious and social

atmosphere in which many glorious spiritual blossoms were generated, as well as the inevitable proportion of thorns and darnel.

A few years ago such a cursory schoolboy account of Judaism in a serious article would justly have been laughed to scorn in England as platitudinarian and superfluous. That the whole secret of Judaism lay in the intimate relation of Israel and God; in the segregation of Israel by special rites and customs; in the election of Israel as a peculiar people with a beneficent mission; in the imposition on Israel of a code of laws, the object of which might in some instances be divined but which had to be obeyed in any case—this was such a commonplace, so latent in every act and thought of the Jew, that it needed no affirming. Doctors might sometimes disagree as to the dogmas of Judaism; but laymen expressed their "decision" in practical form by continuing in the route of tradition; and even the disputing philosophers occasionally forgot, as Mr. Schechter surmises, to include in their lists the belief in Revelation, as one might forget to include air in the contents of a room. And if the religious conceptions of the philosophers sometimes seem to transcend those of the crowd, we must not make the mistake of confounding Judaism with their individual intuitions or their individual reflections and adaptations of mediæval philosophy, any more than of confounding it with the crowd's excogitations or refractions of mediæval superstitions. A religion can only be gauged fairly by its action on the "homme sensuel moyen," not by the shape it takes in its moral or metaphysical geniuses. Many of the dogmatisers, no less than many of the rationalising or deanthropomorphising commentators, seem to have legislated or expounded for themselves or their likes; to defend and dignify their own doubts or their own moral developments and grander breadths of vision; there is often a latent *apologia* behind. And even the free-thinking and noble-souled R. Chasdai Ibn Crescas explicitly accepts such doctrines as the immutability and perfection of the Torah, though well aware of the unsatisfactory nature of most of the reasonings on which they are based.

That, for the first time in its history, it has become necesary within the present century to say and to reiterate that Judaism is a revealed religion, as the other main religions of the past have all claimed in some sense to be, and that if it be not, it loses its *special* claims on our adherence—that if it does not reign by "divine right," it must prove its right to reign at all—is surely a fact of grave portent and presage. That the

"people of the Book" should be losing faith in the absolute veracity of their possession, and should yet have but scant perception of the revolutionary importance of this change of standpoint, is a proof how the plain issue must have been distorted. For we are told by Professor Graetz that Judaism has no dogmas, that it is a minimum of religion; by Mr. Claude Montefiore[1] that it is not a *Gesetzes-Religion, i.e.*, a Religion of Law which cannot progress without denying itself; by Mr. Oswald John Simon[2] that Sacrifice does not conform with his notion of God—all in the face of the precepts of the Bible, and in the face of its distinct prescription, "Ye shall neither add nor diminish." While the whole tenour of the Pentateuch is that Religion, as Schopenhauer[3] claimed for a genuine philosophy, is independent of time, that the relation of the soul to God (as of the mind to the problems of Epistemology) is the same in all ages of the drama of life, however changing the stage-properties, we now find men of the race to whom this all-embracing, life-regulating Pentateuch was given, regarding this relation as mutable and variable with the growth of the spirit of man.

So unmistakably is the alternative of Revelation or Non-Revelation the *crux* of the whole matter, that I must emphasize it a little more. The general or even verbal Inspiration of the Old Testament has always been held, even by Christians who believed it had been superseded by a later inspiration. By a Jew of the past, or an orthodox Jew, or even an orthodox Christian of the present, the possibility of a Judaism without thorough belief in the Bible would have been scouted as a contradiction in terms. The peoples by whom this marvellous Book was received in translations have been at one on this point with the people who received it in the original. Mohammedans, as the Kusari already points out, may lose faith in the Koran, Christians in the Gospels; but the Old Testament is not affected by the discrediting of these derivative documents. The tree stands though the branches be lopped. Once sap the belief in the Old Testament, and with orthodox Judaism, orthodox Christianity and orthodox Mohammedanism must share in the general crash. That these assertions as to the standing of the Old Testament are warranted hardly needs proving. Yet for form's sake I will put in evidence one example of alien appreciation and comprehension of Judaism. I will translate an extract from that masterly sketch, Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire*

[1] *A Justification of Judaism.* [2] In *The Jewish Chronicle.*
[3] *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung.*

universelle. The great orator is defending the genuineness and antiquity of the Pentateuch against the hypothesis of its compilation by Ezra.

> What shall I say of the agreement of the books of Scripture and of the admirable witness which all the epochs of the people of God bear to one another? The times of the second Temple suppose those of the first, and conduct us back to Solomon. The peace (in his reign) was only attained by fighting; and the conquests of the people of God lead us back to the Judges, to Joshua, and finally to the exodus from Egypt. In seeing a whole people issue from a realm to which it was alien, one remembers how it came there. The twelve patriarchs appear immediately; and a people which never regarded itself other than as a single family, leads us naturally to Abraham, its stem. Is this people wiser and less idolatrous after the return from Babylon? That was the natural effect of a great chastisement, due to its past sins. If this people boasts to have seen more miracles than other peoples, it may also boast to have the knowledge of God which no other people possessed. What *can* circumcision, and the feast of Tabernacles and Passover and the other festivals celebrated in the nation from time immemorial signify, if not the things found in the book of Moses? That a people distinguished from others by a religion and customs so peculiar, a doctrine so consistent and elevated, a so vivid remembrance of a long succession of facts so necessarily enchained, ceremonies so regulated and customs so universal, should have been without a history marking for it its origin, and without a law prescribing for it its customs during a thousand years of *national* existence; and that Ezra should have commenced to wish to suddenly give to it, under the name of Moses, together with the history of its antiquities, the law which had fashioned its morals when it was taken captive and saw its ancient monarchy shattered—what more incredible fable could possibly be invented?

But it is really waste of time to try and prove what the universal view of the Jewish Bible and the Jewish religion has been. Is not the whole mass of Old Testament Christology based on the assumption of the inspiration of the former, and the supernatural imposition, if not the final character, of the latter? As, then, those who admit no, or only a modified inspiration and veracity in the Bible, are bound to explain away much of its contents as more or less a mixture of subjective illusions and historical distortions, and as such views of it must seriously modify their conception of Judaism; as they are bound to rationalise the myth of the Sinaitic covenant, and the election of Israel, and to trace the gradual crystallisation of legends, half truths, whole truths, and objectified aspirations and emotions into the (on the whole definitely shaped, and historically recorded) Judaism of the centuries after Ezra, or, at least, after Christ, in the same fashion as we can trace the genesis of State Christianity, it is plain that "the first thing to require of a man who presumes to answer the question, 'What is Judaism?' is his

attitude towards the dogma of Revelation." For, as this century is witnessing the decay of supernatural Christianity, and the occasional passing of the same into natural Christianity, so is it witnessing the decay of supernatural Judaism, and the occasional passing of the same into what I shall venture to call natural Judaism. Wellhausen, Kuenen, Renan; the new cosmological conceptions; the analytical spirit of the age, and the ever-growing acuteness of moral perception, have not been wholly without influence even in Anglo-Judæa. A due recognition of this fact will help us to unravel the medley constituted by modern expositions of Judaism. The Spanish, Provençal, and other philosophers, who laid down what it was necessary to believe to be a Jew, did, indeed, supply quite as great a diversity of formulæ as we are now encumbered with in our own generation; but the constants of these formulæ almost swamped the variants. They were all only variations on a dominant theme. But among the variations which are now offered us, there are some whence every trace of the ground-melody is departed. To borrow an illustration from Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, the new coat bequeathed to the Jews was clipped and lengthened, ornamented, even turned at will, by the earlier philosophical *Sartores*, but it always preserved a certain resemblance to a coat; whereas we now find *Sartores* who offer us sleeve-linings, but still insist on calling them coats.

No, Natural Judaism cannot be the same thing as Supernatural Judaism. Then what exactly *is* Natural Judaism?

III.

Natural Judaism is a species of the genus Natural Religion. In the Anglo-Saxon image referred to above, the bird is assumed to be unable to discover anything as to the environing darkness; but if we imagine it able to form a theory about the unknown, and responding in sympathetic magnetism to some great power without, we shall get a fair idea of what the development of religion from within, or "Natural Religion," means as contrasted with the external imposition of creeds. The German philosophical distinction between *Sittlichkeit* and *Moralität* brings out well this difference between tuition and intuition, between the externalism of revelation and the internalism of development. *Sittlichkeit* is the morality of custom, the mere formal, unspiritual doing of acts, and believing of propositions. *Moralität* is the higher morality which emerges when the beliefs of the cruder period have

passed through the furnace of denial, have emerged more or less unscathed, and have become, by a moral renascence, part of the spiritual being of the man or the race. (Then, I take it, these newly-acquired beliefs become automatic; thus another revolution is necessitated, the truths acquired by which again undergo rigidescence, and so *ad infinitum*. In this sense I understand the Norwegian poet Ibsen's audacious paradox, "Freethinking is the only morality.") Now tradition and custom are quasi-revelations, and a revealed religion may pass like them through the fire and come out a natural religion. And just as the acts of *Moralität* may be the *very same as*, or may differ from the acts of *Sittlichkeit*, so the natural religion may be the same as, or different from, the supernatural religion. A very large modern school of Christian writers evolves Christianity from the constitution of things, *e.g.*, the necessity of self-sacrifice, though sometimes on very grotesque grounds. So Shadworth Hodgson claims that Wordsworth was the pioneer of the rediscovery from within of the truths "revealed" from without.

A "revealed" religion must, of course, be "natural" to a certain extent, inasmuch as it must correspond in some measure to the needs and experiences of those who profess it. We even find the latter sometimes justifying it by its nobility, thus testing it by "natural-religious" feeling; a proceeding of which the logic is most doubtful when the racial conscience has been moulded by the very doctrines it thinks to appraise. The appeal certainly tacitly admits that the religion revealed was a go-cart by which man was taught to walk, an *ipse dixit*, by which the value of honesty, chastity and mercy was taught to savages who had not yet had time to find it out. But though originally revealed, it might be rediscovered later, as the man solves a problem of which the boy had to be shown the solution. We thus see why some parts of religion are not inconsistently regarded as "natural," even though believed to be revealed. They are the common possessions of the moral consciousness of civilised man, which could not have failed to be discovered in time, and with travail, though luckily they were "revealed." Here is the common segment of the circles of both "Natural" and "Supernatural" Religion. Now in Judaism attempts have been made to eliminate that part of the "supernatural" which does not coincide with the "natural," and to leave only "Natural Judaism"; bolder spirits have attempted to reconcile the two by excogitating these eliminated portions, as in the effort to show valid sanitary reasons behind arbitrary dietary laws.

A Natural Religion may be got at either by the moral or

intellectual route, or both. Individual moral intuition and individual intellection, whenever their action is constructive, evolve some kind of Natural Religion (especially as in Seeley's wide definition this is not necessarily theistic in the old sense). And when metaphysical pondering of the problem of existence, and of the necessity of an unconditioned base for the conditioned; scientific study of the origin and development of religious ideas, whose existence and persistence may be held to imply an objective correlate; or emotional response to the lessons of life, or all combined have led to the conclusion that the *essential* ideas of a non-tribal Judaism are the best practical solution of the mysteries of Life and Death, then we get what I have called "Natural Judaism." But there are as many varieties of "Natural Judaism" as there are catalogues of the "essential ideas" of ordinary Judaism. These, with the other species and sub-species of Judaism to be met with in England, I shall now attempt to classify.

IV.

Such a classification, like all first classifications, must necessarily be tentative and imperfect. Some of the most important classes, too, may appear to consist of a single individual; this is so only to those who are not behind the scenes.

The word "Jew" is duplex. Formerly, a Jew by birth was a Jew by creed; the two meanings were inseparable. Now we must distinguish; and separate born Jews who profess Judaism, from born Jews who do not.[1] And here it must be observed that in practice our very first cut could not be made with absolute sharpness—the cloudy borderland, which usually prevents decisive dichotomy, being far from wanting. Men do not assess themselves and their beliefs as the auctioneer takes the inventory of a room. More or less consciously they hover between different opinions, and their physical condition and other circumstances are incessantly modifying their attitude towards any particular intellectual or religious proposition. To take a concrete instance, it would be difficult to diagnose the spiritual condition of the freethinker who marries in a synagogue in order, as he tells himself, to please

[1] Under the term "born Jew," I include every one whose childish religious environment was to some extent Jewish, and therefore exclude persons of merely Jewish *descent*. Converts of alien races are so few as to form "*une quantité négligeable*." On the other hand, deserters from Judaism are daily growing more numerous; and the "orthodox" East-end itself contains a very nest of Atheistic Socialists.

his wife's relatives. Certainly the bridegroom himself could not tell how much was compromise, and how much if anything was the dim stirring of new emotions. So that a classification of Jews in the flesh would be not only vitiated by paradoxical breaches between (not insincere) profession and practice, and by the more self-conscious forms of hypocrisy or policy; but would also be rendered imperfect by the elusive and shifting character of human opinions. Nevertheless, despite these doubtful marginal cases, there is in real life, and still more in abstract logic, a broad distinction between professing Jews and non-professing Jews, and the same is true of subsequent scissions.

Non-professing Jews may not unprofitably be divided into those conscious to some extent of the racial bond, and those who through shame or indifference have allowed the feeling of brotherhood to decay. Each of these classes may be again divided (though perhaps some of these, as well as of my minor classes later on, may be more potential than actual) into the Conversionists and the Neutrals. Thus there is a species of non-professing "born Jew," whose very sense of kinship spurs him on to lead his brethren to the light of Christianity or some form of Secularism or Nothingism; and there is another species of still racially sympathetic deserter who is contented with his individual light, or at least does not direct his propagandist activity against Jews, apart from the general mass of erring mankind. So with the "unsympathetic," non-professing Jews; the Indifferentist section of whom is so out of touch with Judaism as not even to desire its disappearance. But these sub-divisions of non-professing Jews need not be sub-divided, as those of professing Jews will be; the analysis of those without the fold may have some psychological warrant, but it can have but little import for the microcosm of Anglo-Judæa.

Professing Jews are split up into professors of Supernatural Judaism, and into those who hold only Natural Judaism; while a transitional position appears to be occupied by the holders of semi-Natural Judaism. This last name I apply to the illogical creed of the reforming Reformers. The "Reforming Fathers" who rejected Rabbinical tradition and fell back on the Bible, pure and simple, took up an intelligible if hardly defensible attitude. They are in a sense the Protestants of Judaism,[1] though with less excuse than the Pro-

[1] I confine my attention to English Reformed Judaism, though, of course, aware of the priority and greater importance of the German movement that started about the middle of the last century.

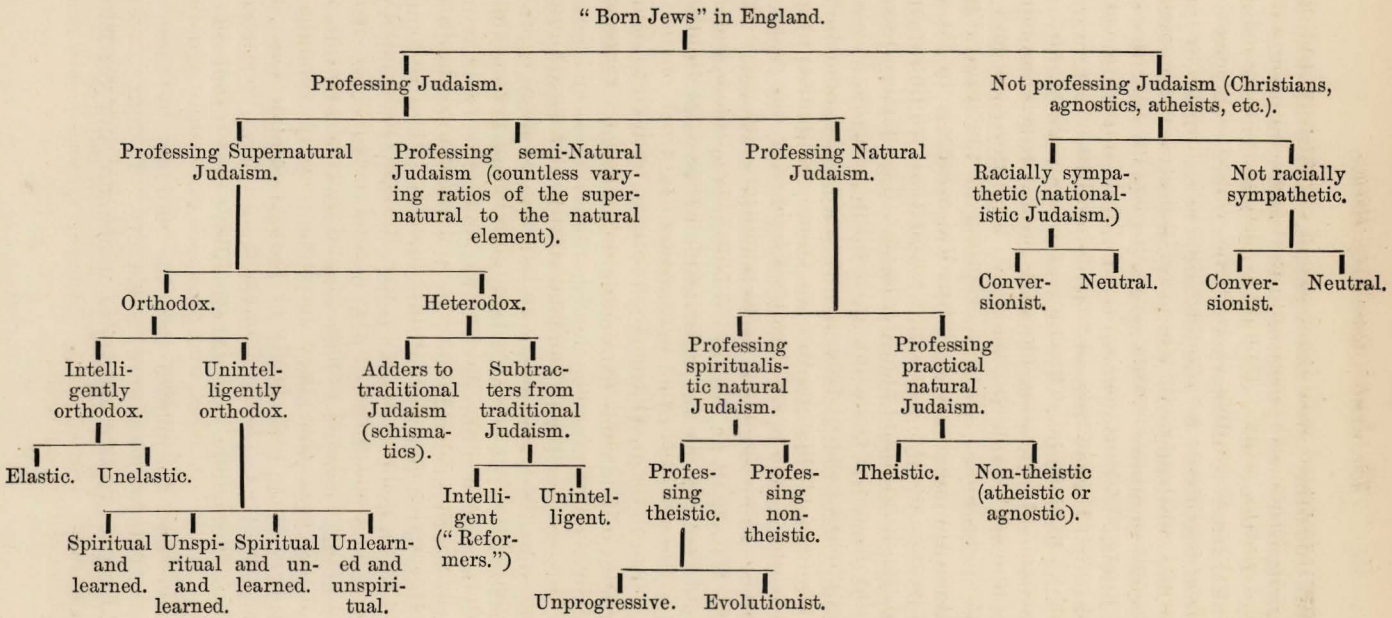
testants of Christianity. In one way they have been happier than their analogues, because the dogmatism of Luther, with his confession of Augsburg, has not been emulated—*Magna componere parvis* — by Professor Marks; our reformation falling rather into the hands of Erasmus and More than of the narrow clerics revolted by the narrownesses of Catholicism. But as ultimately the Protestants will inevitably protest against Christianity, so will those who have abandoned Rabbinical Judaism inevitably abandon Biblical Judaism. And at the present moment they are half on the way. Hence the untenable position of men like the self-styled "Judæus," who calmly declare that the sacrificial portion of the (*Biblical*) ritual is opposed to their conceptions of the volitions of the Deity. Semi-Natural Judaism is thus the half-way house in which persons of feeble faith and feebler logic may halt between two opinions. Naturally the intervening shades between black and white are numerous, and thus this half-way house now counts among its secret temporary residents not a few of the more cultured members of the United Synagogue, who have approached it by other routes than Berkeley Street. These are the persons who, while not quite admitting to themselves that they do not accept the Bible literally, still insist most on its ethical aspects. It will be sufficient to say of this section that the individuals who compose it vary only in the proportion of Supernatural to Natural Judaism in their particular specimen of the hybrid compound I have roughly called *semi*-Natural Judaism.

Now for Supernatural Judaism. Of those who profess this —and they are the great body of Jews all over the world— the majority are "orthodox," the minority "heterodox" (a word which of course could be taken to include all the other main branches, but of which I here *specialise* the application to Jews who accept Supernatural Judaism). "Orthodoxy" is the thorough maintenance of the traditional Judaism crudely sketched above. "Orthodox Judaism" is either *intelligently* held or *unintelligently*. It is the latter (*Sittlichkeit* or "my doxy") with the mass, who are unable to define their belief except by negatives, a *change* being *not* "orthodox." They confound the form of Judaism current in their youth with Judaism; and unfortunately it was a form corrupted by many un-Jewish beliefs and ceremonies which their creed caught of its neighbours, or broke out into of itself. It is amusing to learn that Maimonides was once "not orthodox." Such people are, however, the common product of all revealed religions, as of those quasi-revelations, conventional customs. With the "unintelligently orthodox," this mental attitude is

generally associated with ignorance of our history and of the fluidity of ceremonial forms and *Minhagim*; and the natural life of Judaism, which, though as definitely moulded as a man's body, is as capable of free and varied movement, has with them undergone a very *rigor mortis*. They comprise (*a*) the learned and spiritual, who have acquired some Hebrew lore, though in an unscientific way, display in some instances extraordinary intellectual acuteness, and import a certain amount of real religious feeling into their lives; (*b*) the learned yet unspiritual, who cannot rise above form, and who are in danger of forgetting morality but never ceremonialism; (*c*) the unlearned yet spiritual; (*d*) the unlearned and unspiritual.[1] Coming to the other prong of the bifurcation—the class of the Intelligently Orthodox, which is by its very definition not *un*learned and not *un*spiritual, we find it break up into the Elastic and the Unelastic. The latter resemble the Unintelligently Orthodox in disliking *changes*, but do so from a different motive; from the danger of the admission of the *principle* of change, as well as from a congenital Conservatism which clings to and throws a halo over the past. Dr. Friedländer, who combines great erudition and spirituality, may perhaps serve as a type of this class; while the Rev. S. Singer and Mr. H. S. Lewis (who claims that Judaism is אמונה, a *reasoned* faith, and who stakes its truth on the *historical* truth of the revelation from Sinai), with their demand that "orthodoxy" shall be living, may stand as representatives of the former.

The Heterodox Jews in England consist of a small number of persons, as the Chassidim, who have added more or less to traditional Judaism; and of a large number of persons, as the "Reformers," who have subtracted more or less from the same. The latter may profitably be divided into the Intelligently Heterodox and the Unintelligently Heterodox. The first of these includes those of the Biblical Reformers who have not yet gone further; the second consists of individuals of many shades of profession, and more of practice, who have in common that they have no clearly thought-out grounds for their dual laxity of thought and action. This class has its chief "local habitation" in the West-end of London. It is inferior only in numbers to that of the Unintelligently Orthodox, and possesses even more ignorance of our literature and history.

[1] The rigidity of this classification is modified by the fact already admitted in spirit in my remarks on Revealed Religion, that *Sittlichkeit* is never quite unadulterated, the creed professed having always some *genuine* relation to the holder's needs and experiences.


"Born Jews" in England.
Professing Judaism.
Not professing Judaism (Christians, agnostics, atheists, etc.).
Professing Supernatural Judaism.
Professing semi-Natural Judaism (countless varying ratios of the supernatural to the natural element).
Professing Natural Judaism.
Racially sympathetic (nationalistic Judaism.)
Not racially sympathetic.
Conversionist.
Neutral.
Conversionist.
Neutral.
Orthodox.
Heterodox.
Intelligently orthodox.
Unintelligently orthodox.
Adders to traditional Judaism (schismatics).
Subtracters from traditional Judaism.
Professing spiritualistic natural Judaism.
Professing practical natural Judaism.
Elastic.
Unelastic.
Intelligent ("Reformers.")
Unintelligent.
Professing theistic.
Professing non-theistic.
Theistic.
Non-theistic (atheistic or agnostic).
Spiritual and learned.
Unspiritual and learned.
Spiritual and unlearned.
Unlearned and unspiritual.
Unprogressive.
Evolutionist.

Natural Judaism now alone remains. This divides itself into spiritualistic and practical, the latter comprising the doctrines of those who hold that Judaism consists mainly in (or at least is differentiated from other religions by) its *practical* methods of consolidating racial unity, or promoting the well-being, of course moral as well as material, of the social organism. This appears to me to be the view of Mr. Lucien Wolf (to whom, as to all others mentioned, I apologise if I have misread their published utterances). Though he holds it in a Theistic sense, it might quite conceivably be held in a non-Theistic sense, being thoroughly compatible with both the sociology and the agnosticism of Herbert Spencer, or with the Meliorism of George Eliot. Such Judaism must necessarily be "progressive" as it must be modifiable by the progress of sociology. But Spiritualistic Theistic Natural Judaism (which may be roughly said to find the motive for well-doing in the relation of man to God rather than to his fellow-man) is unprogressive in Professor Graetz and his English congeners, while it is progressive or evolutionary in Mr. Claude Montefiore, who conceives of further sublimations of spiritualistic sentiment. Non-Theistic Spiritualistic Natural Judaism is not inconceivable, and would simply be the cultivation of the spirituality of mankind, irrespective of an hypostatised God.

Since drawing up the above divisions, I have heard of a new species of Judaism—Nationalistic Judaism. It seems to consist in keeping up some Jewish observances and customs which are connected with the historical life of Israel; and in keeping down any inconvenient self-questionings as to its own rationality. It is "auld lang syne" raised to a religion. Though aspirations for Jewish nationality may exist apart from the faith anciently held by the Jewish nation, to my mind this particular non-militant ceremonialism, not supplemented by common spiritual beliefs, is rather a religion for insects, whose profit it is to approximate in colour to the hue dominant around. This sect, which is not numerous (leader and followers being as difficult to discriminate as the head and tail of Bright's famous Scotch terrier), is best classified, despite its pretensions, as an "intensitive form" of "Racially sympathetic Jews not professing Judaism."

I have now to inquire into the validity of these new Judaisms I have endeavoured to classify. In doing so, I shall have to repeat certain platitudes which are not yet acknowledged as such.

V.

Man is a religion-making animal. He is far better differentiated from the other members of his genus by this epithet than by that of "cooking." And the rise and decay of the religions he makes reveal their common origin in the spirit of man, and their human kinship by the same "touches of nature" at every stage in their careers; in their zeniths and in their nadirs, and in the varying points of their courses, the curves of all the various orders of religions are almost parallel. Just as Peru and Mexico, cut off from each other and the rest of the world, developed civilisations startlingly similar to each other, and to those of the rest of the world at corresponding stages of development; so does the soul of man weave at each phase of its growth a corresponding conception of the Divine. Nor in thus tracing the evolution of God-ideas do we necessarily assert the creation of God by man, any more than in following up the development of man's astronomical ideas we assert his creation of the centripetal force; the evolution of man's religions may simply imply a continuous and progressive self-revelation of the Immanent Spirit.

The social organism secretes its religion, as it secretes its proportions of wisdom and folly, selfishness and altruism; and the processes of secretion, of exuviation or sloughing, the processes of growth and decay of individual organs, or of the whole organism, are as definite in this metaphorical as in a physiological organism. This is the meaning of Bacon's apophthegm that history is philosophy, teaching by example. Yet what we should expect *à priori* from the Uniformity of Nature comes upon us with a curious sense of pathos when, whether we examine the history of Buddhism or Brahminism, or Catholicism, or even Protestantism, we find at corresponding stages the same crystallisation or ossification of dogmas, the same benumbing reverence for revealed texts as the last word, the same multiplication of super-super-commentaries, the same rejection of all communion with God into the past, the same offer of Yesterday and To-morrow, but never of To-day, the same orthodoxy and heterodoxy, the same intolerance and time-serving, the same spiritual revolt of the preparers of the next phase, with which we are familiar in the history of Judaism. Truly did Xenophanes figure Nature as an infinite paroquet eternally repeating one note.

Fossilisation is the fate of all spiritual truths expressed

through material forms; the stirring of the spirit itself always comes to be the one deadly sin.

"Except the death of a nation there can be no event in history more profoundly solemn than the passing away of an ancient religion," says Draper, speaking of the fall of Paganism; and the words[1] he uses of that momentous event may be applied, without altering a letter, to the crisis through which Judaism, in common with Christianity, is passing, and which, with equal literalness, will serve as a description of the ever-widening breach between the old and the new, caused by the infusion of Western culture in British India, or in far Cathay. In most of the European and Asiatic civilisations of to-day we find that to the intellectual classes, "the national legends so jealously guarded by the populace, have become mere fictions." In our own microcosm we have not yet reached the point in the downward curve when, as Cicero tells us, Cato wondered how two augurs could meet without laughing. Nor is it likely that either Judaism or Christianity, in those death-throes which herald their re-birth to higher life, will pass through such corruptions as moribund Paganism. Both abound with ecclesiastics whose orthodoxy does not spring from "pusillanimity," but from a dread of losing their fulcrum of leverage for raising their flock. But the "inevitable day" can only be "postponed"; all the pæans of Professor Graetz, and of even the orthodox to the effect that we in England are witnessing a "revival" of Judaism, must not blind us to the facts. The flicker of antiquarian interest kindled by the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition was not a spiritual flame, nor is Judaism to be kept alive by researches in Pipe Rolls.

Natura non facit saltum. No phase of social life—be it intellectual, moral, artistic, or even sartorial—passes into another without a preparation visible to the man of insight. The very theory of historical evolution itself must pass through the stages itself predicts, and its own history is a proof of its principles. So Christianity is changing into Christism, and Judaism into monotheism. In only a few minds is the transition marked by acute consciousness of its drift; in most minds it takes place sub- or un-consciously. Nature, which hastens to throw a veil of green over the refuse in the neglected garden; Nature which fastens the coil of years on us as imperceptibly as the sunshine ripens the blossom; Nature is merciful. Only the few "in whom is the breath of life" are martyred. And if

[1] *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Vol. I., Cap. viii.

our own martyrdoms do not take the grand proportions of that of a Jesus or a Bruno, yet the intimate connection of Judaism and social life prepares many discomforts for the heretic. But the bulk pass on into the new spiritual life imperceptibly, till one day a new generation arises which knows that it knows not Joseph. Such a transitional state necessarily bristles with compromises, with every variety of individual equation to the changing environment, and with every species of mental haze, vacillation and cowardice. The strand of the ocean of the new thought is strewn with Canute-chairs, each at its own arbitrary point.

Our classification goes to testify that all these marks of a transition-epoch are aggressively present in the Judaism of to-day. But if this is so, what will be the future of Judaism? Will it absorb or be absorbed? In the struggle for existence of those "concentrations of ideas and ideals" which make up religions, what will be the fate of that religion which has come down to us in such complex and heterogeneous development from the little Semitic tribe that was driven by drought to Egypt? Will it ultimately fulfil the prophecies in the old, full, material sense? Or will it do so only in the restricted moral monotheistic sense in which Professor Graetz claims that the flowing tide is with Judaism? Or will it not do so in any sense, but simply decay and die?

A great authority has said "Never prophesy unless you know"; and prophecy has always been looked upon as savouring of the miraculous. In reality, however, it is an extremely matter-of-fact sort of thing, and depends simply on knowledge of the present. The more thorough our acquaintance with the present, the more certainly we can predict the future. Omniscience of the present is omniscience of the future. Never prophesy unless you know—the present, is my proposed emendation. Prophecy, or rather taking "short" prophetic views, is possible, because the future *is* actually in the present, not only as the flower is in the seed, but as in the double cocoa-nut or the citron-tree are found seeds, buds and blossoms in every stage of development. Ygdrasil is a tree of this kind, with a few of the next year's buds and flowers always nestling among the fruit of the year that is. Judging, then, by that portion of the future which we find already in the present, we may answer the question whether Judaism will fulfil the prophecies in the old full material sense by a negative; the question whether it will do so in a limited sense, by a modified affirmative; while the last question, as merging into the larger question of the permanence of Theistic religion generally, it would be premature to answer

at all, except in so far as a partial answer is implicitly contained in the answer to the second.

Why a negative to the first? Because all over the world the old Judaism is breaking down. In Germany the reactionary work of a Hirsch has no seed of life within itself; the constructive work of Mendelssohn appears merely to have disintegrated; the plutocracy is ennobled and goes over to Christianity, most frequently to the Catholic form of it; the educated are chiefly agnostics, and are not even inspired by that hollow ghost of racial unity which is born of interest in one anothers' births, marriages, and deaths; in Austria, as we have been told in this very magazine, the Jewish teachers have openly broken with Judaism; in Australia Judaism is an anæmic invalid; in America, even more than in Germany, the boldest, the most liberal, and the purest doctrines of Natural Religion are preached by *salaried* Jewish ministers.[1] America holds up the mirror in which not a few of our leading men see the face they dare not wear in this country; American Judaism reflects "the very form and pressure of the age." And it is healthier than our own, because there is a recognised outlet for the humours of free-thought; Judaism as a profession not involving the profession of Judaism, though that species of racial unity which Germany does not possess is so strong across the Atlantic as to pass into an evil; the present a Jew gives to his wife on her birthday being gravely chronicled in the Jewish organs. In England the idolatry of blind Bible-

[1] I cite at random from a report in the *American Israelite*, the "platform" of Rabbi Krauskopf of Philadelphia, as expounded to a vast audience at a Sunday-Sabbath service, at which a new ritual, compiled by him, was used. "We advance from the old to the new for the maintenance of religion, and for the preservation of Judaism. The days of the Church and Temple are numbered. We believe in the existence and Fatherhood of God, the Divine Origin of life, the existence of animate moral law as starting-points of religion. We refuse to look upon Judaism as the absolutely perfect and exclusively God-given religion. We discard the belief in a God who is *man magnified*, who has his abode somewhere in the interstellar spaces, who transgresses his own laws of nature by working miracles, who is actuated by human passions. . . . We discard the belief that the Bible was written by God, or by man under the dictation of God, and that its teachings are therefore infallible, and binding upon all men and ages. . . . We discard the belief in the coming of a Personal Messiah, who will lead us back to Palestine for the purpose of establishing a theocracy to which all the nations of the earth shall be tributary. We reject the belief in bodily resurrection, hell torments, Paradisian rewards, prophecy, all Biblical and Rabbinical beliefs, and rites and ceremonies and institutions which neither elevate nor sanctify our lives, which are for the most part un-Jewish, an infusion of ancient mythology, accretions of mediævalism, grafts from heathen philosophy, which, however comforting and useful they may have been in their day, are in our times obsolete, misleading, and even frequently injurious." Yet the Rabbi puts forward this creed as Judaism.

worship has died out among the cultured. Both "orthodox" and "reform" Judaism seem to suffer from that defect which Oriental thought regarded as so serious—sterility. The "Biblical" rock of the Reform Movement is proving a quicksand. The history of nineteenth century Anglo-Christian Protestantism has been paralleled in Anglo-Jewish Protestantism. Without a Tractarian movement, we have seen some members of the flock retreating to the fold, and others venturing forth into "fresh woods and pastures new." What new adherents have the Reformers gained? Scarcely one; though many Jews have gone through an analogous and sometimes a more comprehensive spiritual enfranchisement. Certainly Reform does not seem to attract our young theological students as one would have imagined, and the ratio of our youthful clerics who preach Reform to those who preach orthodoxy still varies with the ratio of Reform pulpits to Orthodox.

Yes, both Biblical and Rabbinical Judaism seem to have had their day. The cloak that could not be torn off by the tempest of Christianity and Persecution bids fair to be thrown off under the sunshine of Rationalism and Tolerance.

My affirmative answer to the second question was only a *modified* affirmative, because it is doubtful whether Natural Judaism is not a striking contradiction in terms. The answers of Professor Graetz, etc., to the question of "Has Judaism a future?" seem almost tantamount to "Yes, Judaism will have a future if the future has no Judaism."

Can the alleged ideal elements which he or Mr. Montefiore disengages from concrete Judaism, with its wealth of dietary and ceremonial legalism, constitute a Judaism in anything but name? Or, rather, can the residuum of Judaism, *consistently* eviscerated in their spirit, be termed Judaism?[1] Granting

[1] For Professor Graetz himself often appears to me hazy and rhetorical, and Mr. Montefiore not entirely consistent with himself. Mr. Montefiore seems to recognise one *specifically Jewish* doctrine, which may roughly be called "the Election of Israel," and which he says cannot be regarded as "repugnant to reason, unless the idea of God revealing himself in history be also so regarded." But he afterwards says (*A Justification of Judaism*, p. 11), "the essential dogmas of Judaism, including 'Inspiration and the Call of Israel,' are wholly independent of any belief in the miraculous, in the ordinary sense of the word." This assertion he believes would not be denied or even challenged by the leaders of "orthodox" Judaism (?). On page 12 he gives up the integrity and Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, saying "the Bible contains the essence of Judaism, though not always in a form which answers to the thought of the age." But if the Bible is not quite veracious, what irrefutable proof have we of "the Call of Israel," and what is the meaning of "Inspiration"? I am afraid that the "reconciliation of faith and criticism," of which Mr. Montefiore speaks approvingly in his Review of Cheyne's edition of the Psalms, is not reconcilable with perfect consistency.

that the thought of Israel widened and spiritualised itself unconsciously, as it doubtless did, is the *conscious* recognition that all religious thought expands (with the inevitable relativity the recognition assigns to such thought) the same thing as the subjective illusion that this thought has an absolute basis? The Jewish post-Mosaic mystic, whose thoughts "widened with the process of the suns," and who let his new spiritual imagination play about and sublimate the materialisms of the sacred text without suspecting that the halo was round his own head, was in a very different position, psychologically, from the modern self-conscious spiritual Jew, who perceives the illusion. "A creed which can properly be described as the 'Religion of a Book' can have no commanding future before it," says Mr. Montefiore. No such thought could ever have clouded the naïve Judaism of the pious Jew of old, who read himself between the lines of his text. Judaism *has* always been this very species of creed which Mr. Montefiore says can have no commanding future before it. We are thus brought back to our question of whether the species of "Judaism" which is alleged to *have* a commanding future before it can be rightly called Judaism. The question is precisely in the same plane with a question as to how far a naturally-deduced *mono*gamy, without a belief in the revelation to Joseph Smith, would be entitled to the name of Mormonism; or what pretensions "Robert Elsmerism" has to the name of Christianity.

There are two ways of looking at such questions, the logical and the historical. A newly-discovered animal would only get one of the old class-names if, in essential features, it resembled some already known; if the differences were too great it would have a new name all to itself. But moral and social nomenclature, dealing as it does mainly with living and incessantly changing ideas, habits, and emotions, where the new springs from the old, is not settled by a scientific appeal to the olden connotation of the terms. As a rule, when changes go on imperceptibly, the old name is kept, as with "Conservatives," or *The Fortnightly Review*—now published monthly. When it is a conscious change, the name is altered if it is desired to emphasize the difference, as with "Liberal Unionist," and kept if it is wished not to break with the past nor to lose the peaceful advantages of historical continuity. For a rose by any other name does not always smell so sweet. The power of epithets for good and evil is immense. Had Cardinal Newman's final religious development not had a name waiting for it, he would probably have called it a form of Protestantism; just as the High Church "Protestants"

who went a fair way from Protestantism did not care to accentuate their differences by that greatest of all differences, a new name.

The *Times* printing-press bears little resemblance to the invention of Guttenberg, but it is still a "printing-press"; a battle is still a battle, though the clubs of primitive man have been exchanged for the cannon of his civilised descendants; Beethoven's symphonies have little in common with the oaten strains of the shepherd "*recubans sub tegmine fagi*," but they are both "music"; and, to take an instance of degeneration, the modern practisers of "the Pyrrhic dance" are still "the Greeks." So, although *logically* a Judaism which does not accept the Biblical account of the revelation on Sinai may seem to differ literally *toto cœlo* from the ancient theocracy which for thousands of years had revelation for its central pivot, and was so essentially a revealed religion that the philosophers who laid down its dogmas often forgot to posit Revelation; yet, despite this almost antithetical difference, the new phenomenon, in so far as it is conceived as a development of the old Judaism, has an hereditary right to that title.

And assuredly Judaism has exhibited a constant development, amid not unfrequent reversions to earlier types. We see the new *Weltanschauung* in Ecclesiastes and Job, and can trace the growth of that idea of a material Messiah which was later on to coalesce with the Neo-Platonic doctrine of the *logos*, and with the universal myth of immaculate conception, in the metaphysical dogmas of Christianity; from the composite blend of savage and spiritual elements that constitutes Pentateuchal Judaism, we see the continuous spiritualisation of the religion in the Prophets, till the grosser elements vanish in men like Hillel and Jesus, the latter of whom unduly exaggerated one pole of the dualism of legalism and spiritualism, as the Pharisees exaggerated the other; on surer lines the evolution went on within the ancient fold of Judaism itself, and we see the advent of new problems and wider conceptions, and can watch the birth of scientific metaphysics and the decay of Haggada and Halacha. The dogma controversy is a striking proof of how far some minds had outgrown Biblical Judaism,[1] for, as already pointed out, the dogmatists sometimes legislated for their own peace of mind just as Rubin

[1] The sixth, twelfth and thirteenth creeds of Maimonides are obviously post-Pentateuchal developments. When Mr. Schechter says "Surely Maimonides and his successors did succeed in having a religion depending directly on God, with the most ideal and highest aspirations for the future," and when he further speaks of the needs of the present day, he implicitly admits the evolutionary possibilities of Judaism.

tried to conciliate Spinozism with Judaism. And the reviewer, who asked Rubin how the enactment concerning Tephillin could be deduced from the monism of the great thinker, put his finger roughly on the beautiful bubble of pseudo-reconciliation. The would-be conciliator, who is aware of the growth of his spiritual stature, is at a disadvantage compared with the conciliator who starts with the certainty that the new thing which he feels to be true *must* be reconcilable with the old thing which he never doubts to be true. The logic of the Talmud is not the logic of Aristotle, not even of ordinary common sense; but on its own lines it is rigidly precise. All its divergences from natural logic arise from the fact that it starts from a datum of which natural logic knows nothing, viz., the dogma of the perfection of the Torah. That "when two texts are discrepant, a third will be found to reconcile them" would never occur to the outside logician. But, on the hypothesis that there is no real discrepancy in the Torah, the rule is rigorously logical. To the New Judaism, however, such discrepancy argues rather the imperfection of the text than of the commentator's faculty of exegesis. Rubin, had he possessed a more naïve faith in the perfection of the *Ethics* and the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, would have found the challenge to deduce therefrom the necessity of phylacteries only stimulate his ingenuity, as that of Albertus Magnus was stimulated by his desire to combine the Christian morality with the Aristotelian.

This continuous internal development, then, shall be our warrant for not altogether refusing the name of Judaism to the newest outcomes of the process, though in view of the possible elimination of circumcision and Tephillin, of the dietary laws, of even Passover and the beautiful Seder-night, it may become externally unidentifiable with most of its preceding phases. As continuous internal development is all we really mean by the "identity" of the man with the child, so the "personal identity" of Israel is not lost so long as its metamorphoses, however astonishing, connect themselves by a retrospective consciousness with the past. But even so, another difficulty awaits us. How are we to distinguish this Natural Religion, which we have at last allowed to call itself Natural Judaism, from other similar embodiments of the *Zeit-Geist?* What does it offer to the proselytes Professor Graetz looks for, more than any other form of natural theism? Why should not all the people who, according to Professor Graetz and Mr. Montefiore, must be Jews, not call themselves followers of Goethe, whom Mr. Montefiore admires so much, or of Matthew Arnold who (save that his critical intellect

replaced the metaphysical static by a moral dynamic God) was a model Jew, rivalling even Mr. Montefiore in sympathetic appreciation of the Old Testament. If it be replied that the new Judaism offers the free lances of theology that mighty advantage—an old name, I must point out that ours is not the only offer. Is there not an ever-growing school of Christian theologians who, having evolved for themselves this same common religion, wish to call it Christianity, and who certainly would have a superior ready-made material and spiritual organisation to work it with? And is it not a sublime yet melancholy illustration of the growth of the human spirit, that two ancient religions that have lived in the embittered hostility of antithetical dogmas for so many centuries, should now be contending for the glory of giving their name to the new dogmas both now hold in common? Yet to my mind, the real struggle of the future lies between the essence of Judaism and the essence of Christism (not of Christianity), the scientific morality of Moses and the emotional morality of Christ; and a compromise between the religious provisions for moral geniuses, and those for moral dullards, will perhaps form the religion of the future.

Turning finally from the intellectual confusion which characterises English Judaism to its practical aspects, we find it far from barren in good and with a unique philanthropic organisation; yet the motive force of its good actions does not lie in Jewish beliefs at all, but in its own native goodness and *rachmanuth*. Of course it has the defects of its qualities, being very unspiritual. For it cares so much about dogmas that it has ceased to care about them at all—I mean the mass is so sure of the truth of the Bible, that it believes every Jew shares its belief. The tests of a man's Judaism are thus purely external, and a man who belongs to a synagogue, marries within the pale, subscribes to the charities and the *Jewish Chronicle*, fasts on the Day of Atonement, and eats unleavened bread on Passover, over and above fulfilling the not specifically Jewish duties of a good man and citizen, is almost an ideal Jew. Still the one-sided latitudinarianism which allows any divagations in theory, but few in practice, may be pushed too far. When a Jewish journal recently proposed that no one should be excommunicated (metaphorically speaking) who subscribed to the charities, it not only so enlarged the religious connotation of "Jew" as to deprive it of all meaning whatever by reaching the point where the stretched elastic breaks, but was extremely unfair to the impecunious agnostic, himself in need of charity. A frequent fallacy of the Jewish press (which Professor Graetz

shares) is the speaking as if to remain a Jew *always* involved sacrifices. This is doubtless the case in some countries, but in England at least it is often the other way. Here Judaism is often its own reward, and apostasy its own punishment. "Robert Elsmere" (with the private pecuniary resources of the hero) did not reach so deep a note of tragedy as that fine novel of Mrs. Gaskell's, where a clergyman also threw up his position from spiritual difficulties, but *his* living was his living in the plain workaday sense of the word.

VI.

And now by the light, such as it is, which we have gained since we left them, let us take a last look at the two brilliant, if insufficiently luciferous, articles which formed our starting point. This light shows—to me at least—that Mr. Schechter (though without admitting my interpretation), has been giving us the dogmas of a religion as formulated from time to time by thinkers either inspired by their faith in a traditional literature, or seeking to find in this same literature an inspiration for their larger faith; while Professor Graetz has been trying to isolate one or two important elements of Judaism, and to present this fraction as a substitute for the whole. And it also seems to reveal a certain amount o mental patchwork in the essays of both of these gifted writers. Each wishes to a greater or less extent to eat his cake and to have it too; a dual desire shared by most of the "heterodox." On page 7 of his article, Professor Graetz says that Judaism is not a mere doctrine of faith, and he even doubts whether it has *any* article of faith. But the "minimum of religion" of even the Council of Lydda was far more pregnant in meaning to the Jewish mind of the second century than it would be to ours. The three principles of the avoidance of idolatry and attack on human life, and the preservation of chastity, were far wider in involved beliefs, and latent implications and deductions; in any case they are a curious commentary on Mr. Schechter's complaint that Judaism is now always something to be done. And if some "Pan-Judaic Synod" were to adopt them again, Renan and Frederic Harrison, Walt Whitman and Lord Tennyson, James Martineau and Herbert Spencer, would all be Jews—a sufficient proof of how many more riders such beliefs would imply to the ancient mind than to the modern. It is interesting to note as one of the clear expressions of opinion in Professor Graetz's article that he says the prophet

makes God say "I did not enjoin sacrifice at the exodus from Egypt." To me the saying shows how far Jeremiah, like Isaiah and Micah, had drifted from primitive Judaism—not what the essence of primitive Judaism was. Professor Graetz's claim, too, that the blend of religion and ethics is characteristic of Judaism alone, can hardly be sustained; equally doubtful is his assertion that the belief that Jesus is Christ has nothing to do with Christian charity.[1] Religion, when intelligent, focusses the whole of the devotee's mind round itself. Weaker members of a religion have always been able to keep their abstract faith and their worldly thoughts in different compartments of their minds, and it may even have been so with whole races. But, generally speaking, the fusion of a nation's faith and a nation's ethics is chemical, not mechanical. *Pro aris et focis* was the battle-cry of Ancient Rome, and the whole communal life circled round the religion. Professor Graetz's argumentative method, in fact, is to call all the best moral and religious conceptions of the human race Judaism, and then to calmly ascribe to Judaism (which thus, instead of being regarded as a single current of influence, becomes hypostatised as a sort of *deus ex machinâ*) all that was effected by the natural growth of the human spirit. This contention is naturally supplemented by the daring statement that if Judaism disappeared, the ethical postulates which it includes, and on which the continuance of society and civilisation depends, would disappear also. This is mere tautology or question-begging, as the ethical postulates which it includes are assumed not to exist outside Judaism—a bombastic assumption, for which we have only the *ipse dixit* of the learned Professor. A lack of historical sympathy with the *enfanteries* of primitive cults is also indicated by his sweeping denunciation of the whole ancient mythology as the "product of mad fancy." One begins to imagine he is reading one of the French *philosophes* of the eighteenth century, and prepares himself to hear that all religions (except Judaism, *bien entendu*) were the invention of priests. Another transparent *petitio principii* is his assertion that "Judaism, which is throughout rationalistic, is the *sole* (!) stronghold of free

[1] Burnouf's theory, on which Professor Graetz relies, that the ethical element of a religion is a later stratum than the intellectual or emotional elements, can only have reference to the ethics as *transformed* by filtration through the latter, as ethics of some sort must always be at least as old in a community as religion; and while it is true that "Christianity only made ethics its own after a long development," that was because it started by being *ethics incarnate*. The *conscious* aiming at ethics marks rather a falling-off—inevitable, alas!

thought in the religious sphere." On page 13 the Professor ventures on a prophecy safer than mine, because it deals with the "might have been." "If the apostles of the pure monotheistic idea had been destroyed in their conflicts with the Syrians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Romans, the madness of idolatry, with its orgiastic forms of worship, would still exist to-day, and the civilisation of Europe would not have developed itself." With what wider vision and sympathy speaks the author of "Natural Religion." "It was not the invasion of a Semitic religion that put to flight these bright visions, but the natural progress of human development, giving birth to reflection, philosophy and morality." There were great men before Agamemnon, and great men before Moses, and it is high time that the complacent "I was born a happy Christian child" feeling, the comfortable pity for the Pagans who were damned by their date, should give place to a broader view of the facts, which are hidden rather than described by the theological labels pasted over them.

Had Professor Graetz contented himself with claiming, as Matthew Arnold does, that the secret of Hebraism, and not the secret of Hellenism, is that by which a nation lives and is exalted; had he, while insisting as strongly as possible on Israel's special instinct for righteousness, admitted that Confucius and Sophocles had also some notions of the categorical imperative, and that the Aryan was not altogether given over to metaphysics and libidinousness; and had he been satisfied that Hebraism should be the greatest, though by no means the only constituent of the "many-coloured" dome of ideals which one foresees staining "the white radiance" of the future, he would have been on safe ground. As it is, his attitude recalls that of the mediæval Jews, who evolved the pleasing fiction that Aristotle owed his philosophy to Judaism, to which he had been converted.

Finally, Professor Graetz still looks forward to Judaism continuing to perform a function and fulfil a mission, apart, it would seem, from the natural working of the yeast of Hebraism, already and inseparably mingled with the civilisation of the world. There is something touching and sublime in the common belief of a people in an apparent impossibility, in the ultimate return of its national hero, in the recovery of its olden glories, in the triumph of its national ideals after persecution and repression, something pathetic in its simple faith and credulous hope, as of a mother who clasps her dead child to her breast, and will not let it go. Some such spirit, as naïve and as burning, breathes through a myriad volumes of our post-exilian literature, and yet gladdens the simple

heart of the Russian pauper as he sings the hymns of hope and trust after his humble Friday night's meal. Some such faith still solaces the foot-sore hawker amid the jeers and blows of the drunkard and the bully, and transfigures the squalid Ghetto with celestial light. Some such hope has been the inspiration of countless sacrifices and martyrdoms, it has touched otherwise unhallowed lips with sacred fire, it has been the "blessed vision" that opened before the eyes of the dying, the sanctifying breath that preserved millions of the living from corruption. And now, after all this travail of centuries, comes Professor Graetz with his chilling enthusiasm, with his depressing assurance that Judaism has still to bring to reality the ideals of humanity, of monotheism and of religious rationalism—ideals which would equally live or die were every concrete Jew annihilated this very day. The daughter of Zion seemed to herself to press a living child to her bosom, but behold it is vanished, and our latter-day Solomon has adjudged her a dead one. Solomon is doubtless wise, but oh, the irony of history!

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

WHERE ARE THE TEN TRIBES?

IV.

[*Concluded from page* 201.]

DAVID REUBENI,[1] son of the King Solomon, and younger brother of Joseph, who is king in the desert Habor of thirty myriads of the tribes of Gad, Reuben, and half of Menasseh, travels as his brother's ambassador to Rome. From the desert Habor he goes to Jedda, and thence to Suakin, in the land of Cush. We have already noticed the importance of Suakin[2] for those who travelled from Abyssinia to Egypt. We abstain from giving details about David's journey to Rome, which has little that bears upon our subject.[3] As for his account of the Tribes, we had better give it in the words of the Jewish geographer, Abraham Ferussol,[4] who personally knew David, the pretended Reubenite, but, in fact, a German Jew, and from whom he received information concerning the Ten Tribes—information not to be found in David's diary.

We give the translation of the fourteenth chapter of Ferussol's book, which runs as follows:—

"Concerning the Jew of the Ten Tribes, his business and his travels, who is said to come from the desert of Habor, he is the same who was in the deserts of Asia and Yemen. He

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[1] The original MS. of David's Diary is lost at present; but happily a *facsimile* of it, made by Mr. J. J. Cohen, takes the place of the original amongst the Hebrew MSS. of the Bodleian Library. The Library of the Breslau Seminary possesses a copy of it (made by J. J. Cohen in German cursive characters).

[2] See above, p. 196.

[3] See Dr. Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden*, Bd. ix. (2nd edition), p. 244, *sqq.*

[4] פריצול, usually transliterated Faritzol, and by Thomas Hyde, in his edition of the author's *Itinera Mundi* (in Hebrew with a Latin translation, Oxford, 1691), Peritzol. Ferussol is to be found in Latin documents (see *Révue des Études Juives*, VII. (1883), p. 237). An excellent monograph on Abraham Ferussol has been written by the former Librarian of Parma, Cav. P. Perreau.

reached Egypt in the year 5283 (1523), and thence he went to Rome.

"For the benefit of this book, which I, Abraham Ferussol, have composed to reveal the 'paths of the world' to those who do not know them, I choose to write this chapter, the object of which is to give the travels of the Jew of the Ten Tribes, or, perhaps, of Judah, named David, the son of Solomon, prince of the host of Israel, whom we have seen in Italy, on his way, according to his own words, from the desert of Habor. Those who will read it will find rest to their soul, for I shall not fail to give in my following narrative all I have heard from the mouths of esteemed persons and from letters of men of truth.

"In the year 5283 (1523), we had news from Palestine by southern ships, to the effect that a Jew of the Ten Tribes brought tidings concerning them. He did not find it necessary to divulge them until he crossed the sea in the year 5284 (1524), reached Venice, and went to Rome, when he gave the following accounts. This Jew was a descendant of those two Tribes who dwell in the deserts, just as the Reubenites dwell, in tents, and his station was in the desert of Habor, in Asia Major. Further on are the other Tribes, near to the desert, on the way to Mekka and Djedda, on the Red Sea. They have kings, princes, and tribes, numerous as the sand on the sea-shore. Their products are spices, pepper, articles of medicine, and other good things, which we shall mention later on. Between these two Tribes lies a powerful Ishmaelitic (Arabic) kingdom which does them damage, and prevents their approaching one another. When Christian ships, provided with arms and cannon, came many years before into this part of the world, the Jews of Habor sent this Jew, according to his own words, to the great King of all the Christians (the Pope), with credentials, confirmed by the King of Portugal, who reigns over India, and who knew the existence of a Jewish kingdom there. Be this as it may be, true or not, and whatever this Jew may be, in our country kings, princes, and the people believe that the Tribes are still in existence, that they are numerous, and that they have many kings."

In the fifteenth chapter, Ferussol, in speaking of Calcutta as the place where spices are brought in from more than 1,500 islands, says that in them are found many Jews. Of course, he does not say that they are descendants of the Ten Tribes.

In the twenty-fourth chapter, speaking of the Indian Ocean, he says, "After passing the great gulf towards Ethiopia, one reaches the continent of Mekka, which is near the Indian Sea. In the upper part of this country are great deserts, and settle-

ments of Jews, who are on the river Ganges, which is the Biblical Gozan, as I have already written, and as it is also explained by the Christians. And so it is written in recent books, that, in the regions above the country of Mekka, and also those above the deserts of Calicut, there are to be found numerous Jews and many kingdoms, but they are far one from the other—viz., the Jews above Mekka and those above Calicut; and in the islands of the Indian Ocean their number is endless, and they are everywhere rich in gold and spices. And if the Christian writers say that the Jews are oppressed and despised by the black inhabitants and by the Ishmaelites, these reports are only a proof that there are Jews in these regions, and that they are rich. And so says the great Christian writer [Vespucio] in his book on the New World, printed some time ago at Venice. Thus he says, in Part II., 60th chapter, which begins with the words, 'Circa le cose della India,' that the existence of many Jews, with their kings and their wealth in spice and pepper, is a certainty." The Ganges (according to Ferussol, the Gozan or the Sambatyon), has its source above Calicut, and divides the Indians from the Jews. About the real existence of the Sambatyon he refers to the Talmud and Josephus, and his controversial book, called " The Shield of Abraham." Moreover, Ferussol says " that the Christian writer mentioned above stated that he found many Jewish merchants at Calicut, descendants of the Tribes settled above Calicut, between the mountains of Gozan and its rivers, and there is the Sambatyon, which separates the Jews from the Indians, whilst on the continent of the country of Mekka lies, on the nearest side to us, the desert of Habor. But between the two families of Jews—viz., those who dwell between the mountains of Gozan and its rivers, and those who are at Habor, beneath Yemen—there dwell Ishmaelite tribes, who harm them, and prevent them from joining together, as I have already said. Therefore it is possible, as I heard at Rome, that the Jew from the Tribes came to Italy from Habor by way of Yemen, which lies above Mekka." At the end of the twenty-eighth chapter, Ferussol says, in the Book on the New World, it is stated that the Prester John is found in the country above Calicut, distant from the sea. Ferussol says, further, that the black priests of the Prester John always say that Jews are numerous in the neighbourhood of the country of Prester John. Some learned men, who were twice during two years at Calcutta, spoke, in the presence of the Duke Ercole, at Ferrara, of the state of Calcutta, Mekka, and the Prester John, and also of the Jews, who are numerous there, of their king, and their pursuits.

Nearly all these strange fictions came out of the brains of Italian Jews; amongst the most eloquent is Abraham Yagel (who lived in the sixteenth century). We shall give a free translation of the twenty-second chapter of his work, *Beth Yaar hal-Lebanon*, MS. in Oxford.[1]

After giving the passages of the Talmudic literature, the fourth book of Esdras (of which he gives a Hebrew translation) and Josephus, he adds the following words, taken from a work containing additions to Ptolemy's Tables:—"New Africa," the author says, "is a part of the earth which was unknown to the ancient geographers, they not having found out the source of the Nile, which begins in the mountains, called by ancient writers the Mountains of the Moon, and now the Mountains of בו״ת. In these mountains dwell an immense number of Jews, who pay tribute to the King of Ethiopia, called Prete Joano. We therefore," says Yagel, "do not hesitate a moment to take these Jews to be descendants of the Ten Tribes, inasmuch as this northern corner was counted part of the territory of the Assyrian kings." Here follows a passage which cannot be correctly read, many words and lines having been crossed out by the author, or a censor. The inference is, that a great physician, Moses Todros, said something in the year 5343 (1583) concerning the men of the tribe of Asher. Yagel refers them to the accounts of David the Reubenite[2] and prior to him of Eldad.[3] The rest of the illegible text seems to refer to some unhappy events in Germany during the Crusades in connection with a sorcerer. Yagel then continues thus:—"Moreover, in Maimonides' letters,[4] which are not yet printed, it is stated as follows: 'As to your question concerning the Ten Tribes, know ye, that their existence is quite certain, and we expect daily their arrival from the dark mountains, the river of Gozan, and the river Sambatyon, places where now they are hidden away. This river flows all the week-days, and rests on the Sabbath. Indeed, in the time of my learned and pious grandfather, a bottle was brought filled with the sand of this river, which sand was in movement the six days, and rested on the Sabbath. This is a true fact, for more persons have seen it with their own eyes. Further, children of the Rechabites came at that time, of whom my father (blessed be his memory) told me that they still observe the precepts of their ancestors; that they are numerous as the sand of the sea;

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[1] *Sammelband*, IV., p. 37, *sqq.* [2] See above, p. 408. [3] See above, p. 98. [4] See above, p. 195.

that they expect the help of God; and that they know the judgments, statutes, and mysteries of the Law.'" Yagel says, therefore, "that it is clear to anyone who has his right senses, that the Tribes still exist, and that they will return at the time when the Redeemer shall come to Sion. They are to be found amongst the three bands of exiles, of which one is inside the river Sambatyon (and they were, perhaps, the first exiles); they dwell in safety, have no other prince and superior but *Jhwh*, their God, who reigns over them; they choose their princes from amongst themselves, and are those whom the Christian (whom I saw, and whose words I give in another place) found in great prosperity. They are surrounded on four sides; viz., towards the north by the Sambatyon and the Sand-sea, which stretches from east to west; on the west side they are closed in by the ocean (Mediterranean); towards the east and the south are high mountains, impassable from their great height, called the Mountains of the Sun and Moon, which Alexander the Great tried to pass. And of these exiles it is said, 'To them that *are* in darkness show yourselves' (Isaiah xlix. 9), for they are behind the dark mountains and the river Gozan; indeed Nahmanides says the Gozan is the Sambatyon. The second part of them includes those who dwell on the other side of the river Sambatyon, viz., the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half of Manasseh, who were the second exiles. They are far from Babylonia, in the towns of Media, and are also scattered in Africa; some are eighty days distant from Babylonia, and from thence came David, the Reubenite. In order to reach them one has to cross seas, rivers, and deserts; they have princes of their own nation, but pay tribute to the King of Ethiopia. They are constantly at war with their enemies in self-defence. Their rite is the same as ours, and only lately the great work of Maimonides reached them, which they accepted as their religious guide.[1] But they knew also the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud. Their territory reaches as far as Aden, to the land of Cush, and to the source of the Nile, where this river separates from the Euphrates (*sic*); they inhabit the strip between these two rivers. They are governed by a secretary of the King Daniel, and are very numerous, like the stars in heaven. With them are the children of Rehabiah and those of Moses, who number more than sixty myriads. Messengers were sent to them in the time of Pope Clement VII., a part of whom died on their way, and those remaining brought tidings concerning the

[1] This the Jews of Yemen have done.

greatness of the Tribes and their wide territories, having on the one side the King of Ethiopia and on the other the King of Persia. And the same says Benjamin."[1] The third part Yagel puts in Arasata, in the boundaries of Riblah, according to Esdras IV.,[2] "whose dwelling remains now unknown, where they will remain until God remembers them. To sum up, Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh are on our side of the Sambatyon; the Rechabites, the children of Moses, Zebulon, Dan, Nephtali, Gad and Asher are on the other side of the Sambatyon; Ephraim, the other half of Manasseh, Simeon, and Issachar are in Daphne of Ribla; Judah, Benjamin, and most of the tribe of Levi are dispersed in Asia and Europe, as said by Josephus."[3]

"And there is no doubt that in each exile of the four, there were many of other Tribes who went with the exiles according as they were more or less neighbours, so that each band of exiles was, indeed, mixed, comprising some of all the Twelve Tribes, in addition to men of other nations who joined themselves to the exiles. Israel, of course, increased in numbers, and was scattered to the four winds of heaven in order to proclaim to the nations the name of our one God. This is in my opinion the reason of the many exiles and wanderings of our fathers and ourselves, viz., that the name of the one God and his power should be made known by us from sunrise to sunset, until there shall be (on earth) Jehovah one, and his name one, and all shall know and recognise that to him alone belongs greatness and might, and to no one else."

In a previous chapter Yagel makes the following statement:[4] —"I heard at Lucera from a Christian named Vincenzo Milano, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks nearly twenty-five years, and travelled over mountains and through valleys with caravans, the following story: He once left Algiers with a pasha named Asan Basan Bey, of Barbarossa, who lived in the time of King Selim, having with him about 40,000 Turkish warriors, and in the camp were also twelve Jews, most of them of Algiers. They travelled on the road to Barbary, then towards Fez, and then to India. Here they found in a certain place inhabitants, short as a man's arm, who fed upon grass, walked about naked, slept in caverns, and spoke an unintelligible language. The caravan left India to the left, passed all the land of the black king, and turned towards the west, until they reached the sand-sea. This is a desert

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[1] See above, p. 189. [2] See above, p. 190. [3] See above, p. 16.
[4] *Sammelband*, IV., p. 42.

full of sand, which is blown from place to place according to the wind, just as the waves on the great sea. And because it forms waves, it is called sand-sea. Going further west they came to a river, called Sambatyon, which, wonderful to say, is full of water all the week-days, so strong that it rolls along great stones and a quantity of sand, so that no ship dare venture upon it; but on Friday, towards sunset, the river rests, and becomes quite dry, so that a child can cross it. It is said that the river is in some places one and a-half, three, and four miles broad; it flows between north and south, having to the right the west and to the left the east, until it falls into the ocean; ships which venture on it lose their way; indeed, no ship is yet known to have returned safely from this river. When the pasha and a part of his troops (for the greater part remained on the other side) crossed the river one Sabbath day, they travelled about a day's journey, and found inhabited cities and fertile land, where nothing was wanting; water came from the mountains in abundance. The cities were inhabited by Jews, fine-looking men, with handsome women, all dressed with silk, purple and fine woollen long dresses, reaching down to the heels, as in Turkey. The girls as well as the women wear their hair loose on the shoulders, with the difference that the married women wore a thick veil, so that nothing of their face could be seen. Vincenzo had not praise enough for the beauty of these inhabitants and their wealth. They took their meals sitting on carpets spread on the ground, just as in Palestine. They said that they were freemen, not subject to any king; choosing their own prince from their own nation. He saw seven kings, in royal apparel, with golden crowns; their kingdoms were very extensive with many cities. One amongst them, however, was not dressed in kingly costume, but wore a black cloak, an old man with a distinguished face; the Ishmaelites call him the *Pappos*, and they learn from him their law, and all the kings bow before him, and honour him like an angel of the God of Hosts. The pasha and his escort with the twelve Jews from Algiers who travelled with him, said to the Jews of this country and their kings that he was sent by the great Sultan Selim, who wished them good, to ask them to pay him tribute, since God had given him all the countries under the sun. Should they refuse to pay tribute, he would take revenge upon their brethren in his dominions, destroying them and driving them out of his kingdom. The seven kings, together with the old man in black, asked time to consider the matter. After three months they sent this answer, that since they had been in their land they had never paid to any sultan or king a fixed

tribute, and they were not willing to begin it now. But for the sake of the dispersed of Judah who were under the power of the sultan, although they did not observe the Law of Moses and its precepts in the right way, as themselves, and therefore were only brothers by name, they were willing to give silver, gold, and precious stones as a present now, but the sultan must not ask tribute a second time; they would certainly not agree to it, but wage war against him with all their allies. Thus they sent presents to the sultan as they promised, and gave also to the pasha precious garments. To the Jews who were with the pasha they presented, in addition to garments, three Hebrew books bound stiff, as in Italy, embroidered with gold and pearls. Vincenzo heard that these books were more precious to the Jews of this land than all jewels. Thus the pasha with his escort and the Jews with him, who acted as interpreters, repassed the river in order to return to their own country. Vincenzo continued to say that after eighteen months' journey not a fourth part of the army returned, for three-quarters of them died on the journey through the sand-sea. For travelling there is possible only with a magnetic compass, just as in voyages by sea. And sometimes they were obliged to rest a day or two, or even a week, for fear of being buried under the sand, and becoming mummies. Indeed, many mummies were found in the desert, and more than one hundred and fifty were brought to Algiers."[1]

Moses Edrei[2] gives a curious account of a traveller in 5390 (1630), who went from Alexandria to Salonica, where he heard of a caravan which had come there from Abyssinia to buy iron. He went to see the pasha of this caravan, who promised to take him with him and bring him to the land of the Sambatyon; so he did. The name of the Israelite king in the year 5391 (1631) was Eleazar, and the *Pristiani* are mentioned, with whom the Jews were at peace. The description of the Sambatyon is the same as given above.[3] In the year 5388 (1628), Edrei continues, eight European Jews resolved to cross the Sambatyon; the geographical items in this diary may, perhaps turn out to be of interest. These documents are signed by Aaron hal-Levi. Then follows a wonderful story of R. Baruch, an emissary from Jerusalem who travelled about in

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[1] The Pasha might have seen or heard of Jews in Daggoutoun. See M. Loeb's report on it according to the *Mordecai Aby Serour*, Paris, 1850.

[2] סי מעשה נסים, Amsterdam, 1818, p. 5, *sqq.*, according to a book called דרך הישר, which we have not seen.

[3] See p. 193.

the year 5406 (1646) for the purpose of collecting money for the Holy Land. When he came into the country of the Medes and Persians he was attacked by robbers, who took from him all that he possessed, and left him in a wilderness without food or drink for ten days. All at once he saw a mighty man about to kill him. Baruch begged his life in Hebrew, and it turned out that this man was of the tribe of Nephtali, whose name was Malkiel. He left Baruch and went to see all the Tribes, who gave him a letter which Baruch should deliver only in Jerusalem. This letter is from the children of Moses, who give an account of the Sambatyon and their land, and is signed by the king Ahitub, son of Azariah; the prince Yehozadak, son of Ozer; and the Elder, Uriel, son of Aliasaph. The authenticity of this letter is confirmed by several rabbis of Jerusalem, Ashkenazic as well as Sephardic (amongst them the great Kabbalist Jacob ben Zemah), the confirmation of which is dated 15th of Menahem (Ab), 5417 (1647) The famous Azulai saw it at Reggio, and it came into the possession of the well-known R. Solomon Dubno. It is said that it was a copy of the original, which was in possession of the famous Kabbalist R. Nathan Spiro, dated 5406 (1646). R. Nathan died at Reggio the first day of Iyyar 5426 (1666), and the document remained in the Archives of the congregation in that town, as mentioned by Azulai. Abraham Solomon Zalman, an emissary from Jerusalem, found it on the 26th of Ab, 5592 (1832,) copied it at Reggio and brought it to Jerusalem: the late Jacob Saphir found it in Zalman's diary and published it in his *Eben Saphir*,[1] a work which deserves to be made known in an English translation. Cautious as Saphir was, he did not pronounce openly against the authenticity of the letter of the *Bene Mosheh*, and the story of R. Baruch and Malkiel. But he hints that the Hebrew style of the letter is doubtful, as coming from men who, according to their story, should have been in exile before the destruction of the first Temple, as the character of the letters and the Hebrew could not be as old as that. Saphir says that Baruch's letter may be placed in the same class as Eldad's diary, and therefore he cannot do better than put it before the public. What our own opinion is concerning all the reports which we have given in the course of our essay, our readers will easily guess. But for completeness we shall give a short abstract of the letter of the children of Moses.

After the usual preamble, they say that they do not know

[1] אבן ספיר, I., p. 98; זכור דוד, by David Zakkuth (Livorno, 1837), III., p. 55*b*; Carmoly in מבשרת ציון (? 1841).

for what sin they were exiled to this place. They lament the destruction of the Temple, and envy the tribes of Judah and Benjamin their good fortune in being able to pray at the Western wall of the Temple, where the *Shekhinah* still resides. They heard lately from an Ishmaelite of the Turkish dominion, who was sold to the tribes of Dan, Naphtali, Gad and Asher, in what a state of oppression their brethren were living, and how the Law of the God of Israel was abused and put to shame. They rejoice, therefore, that they are independent and powerful. The letter gives the account of the wealth of the Tribes, and the story about the Sambatyon, just as mentioned in Eldad's diary. This Baruch ben Samuel of Pinsk, was sent in the year 5591 (1831) by the great Kabbalist named Israel with a letter addressed in the name of the German congregation in Palestine, to the Children of Moses and the Ten Tribes. After mentioning Eldad (in fact their address is derived from Eldad; we wonder if this letter reached them, no postal union then existing), the letter alludes to a persecution in Germany,[1] some time in the fifth thousand A.M., when a sorcerer tried to destroy Israel. They sent there a certain R. Meir Hazan, who passed the the Sambatyon on a Sabbath day, the breaking of the Sabbath being allowed when life was in danger, and carried with him R. Dan, a pious man of the Ten Tribes, who delivered them from the hand of this wicked sorcerer. The letter next mentions the arrival of David, son of Solomon, in Italy and Rome, in the year 5283 (1523).[2] Finally, it is alleged that two years previously Palestinian emissaries went to Yemen, where they saw a Danite named Issachar, who told them about their wealth and strength, and afterwards this man disappeared. Encouraged by these circumstances, they sent to them R. Baruch, son of Samuel, from Upper Galilee. The letter gives then a small catalogue of books which the Jews possess, concluding with the writings of R. Elijah Wilna. Then follow accounts of persecutions which become intolerable; moreover, they are poor and much in debt. The Palestine congregation ask the King of the *Bene Israel* to help them, and prayers will be offered up for them in the Holy Land. We shall see that the lost Tribes now become the object of the Palestinian emissaries to their brethren in Europe and elsewhere, inducing them to give money for the purpose of searching after the lost brethren. The same is the case in our own country, much money which could better be employed at home, being uselessly spent on this object. We do not mean to say that all the Rabbis who signed the

[1] See above, p. 411. [2] See above, p. 408.

letters were impostors; far from it. They were imposed on by a few individuals, and could not refrain from helping an object which commended itself to them on really religious grounds. Of this R. Baruch, it is reported that he returned to Sana in Yemen, where he cured the young king and his household of a protracted illness. When he came back, the Rabbi of Sana went with him on his mission to find the Tribes. They took with them a servant named Joseph ben Zion Modai. They travelled fifteen days in the wilderness. On a Friday, R. Baruch got off his camel to perform the ceremony of the *Erub*,[1] and he was bitten by a scorpion, which he killed with a sword, cutting at the same time his own foot badly, and suffering enormous pain. He then saw a stray sheep, seized and slaughtered it, and cutting it in two, put his foot into the body, which cured him. R. Baruch was astonished to find a sheep in a wilderness. He, therefore, made search and found some shepherds, whom he asked in Arabic whence they came; they answered, "We are the shepherds of the flock of the Danites." He said to them, "Bring me to the Danites, for I am sent from the Holy Land." They replied, "We cannot do that before we ask permission; remain here with thy men several days until we return." So they went, and R. Baruch remained with his party in the desert, expecting the return of the shepherds. After waiting many days, the water they had with them grew less and less, and the Rabbi being afraid to stay longer, they returned to Sana. After his arrival here, R. Baruch completed the cure of the king, when the court physician, envying him his success, persuaded the king to kill him. His tomb is still shown at Sana. Some time after, a horseman of the Danites came to inquire after R. Baruch. When he heard that he was dead, he returned home and was never seen again. This story was told at Alexandria by the servant, Joseph Modai. The tragic end of R. Baruch is given in substance, but with more romantic details, by the late Jacob Saphir,[2] who heard it from the lips of Jews in Sana.

In the MS. of the British Museum,[3] from which we have extracted the story of Baruch, there follows an account from another emissary sent from Tiberias, which is dated 3rd Ab, 5607 (1847), in which he says that when he went to have his passport read by the governor of Aden, he asked what his object was in travelling so far, and, on replying that it was to collect money for the Holy Land, the governor said, "Why not

[1] Called שביתה. [2] *Eben Sapir*, I., p. 95. [3] *Sammelband*, IV., p. 26.

go to the newly discovered Jewish kingdom near me, of which I wrote to London? When you cross the sea at Aden there are thirty days to the great town of Arar, and ten days' journey from there is the Jewish kingdom, which musters 200,000 soldiers, and the inhabitants are very rich. The governor added that when he saw these Jews he believed in the advent of the Messiah and the return of the kingdom to Israel. He further told me that in China also there is a Jewish kingdom, and the Sambatyon is found there." What the Jewish kingdom in China is we have already seen.[1]

But inquiry after the lost Tribes does not end with 1847. Jacob Saphir mentions that in the year 1854 a certain Amram Maarabi from Safed went in search of them. He travelled as an Arab to Mekka, inquired about the children of Rechab, but did not find them. He then went to Sana, travelled through the land in the footsteps of R. Baruch as far as Hayadan, but did not dare to continue his way through the great wilderness. Three years later, 1857, a certain David Ashkenazi from Jerusalem vowed that he would go in search of the lost Tribes, following the steps of R. Baruch and Amram. He grew his hair and beard long to look like a Dervish, but not knowing Arabic well, and still less the performances of Islamism, he was recognised, and everything was taken from him. David returned to the port לחיי, on the Red Sea, went to Massowah and from there to Suakin and Gondar, to make inquiries concerning the Jews in Abyssinia. His means being insufficient he returned empty-handed to Aden, where Jacob Saphir saw him in the year 1860.[2]

Saphir then states that he could not receive information about all these stories, but of this he is certain, that there are in Yemen, north-east towards Sana, about twenty-five days' journey on the road to Mekka, many Jews dwelling amongst the Arabs; they are kept in esteem, and there is no difference between them and the Arabs; other Jews are still nearer. I saw some of them, Saphir says, when they came to the market, which they do yearly, as reported to me. But the Sana Jews never inquired about their origin and their religious ritual. Why did not Saphir do so himself, since he had the opportunity? Saphir states that there is a family at Sana which styles itself the Danite family, saying that their ancestors were of the tribe of Dan. The founder of this family came, together with a man of the tribe of Asher, to Sana, wandering through a wilderness, and not being able to

[1] See above, p. 28.

[2] *Eben Sapir*, I., p. 96.

find their home and their tribe. The Asherite died here, and the Danite married and had children. The living members of this family call themselves Danites. Evidently the Danites are more frequently to be found than any of the other tribes.

Isaac ibn Akrish writes[1] (sixteenth century), that a pasha under Sultan Soleiman, who subjugated Yemen to the dominion of the sultan, said that in sailing towards India high mountains are visible, and behind them is a kingdom of the Jews. The physician Samuel Shullam heard the same from patients of high rank. A letter was received from Doshdomer, Governor of Abyssinia by the Governor of Egypt, in which the former asked reinforcement in troops and weapons, for he said, "If a Jewish prince had not helped me with 12,000 horsemen I should have been annihilated." And lately another Abyssinian Governor, who, on his way to Constantinople, passed through Egypt, said publicly that should any Jew wish to travel to the Jewish kingdom in his neighbourhood he would gladly bring him there under his protection. The Grand Vizir Sinan Pasha, under Sultan Murad, who reigns today over Roumania, Arabia, Asia, Europe, and a part of Africa, boasted, with his officials, that had not the treasury been emptied by the wars for the conquest of Yemen, we should have continued our conquest to the kingdom of the Jews, in which neighbourhood we were. This legend refers most likely to the rumour of the independent Falashas.

In another place Akrish[2] gives two reports on the kingdom of the Prester John and the Jews, the one by Moses Kohen Ashkenazi, of Crete, dated 16th of Adar, 5243 (1483), who heard it from an Arab, Ali by name, residing near the land of Hawilah; and the other from a letter sent from Jerusalem by a certain R. Elijah in the year 5129 (1349).

To sum up, excepting Benjamin of Tudela, and Abraham Yagel, the Jewish legends on the dwellings of the Ten Tribes turn on Yemen, Abyssinia and an unknown region in a desert between these two countries, which is still unexplored; there is consequently ground left for further legends. Only one places the Tribes in the West Indies; that is the opinion of Aaron Levi, formerly Antonio de Montezinos, and made known by Manasseh ben Israel's "Hope of Israel."[3] A Hebrew inscription is mentioned from the Flanders Islands, which Manasseh tries to explain better than others had done. Of

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[1] קול מבשר (מעשה בית דוד), p. 16. See Dr. Steinschneider's *Cat. Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodleiana*, col. 1084.

[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 15 and 18*b*.

[3] מקוה ישראל, Amsterdam, 1697, fol. 17*b*.

course, the Ten Tribes could not know the square characters, an objection unknown in the time of Manasseh, and, if known, one which could have had no influence upon the believers. But the West Indies were soon dropped out of consideration.

Thus we have finished with the legends of the lost Tribes as far as Jewish tradition is concerned. For completeness sake, however, we shall mention the opinions given by two recent Jewish diaries. First the diary of a Roumanian Jew, who modestly styled himself J. J. Benjamin the Second.[1] From personal knowledge we can affirm that this traveller spoke only one language, the Jewish-German (jüdisch-deutsch) dialect as used in his native country; of course he knew Hebrew as taught in the old schools. He had no notion of geography, history or modern science; what can we expect from the information of such a traveller, who could not talk with the the natives, and could scarcely understand, except in writing, the Hebrew of the Eastern Jews, whose pronunciation was different from his own? Benjamin consequently could give no more than what the native Jews told him, and their traditions about the Nestorians, the Kurds, and the Afghans, are known and perfectly untrustworthy. Benjamin supposes that the Nestorians are descendants of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali. Their keeping the Sabbath instead of the Sunday is no argument for their Jewish origin; they were converted by the Judæo-Christian apostles, who still kept the Sabbath and not the Sunday of the apostles of the Gentiles. About the Afghans, Benjamin refers to a paper printed at Wilna, in which it is said that the inhabitants of Afghanistan are descendants from the Ten Tribes. This theory had already been propounded by Sir John Malcolm in his history of Persia (I., p. 596). It is outside our purpose to give here his arguments, or to contradict them. As to the Nestorians, we may refer to Dr. Asahel Grant's monograph on "The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes," which, based on sound researches, is a serious attempt to solve our question. The idiom of the Nestorians is Semitic, although rather Syriac than Aramaic, and the geographical situation of this people embraces part of the country where some of the lost Tribes would have been placed. The drawback is that no mention at all is made of them in the Babylonian Talmud, as is the case with the Jews of Mesena and Characena.[2]

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[1] *Eight years in Asia and Africa, from* 1846 *to* 1855, translated by Dr. B. Seemann, Harrow, 1863, pp. 122 and 203.

[2] See above, p. 19.

The tradition of the Nestorians as to their descent from the Israelites is only a bazaar tale, just as that of the Afghans, both trying to find a pedigree for themselves. Neither have any reminiscences of customs or ritual performances of olden times, as is the case with the Falashas in Abyssinia, whom we believe to be descendants of some Jewish emigrants, most likely Egyptian. The second diary is by the late Joseph Levi Tchorni,[1] who travelled in the countries of the Caucasus. This traveller was in the same position as Benjamin II., and had to rely upon written communications. He mentions traditions from Derbend and the neighbourhood that Dagestan forms a part of the cities of the Medes, that the Jews are descendants from those who were carried away by the Assyrians, and that they never returned either in the time of Jeremiah or with the Babylonian captives. In hard times many of them emigrated to Bokhara and to China, and others fled to the rocky places in the neighbourhood. But what is a tradition worth which has no actual reminiscences to support it? The Jews in the Caucasus observe the Rabbanitic rite. When were they converted, and by whom?

Now, to come back to our original question, Where are the Ten Tribes? We can only answer, Nowhere. Neither in Africa, where they have still to be found in the Great Desert, nor in India, China, Persia, Kurdistan, the Caucasus, or Bokhara. We have said that a greater part of them remained in Palestine, partly mixing with the Samaritans and partly amalgamating with those who returned from the Captivity of Babylon. With them many came also from the cities of the Medes, and many, no doubt, adhered to the Jewish religion which was continued in Mesopotamia during the period of the Second Temple. As to the prophetical promise that they will be gathered together in the Messianic time, we follow Akiba, who said that they will never return. Why should we be more orthodox than the great R. Akiba?[2]

But some of our non-Jewish readers may ask the question, If you cannot find them elsewhere, why not adopt the theory which is backed with so much evidence, if we are to judge from the countless books and pamphlets on it, that the lost Tribes are to be found in the United Kingdom? This question we would gladly answer (and could do so with the greatest ease, showing that the theory is contrary to ethnology, history, philology, and above all common-sense), if we had time to wade through this vast literature, and if our readers were not already wearied by our own too extended essay. We do not

[1] ספר המסעות, St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 585.

[2] See above, p. 21.

promise, but the time may come, when we shall consider the question from the so-called Anglo-Hebrew side. At present, we can only say to those who are searching for the lost Tribes in any part of the United Kingdom—England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland, what we said some years ago to the late great champion of the theory that the Welsh are the lost Tribes. After expounding for more than half an hour his theory that the Cymri derive their name from Omri,[1] and abusing our great Celtic scholar Professor Rhys for taking another view on grounds of philology and ethnology, he asked our own opinion, which we gave him in the following words: "My belief is that you are more lost than the Ten Tribes."

A. NEUBAUER.

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[1] See *Proofs for the Welsh that the British are the lost Tribes of Israel. The Abrahamic Covenant.* By Lazarus, Bangor, 1880, p. 8 *sqq.*

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

We have omitted to give a reference concerning Eldad's diary to Dr. N. Brüll's instructive article, on Dr. Jellinek's *Bet Hamidrash*, vi., which appeared in the *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, edited by Dr. N. Brüll, iv. (1879), p. 124, seqq.—In a MS. recently acquired for the Bodleian Library (see *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1887, p. xx.), Eldad's diary in a more concise form is ascribed to Elhanan, son of Joseph, a merchant.—The literature of the Sambatyon and the lost tribes has not remained a Jewish fiction; many Christian writers took a vivid interest in it. We shall only mention the article, *Wunderfluss Sambathyon und die rothen Juden* in Vulpius' *Curiositäten* iv., p. 527 to 735. Schudt *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, V., XV., p. 513, *sqq.* (ed. Frankfort a.M. 1715), and the anonymous article with the title of *Zwo warhafftige newe Zeitung aus Venedig*, 1596, concerning the red Jews dwelling in the Caspis mountain. This piece is very rare, and we saw it in the Royal Library, Berlin.—By oversight, we referred in Part III. of this essay to Sammelband III. instead of IV.—Lastly, we have to express our best thanks to Dr. Steinschneider for his kind help concerning the bibliography of the literature on the lost Tribes.

LETTERS FROM AUSTRIA.

[*Concluded from page* 181.]

II.

DIVINE WORSHIP.

I MUST confess that the grandest and most imposing synagogal structure fails to arouse any enthusiasm in me. I will even hazard the assertion that the desire, particularly manifested in these times, to build new synagogues, does not, of necessity, imply a revival of the true religious sentiment. The laying of the foundation-stone of Solomon's gorgeous edifice on Mount Zion coincided with the commencement of the conspiracy against the national sense of union which afforded the best guarantee for the continuance of the Jewish Kingdom.

On the other hand, I am most enthusiastic for the erection of schools; these and not the synagogues will ensure the permanence of Judaism.

The Temple of Judaism was laid in ashes, the kingdom of Judæa robbed of its independence, and the nation dispersed. A school was founded in Jabne. R. Jochanan ben Zaccai, its teacher, promulgated the truths of the Divine Faith. A multitude of disciples sat at his feet. Judaism was saved and still exists, though two thousand years have passed away. Yes, Judaism, resting on the broad foundations of eternal truths and unwavering ethical principles, is, to-day, as mighty as ever.

Its assailants are opposed to it, not because its maxims are, as they pretend, injurious to the social and religious life of European nations, but because they are jealous of its inherent vigour —that vigour which is still actively influential in man's spiritual development, stimulates industry, encourages temperance and stirs to mighty impulses.

And those who cry out, in their fancied holy zeal, that the structure of Judaism is in ruins, because its institutions are not, at the present day, in entire accord with their own views and notions, have failed to grasp the real essence of the Jewish faith. As if the strict observance of ceremonial and ritual, the more or less general study of Hebrew or more or less frequent visits to the synagogue constituted the pillars of Judaism! Will not all customs fall into abeyance in the Messianic age, according to the Rabbins? And while the Jewish kingdom

was still in existence, was not the eventuality of the election of a High Priest, who could not even read, foreseen and provided for? Or were more than three pilgrimages a year made to the Temple at Zion?

"Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul to falsehood nor sworn falsely." This is the Psalmist's Creed. And this, in my humble opinion, is the Creed of Judaism.

But look at the lapses from Judaism, at the present day, is the rejoinder. Was it then, different, in the times of the Crusades? Were not the religious conditions of the Jews in the Spanish period, as described by Abarbanel, in many ways curiously akin to our own? And yet Judaism still lives; and, like Truth, its seal, will live eternal. There is no reason, then, for despondency. But we must never weary of agitating for the establishment of schools, schools, schools!

All this, however, does not prevent me from duly appreciating the value of synagogues and their influence. Of course, I need hardly say that I here refer to modern Temples. The old *Schulen* were, indeed, houses of devotion, and they need no further commendation. The Jew of a past generation with his fervid faith and trust in God, wended his way, in all situations of life, to the House of God as to a refuge. Whenever he felt the impulse to commune with his Creator—and when was not that the case?—his feet hurried to the consecrated spot. But, nevertheless, the synagogue of the present day has a wider scope and a more far-reaching purpose than its predecessor.

Mannheimer, whose memory will ever be cherished, has the merit of having brought this wider purpose home to the consciousness of Austrian Jewish communities.

His first endeavours were directed towards purifying and refining the forms of divine worship, so that they might not jar upon the tastes of cultivated people. In this way, he thought, the Gentile public would obtain a better impression of Jewish ritual than they had received from the so-called "Judenschule;" and, in the second place, he hoped that the Jewish youth would be thereby attracted to the Synagogue. For, then as now, it was a difficult and anxious problem how to interest the young in synagogal institutions.

With this view, choral music was introduced. The cantor's sing-song had to give way to correct melody and expressive reading. The liturgy was revised and shortened; blemishes were removed. Prayers in the vernacular were introduced. The Hebrew ritual was translated into German, and measures were taken to secure the decorum befitting a sanctuary. Mannheimer had a splendid opportunity for exhibiting his eminent talents for organisation and used it. The credit for introducing into the service of the Vienna community the elevating and

edifying strains of vocal music is due to the eminent and now aged composer, Sulzer.

But Mannheimer did a good deal more than this.

His aim was to arouse a sense of religion in the minds of his flock, to kindle in their hearts a love for their ancestral faith and to strengthen their attachment to their brethren. This aim was realised when he made preaching an institution. The inspired and inspiring words of instruction, exhortation and edification that issued from his lips in the pulpit enchained his audience's attention, touched and occasionally even thrilled them. The sermon thus became the central element in the divine service. Whenever Mannheimer preached, the synagogue was too small to contain the crowd of worshippers.

If Mannheimer's rhetorical powers held his hearers spell-bound and exercised a mighty influence over them, that influence was confirmed and strengthened by the bearing and character of this heaven-gifted man. "Follow my counsel, not my practice," was not his motto. Of a noble disposition, disinterested and unselfish, benevolent, always ready to help and claiming nothing for himself, he charmed all who came into contact with him and enjoyed the respect and veneration of Jewish and Christian circles. One instance, out of many that might be given, will serve as an illustration. Cardinal Sommeran-Beck, being desirous of giving some special mark of distinction to a certain Jewish boy, presented him with a prayer-book containing Mannheimer's version, and emphatically impressed upon the child's mind that the volume ought to be especially prized because the translation was by the eminent Mannheimer. What honour was paid him by ministers and deputies, when the city of Vienna elected him in 1848 to a seat in the Senate, is well-known. This courtesy did not however tempt him to abate one jot of that freedom of speech which he had been accustomed to use towards the great men of the kingdom. Needless it is to state that the members of his own community showed him the utmost reverence. As, after Demosthenes' oration, the cry rang through the assembly, "War against Philip," so, whenever Mannheimer pointed out any good work, it was promptly taken in hand by the wealthy members of his flock. Institutions that are a credit to the Viennese community thus came into existence. References will be made to these in my next letter. Particularly touching were the delicacy and fine feeling with which he received all who needed his counsel or practical help. And not only the poor and obscure, but prominent and distinguished personages had recourse to him when they fell into difficulties and needed good advice.

The relation between his congregation and its spiritual head was like that of a family and its father. I need hardly say that the example of the Vienna community powerfully influenced many sister communities in the great Austrian Empire. In Prague, Pesth, and even in towns of a secondary rank, divine

worship was made more orderly, and, where circumstances permitted, preachers were appointed. Even Rabbis of the old school assiduously endeavoured to modernize their *Derashoth.* I recollect a memorial service, held on the death of the Emperor Franz in 1833 in one of the oldest synagogues of Austria. The executive requested the Rabbi to speak as little as possible in the Jargon. Certainly, God does not regard literary style; why then, should I attempt to describe the effect of this "dejargonized" sermon? To me its interest lay in the fact that it voiced a desire to give religious functions a form more in harmony with the requirements of the times.

Particularly must it be emphasized that all those who joined the Vienna movement did so with all their heart, with all their soul, and with all their might. Both Rabbi and congregation exhibited a truly religious zeal. They were convinced that they were thus serving the cause of civilisation. Mannheimer, however, was not suffered to work unopposed. The celebrated Rabbi Moses Sofer, of Pressburg, equally venerated for his extraordinary Talmudic learning and genuine piety, entered the lists against Mannheimer's tendencies. He actually approached the government with a petition to re-establish the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and set it in motion against any guilty of a religious sin. The state of those times made such a request possible; it even received the royal sanction. Apprised of the danger, Mannheimer, with his peculiar energy, at once took the necessary counter-measures. "Consider," he said to the august official who had to deal with this affair, "if you permit this encroachment on the liberty of your subjects, you can be quite certain that the Pressburg Rabbi will, without more ado, punish those Jews who shave, for example, because this practice, according to his view, is contrary to the law; yet, I, a Jewish pastor, use the razor." Mannheimer's drastic representations were not ineffective. Moses Sofer's petition rests to-day in some archive, valuable material for history.

The struggle against the novel course Mannheimer opened up sometimes assumed a threatening and alarming form. Most people have heard of the persecutions R. Abraham Chorin suffered. Stones were hurled at him. Foul water was poured over him. His beard was cut off. He was addressed in the vilest and most scurrilous terms of abuse. And now, to the honour of Judaism, his bust adorns the hall of the Hungarian Academy of Science. In spite of these protests and hostilities, the improvements introduced into divine worship continually became more popular; and the number of the communities which assimilated their services to that in use at Vienna steadily increased. This was the case even in Galicia. The noble-minded Dr. Abraham Kohn's exertions in this direction cost him, alas, his life.

Consistently with his temperament, Mannheimer was scrupu-

lously careful not to go too far with his curtailment of the prayer book. Eliminating the Piyutim, Kol Nidré and Av ha-Rachamim, he left everything else untouched. Some of the Piyutim for the solemn feasts of the New Year and the Day of Atonement were retained. When we consider that the most orthodox Rabbis were no panegyrists of the Piyutim, while those who wished to discredit oaths taken by Jews used Kol Nidré as a ready weapon of offence, we shall agree that these reforms of Mannheimer were not captiously undertaken, but were, so to speak, called for by circumstances. This accounts for the fact that gradually even congregations which clung to traditional customs became also partly reconciled to these regulations in regard to divine worship.

This state of affairs continued till absolute freedom of religious conduct was accorded to all subjects of the realm. Those members of "Kehiloth" who emigrated into the larger cities claimed that ritual institutions should be restored to the old form they had been used to. In communities of the first and second rank, private synagogues began to spring up, where the service was conducted in the old traditional fashion. But even among these there were fine shades of difference. The executives of the community rarely raised objections; they gladly allowed everyone to worship God after his own fashion.

This peaceful policy did not, however, save the Vienna Jewish congregation from attack. When they, in accordance with the Augsburg Synod's resolution, adopted some modifications in the service, a party belonging to the Pressburg School snatched at the opportunity for seceding, and refused to contribute any longer to the parent body. They even obtained a declaration, to which the signatures of four hundred Rabbis were appended, setting forth that it is unlawful for the strictly orthodox Jew to assist any religious society which, like the Viennese, denied the belief in the Messiah. And whence did the secessionists infer this imaginary denial? From the regulation, forsooth, that the reader should recite only the first three of the eighteen benedictions aloud, while the remainder, as well as the Yehi Rozaun in the morning service on Mondays and Thursdays, were to be read silently. Though their own ritual was in nowise affected by this enactment, which it was only proposed to put in force in the two congregational synagogues, these secessionists considered themselves justified in approaching the authorities with the request that they might be allowed to establish an independent community, worshipping according to the old ritual. There was no real and legitimate ground for the petition, and its rejection by all the courts followed as a matter of course. It was also not very difficult to prove that the Liturgy, as used by the Vienna Jewish community, gives frequent expressions to the Messianic belief.

The mode of conducting divine service, introduced by Mann-

heimer, now prevails throughout Austria, but not in Galicia and Hungary.

It cannot be denied that clamours are occasionally heard for more thorough-going reforms, particularly for services in the vernacular, and for the introduction of the organ.

As to the first point, there are, unfortunately, no encouraging examples in favour of this reform. Where German services have been adopted, no one pretends that they have drawn crowds of worshippers. These very synagogues are, on the contrary, exceedingly empty. This innovation, therefore, has but little prospect of becoming general. On the other hand, I cannot too emphatically express the wish that hymns in the vernacular should have a larger space devoted to them in the Liturgy. The service would then gain in attractiveness, and there would be an additional inducement for young people and women to visit the House of God.

The introduction of the organ must be regarded as an administrative rather than a religious question. Objections to it on religious grounds can only be raised with difficulty; if, however, there is reason to fear that it would lead to the abstention of the regular worshippers, it is not advisable to think of this reform. The argument in its favour is that, with an organ's aid, a congregation can dispense with a Cantor's not always agreeable humours. The grand peals of the king of instruments make the *Chazan's* musical qualifications a secondary consideration.

The organ is in use in various Austrian communities—in Pesth, Arad, Brunnen, Carlsbad, etc., and also in the private synagogue for the sixth and seventh quarters of Vienna. In this last, and in the Carlsbad synagogues, there are mixed choirs. Divine service in the House of Worship at Vienna, just referred to, would considerably gain in beauty if it were simpler and more in harmony with prevalent usages. The modifications in the Liturgy adopted in that synagogue have no real justification, nor do they serve to raise the devotional sentiments of the worshippers.

All such questions, however, fall into the background by the side of this most important one—"Where are the shepherds?" Where shall we find the qualities requisite for the Rabbinical office—idealism, devotion to duty, the self-sacrificing and self-denying spirit—a just appreciation of others' merits and capacities; a benevolent disposition; charitableness and helpfulness—in a word, where is the pastor's inner call? My questions exclusively refer to those subjective qualities in the Rabbi or preacher, which so strongly affect his influence and the character of his work. I entirely omit the consideration of the objective qualifications which testify to those functionaries' scholarly attainments. These are not the determining features of the pastoral calling. A man may be a veritable Colossus in learning; but he will only be a worthy representative and

teacher of God's word if his character shines with noble virtues.

The scarcity of Rabbis and preachers in Austria with a true calling for their office is to be attributed to the regrettable circumstance that the study of Judaism and its literature has become a mercenary profession—a means of gaining one's bread, a spade for digging with. It was not so in former days. The study of the law was an aim in itself. The spiritual head of a community accepted office in consequence of an inward impulse, and refused to receive any salary, or, at the most, he consented to accept remuneration for that loss of time which the special duties of his office involved. Hence the exalted reverence that was felt for the teacher. His unassuming demeanour and disinterestedness allowed him to be impartial towards rich and poor. How different is it to-day!

Not that one expects Rabbis and preachers to give their services gratuitously. *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.* The leading feature of the improved modern service—the Sermon—has also declined considerably in intrinsic worth, influence, and significance. The spoken word derives its weight from the lips that utter it. And it loses that weight altogether, if candour and impartiality are lacking in the speaker. The standard of the sermon has also distinctly fallen. Instead of aiming at instruction, exhortation, and edification, the chief object with some preachers is beauty of style. "To have spoken beautifully" is their highest ideal. When Cicero made an oration, the charm of his well-turned sentences was universally acknowledged, but yet he failed to gain his ends. Other preachers degrade the sermon in another way. Instead of trying to lift up their audience to themselves, they sink to the level of their audience. Trivial, commonplace ideas, vulgar speech, piquant and even jocular exposition are not thought beneath their dignity. To have to use harsh words is unpleasant; but truths cannot always be administered in the form of sugared pills. Fortunately, we still have Rabbis and preachers who remind us of the best traditions of the good old times. I must, nevertheless, unflinchingly lay my finger on the wound; for, on its being treated, the recovery of sick Judaism depends. "Thy desolators and destroyers, from thee came they forth," was the lamentation of the Prophet of old.

As I have already stated on good authority, the Vienna Community seriously entertains the idea of founding a seminary for the training of Rabbis and preachers. On this topic I contemplate writing a special paper. Here I will only remark that, when the project is executed, it will prove a source of great blessings to the Austrian Jews. "The head of the generation is the generation," say the sages of the Talmud. In the same sense it may be affirmed that Rabbis and preachers

are the souls of their communities. If our communal and religious life is to be renewed and strengthened, provision must be made for the training of Rabbis and preachers.

Benevolence.

The heathen's request to learn the Jewish religion, while standing on one foot, was, in reality, not so strange as it seems. In the physical world, we assume a certain point in every material body as its centre of gravity. Support this one point and the entire body is in equilibrium. The ability to stand on one foot and still maintain an erect attitude rests on this physical law. Now, the heathen, in his search for truth, believed that he had a right to assume the existence of the same law in the moral as in the physical world; that there must, accordingly, be some quality or virtue the possession of which, alone and without external accessories, constitutes the moral and religious man. To find this essential element in Judaism was his aim. The rigorous Shammai, favouring stringency in ritual, could not satisfy the inquirer. But gentle Hillel, with whom salvation was not built on outward observances, replied, "What displeaseth thee, that do not unto thy neighbour. This is the text. The rest is commentary."

The love of our fellows, the sage taught him, is the essence, the core and substance of Judaism, its centre of gravity so to speak. And this answer drew the heathen, as with an irresistible magnetic force, to Israel's faith. This duty of philanthropy is, in fact, recommended on the very first pages of Holy Writ. The Book of Genesis, in its opening chapters, teaches that *one* will and *one* Creator brought into existence all in heaven, on earth and under it; that the whole of the human race is descended from *one* pair; that, in the economy of creation, *one* table was richly decked for all creatures; and thus, the Divine lesson, to love our fellow-creatures, was powerfully inculcated. "Have we not all one father, hath not one God created us; why then shall we act faithlessly towards our own brother?" The sense of benevolence is, accordingly, a strongly developed characteristic of the "congregation of Jacob, the heir of Moses' doctrine."

Every Jewish community, accordingly, possesses institutions and organisations for the administration of charity, generally and in special departments. Societies for relieving the indigent and the sick, burying the dead, assisting struggling tradesmen, are to be found, more or less, in every Austrian town, where a congregation exists, even if it consists of but a few members.

Levi ben Bezalel, Rabbi of Nicholsburg, 1557-1577, and known in legend as the famous Rabbi Leb, published a collection of rules for the direction of congregations. These were

afterwards amplified into the celebrated "311 Regulations" which governed Moravian communities for nearly two centuries. Among these rules the following appears: "Every congregation of thirty members is bound to provide for six Talmudical students and six apprentices." What duties towards resident poor must already have been laid down and defined before this paragraph could have been written!

Devotion to our ancestral religion and appreciation of the fact that the first condition of its preservation is the study of the Law, suggested to wealthy and middle-class members of the Jewish community the desirability of creating funds for the maintenance, not only of schools and colleges, but also for the support of "fellows" who made learning the business of their lives. Hence originated those perpetual scholars' endowments which the majority of Austrian communities possess. In many congregations, especially those of Moravia, the Rabbi's income is principally drawn from this source. Many merchants, appreciating the traditional relations between Issachar and Zebulon, have found pleasure in assigning a portion of their profits to scholars solely engaged with study of the Torah.

As one of the indispensable requisites of a properly constituted *Kehilla*, every congregation has connected with it a fund for the relief of the poor, with a strict organisation. Resident poor first receive practical attention. A fixed allowance—*Kitzvah*—is given to them according to their merits and needs. Vagrants only receive enough to take them to the next congregation, and a trifle for their immediate use. A difference, however, both in personal treatment and in the amount of the gift, is made in the case of "respectable guests." Those who stay over Sabbath obtain free meals. They are assigned to the members of the congregation in rotation. Many voluntarily invite *Orchim*, oftener than is required of them by the congregational rules. Not altogether, however, it must be admitted, from disinterested motives. These "guests" are, many of them, retailers of news and agreeable story-tellers. Marriages have also been arranged through their agency. A popular proverb says, "Fill your houses with guests and you'll settle your daughters."

This patriarchal care of the poor, which may be traced back to the casuistic Rabbi's injunctions, only survives in congregations of the old-fashioned type. In the administration of charity, too, modern culture has wrought a change; whether this change is an improvement is questionable. More is certainly given now-a-days. But the direct and immediate kindly relations between donor and recipient have for the most part disappeared.

It cannot, however, be denied that recent times have exhibited cheering and encouraging signs in this connection. In Vienna, Ritter Wilhelm von Guttmann successfully advocated the establishment of a benevolent association which is now doing good

work. One of its active and prominent labourers is Baron Albert de Rothschild. Baron de Hirsch spends, in Buda-Pesth and, we hear, also in Vienna, 10,000 florins every month on charitable objects. In the latter city the money is devoted to helping tradesmen and merchants out of their difficulties. This noble-minded man's philanthropy is phenomenal.

Care of the sick is one of the functions of the Chevra Kadisha which exists in almost every congregation. The Association deserves its name, not merely because its sphere of activity includes the last offices for the dead, but also because it endeavours to enlist all classes, and even those of tender years in its service of love. Attempts are, alas! sometimes made to modernise this brotherhood, on the principle, presumably, that nothing old can be good. This is certainly not true of the Chevra Kadisha. What nobler work can there be than to care for a sick and helpless brother; comfort him in his last moments; pray with him and for him, and after he has departed, perform the last rites to his remains, and prepare their eternal resting place? Most communities, it must be acknowledged, recognise the holiness of these duties, and assign a prominent place among their charities to the Chevra Kadisha. A brilliant example is set by the "Holy Brotherhood" of Buda-Pesth, which has recently been strengthened, materially and morally, by the accession of new associates. In addition to its own special work, it supports an Infirmary and a Home for the Aged Needy.

In Vienna, an Orphan Society, founded by the late philanthropist, Ritter Joseph von Wertheimer, takes charge of hundreds of children who are fatherless or have lost both parents. An Orphan School for boys and another for girls are now being built in that capital; the first at the cost of Baron Springer, the second by the liberality of Ritter Wilhelm and David von Guttmann. In the management of these institutions, this principle must especially be borne in mind, viz., that the training the inmates receive should be simple and conformable to their circumstances. As the inmates of Orphan Asylums are, during the whole terms of their stay, almost completely secluded from the ordinary life of the outside world, it is imperatively necessary that their benefactors should extend their watchful care to their protégés, after they have left those institutions. In sympathy with this view Baron and Baroness Tedesco have established a Fund in Vienna to assist those orphans, who on account of their age are no longer permitted by the statutes of the Orphan Asylum to participate in its benefits. Baron Rothschild has, with the same object, built an Orphan Asylum, which at present maintains 42 Christians and 21 Jewish orphans belonging to Vienna.

In Brün, the erection of a Jewish Orphan Asylum for the whole province was in contemplation. The small territorial extent of Moravia, its scanty Jewish population, and the

instability of its congregations (a consequence of unrestricted emigration), makes this appear, under the circumstances, the most expedient plan. Though not yet accomplished, it has not been abandoned. Such projects are not realised in a day, but require a certain period for maturing.

Buda-Pesth, on the other hand, has a proper Orphan Asylum. The Jewish community possesses moreover several benevolent institutions in splendid working order. I only regret that the political intolerance, prevalent in Hungary, affects prejudicially the solidarity otherwise existing in Jewish life. No consideration is shown to indigent Jews, unless they are of Hungarian birth. The charitable societies of Vienna make no such distinctions.

Galicia has also its orphan asylums. That of Brody is a model of management. This community has for a long time distinguished itself by its splendid organisations. Pity that the commercial decay of Brody has been followed by a decline in its charities; a decline that would have been more serious but for the staying hand of Baron Hirsch.

A great deal of active benevolent interest is manifested in poor school children. Special institutions and endowments endeavour, as far as their funds permit, to provide the children with food, clothes and school-fees. It is a pity that these institutions,—pursuing, as they do, the same aims,—do not combine their energies, but prefer, in some cases from motives of self-glorification, to work separately, a course which must necessarily weaken their chances of becoming permanent. Vienna, for instance, possesses several societies, the object of which is to render assistance to necessitous children. Would not a union of forces result in a vast increase of efficiency? The present isolated progress of several associations in the same direction opens the door to abuse and the unjustifiable neglect of legitimate claims. And, in fact, it does occur that some importunate applicants, profiting by this state of things, obtain repeated assistance in many quarters, while others, equally deserving but less plausible, are sent away empty handed.

Among these societies, the first and most important is the *Theresien-Kreuzer-Verein*. It supports work-rooms, in which girls are taught trades; supplies daily dinners for 80 school-girls; clothes between 700 and 800 children of both sexes; provides them with school requisites, and pays their fees. An inspiring sight is the annual Chanucha-treat that its protégés enjoy. Mesdames Pfeiffer, Hoffmannstahl, Ernestine Thorsch and Sofie Guttmann are particularly deserving of thanks for their efforts in connection with this institution.

Very creditable work has also been done by the Girls' Aid Society (*Mädchen-Unterstützungs-Verein*), founded in 1866. The task it has set itself is to qualify girls to earn their living. It maintains secondary, commercial and industrial schools, in which kinder-garten teachers, telegraphists, tradeswomen.

clerks, domestic servants, have been and are being trained. This year, for the first time, the Society has received from Baron Hirsch a subvention of 3,000 fl., which will be continued annually till further notice. Mesdames Hochwart, Bondy, and Anna Thorsch, have rendered especially good services to this Association.

Necessitous Jewish students obtain aid from a society, which pays a considerable proportion of their college fees and dues. Those who are absolutely destitute may obtain daily dinners in the Soup-Kitchen, in connection with the Charities of the Synagogue. The cost of this kitchen is largely borne by Baron Tedesco.

There are numerous societies which provide clothes for poor school-children. Two of these were founded in memory of the late Sir Moses Montefiore and bear his name. We have already expressed our conviction that it would be an advantage to amalgamate these institutions with the *Theresien-Kreuzer-Verein*, whose labours are crowned with so much success.

The stipends given by Barons Königswarter, Jeiteles, Rapaport, Stern, Ritters von Goldschmidt, Süssermann, Biedermann, etc., have assuaged the bitter pangs which many students suffered for want of the first necessaries of life. Barons Königswarter's, Rapaport's and Tedesco's endowments for these purposes are particularly munificent. Besides the Benevolent Fund of the Vienna Community and the Chevra Kadisha, Vienna possesses a large number of other charitable societies. Nothing, we regret to say, has yet been done for *G'millut Chasadim*, in the literal sense of the phrase, saving men from ruin when they are tottering on its verge. On the lowest ground, it would surely be more economical to help a man substantially once for all, than first to allow him to fall and then be under the necessity of continually relieving him.

A Jewish hospital erected by the Rothschild family exists in the Austrian capital, with accommodation for one hundred patients. The Jews in Vienna also maintain a hospital in Baden and another in Gleichen, an infirmary, a deaf and dumb school, an institution for the blind, built at the cost of Baron Königswarter, a crèche for infants, founded in 1843 by Ritter von Wertheimer, the Francisca-Jeiteles Almshouse, and a public kitchen. In commemoration of the fortieth year of the present Austrian Emperor's reign, the Executive of the Vienna community is building a Home for the Aged Needy, to shelter one thousand inmates of both sexes.

From many quarters we hear the cry that the maintenance of distinct benevolent institutions by the various denominations fosters religious exclusiveness. The fallacy in these and similar objections scarcely needs demonstration. That Jews munificently assist individuals and charitable organizations belonging to other creeds, we recognise with satisfaction. But this kindliness is not reciprocated. Henceforth, as heretofore, let us by all

means show practical sympathy with every form of sorrow and suffering, whatever the creed of the sufferer; but, so long as these notions of pure philanthropy have not found universal acceptance, we must continue to make special provisions for the needs of our own poor.

The Sephardic Community of Vienna, founded in 1730 by Moses Lopez Pereira Diego d'Aguilar, has some charitable societies of its own. *Bikur Cholim*, Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Poor; *Halbasha*, *Hachnosath Orchim*, *Chevra Kadisha*, etc.

Of Buda-Pesth, where benevolence is extensively practised, I have already spoken. Its charities have found a liberal supporter in Baron Hirsch.

Especially deserving of notice is the humanity exhibited by our brethren in Galicia. Not only important communities, like those of Lemberg, Cracow, Brody, Tarnow, Tarnopol, but small congregations, too, make sacrifices for the sake of charity. Pity that all these sacrifices do no real good. The Jewish population is too dense, considering the poor resources of the country. The poverty is, in most districts, almost inconceivable. The few, who are slightly better off than their neighbours, have the will but lack the ability to render substantial aid; and the help they do afford seems like a drop in the ocean.

Herr Emanuel Baumgarten expounded views like these before a committee which met in 1883 for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of our Galician co-religionists, and numbered among its members Baron Albert Rothschild of Vienna, Baron H. Worms of London, Prof. M. Lazarus, and the late Ludwig Löwe of Berlin. Baumgarten showed that the Jewish population of Galicia and Bukowina was over 13 per cent. of the general population, whereas, in the rest of Austria, the proportion, excluding the capital, of the percentage is not more than ·087; in other words, that Galicia possesses 482 Jews to the square mile, while in the remaining sixteen provinces westward of Vienna, excluding the capital, they number only forty-six to the square mile. The injurious effect of this dense over-population of the Jews in Galicia need not be dwelt upon. Among its direct consequences may be counted pauperism and demoralization. Under these circumstances, it is a gross injustice to assert that the Galician Jews are a misfortune to their brethren. That is not a fair statement. They are not the cause of suffering, but its objects, and as such deserve our full and undivided sympathy. The proof of the correctness of this view lies in the fact that the relations subsisting between Jews and Christians in Galicia are cordial, and anti-Semitism has hitherto found no home there. But whatever aspect may be the right one, it is imperatively necessary, on philanthropic and educational grounds, for the Jews of Austria as well as of the whole of cultivated Europe to make every effort to improve the material condition of their brethren in Galicia, and to put it in

their power, by means of education, to earn a respectable livelihood.

We have intentionally avoided attributing the pitiable material condition of our co-religionists in that part of the world to their low intellectual status. Had we done so, we should have been guilty of confounding cause and effect. The indispensable wants of the body, Aristotle already argued, must first be satisfied before one can be brought to think of the claims of the intellect. And this consideration has, as we hear, influenced Baron Hirsch in his Galician endowment of twelve million florins, and received expression in his directions as to its disposal.

Messrs. F. D. Mocatta and S. Montagu must have received similar impressions during their stay in Galicia. It is useless to attempt any measures on behalf of the Jews of Galicia unless something is first done to improve their material condition. And this task must not be entrusted to individuals whose main object would be to push their own personality into the foreground. Men of common sense and penetration, with honest and unselfish natures, are the only fit agents for so sacred a charge. May Baron Hirsch succeed in finding such for his noble undertaking, an undertaking pleasing to God, and calculated to increase the sum of human happiness.

In the meanwhile the Galician Jews are not idle. In Cracow the munificence of Dr. Arnotto Rapaport, member of the Austrian Senate, has established a technical school, the continuance of which the Alliance Israélite of Vienna has guaranteed. In Tarnopol, an association of the same character, called *Yad Charuzim*, has recently been founded. Lemberg and Brody also possess endowments for the benefit of technical education.

An opportunity is here afforded me of referring to the Jewish Trades' Union of Vienna, founded in 1844. Under its auspices, about 800 apprentices are learning trades, and, at the same time, continuing their ordinary schooling. A special service is held for them every Sunday afternoon. The Society can proudly point to prominent manufactures as having been its protégés. In recognition of its usefulness Baron Hirsch contributes an annual subvention of 14,000 florins to this society.

Postscript.

In discussing benevolent institutions, we must not forget the permanent funds which exist in some provinces of the Austrian Empire for the furtherance of Jewish interests. They are especially interesting on account of their origin, which is intimately bound up with the history of the Austrian Jews.

The first that we shall mention is the Hungarian Fund of 2,000,000 florins, the proceeds of the forced contributions

which Baron Hayman imposed on the Hungarian Jews after the suppression of the Revolution. Thanks are due to the noble-hearted Austrian Emperor for having assigned the interest of this money to Jewish purposes. The Rabbinical Seminary of Buda-Pesth owes its birth to this fund. It has, however, sad to tell, become an apple of discord among the Jews of Hungary. The Conference summoned by the Government to determine its disposal, revealed the wide gulf which separates the orthodox from the reform school. Some communities are split up, according to their different rites into three sections, *Shomré Hadath* (Ultra-orthodox), Progressive, and those who are contented with the *status quo*. We need not say how deplorable this division is. At the present time particularly, internal and external considerations imperatively demand that all Jews should work together, unitedly and harmoniously.

In Galicia a provincial endowment, formed out of the residue of the special taxes that Jews had formerly to pay, now largely helps to support their scholastic institutions. A considerable portion of the expenses of the Hebrew schools at Brody is defrayed out of this fund.

Moravia possesses a similar endowment by which the Jews of that province benefit. Here, too, the nucleus of the fund was drawn from the imposts which Jews had to pay in the past, and which ceased when civil equality became a fundamental principle of the constitution.

Concerning this Moravian endowment, Emanuel Baumgarten published in 1851 an historical sketch, from which it appears that the Jews of Moravia were taxed for the sufferance they enjoyed. And these special taxes were increased when the state became involved in wars, which, of course, required a vast amount of money. In Joseph's truly royal fashion, the residue of this tax, considerably swelled by the receipts from other Jewish imposts, was set apart as a provincial fund for the benefit of the Jews. It has, at various times, been applied to different uses. When Austria became a constitutional monarchy, the fund, then amounting to 960,000 florins, was finally given up to the Moravian Jews to dispose of it as they pleased. Delegates of the various communities of the province meet every year at Brün, and appoint an executive to administer the fund. Its income is employed in the relief of necessitous communities, in maintenance of their officers, and of benevolent institutions and schools.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

The Jessurun Family.—Had Dr. Kaufmann consulted the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* he would have added at least one Anglo-Jewish name to the catalogue of Jessuruns he gives in the last number of the *Quarterly*. At pp. 59—61 of that work a list of Jewish merchants is transcribed from the London Directory of 1677. The very first names in that list are Isaac Alvarez of St. Mary Axe, and Jacob Jessurun Alvarez of "St. Mary Ax, near Berry Street." At first sight it would seem that these are the very persons for whom Dr. Kaufmann is seeking; but this is not the case. The Jacob Jessurun Alvarez was only the grandfather and namesake of the "Jacob ben Isaac Jessurun Alvarez of London," whose epitaph Dr. Kaufmann has discovered in Vienna; and the Isaac Alvarez was no relation of the Jessuruns—at least no near relation. He was a wealthy jeweller, a Marrano by birth; and I gather from his will (Prob. Off., Hare, fol. 11, proved 1684) that he was related to Daniel Cohen Henriques, *alias* Duarte Henriques Alvarez, who was a contemporary of Carvajal (see my *Resettlement*, p. 6), and who is mentioned in the list of early Jewish settlers preserved among the MSS. of Emanuel Mendes da Costa, and printed by Picciotto (*Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 32; cf. *Bib. Anglo-Jud.*, pp. xxi., xxii.). His full name, as given in the Bevis Marks Synagogue records, was Isaac Alvarez (or Israel) Nunez. As Dr. Kaufmann seems to be interested in Jewish epitaphs, he may like to have the very singular one inscribed to the memory of Isaac Alvarez in the Beth Holim Cemetery (Carrera 2, No. 8), the text of which has been preserved by Lysons (*Environs of London*, III., p. 477). It runs as follows:—

> "Under this marble all that's left behind
> Of Isaac Alvarez Nunez lies confined;
> Of Hebrew race, by birth a Portugall,
> In London his abode and funerall:
> Whose far-gained knowledge in mysterious gems
> Sparkled in the European diadems.
> A loving husband, a tender parent, a true friend,
> Sincere in all his dealings to the end;
> And this to give his name continu'd life
> The monument of a most loving wife."

Before I touch more directly on the subject of this note, I should like to say a word or two on the name Jessurun. From Dr. Kaufmann's reference to "the famous Jessurun family," I gather that he is of opinion that all the persons of that name belonged to one family. In this I cannot agree with him. I have frequently found Marrano families, in no way related, adopting the name Jessurun as soon as they were in a position to return openly to Judaism, sometimes in substitution for their secular names, and sometimes in addition to them. It was doubtless derived in a penitent spirit from Deut. xxxii. 15—43, which is strikingly applicable to the sin of Marranism. One can imagine how the reference (v. 25) to "the sword without and terror within" would appeal to the imagination of fugitives from the Inquisition. The family of Salvador

Rodrigues, afterwards known as Jessurun Rodrigues in the Synagogue, and as Salvador outside, were probably guided in their choice of a Hebrew name by the fact that "Jessurun . . . . lightly esteemed the rock of his *salvation*" (v. 15). I have been very much struck by the number of families bearing homonymous names like De Pinna, De la Penha, Pinel, Pimentel, etc., who have adopted the Hebrew name Jessurun, *e.g.* Paul de Pina = Rehuel Jessurun, Filipe Pimentel = Immanuel Jessurun de Crasto. Perhaps this is only a coincidence.

The family of Jessurun Alvarez is principally of interest as a connection of the great family of Mendes da Costa. The Salvadors or Jessurun Rodrigues were also related to this famous house; and it is possible that both were descended from the same stock as the poet Paul de Pinna, seeing that among their relatives the name Rodrigues Pinel occurs more than once. In the MS. records of the Mendes da Costas, which I have collected, both these branches of the Jessuruns are mentioned at a very early date. In 1622 a ship of the East India Company captured a Portuguese vessel at Mozambique, and among the prisoners were Antonio de Mendes, Salvador de Regus (*sic*), Dominicus de Costa, and Francisco de Mesquita, all merchants of Lisbon (*Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, East Indies, 1625-29). If we read for Salvador de Regus=Salvador Rodrigues (*i.e.*, Jessurun Rodriques), these names agree with the first line of my pedigree of the Mendes da Costas, which falls about the same date. That is to say, that they are all to be found as cousins and brothers-in-law in the contemporary generation of the Mendes da Costas, and I have little doubt that they are the same persons. Curiously enough the earliest reference I have to a Jessurun Alvarez is also in connection with India. Among the miscellaneous memoranda of the late Emanuel Mendes da Costa are several transcripts from the ledger or *Livro Grande* (now unfortunately lost) of Fernão Mendes and Alvaro da Costa, who conducted an immense banking business in England, Holland, France, Italy, Portugal, Brazil, and the East Indies in the seventeenth century. Among these excerpts is one relating to Jacob Jessurun Alvarez—the same mentioned in the London Directory of 1677—who is stated to have visited John Mendes da Costa at Calcutta in 1679. This Jacob Jessurun Alvarez was a prominent member of the Bevis Marks congregation. In 1720 he co-operated with Joseph Musaphia, Elias Lindo, Joseph Henriques, Solomon Pereira, Jacob Jessurun Rodrigues, Aaron Lamego, and Abraham Franco to found the Dowry Society, known as מעיל צדקה. He died in 1723, his son Isaac having pre-deceased him in 1711. His grandson Jacob, who settled in Vienna, and died there, married Ester Lopes Pereira, sister of the Viennese financier Diego, Baron d'Aguilar. This will account for his residence in the Austrian capital. His son Isaac married Baron d'Aguilar's daughter Sarah. Jacob had a sister Sarah, who married Jacob Mendes da Costa in 1717. Some idea of the social position of the family may be derived from the fact—attested by Jacob Mendes da Costa's will—that Sarah Alvarez received £8,500 as a marriage portion, and that the settlements amounted to nearly £13,000. The present Mendes da Costas and a branch of the Mocattas are descended from Sarah Alvarez. One of her brothers, Moses Alvarez, came on evil days, and his daughters received marriage portions from the Society which their great-grandfather had helped to found. One of them married Benjamin Nunez Lara, then book-keeper to the wealthy and philanthropic Benjamin Mendes da Costa, who presented the Portuguese congregation with the freehold of their Synagogue in Bevis Marks. It was his son Moses Lara who, prospering in life, and marrying the

grand-niece of his father's employer, bequeathed the Lara Fund, amounting to about £40,000, to the Synagogue. Benjamin Lara's brother Aaron married Rachel D'Israeli, half-sister of Isaac D'Israeli, and aunt to Lord Beaconsfield.

I hope I have said enough to explain who was the mysterious English Jew whose epitaph Dr. Kaufmann has discovered in Vienna. At least, I have shown that he belonged to one of the leading Anglo-Jewish families of his day. A full account of the Jessuruns will appear in my "Genealogical History of the House of Mendes da Costa and allied Families," which will form an early instalment of the work on *Anglo-Jewish Family History*, on which I have been so long engaged.

LUCIEN WOLF.

Jehuda-ha-Levi on the Dogmas of Judaism. — In the brilliant and original seventeenth section of the third book of his Kuzari, in which the Rabbi (for the Chaber is nothing more nor less than a Rabbi) explains the deep meaning of the Jewish prayers to the king, Jehuda-ha-Levi enumerates the dogmas of Judaism according to his own reckoning. The passage in question is a most important one, although, as is usual with him, we find it thrown into the form of a casual observation. It has remained hitherto unnoticed, because Jehuda's translator, Judah-ibn-Tibbon, has, as it were, lost it among other materials.

The poet-philosopher treats of that impressive passage in the daily morning prayer, where the magnificent expression of our belief in the unity of God, the "Shema Israel," is preceded and followed by benedictions, which appear like ante-chambers leading to the inner sanctuary of monotheism, to the great watchword of the שמע. These two blessings, יוצר המאורות and אהבה רבה, mark the one the casting off of every trace of idolatry, the other the perpetual remembrance of God's election of the people of Israel. Here every heathen tendency to deify natural phenomena and natural objects is for ever disavowed. Worm and sun, before the Supreme Being of equal value and dignity, are alike cited as witnesses of God's creative power,[1] so that man's admiration of the heavenly bodies is checked by reference to the great First Cause of all. Here the believer is made aware of the greatest wonder of the system of the universe—the fact that man has been found worthy to receive the revelation of the highest truth, to be, as it were, the mirror of these spiritual luminaries of heaven upon earth, which reveal the Deity to mortal eyes. Passing thus rapidly through nature and history, we reach the passage in the ritual in which the unity of God is proclaimed in the old sacred form of the Shema. Next we read the extract from the Scriptures, which pledges us to accept and obey the divine law. With the proud and joyful consciousness of the well-spring, from which our doctrine flows, we next eagerly proclaim the declaration אמת ויציב, which ends with the solemn pledge that the law, which the fathers obeyed, shall be held sacred by their children from generation to generation for ever and ever. Then the believer, as though once more clearly to impress on his mind the precious teaching of Judaism, again surveys the dogmas, in which its belief is fully comprehended (and here I cite Jehuda-ha-Levi's own words), namely, the conviction of the existence of God, of his eternity, and his guidance of our fathers, of the divine

[1] Compare Schechter, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, I., pp. 59, 60.

origin of the law, and of the proof of all this, the pledge or token of its truth, the exodus from Egypt, all of which we find summed up in the prayer, that begins with אמת שאתה ה' אלהינו, continues, according to the Sephardic ritual with אמת מעולם היא שמך and עזרת אבותינו, and ends with אמת ממצרים גאלתנו. Thus each of these great religious truths is solemnly ushered in with a special אמת, a special declaration of faith, as though the order of the prayers had been arranged to indicate the special importance of the thoughts in which Jehuda-ha-Levi beheld the dogmas of Judaism.

I have neither added to nor amplified, but have, on the contrary, given but an inadequate representation of the pious admiration which animates our thoughtful author in his explanation of these prayers. This interpreter of mediæval Judaism is so laconically sparing of words, that he seems in his writings to have left us merely the key to his thoughts, which it then becomes our business to unlock and explain.

The clear introductory words in which Jehuda-ha-Levi sets forth his list of the dogmas of Judaism have been not exactly misunderstood by Judah-ibn-Tibbon, but, at any rate, so rendered in his Hebrew translation (which and not the Arabic original is the text now universally read) as to lead easily to misunderstanding. The Arabian original runs as follows[1]:—

הם יצדר תלך אלעקאיד אלתי בהא תתם עקידה אליהודה

Instead of translating the common word עקידה by אמונה, as was correctly done by all subsequent translators, Ibn Tibbon, in accordance with its etymology, kept servilely to the root of the word, and translated it by קשר. The misapprehension of the passage was thus decided. Thus Cassel, Ed. 2, p. 220, speaks of "bonds" which hold Judaism together, and even the pupil of Frat. Maimon Jacob b. Chayim, called Vidal Farissol, in the year 1322 explains the passage in a similar sense. אשר בקשרי' ההם ישלמו קשרי היהודים ואפי' הם מפוזרים בכל חארצות (Cod. Halberstamm, 274). He had indeed already found the incorrect reading in the words of Judah-ibn-Tibbon. They ought, according to the old MSS. fragments of Halberstamm's, to run thus (No. 139), אשר בהם ישלמו קשרי דת היהודים

The belief (1) in God; (2) in his eternity; (3) in his providential guidance of Israel's history; and (4) in his revelation, are the four dogmas, in which the most national of all Jewish thinkers recognises the shortest exposition of Judaism.

DAVID KAUFMANN.

What was the Word for "Unhappy" in later Hebrew?

(Baruch ii. 18.)

A certain sentence from the penitential prayer of the exiles, in the apocryphal Book of Baruch (a prayer, by the way, composed quite in the later Muzio style), has always been the despair of translators and commentators. According to the received version of the LXX. text,

[1] Ed. Hirschfeld, p. 166, lines 6 and 7.

the sentence runs as follows: (ii. 17, 18) *Ἄνοιξον ὀφθαλμούς σου, καὶ ἴδε, ὅτι οὐχ οἱ τεθνηκότες ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ὧν ἐλήφθη τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτῶν, δώσουσι δόξαν, καὶ δικαίωμα τῷ Κυρίῳ· ἀλλὰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ λυπουμένη ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ὁ βαδίζει κύπτον καὶ ἀσθενοῦν, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ ἐκλείποντες, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ πεινῶσα, δώσουσί σοι δόξαν, καὶ δικαιοσύνην, Κύριε.* The context is clear. We know what ought logically to follow in this verse. It is not the dead, says the author, with evident allusion to Psalm cxv. 16, who praise the Lord, but the living, who acknowledge and glorify the divine grace and mercy, even in the midst of trials and temptations. Similarly in Psalm li. 19, a broken spirit, and a broken and a contrite heart are described as the sacrifices most pleasing to God. But how are we to evolve the required logical sequence of ideas from the incomprehensible Greek text? It is evident from the first that we have to do with a mistake of the translator's, who has either misunderstood his original, or servilely translated an error in the Hebrew text. We must seek, therefore, to cast a glance at the original, through what we may call a hole in the outer envelope.

I will not give an exhaustive enumeration of the attempts that have been made to rectify this passage. It may be taken as a proof of its difficulty that such an unfortunate conjecture as Fritzsche's,[1] that the translator had misread גולה for גדולה, could have met with approval. Hitzig[2] thought he could save the text by the supposition of an original על יתר (after Psalm xxxi. 24), so that *ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος* would translate the Hebrew "very" or "exceedingly." Reusch[3] even goes so far as to insist upon הגויה being taken as the misunderstood word of the original text. Kneucker[4] suggests that הדגל should be set up as the mysterious word. And, to mention the latest remedy which has been applied to the injured sentence, Graetz[5] has endeavoured to find the solution in an original לבה, which the translator has turned into רבה.

In spite of all these failures, I have found courage to suggest another solution, which appears to me so obvious, that my only wonder is that nobody has done so before. The Greek words *λυπουμένη ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος* imply a Hebrew original, which the translator read as נעצבת על גודלה. As is so frequently the case (cp. a precisely similar example with the very same root in the Massoretic text of Proverbs xix. 19), the ר in the *real* original was either indistinctly written, or had already been miswritten as ד. The author obviously wrote על גורלה. He mentions the soul that laments its fate or lot as being the first of those who glorify God. The translator, servilely following his text, but stumbling, as we have seen, at the very threshold, was compelled to misunderstand the following portion of the verse אשר ילך כפוף בלי כח, and thus to make what is really a new subject—namely, the second class of the true worshippers of God—refer to *τὸ μέγεθος*.

עינים כלות and נפש דאבה form the last two groups, so that the whole sentence should be thus translated: "but the soul that is grieved because of its lot, they who go bowed down and without strength, the eyes that fail, and the sorrowful spirit give thee glory and justification, O Lord."

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[1] *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, I., 184.
[2] J. J. Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 243.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 244. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Monatsschrift*, 1887, p. 390.

Perhaps the last words of the verse ran originally יִתֵּנוּ כבודך וצדקתך, for in Judges vii. the LXX. renders יִתֵּנוּ צדקות by δώσουσι δικαιοσύνην. On the other hand, יִתְּנוּ is sufficiently justified by Jer. xiii. 16.

This simple explanation appears to me also to secure for us an addition to the vocabulary of later Hebrew. It is in close harmony with the way in which the idea of the divine has thoroughly saturated the Hebrew language that an exact equivalent for the words happy and unhappy is not to be found in it. Not till a comparatively late period do we find the words portion and measure used in a metaphorical manner to express the ideas of fate and destiny. Just as the phrase מוֹ בחלקו was coined to convey the words "contented and happy," so the phrase נעצב על גורלו came into use to signify the contrary state. This, I think, I have succeeded in proving from the Hebrew original of the book of Baruch.

D. KAUFMANN.