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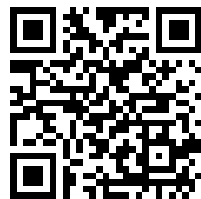


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# Usury and the Jews.

## A LECTURE

BY

HON. ALEXANDER DEL MAR

(FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS, UNITED STATES TREASURY),

DELIVERED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATION

OF SAN FRANCISCO,

At Steinway Hall, February 11th, 1879.

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SAN FRANCISCO :

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HON. ALEXANDER DEL MAR (formerly Director of the Bureau of Statistics, United States Treasury) having kindly consented to deliver, under the auspices of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of San Francisco, the first lecture for the year 1879, at Steinway Hall, 117 Post street, on Tuesday evening, February 11th, 1879,

PRESIDENT MAX POPPER introduced the lecturer as follows :

*Ladies and Gentlemen and Fellow Members of the Young Men's Hebrew Association :*

It is with feelings of pleasure that I am enabled to introduce to you this evening a gentleman, albeit a stranger in our midst, yet who has a national reputation which has preceded him as Statistician of the Monetary Commission. His works have evinced close study and deep research into the all-absorbing subject of money. I have no doubt he will entertainingly and instructively lecture upon the theme so aptly chosen, "Usury and the Jews."

On coming forward Mr. Del Mar was warmly received and spoke as follows :

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:* God has implanted in animals and fruits a tendency to grow and increase. This fact is the foundation of interest, or, as it was anciently called, usury.

The rate of the actual increase of those animals and plants which furnish man with support lies at the basis of the current rate of interest.

Population tends to increase with its means of subsistence; and the means of subsistence increase with population. The rate at which they both increase, is the net rate of the productiveness of capital—in other words the necessary rate of interest. When to this is added the cost of superintending the investment of capital and a guarantee for the risk incurred, we have the market rate of interest.

Interest is, therefore, a portion of the phenomena of social growth. To forbid interest is to forbid growth, and the same divine ordinance which bade mankind to multiply and increase, could not possibly have forbidden men to take interest. One is a flat contradiction of the other. After the Jewish poets, and following them, the Christian Church had denounced interest for two thousand years—that is, from the time of Ezekiel to that of the Reformation, men woke up at last to the fact that usury, or interest, was inevitable; and they proceeded to legalize what they had so long attempted to suppress.

Before we examine the history of these interesting events, let us first endeavor to elucidate the connection between social progress and interest.

Throughout the United States there are planted about two, and reaped on the average about twelve, bushels of wheat to the acre: an increase of six-fold. If this result was spontaneous, costless, always certain to happen, and susceptible of being extended illimitably, the current rate of interest in this country would be about 600 per cent. per annum; since any one by converting his capital into wheat, for which, upon this hypothesis, there would be an unlimited demand, would be sure to increase it six-fold every year.

But the increase of wheat is neither spontaneous, costless, certain, nor illimitable. Its culture demands the labor, the superintending care, the watchfulness of man. It requires the agency of land, fertilizers, agricultural implements, and a host of other accessories. Practically, its increase is limited by the increase of other things, of domestic animals and of the numerous other physical resources required by man. When the cost, rent, wear and tear, and influence of these agencies and limitations are considered, the increase of the annual yield of the means of subsistence, even in this progressive country, dwindles to less than ten per cent. When, after this, the cost of government, the risks of life and limb which are incidental to all production, the hazards of litigation and injustice, when extraordinary vicissitudes such as war, floods, earthquakes, tornadoes, disease, the plague of insects—when all these matters are taken into consideration, the net increase of the means of subsistence in this country and at this time, probably falls to less than three per cent., and this is about the rate of the increase of population.

Here, then, we have the true basis of interest—the net rate of the increase of edible plants, animals, and other physical resources. When to this rate



is added a sufficient compensation for the risk involved in the return of the principal of loans, the actual or market rate of interest is accounted for.

Thus, suppose the basis or net rate of increase of production is three per cent., and the risk of losing the principal of loans is seven per cent., then the actual or market rate of interest would be ten—namely, three to represent increment of production and seven for risk.

When we observe the perfection and harmony of these principles and relations; when we trace them to their foundation in the God-given aptitude and tendency of plants and animals to increase and to govern one another's increase, do we not perceive that interest is a law of divine enactment, and that the interdict of interest is merely an invention of man?

The first of usurers is the Creator himself, for it is He who has given to animals and the fruits of the earth the power of growth and increase. It is He who has reserved for mankind a world full of resources, which can only be discovered and utilized by degrees. And it is in this manner that He has laid the foundation of usury and rendered it not only natural but necessary. He has lent this earth to one generation with the obvious intent that it shall be returned to the succeeding one with interest—aye, with interest compounded—with interest upon interest—in order that it shall increase in riches and become a greater and greater heritage unto those who shall come in the latter days.

The Pentateuch does not condemn usury. Exodus and Leviticus forbid it to be taken from the poor, and Deuteronomy from a brother or kinsman.\* During the prosperous days of Judea usury was doubtless no less common, as it was no less right and God-given, than the growth of animals and plants.

But in her declining days, her orators and poets, good, but sometimes over-zealous men, denounced interest as a crime.

The author of Psalms only reproaches it in a mild way. But when we come to the time of Ezekiel, we find it attacked with fury. That writer classes usury with uncharitableness, avarice, oppression, uncleanness, abominable actions, incest and idolatry; and denies salvation to the usurer. In spite of the lofty origin of these reproaches, the Jews had the good sense to perceive that they were unmerited. Ezekiel's denunciations of usury fell upon deaf ears. They knew the Pentateuch contained no unconditional interdict of usury. They knew that if growth was right, so was usury; and remembering that the divine ordinance designed to render mankind both numerous and prosperous, they found in it a complete warrant for usury, without whose agency such increase and prosperity could not take place.

But interest, although sanctioned by God and practiced by the Jews, was denounced by the early Christian fathers, and from the same mistaken zeal that had caused it to be attacked by the later Jewish fathers. Both of these classes of writers lived in decaying times—Ezekiel during the decay of Judea; St. Anthony, St. Augustine and the others during the decay of Rome. But they had far different auditors. Ezekiel preached to an old and highly polished race, who, while they accepted his piety, rejected his political economy. The Christian fathers preached to barbarians, who swallowed everything.

In this way, as the Jews never ceased to justify interest, the reproach levelled at it came to be used upon them as an instrument of oppression. The Christian fathers had piously but ignorantly fixed a curse upon usury, and that curse fell upon the Jews. Nature has turned the edge of this curse; the persistency of physical growth has compelled the Church itself to borrow upon usury; time and the sufferings of the Jews have softened it; but its odor

\*Consult Exodus xxii, 26; Leviticus xxv, 35-37, and Deuteronomy xxiii, 19.

still remains in the nostrils of the vulgar and bigoted who compose the vast majority of earth, and it is now time that an effort be made to destroy it.

The origin of the reproach against usury is not to be found in the Scriptures; it existed long before the Scriptures were written. The reproach of usury is an institution that may be traced back to very remote times in Egypt. In that country, owing to the peculiar attributes of the Nile, nearly the entire work of a rude agriculture has, from the earliest times, been performed by nature. Says Herodotus, who more than twenty-two centuries ago traveled through this country, and wrote on the spot:

"They gather in the fruits of the earth with less labor than any other people, \* \* \* for they have not the toil of breaking up the furrows with the plow, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work, which all other men must labor at to obtain a crop of grain; but when the river has come of its own accord and irrigated their fields, and, having irrigated them, has subsided, then each man sows his own land and turns swine into it, and when the seed has been trodden in by the swine, he afterwards waits for the harvest time; then, having trodden out the grain (thrashed it) with his swine, he gathers it in."

Labors so easily performed naturally became degraded, and the degradation that thus befel agriculture was shared by commerce and the arts. It was deemed disgraceful to work. The peasants fell into the permanent condition of slaves, and only war and spoliation were regarded as honorable employments.

In such a condition of affairs little progress took place beyond that which was occasioned by conquest. The physical resources of the country ceased to develop. There was no increase of cultivated land, nor of domestic animals, nor of agricultural products. The population, after having reached a maximum of six or seven millions, ceased to augment and began to diminish. With the stoppage of growth and the causes that led to it, disappeared all justification of usury or interest.

Even during the period of growth, it was disgraceful to lend capital upon usury, because such capital could only be applied to a disgraceful object—the promotion of industry. When growth ceased and decay commenced, it was useless to borrow capital, for it could not be made to yield a profit. The degradation of agriculture had rendered usury disgraceful; the decay of the State now rendered it super-serviceable. When men are perishing together, to borrow food from each other upon a promise of repayment with profit is impossible; to lend it upon such a condition is infamous. Usury arises from, and is justified by, growth. Where there is no growth there is no defense for usury.

The economical institutions of Egypt flowed to the outer world in two channels. One of these went to Judea; the other to Greece. There can be little doubt that the interdict of usury in both the Testaments\* was an institution that came originally from Egypt—that in the Old Testament from Egypt directly into Judea; that in the New Testament primarily from Judea, secondarily from Greece. Aristotle's prejudice against usury must have seemed to the early Christian fathers so striking an agreement with the biblical texts on the subject as to have confirmed the supposed religious character of the latter. In one place Aristotle (who wrote about B. C. 350) condemns usury because money does not grow. By a parity of reasoning, we should condemn rent because houses do not grow.

In another place he says:

"It is allowable for men to acquire gain by fruits and animals; but the practice of reaping money from money is reprehensible and repugnant to nature. \* \* \* Those who, like usurers, give a little, to receive more,

\*Consult Luke vi, 35, etc.



engage in base practices. Their gain is sordid, base and unjust; their money transactions are barbarous rapine."

It appears likely that these precepts and the denunciations of interest by the later writers of the Bible arose immediately out of the circumstances that surrounded the writers—decay in Judea at the time of Ezekiel; decay in Greece at the time of Aristotle—and that mediately, or remotely, their views on the subject both came from Egypt, where labor had been degraded and the growth of national resources had stopped, ages before.

In a recent lecture before the University of California, I showed that from the establishment of the imperial government in Rome until the re-opening of the Oriental trade by the medieval Italians—a period of some thirteen centuries—the physical resources and population of Europe had continually declined; that the population, from about sixty millions at the time of Augustus Caesar, had fallen to probably to thirty millions at that of Marco Polo; that it had then increased at a feeble rate to about forty millions, when America and the coasts of India, China and Japan were plundered for the benefit of Europe; and that since that period it has increased so rapidly that, at the present time, including European America and the colonies, it amounts to nearly four hundred millions.

The contempt of industry and undue elevation of the military classes, which, in the form of permanent institutions, originated in Egypt, passed from that country and thence successively into Greece, imperial Rome, and medieval Europe. Here they remained, not only whilst Europe continued to decay, but, from the effects of momentum, for some time after. In Europe generally they may be said to have lasted until the seventeenth century—in certain parts of it: France, for example: they remained until they were finally swept away, together with much other rubbish, by the Revolution.

These institutions—contempt of industry and contempt of usury—are both born of social decay. They are fungi that arise from and fasten themselves to dying nations; and are invariably rejected and cast off by society, whenever it recovers from decline and discovers or develops for itself new sources of support and growth.

Whilst the Greek States were progressive, they enforced no usury laws; it is only when they fell into decay that such laws were carried out. The political economy of Aristotle was written after the decline of Greek resources and before the conquests of Alexander.

During the Commonwealth—the progressive period—of Rome, there was no interdict of usury; but directly the State began to decay, it was remembered that certain obsolete statutes regulated the rate of interest and provided for the relief of insolvent debtors. In proportion as the national decay increased, the restrictions upon usury multiplied. The pagan writers of Rome, during the Empire, based their opposition to usury upon Greek, and, therefore, originally Egyptian, models. The Christian fathers found their warrant in the Scriptures. The impulse that governed both was the same; though neither was aware of its existence. This was the decaying state of the empire. They both saw the difficulty with which loans of money were repaid, and they sought to ease the burden of the debtor by condemning usury. Each class of writers found precedents in those portions of their own literatures which had been inherited from previous eras of national decay in other countries. Neither of them sought for the only sound apology that can ever be offered for an anti-usury law; a present, an existing, an irremediable arrest or decay of national resources.

Previous to the time of Charlemagne the capitalists of Europe were not the Jews, but the Christian clergy. The former were too poor to be money-lenders, and they are nowhere mentioned in connection with the subject. The latter, however, had succeeded to the properties of the Roman patricians—indeed, many of them were themselves patricians who had embraced



the new religion and taken holy orders with the view to save their property from spoliation. They were in fact the only capitalists that Europe then possessed; and their addiction to usury is proved by the frequency and earnestness of the warnings that were addressed to them on the subject by the more austere and less worldly fathers of the Church.

The earliest Christian writers against usury, after the authors of the New Testament, were :

St. Clement, of Alexandria, whose era was.....	A. D. 150-220
St. Anthony.....	251-356
St. Basil.....	328-379
St. Ambrose.....	340-397
St. Jerome.....	342-420
St. John Chrysostom.....	347-407
St. Augustine.....	354-430

These writers regarded the least rate of interest as usury. Even to lend a measure of wheat for seed and to receive back a single grain of the increase was usury. Some of them addressed their exhortations to all interest-takers; others confined themselves to warning the clergy from the practice. In the early councils of the church the clerical usurers were alone mentioned.

The Council of Eleber, A. D. 305, after reciting the prevalence of usury among the clergy, forbids its further practice under pain of degradation and suspension.

The Councils of Laodicea, A. D. 320, and of Nice, A. D. 325, made similar recitals and published similar interdicts.

The enormous wealth of these clergymen, some of whom owned vast domains and worked as many as 20,000 slaves,\* and the increasing power of the ecclesiastical establishments, much of which was derived from the same source, at length alarmed and evoked the enmity of the temporal powers, and the Emperor Charlemagne, about the beginning of the ninth century, enacted a series of measures which were calculated to stop this source of revenue and power to the Church.

Taking the Scriptures for his warrant and enlarging upon the interdicts of the Christian fathers, he forbade usury to all Christians, the laity as well as the clergy, and by restricting the Jews from most other avocations he forced them into this one, in order that he might despoil them of their earnings and make the State, rather than the Church, the gainer from all profits upon capital. It is in this way that the Jews first came to be connected with money-lending and usury in Europe.

Charlemagne dared not attack the clerical usurers; they were too powerful for him; moreover, such an act might have produced a rupture with the church, which was the thing he least desired. But the Jews he knew could be fleeced at pleasure; for the church itself, in those days of its bigotry and blindness, had thrust them beyond the pale of protection and left them entirely at his mercy.

The odious policy thus inaugurated, was carried out with so much address that Charlemagne has even earned the name of having tolerated Judaism. It was the toleration of the wolf who parleys with the lamb until he is ready to devour him.

The measures inaugurated by Charlemagne were carried out for centuries by his successors, and imitated by his and their contemporaries. Between the open friendship but secret and deadly rivalry of Roman Church and State, the Jews were doomed to a destruction which was not the less complete because it was slow and insidious. They were forced into a trade that

\* Alcuin, a French abbot of the eighth century, held three abbeys and 20,000 serfs. —Voltaire Hist. Europe, Vol. I, Part 1, page 65.

had been branded with piracy, in order that they might be despoiled of their gains and compelled, under pain of their lives, to sin and smile, in order that they might sin again. The real usurers were those who committed this infamy, the monarchs who made them usurers only to rob them. The Jews were not usurers from choice; they were simply the victims of a cruel policy which it was impossible for them either to undo or escape.

Doubtless many of you have read Victor Hugo's great romance *L'homme que Rit*, or *The Man who Laughs*. This unfortunate person, a noble by birth and feeling, had been stolen from his home when a child, and disfigured beyond recognition, by a band of gipsies, known as *Comprachicos*. His features had been so cut and carved by these villains that, however sad or serious he felt, his face wore a hideous, mocking grin; and, as he had cause to be always sad and serious, his looks constantly and outrageously belied his feelings.

I am reminded of this most unhappy man whenever I hear the Jews reviled. There is not a sinister or unpleasant feature in the face of a Jew; not an ugly furrow in his visage; not a crook to his back; not a distortion to his limbs; not a blemish in his manners; not even an awkwardness in his speech, which is not directly traceable to the foulest, the most shameful tyranny. That he has no more of these defects than other men, is little less than a miracle. To scoff at them when they are perceived is not merely an act of meanness, it is infamous. It is to mock the nakedness, the involuntary writhings of a martyr at the stake; it is to jeer at the miserable man upon whose face and in his most grievous and sorrowful moods, barbaric cruelty has carved an involuntary blemish.

But partial justice was accorded to the Jew, when, in the turmoil of the French Revolution, he was permitted, with the sacrifice of his own blood, to win back the freedom of which he had been tyrannously deprived. There is yet due to him an atonement for his many centuries of martyrdom; and until this has been offered him, his defects, if any still cling to him, should remain the subjects of profound pity and repentance, rather than those of mockery or reproach.

From the time of Charlemagne to that of the Reformation, both the temporal and ecclesiastical laws forbade the practice of interest by Christians.\*

The times favored the observance of this interdiction, for during this period there was but little or no growth of physical resources, and little demand for loans of capital.

It was only when the Moors had cultivated the resources of Spain, and the maritime Italians had re-opened a commerce foreign to Europe, that a feeble growth took place in the resources of the continent and a legitimate demand for loans of capital sprang up. This movement, as concerns Europe in general, began at about the tenth century. It was from this time forward, and until the period of the Reformation, that the Jews were chiefly concerned with the subject.

Their earliest operations were conducted in Italy, where they entered the lists of commercial rivalry with the Lombard merchants, and distanced their rivals by introducing into Europe the Oriental bill of exchange, *hoondee*, written upon another Oriental invention—felted paper.

In the twelfth century they possessed landed property in Languedoc, once a Moorish province in France, and were even appointed there, as well as in Spain, to important civil offices. "If an historian of Philip Augustus may be believed," says Mr. Hallam, "they possessed A. D. 1180 almost one-half of Paris."

In England, their numbers and influence were sufficient to insure the insertion of an important clause in *Magna Carta*.

\*Interest was first permitted in England by Act 37 Hen. viii, c. 9. The canonical interdiction will be found in *Decretals* l. 5, tit. 19.



During these six centuries, when the taking of interest, though still forbidden both by the canon and temporal laws, was justified in fact by the slowly improving industrial conditions of Europe, the Jews were the only lenders of capital upon interest. They had no especial predilection for this trade; but being forbidden in most countries to pursue any of the callings permitted to Christians, they were forced into it. And this was done with the object that the wealth which they might amass by it should be wrung from them by the monarchs under whom they dwelt.

The Jews were repeatedly outlawed and their property and claims forfeited to the crown. In these times the churches, convents, monasteries and ecclesiastical princes were often their debtors, so that the crown by these means effected two important objects. It not only grasped the wealth which the Jews had toiled for, it also became the creditor of the ecclesiastical establishments, and, in this commanding position, managed to further restrain their growing wealth and to curb their power. It was in the ashes of the plundered Jews that the Reformation struck its roots. The property of the betrayed and despoiled Children of Israel really furnished the first solid support to the new religious movement which was destined to exercise so powerful an influence upon the world.

Says Maddox, in his History of the Exchequer :

"The King would tallage the whole community or body (of the Jews) at pleasure, and make them answer the tallages for one another. If they made default \* \* \* \* they were charged with great fines or compositions for it. In sum, the King seemed to be absolute lord of their estates and effects and of the persons of them (and) their wives and children. 'Tis true he let them enjoy their trade and acquests, but they seemed to trade and acquire for his profit as well as their own, for at one time or another their fortunes, or great part of them, came into his coffers. \* \* By taking of usuries and mortgages of the King's subjects they became very wealthy, both in money and land ; but as they fleeced the subjects of the realm, so the King fleeced them."

The author incidentally mentions many loans of money by Jews to convents, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical establishments.

Maddox's voluminous work is replete with instances of the cruelty and oppression employed to render the Jews the hated race which they afterwards became. The Jews were armed with the creditor's law and forced to harrass the community for the benefit of the crown. Those who refused to be thus employed were at once seized and severely punished. Those who obeyed, were closely watchod, until they had secured enough wealth to warrant plundering, when they were at once stript. Concealment was met with torture; refusal with death. Some had their eyes put out, some were deprived of their tongues and ears, others were robbed of their wives and children who were thrown to the mercies of a brutal soldiery. In England, every loan and other transaction effected by Jews had to be registered in the Treasury, in order that the Crown might know at all times how much wealth or credits they possessed. Their effects and rights at law were frequently seized by the Crown. At York, in A. D. 1189, fifteen hundred Jews, driven to desperation by repeated outrages and cruelties, put themselves and their families to death rather than fall into the hands of the soldiery. What a subject for a Jewish artist to paint, a Jewish sculptor to carve, a Jewish poet to dramatize, a Jewish historian to relate! Yet no Jew has ever attempted it, and this grandest of epics remains unsung.

In 1290, after having been despoiled of all their rights and effects, after having been subjected to every species of outrage, cruelty and torture, the Jews of England were driven forth from the country.

But England was not the first country to banish them. This infamous distinction stains the escutcheon of Germany, where the treacherous and

brutish act was committed during the Crusades. As, after this, many Jews remained in the guise of converts, they were still more brutally banished from this country, and also from Switzerland, during the Black Plague of 1348-50. Bereft of home, families and substance, hunted like wild beasts, and tortured with hunger and thirst, these thrice miserable people sought a refuge in Poland, whither they carried the precepts they had learned in the distant vales of Zion, and the languages they had acquired on the Rhine and the Danube.

In the year 1395 they were similarly banished from France. The exile of the Arcadians, which Longfellow has immortalized in his story of Evangeline, was a gentle and merciful transaction compared with any of these. Yet these, too, for want of encouragement to a distinctively Jewish literature have not been appropriately recorded in song.

In 1491 the Church of Rome awakened at last to the sinister use made of the usury laws by the temporal sovereigns of Christendom—in 1491 the Church of Rome sanctioned usury.\*

After this date the Jews were not needed in Catholic countries governed by temporal sovereigns, altho' strange, and yet not strange, to say, they were allowed to remain in the states of the Church. They were banished from Spain in 1492; Sicily 1493, and Portugal 1495.

Numbers of them found hospitality in Morocco, in the Barbary States, in the least inhabited isles of the Mediterranean, in the wilds of newly discovered America—anywhere but among the followers of the gentle, the indulgent, the forgiving, the self-sacrificing, Jesus of Nazareth. The only important country, the only country which remained open to them, where they were not liable to be deprived of liberty and life, was Poland; and thither nearly all the remnants of this nation of martyrs found a refuge.

Hitherto I have traced the history of but one branch of the Jewish race in Europe: that branch which fell into the hands of the Christian Church and under the power of Christian monarchs.

Denounced by the Church; unwillingly forced into the hated trade of usury by the Crown; pillaged, tortured, and slain by both; these people barely escaped total extermination by flying into Poland, where the marriage of Hedvig of Hungary, Queen of Poland, to Jagillo, the Pagan Prince of Lithuania, had secured to Poland the benefits of religious toleration.†

I have now to briefly trace the history of the other branch of the Jews; those of Spain and Portugal:

In the year A. D. 711 the Arabs of Morocco landed at Gibraltar and invaded Spain. In the course of two years the entire country, except the mountainous districts of Asturias, Cantabria and Navarre, fell into their hands, and here they established a Mohamedan kingdom, which lasted for over seven centuries. During the first three of these centuries, until after the reign of Hashem III. (A. D. 1031), the kingdom of the Spanish Arabs rapidly grew in resources, population and power. After that period it slowly declined, until it was overthrown in the conquest of Granada, under Ferdinand and Isabella, A. D. 1492.

The conquest of Spain by the Arabs occurred nearly a century before the promulgation of Charlemagne's edict against usury, and consequently before

\* Interest was, indeed, subsequently reprobated by the ecclesiastical authorities, for example, Pope Pius V., 1566-1572; Benedict XIV., 1745; the Council of the Lateran, 1515; Pope Gregorv, 1581; but that these fulminations meant but little is evidenced by the fact that the Pope himself borrowed money on interest in 1685, and on many later occasions.

† Jagillo—born 1348, died 1424—Grand Prince of Lithuania, and founder of the royal line of that name, was a pagan, and he and his descendants, who reigned over Poland for upwards of 200 years, practiced religious toleration. Among his most noted wars was that against the Teutonic Knights, an organization belonging to the Roman Church.



the Jews of Europe had been forced into usury, or had acquired the reputation of being usurious or avaricious. Among the consequences of the religious toleration established by the Arabian Spaniards, was the influx of considerable numbers of Jews from the Levant, from the northern coasts of Africa, and from interior Europe. The law of Spain was now the Koran, among whose institutes is one against usury, derived from the texts of the Hebrew testaments. During the growth of the Spanish-Arabian kingdom, when loans of capital upon interest must have been of every-day occurrence, we hear nothing of the anti-usury precept of the Koran: and it is to be presumed that for upwards of three centuries it was, in some way or another, evaded.

You all know the brilliant story of the rise of this kingdom, its wealth, its enlightenment, its progress in the arts and sciences. It is to be found in the pages of Voltaire, Gibbon and John W. Draper.

Here alone, when the rest of Europe was plunged in poverty, decay and superstition, was the worship of the true God permitted; here alone was science supported and learning encouraged, so that scholars flocked from all parts of Europe to the Universities of Cordova; here alone was ancient learning revived and contemporaneous progress rewarded. Many of the fruits most familiar to us, as the peach and the plum, were introduced into Europe by the Arabs; so were many of the most useful products, as cotton, paper and gunpowder; so were the most important inventions, as the mariner's compass, the astrolabe, and the system of numeration now in use.

From the first to the last the Jews took a leading part in the progress of this great state. They formed an important element of its population; they were the active leaders in the pursuit of learning, and here it is that Moses Ben Ezra, Hasdai, Behay, Gabirol, Mokamez, Hallevi, Benjamin of Tudela, Hassan, Alfasi, Abraham Ben David, Maimonides, and the most of their celebrated men arose. Finally they occupied important offices in the state, into which they introduced inventions and reforms which were not known in the rest of Europe until a thousand years or more had passed away.

I have stated that the Koran—the ecclesiastical, and, in all essential respects, the temporal laws of this state—interdicted usury, or the lending of money upon interest. Whether this interdict was regarded as absolute, and strictly enforced among the Moslem, or not, I have not been able to determine. Whether the Spanish Arabs felt at liberty to take usury or not, it is certain that the Spanish Jews had no scruples upon the subject. And as loans of money upon interest were of common occurrence in the kingdom, and the Jews were a pushing, enterprising people, why is it that we never hear of their connection with usury, or money-lending, in Spain? The growing state of the kingdom warranted and necessitated the lending of capital upon interest; the Arabs could neither give nor take interest without infracting their own moral code; the Jews were free to take it from the Arabs. Perhaps they did so; perhaps not. But whichever was the case, why is it that they never gained the name of usurers in Spain? Simply because they were not forced into usury, nor made the instruments of that tyranny which was forged out of the usury law, as in the Christian countries of Europe.

The Jews have no particular liking for disreputable professions or callings; and if not forced into them, would certainly prefer others. If not coerced into usury in Christian Europe, they would have become as little known in connection with it as in Mohamedan Spain. If it be assumed that they went into usury because it was more profitable than other callings, the answer is that such is not the fact.

It is an indisputable axiom of political economy that in a state of freedom the profits of all industries fall to a common level. It is only when an industry is subject to exceptional conditions, or becomes disreputable, offensive or dangerous, that it can command exceptional profits. I have shown that the lending of capital upon interest is not of itself unnatural or immoral.

It only became so by the laws of a Church whose early growth took place in a period of surrounding physical and social decay. As for the Jews pursuing this stigmatised and therefore exceptionably profitable industry, from choice, this is contradicted by the fact that in Christian Europe they were driven out of all other occupations and couldn't help themselves. In Mohamedan Spain, where they enjoyed the same freedom, the same social advantages as other people,\* they had the same aversion of disreputable callings, and were never known as usurers, although usury there must have been exceptionably profitable. In the rest of Europe they were driven to usury, and then, with an infamy which is worse than the cruelty which preceded it, were reproached for a practice into which they had been driven upon threats of their lives. The law of usury, as administered by the Christian monarchs of Europe forms a lasting monument of shame to them and martyrdom to the Jews. It enabled those monarchs to replenish their coffers at pleasure; to make reprisals upon the Church, and at the same time to conceal their perfidy behind the bodies of the unhappy Jews, who thus became the objects of an ignorant and popular hatred, which has lasted to this day. Show me the man who entertains or encourages such a prejudice, and I will show you a man of vulgar origin. It has no existence among men of noble stock, for they know the history of the Jewish race too well to render it passible. They know its antiquity, its purity of blood, the elevation of its moral code, its influence upon civilization, its agency in supporting the Reformation, its heroic sufferings and its martyrdom. They know that to evince aversion to the Jew is to turn from the unfortunate; to scorn the sufferer; to mock at *L'homme qui Rit!* (*Applause.*)

Having traced the history of the Jews in Europe, and their connection with interest, down to the time of the Reformation, when it was allowed by law, and its previous name of usury attached only to unlawful and excessive compensation for loans, let us now review this history in a few words.

1. Of the Jews in general, before their separation into two branches. 2. Of the Polish Jews. 3. Of the Spanish Jews, and, 4. Of the Jews in general, after the Reformation and the restoration of their freedom.

First, of the Jews of Europe before their division. From the Roman commonwealth to the time of Charlemagne, Europe was in a state of decay. These were the worst of the Dark Ages. There was no industrial development; loans of capital were necessarily unproductive; and there was no legitimate demand for them. Interest, after having been reprobated by the Christian fathers, was forbidden by the Canon law. Nevertheless, the lending of capital was not unknown; the principal borrowers being ecclesiastics. The rates of interest charged were high; not because of the high rates of profit, for there was profit in nothing, but because of the great degree of risk which, in these insecure times, attended all transactions.

Up to this time the Jews were not known as money lenders or usurers.

Upon the establishment of the Arabs in Spain, in the early part of the eighth century, many Jews settled in that country and became, for centuries, a separate branch of the race in Europe.

Second, of the Polish Jews, whose distinctive era dates from the time of Charlemagne to that of the Reformation. During this period the decay of Europe was arrested, primarily, through the enterprise of the Arabs and Jews in Spain and of the Italians, who reopened the lucrative commerce with the Orient. Interest was now forbidden not only by the Church of Rome, but also by the State, by the Empire of Charlemagne, which extended over a great part of the continent. The ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical establishments, being possessed of most of the lands and industries of Europe,

\*In the surrender of Grenada it was stipulated by the Moors, and promised by the Christians, that the Jews should be accorded the same rights as Mahomedans. *Voltaire, Hist. Europe, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 93.*



were still the principal borrowers. As Christians were forbidden to lend upon interest, and the Jews were forbidden, with few exceptions, to pursue any other calling, this trade was forced into their hands, with the design on the part of the Crown, to fleece the Church, despoil the Jews, and fill its own coffers. It was only after this policy had been pursued for several centuries that the church appears to have perceived its bearing upon itself, and was able to countervail it without imfracting its own code against usury. Its remedy was to encourage such a popular hatred of the Jews as to bring about their banishment. When this had reached such a height as to ensure success, a general cry was raised against the Jews; and during the course of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries they were pillaged, outraged, and driven out of every country of Western and Middle Europe.

Third, of the Spanish Jews, whose distinctive era dates from the period of the Arabian occupation of Spain to that of the conquest of Granada by the Spaniards in 1492. The first half of this era was one of rapid industrial growth in Spain; the latter half was one of arrest and decay. During the whole period interest was forbidden by the Koran and therefore to all Mohamedans. According to the Hebrew law, it was permitted to be received by the Jews. Loans of money upon interest were common during the whole of the Arabian and Moorish occupation of Spain, and particularly during the first half of this period, or that of national growth. The interdict against usury was certainly not enforced during this prosperous period, while, as to the latter and decaying period, the fact is uncertain. The probability is that it *was* enforced.

But whether enforced or not, the Jews of Spain were never known as usurers or money-lenders. There was no difference in their original character and tendencies between this branch of the Jewish race and the other; but there was a difference in the policy of the Church toward them. In Spain the Jews were free as other men were; in the rest of Europe they were enslaved. In Spain they were at liberty to become usurers or not, at their pleasure; and they choose not to become usurers. In the rest of Europe they were allowed no choice, but were forced into usury to serve the dark purposes of kings. They were cast as helpless victims to stop that murderous car of Juggernaut which was only finally overthrown in the bloody struggles of the Thirty Years War. (*Applause.*)

Fourth, of the Jews in general, subsequent to the period of the Reformation:

After the banishment of the Jews from Spain, began a new era of suffering for this unfortunate people. They were now for the most part crowded into Poland, and this had become a Christian state. Voltaire informs us that it contained 280 synagogues. I will not detain you by recounting their injuries in Poland. Great as they were, they were vastly inferior to what they had been in the other countries of Europe. In those countries the Jews who were not slaughtered were driven out; in Poland they were at least permitted to live, and when the light of the Reformation—that Reformation which their agency had so strangely helped to bring about—when the light of the Reformation dawned upon Northern Europe, the Jews crept back into the countries from which they had been banished, and commenced once more to rebuild the edifices of that national life which, after having survived so many perils, continues to this day.

The Reformation of the Church accorded, however, but partial freedom to the Jews. Their day of deliverance did not come, their fetters were not stricken off until the political systems of Europe were reformed in that grandest of social cataclysms—the French Revolution. (*Applause.*)

Such, then, is an outline of the circumstances which have cast upon the modern Jews, the Jews of Europe, the undeserved approbrium of usury and avarice. The fact that this race had given to the great body of mankind its highest form of religion, its moral code, its organization of the family, its sublimest lessons in piety, in fortitude, in resignation—all this was forgotten. To the apprehension of the modern world, the Jew was and is the incarnation of avarice. His name has long been associated with that of usurer. His impersonation is the grasping, the remorseless, the cruel Shylock of Shakspeare. How far, how very far, this is from the fact, we have seen. Of all the lies whose black record stains the page of history, this is the foulest, the most shameful, the farthest from any resemblance to truth. It is a curious coincidence that in the Italian story which furnished Shakspeare with the materials for the Merchant of Venice, it was a Christian who was the usurer and a Jew who had pledged his blood in forfeit of his bond.\* In changing these characters upon the mimic stage, the poet but followed the example of the Church, which, in its dark and devious policy had made a similar transposition upon the stage of the world. The reproach of usury belongs not to the Jews, but to the Church which made usury disreputable, and to the monarchs who forced the Jews to practice it. From Charlemagne to Jean Jacques Rousseau there was no peace for the Jews of Europe. Nor could they remove to Moorish Spain, the single country, which, during the first half of this period, offered them a secure asylum. They were held to the land as serfs—in Germany known as *Kammerknechte*—and forbidden to stir. They were continually reduced to indigence; they were driven from the pursuit of agriculture and the mechanical arts, exiled to foul and narrow quarters, or *ghetti*, in the cities, marked in their beards and dress with signs of contempt, and loaded with oppressive taxes. If the intellect of man was pure enough, it would perhaps gather its lessons of pity and love, not from the sufferings, the agonies, the martyrdom of a single individual, but from those of a whole race, which, during upwards of a thousand years, has repeatedly endured them all.

But reason does not educate the world. Its preceptor is the senses; and this is right enough, too, in the long run, for the reason is far more prone to err. Yet what a misfortune has this not been to Judaism, which abolishes from its tabernacles those conceptions of art that have so powerfully contributed to build up the Roman Church? Imagine the latter divested of its stately edifices, its noble images of saints, its exquisite paintings of madonnas, its beautiful legends, its hymns, its Christmas carols, and its myriad creations of the impassioned imagination, and what would there be left to engage the worship of the multitude?

It is from these considerations that we are to derive the lesson of this evening. The character of the Jewish race—in reality of the highest type—is known to the world only through the falsest of mediums. To earn the respect of mankind, men must not only be good, but also seem to be good. The world is too selfish to take the part of a suspected person, however innocent he may be. The Jews have lived a life above reproach. As a race, they are God-fearing, virtuous, hospitable and charitable. But this is not enough. They have done nothing to tell their own story to the world. Since the flourishing days of Cordova, they have never encouraged distinctively Jewish schools of literature or art; and until this is done, there is little hope that the world will do them justice. Their reasoning may be irrefragable: the world will refuse to be convinced by it. They must appeal to the senses of mankind; or forever consent to endure its unjust approbrium. They must efface from the mind of the world the false image of Judas, the false

\*This fact is alluded to by M. Guizot, in *Shakspeare and his Times*, English Trans., New York, 1855, p. 343.



story of Shylock, the false creations of art, that distorts its views of history and its notion of justice; and there is but one effectual way to accomplish this result. This is to establish and support distinctively Jewish schools of literature and art. False conceptions are not to be effaced by mere denial or contradiction: they must be replaced by true conceptions. The world is not educated through the intellect, so much as through the senses.

What more noble, more elevated gratification can present itself to the mind of a Jew than that of contributing to vindicate the claims of his race to the respect, the love, the sympathy of mankind? What more judicious, more feasible method of doing this presents itself, than in the encouragement of Jewish literature and art? This result is measuredly within the attainment of every person of fortune. The Jews, as a class, are rich. Upon what object can their wealth be bestowed, so beneficial to their race, so elevating to themselves, as this one?

When they would recall with pride the achievements of their race, what class of Jews is it whose names spring to their lips? Is it their rich men, or those others of genius whose labors were supported by the patronage of wealth?

Without such a policy there can be no future for Judaism but a continuation of its long history of misfortune, or else the absorption of the Jews into surrounding peoples. And this last is what is going on now. It is the most pitiful of all apostacies, and the disgrace of it rests not upon those who circumstances urge them to it, but upon those others whose have the means to prevent it and fail to employ them. It is the most sorrowful of all apostacies. It seems like turning back upon the proudest of histories; like a voluntary wish to forget twenty centuries of martyrdom and of glory.

I am, however, convinced that it needs but to point out the right course for such course to be followed. Perhaps from this very evening may date a new era for Judaism. The seed may fall into some congenial soil; the divine spark may be lighted, and a school of Jewish literature and art may yet rear its proud head here in this Palestine of the West, this Joppa of the Pacific, and give to the world what alone it needs in order to justly appreciate the Jewish character: the truth of history, and the truth in literature and art.

There may come a day when the name of Jew, no longer tainted with opprobrium, but associated with holy and noble memories, may cease to be a mark of hatred and reproach, and become, like that of Roman citizen, a badge of distinction to those who are entitled to wear it. (*Applause.*)

There may come a time when mankind, having learned the true and rejected the false story of Salathiel, shall know of his long and unmerited sufferings, his heroic resignation, and his patient reliance upon God.

And there may come an age when ignorance and bigotry shall cease, and the world shall recognize the purity, the beauty and the glory of the Jewish character, by admitting the Jews and admitting them with joy, to its respect, its confidence and its love! (*Applause.*)

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**JEWISH TRACTS**

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**THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS  
AND  
THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS**

**No. 1**

**WHAT DO JEWS  
BELIEVE?**

BY

**H. G. ENELOW, D. D.**

**RABBI OF TEMPLE EMANU—EL  
NEW YORK CITY**



**CINCINNATI**

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THIS is one of a series of tracts published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. These tracts are prepared by the Tract Commission appointed jointly by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. They are designed to convey information on the Jewish religion and Jewish history, and intended for general distribution among both Jews and non-Jews. It is hoped that these tracts may help to spread knowledge of Judaism and to bring about a better appreciation of the Jew.

The first three tracts of the series were issued originally by the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

- No. 2—The Jew in America.....*Rabbi David Philipson, D. D.*  
No. 3—Jew and Non-Jew.....*Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, Ph. D.*  
No. 4—Jewish Ethics.....*Rabbi Samuel Schulman, D. D.*



## WHAT DO JEWS BELIEVE?

**W**HAT do Jews believe? Both Jews and non-Jews are often heard to put this question; the former to make sure where they stand, to render to themselves what the old rabbis called an "account of the soul"; the latter because they are eager to know just why we remain Jews in the religious sense and at all cost keep from merging with any other religious body. Are there any beliefs at all that Jews are agreed upon and that may be said to form the groundwork of universal and perennial Judaism? Such beliefs I think there are, and the purpose of this paper is to describe them briefly.

The first belief of Judaism relates to God. It is as clear as daylight that no matter how broad or liberal or advanced one may be, one can not consider oneself a true Jew if one does not believe in God. Religion without God is a self-contradiction, and altogether out of question. In fact, belief in God with us has not only been a matter of reason, but also of intuition, of that side of our soul which the old rabbis regarded as a phase of reason, and which after all plays a very important part in the life of all. This is not to say that Judaism has undervalued reason. Quite the contrary is true. Reason is invoked by both the Bible and the Jewish thinkers of later times as confirming the truth of God's existence. But primarily the Jew has always *felt* the existence of God as a basic truth in life. Not experience, but his own soul first taught him to exclaim: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One," those stirring words which from time immemorial have comprised the foremost motto and epitome of the Jewish faith.

This, then, is our first belief. Without it Judaism is impossible. Without it one may be descended of Jews, associate with Jews, belong to a Jewish club or lodge, marry a Jewish husband or wife—one may be Jewish in racial or social relations—but one is not a Jew in the true historic sense of the term.

But, in relation to God, Judaism has always held another characteristic belief, namely, as to His attributes, or qualities. Judaism lays stress on the Oneness of God, and, if I may say so, the Uniqueness of God. Oneness, in the sense that true Judaism has never admitted the possibility of more than one God, or of the division of the Deity into different parts, powers, or forms. But God also is Unique. "One, and there is no unity like unto His Unity," as the old Hebrew hymn has it. The



meaning of this assertion is that Judaism has invariably considered that God is Perfect, and in this respect different from all other gods. To put it in other words, the Jews believe that God is not only One, but also free from those infirmities and limitations which have been associated with the gods of other peoples. Such accounts of the contests, ambitions, rivalries, and moral imperfections of the deities as may be found, for example, in the mythology of the Babylonians, of the Greeks, or of the Teutons, are unthinkable in connection with the Jewish God idea. From earliest times we have been taught that God is Holy, Allwise, Allpowerful, and that His sole plan in the Universe is to cause within it the triumph of Holiness and Righteousness. "Holy, Holy, Holy," as we read in Isaiah, "is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory." (vi, 3.)

This leads us to another Jewish belief, and that is with regard to the world. "The whole earth is full of His glory." It is well known that some people believe that the world as such is tainted with sin, that, being matter, it is inherently corrupt, that it is in reality but a place in which one is to prepare for another life, and that those are the most pious men and women who withdraw from it as much as possible. This belief has given rise to morbid views of the world, as well as to the various orders of monks and nuns. What do Jews believe on this point? It may be said that the common belief of the Jews of all ages has been the contrary of the idea just alluded to. We do not believe in a devil, in the corruption of the world, nor that to be in the centre of the world's activities and enjoyments means necessarily to subject oneself to the taint of sin. We believe in God as the Creator of the world, which, of course, need not mean a literal belief in the old account that He created the world in six days. Whatever process He may have used for bringing it into being, we ascribe its origin to Him. Without God—chaos. Having created the world, however, He has not sent it forth to run its course in haphazard fashion. He is not an absentee God, contemplating Creation from a distance and caring not how the world wags. On the contrary, He is everywhere and in everything. No other power interferes with His presence. "Whither shall I go from Thy spirit?" says the Psalmist, "or whither shall I flee from Thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there: if I make my bed in Sheol, behold, Thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from Thee; but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to Thee." (Ps. cxxxix, 7-12.) Moreover, God governs the world according to His law of righteousness and goodness. "He loveth righteousness and judgment,"

says the Psalmist, "the earth is full of the goodness of the Lord." (xxxiii, 5.) And as to its inhabitants, their chief duty is not to turn their backs upon the world in fear of pollution, but rather to cling to it and work in such manner as to help fulfil the Divine plan of beauty, order, and goodness, and thus become what the rabbis have called "fellow-laborers with the Holy One." "For thus saith the Lord that created the heavens," says Isaiah, "God Himself that formed the earth and made it; He hath established it, He created it not as a waste, He formed it to be inhabited: I am the Lord; and there is none else." (xlv, 18.)

Indeed, this is what gives man his place in the world. But that leads us to another of our important beliefs, namely, with respect to Man and human life. What do we believe about Man? To put it negatively first, we do not believe in a great many of the doctrines that are current among other people, as the doctrine of original sin, the fall of man, the need of vicarious atonement, and such like. On the contrary, it has been rightly pointed out that the idea of Original Virtue, or the Virtue of the Fathers, has played a more important part in Judaism than that of Original Sin. As a matter of fact, we believe that man, as the Bible tells us, was created by God in His own image, and amid all varieties of trend, desire, and power preserves the stamp of divinity. Hence the Jewish idea of the brotherhood of all men, of the sanctity of even the humblest life, and of the embracement of all in the Divine plan, howsoever they may differ in outward things. All bear the impress of the Divine image in their soul. Furthermore, to realize this divine nature and enact it in his life, is man's paramount duty and purpose. Insofar as he does this, his life is what it is meant to be; otherwise, it falls short. Nothing, according to the great teachers of Israel, can take the place of this individual responsibility, of this personal duty, of this consecration of life; neither ritualism, nor sacrifices, nor fasts, nor feasts, nor material charity; neither the merit of the Fathers, nor the mediation of another person. Holiness, righteousness, morality—not morality in the narrow conventional sense, but in the widest sense—this is the fundamental duty. Other things may follow, and add grace and glory to life; but first there must be the true striving after holiness, not with an eye on reward of any kind, but rather because holiness ought to be the chief pursuit of man. Said Antigonus of Soko, a Jewish teacher of the third century B. C.: "Be not as slaves who serve their master with a view to receive recompense; but as servants that serve their master without a view to receive recompense." Or, as once for all this principle is summed up in Leviticus xix, 2: "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy."

But, it is asked, has God really said so? Do we know anything about His will? In other words, do we believe in Revelation? Religion, it has



been said very truly, is not merely the belief in the existence of God, but rather in the possibility of man's approach to, and communion with, God. That God has communicated, revealed, His nature and laws to men, has always been one of our basic beliefs. "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but He revealeth His secret unto His servants the prophets." (Amos iii, 7.) This is not to say that all Jewish thinkers have been at one in their idea of the method or the process of Revelation. Discussion of the latter, however, belongs to the realm of metaphysics. Suffice it to say, that we believe that the Bible furnishes a faithful record of the great laws of life, of the laws of morality and religion, which God revealed to Israel, and more especially to the Prophets of Israel. Technical disputes as to how the revelation occurred do not affect the general belief; nor is it affected by whether or no we hold that every letter of the Bible was inspired. Though we may suppose that the actual writing and editing of the Bible took place in the usual human fashion, we do not waver in our conviction that it contains the highest revelation of God possessed by mankind. Moreover, our belief in the choice of Israel for the Divine Revelation, does not preclude the view that God has spoken to other peoples as well. On the contrary, we believe in the universality of Revelation. "The whole Tora was spoken in every tongue," we read in the Talmud. "Every word that went forth from the mouth of the Holy One was divided into seventy tongues." Other utterances of similar nature might be cited from Jewish teachers of all ages, testifying to the Jewish belief that, though God may have revealed Himself particularly to Israel, He did not withhold His light and His truth from the other peoples. "For from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same My name is great among the nations; and in every place incense is offered unto Me, and a pure offering: for My name is great among the nations, saith the Lord of Hosts." (Malachi i, 11.)

As to what becomes of man after he has "shuffled off this mortal coil," Judaism has never speculated very much. Yet we must admit that this is one of the main questions that men are apt to ask Religion to answer. What becomes of our soul? Do we believe in a hereafter? Briefly speaking, we certainly believe that the soul survives the dissolution of the body, but just what occurs after death, and what the state of the soul is, the purest teaching of Judaism has never attempted to define. Our attitude has found expression in the Biblical verse forming the opening words of the traditional Burial Service: "The Rock, His work is perfect, for all His ways are judgment: a God of faithfulness and without iniquity, just and right is He." (Deut. xxxii, 4.) We are sure that the soul of man, which, in Biblical phrase, is a light of God, is not put out altogether, and that our life, with its struggles and sufferings

and failures, will be rightly dealt with by the Lord of righteousness. More than this we cannot say. In this respect, the good Jew, rather than engage in idle fancies and theories, is content to walk in faith, and, in the words of the beautiful old hymn, he says:

Into His hand I commend my spirit  
When I sleep and when I wake;  
And with my spirit, my body also:  
The Lord is with me, and I will not fear.

But what do we believe about the Messiah? It is well known that the Messiah idea has been closely connected with Jewish thought and experience. Christianity, which is built on this idea, sprang from Judaism. Jesus, the Messiah, or the Christ, of the Christian world, was a Jew, and it was the question of his Messiahship that created the cleft between the two religions. No wonder it is oftentimes asked what belief we hold on the subject. Now, on this point there is now, as there always has been, difference of opinion. Doubtless some Jews still entertain the hope of a personal Messiah. Reform Jews, however, do not. They do not believe in the miraculous Messiah. All Jews, however, agree in the hope for the advent of a Messianic age—an age when humanity will enjoy the reign of righteousness, unity, and peace, and all hearts shall be united in the pure worship of the One and Only God. "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one Lord, and His name one." (Zech. xiv, 9.) This Messianic ideal, toward which it is the duty of all men to work and aspire, we regard as one of the most beneficent gifts Israel has made to the spiritual riches of the race.

Moreover, Israel as a people, as a religious community, as a spiritual brotherhood, is in duty bound to work unremittingly for the realization of this lofty ideal. To him this ideal was revealed of yore, to him the laws of its fulfilment were communicated by the mouth of the Prophets, and upon him was the inviolable task laid of spreading and furthering it with all his heart and all his soul and all his might, at the price of no matter how much trial and suffering. This, the call, the election, the mission of Israel. This makes Israel what the Prophets have called him, the Servant of God. This is why Israel has been "the man of sorrows" among the nations, despised and rejected of men, stricken and afflicted and acquainted with grief, wounded and bruised, persecuted and outlawed, humbled and maimed, in order that he might witness to the supreme Ideal, to God and Righteousness, and cure mankind of superstition and iniquity, and bring nigh the age of justice, of knowledge, and of peace. Well may humanity say: "The chastisement of our peace is upon him and in his wounds there is healing for us!" (Isaiah liii.)



We believe that the Jews will have to continue to stand together, and toil, and suffer until the final fulfilment of their noble ideal. That is our faith as to our future. Nor has our work thus far been in vain. "The righteous flourish like the palm-tree!" we are told by the Psalmist, to which the old rabbis add by way of comment: "When you plant any other tree, it grows for itself; but plant a palm and it will put forth roots on all sides: so the righteous." May we not apply this figure to Israel? Judaism has not only flourished for itself, but has put forth roots for other creeds. Israel's influence is felt in the religious life of the whole civilized world. It is felt not only in the old forms of faith, but also in the new liberal spirit which is abroad in the land, and which insofar as it is a departure from certain old dogmas, marks a return to the pure faith of Judaism. But even where we have as yet failed of tangible proofs of success, has our work been in vain, though seem so it may? Such work is never done in vain. It sleeps in the very bosom of things, of the universe, and only bides its time. Come forth it shall. It is there. 'Tis such faith the great Prophet puts into the mouth of Israel: "Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye peoples from afar; the Lord hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath He made mention of my name. And He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword: in the shadow of His hand hath He hid me; He made me a polished shaft; in His quiver hath He hid me; and said unto me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified. Then I said, I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for naught and in vain: yet surely my judgment is with the Lord and my work with my God." (Isaiah xlix, 1-4.)

Such, in brief, are the Jewish beliefs. The Unity and the Holiness of God, the goodness of the World, the divine nature and the immortality of the Human Soul, and the possibility of its Communion with God, and the consecration of Human Life; these ideas are the foundation on which Judaism has builded. Moreover, we believe in the Election of Israel as a means to an end, the end being the diffusion of those ideas among all men and the ultimate reform of human life in accord with them. Whenever this has come true, it shall mean the Kingdom of God on earth, the Messianic age, the fulfilment of Israel's highest Ideal.

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NATIONALISM VERSUS UNIVERSALISM

*by*  
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*Chicago, Ill.*



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## NATIONALISM VERSUS UNIVERSALISM

RABBI SOLOMON GOLDMAN

In "The Death of the Gods," the first part of his impressive trilogy, Merejkowski makes the Hellenist, Iamblicus, remark that "There is no fiend more stupid and repulsive than the spirit of the people (crowd)." Pointing out to his disciple, Julian, the faces of the people running past he says:

"Behold, what hideousness, what vulgarity, and what assurance of their being in the right." Iamblicus was a meditative, sensitive, esthetic Hellene, jealous of his individuality, pining for the beauty of ancient Hellas and for the Olympian repose and aloofness of its philosophers. In the Romanized, partly Christianized, world of the latter end of the fourth century he could see only the ugly head of a vulgar civilization. What thinking man with the least yearning for excellence is not, even in our own day and age, clenching his fist in anger and despair at the ravenous mob that seeks to swallow him? He has improvised a whole catalogue of epithets—Behemot, yokel, Babbitt—which he hurls in futile fury at the thick-skinned, shaggy, uncouth giant, the giant, unperturbed, impervious, in fine fettle, bestrides Main Street and treads underfoot the disgruntled, squeamish dwarf.

*Es ist ein altes maerchen*—this struggle between man and men. Gregariousness is not an innate quality. In the opinion of Professors Sumner and Keller, "The tendency to associate is acquired rather than inherited. . . . It is a product of societal rather than of organic values" (Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, vol. I, p. 11). To think his loftiest thoughts, to feed his creative urge, man withdraws into himself. It is only expediency and need that compel him to emerge from his solitude into the turmoil of society. Hunger, sex, fear, constrain him to sacrifice the freedom he delights in for the benefits and pleasures of associative effort. But despite the need for food, sexual fulfillment and protection he strives forever for personal liberty.

He does not always lose—the striking, unusual personality. With the gifts of spirit and intellect he, at times, bewitches the inert bulk of humanity. On those nearest to him he leaves an indelible impression. He transforms a purposeless aggregate of humans into a self-conscious group. He endows it with personality, his personality. From Eolithic, Chellean, Mousterian, from savage and barbarian, man becomes Egyptian, Greek, Jew, Roman. Demi-god, poet, law-giver, Homer, Moses, posterity hails its moulders. They are revered and apotheosized for they defeated chaos; they caught vagrant human atoms and caused them to move in a definite direction.

There ensues a new struggle. The groups become as jealous of their personality, their distinctiveness as the immortals that fashioned them. They, too, strive to live their



lives. They now have unique assets, language, art, ideals, which they feel ought not to perish from the face of the earth. They battle for existence, for historic continuity. They set up barriers between themselves and others, they anathematize intermarriage, ridicule foreign gods, shun the exotic and zealously guard the native. In their mores and folkways, in their institutions and ideals they see the avatar of a god or gods, they recognize the spirit of progenitor and patriarch. The world sneers—separatists, legalists. Indifferent to the howling of the mob they persist—they save their “individuated” group life. The fight is won not by numbers. “The survival of a species of family depends not primarily on quantity but on quality. The future is not to the most numerous peoples but to the most individuated.” (Geddes and Thomson, *Evolution of Sex*, p. 295.)

There is, perhaps, no people on earth, most certainly not in the occidental world, that is a more striking example of the survival of an individuated group than the Jew. We encountered many crises, we were often on the brink of the precipice of disintergration and oblivion but we never quite perished. Jewish personality—I, the Jew, survived.

The Egyptian built a magnificent civilization, the Greek chiseled an aureate culture, the Roman founded a world empire. The achievements of the great races of antiquity can, and have been traced, by the writers of “dynamic history” to the time when each of these peoples retained an undiluted individuality. Decay set in when the people began to lose its distinctive outlook, when, in the desire to conquer the world, it had lost itself.

The death of peoples has given rise to many a theory of civilization. The historian and philosopher makes every effort to account for the meteoric rise and ignominious fall of the mighty races of yore. Spengler is profoundly stirred by the *Untergang des Abendlandes*. He pessimistically concludes that this demise is inescapable. History is a whirling cycle and sooner or later some one is bound to crash into disaster. If the analogy of the nation and the individual holds, we would like to submit that peoples often die of indigestion. They grow too large. They cease to be homogeneous. They lose their “individuated” self.

Writers of history often neglect the Jew in their world perspective. He seems to stand outside of the periphery of pet theories. He is put aside as an enigma. Jews them-

selves have failed to grapple with the problem of their continued existence. Previous generations were satisfied to credit God—"He that watcheth over Israel neither sleepeth nor slumbereth." Our present generation has not yet found time to learn the Hebrew alphabet. Yet, with the advance of the social sciences with the rewriting of world history, it ought not to be difficult to fathom the mystery of Jewish survival. Professor Huntington in his stimulating book "The Pulse of Progress" believes that it was made possible by "racial selection and eugenics." He discovers that "The Jews are probably the greatest of all races" (shades of Chamberlain!). "Has any other," he asks, "so persistently produced an almost ceaseless string of great men in proportion to its numbers? Certainly no other, unless it be the Chinese, has so eminently maintained a prominent position for millennium after millennium." (E. Huntington, *The Pulse of Progress*, p. 174.) In a later chapter our author concludes, "If a racial group is to achieve great things for century after century, it needs a good inheritance and must preserve that inheritance." (*Idem*, p. 194.)

Professor Huntington fails to define "inheritance." He does not tell us what the group must preserve. We submit that inheritance is synonymous with group personality. It is an unbroken sense of continuity. It is what James described as the stream of consciousness. It is lodged in the memory; it is a consciousness of oneness with those that came before us. We are the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; the disciples of Moses, Isaiah, Hillel; the heirs to Bible and Talmud. We wept at the streams of Babylon, burnt at the stake in Spain and vegetated in Europe's ghettos. We. We remained one. We preserved that elusive something which unites in the individual the child and the man. It is this something that makes Einstein and Moses kin. It is not their common belief in monotheism. Were it so, Iknahton, the Egyptian, could claim kinship. What Moses and Einstein share is Jewish "individuation," Jewish personality. This we safeguarded for four thousand years, a tremendous feat, a glorious achievement. Would that the Greeks had been vouchsafed the privilege of continuing their history unto this day. "It takes an endless amount of history," observes a distinguished American critic, "to make even a little tradition, and an endless amount of tradition



to make even a little taste, and an endless amount of taste, by the same token, to make even a little tranquillity." (Stuart P. Sherman, *American*, p. 15.)

Now comes the assimilationist and keens over the living Jew. He is saddened by this stubborn refusal to give up the ghost or turn Turk. He neither possesses the acumen to understand Israel's irresistible will to live nor the sensitiveness to appreciate the tragic grandeur of this prolonged drama.

There is no room for growing sentimental in serious discussion, but spiritual and esthetic values, we hope, still have their place in life. What shall we say of the man who lacks imagination to conceive Jewry as one undying person, the *talit* of distinctiveness wrapped about him. What Roman emperor ever wore his paludamentum with more dignity and pride? Imagine anyone shooting at the protagonist of a Euripidean tragedy only because of the jeers of the audience. The assimilationist is weary, he has lost courage. He wants to dissolve Jewishly. He can no longer resist the multitude. There are naturally numerous rationalizations, social, intellectual, political, economical.

It is not a new phenomenon, the weak have always fallen by the wayside. The morose ended in suicide. What one fails to comprehend is the brazenness that seeks to raise debility and suicide to the distinction of a national program. One can only commiserate with the coward who seeks shelter in self-destruction. But what is a mete measure of contempt for the insidious propagandist of national suicide.

But it will be argued that it is only a humane act to suggest disintegration to the Jew. For centuries he has been the scape-goat of the nations. To this day he is a victim of social prejudice, religious libel, economic boycott and bloody pogrom. Why shall he bear it all? Unfortunately, the Jew who has been the greatest victim spurns such sympathy. He does not feel that property ought to be destroyed because there are thieves. He recommends a psychiatrist. The Jew does not feel that he ought to become a Nordic or a Slav merely because they have been his tormentors. He urges common sense and good manners.

But is not Universalism an ineluctable fact, stresses the quasi-liberal. Is not assimilation the Juggernaut before whom Nordic and Slav and Hebrew alike will perish? Will not science ultimately bring the world together? Is not the



fusion of cultures inevitable with the progressive spread of aviation, radio, television, and a score more of such unifying inventions? Who will presume to answer the question with any degree of definiteness? All this is problematic and speculative. Concerning the distant future we can only resort to the soothsayer. For the present the evidence seems to be in the direction of the continuance of national groups. Side by side, with the increase in means of transportation and communication, nationalities have become more self-conscious, and articulate. Esperanto together with many another muliebrile, universal language progressed not beyond parturition. On the other hand, many dead languages were resuscitated. Even hieroglyphics and cuneiform were deciphered with considerable expenditure of money, time, and ingenuity. Subjected peoples were granted the right of self-determination and the very ancients were resurrected. In the pages of Botsford, Olmstead, and Jastrow, the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian are enjoying, at least, a literary existence. National literatures have taken a new lease on life. In the realm of culture, the minor peoples have been as important as the Big Five in the councils at Geneva.

Throughout the world there has been an awakening of nationalities. Convulsed in the grip of mightier powers for generations, they are now straining for freedom and breath. Again they are seeking to regain their "individuation," to teach their children once more the mother-tongue, to acquaint them with their past, and to vest them with a love for their own. The battering rams of self-determinism are making huge dents in the walls of Imperialism. The most rabid Imperialist will not dare to insist that political allegiance demands cultural submission. To deny to a people to be itself, is not only bad morals it is dangerous politics. The reader need not be burdened with examples. The intelligent man cannot be unaware of what is happening, let us say, in the British Empire.

The era, then, of Universalism has not been ushered in thus far, as was expected, by an age of science.

But it may be plausibly argued that the fact that it hasn't, does not mean that it shouldn't. If Cosmopolitanism has been slow in coming, it does not mean that it will never come, or that we should give up hoping for it. Jews, at least, experienced in waiting for the Messiah, ought not to be impatient. The Universalist may be right, but we would

ask him to make this business of waiting a little less tedious, and more intralling. We would be grateful to him if he took the pains to describe graphically just what we are to expect in a Universalist world. For the average imagination it is too staggering to contemplate. What really is that world going to look like? Are racial types and characteristics to be completely obliterated? Will the cephalic index strike a common denominator? Will color of skin, texture of hair, features become uniform? How are we going to bear the monotony? It is said that the painter cannot convey even an impression of depth with one color. How will life produce rhythm or beauty without variety?

What will the Universal language be like? What will happen to the existing languages? How about the great literatures? Will this new language preserve for us the canorous beauty of Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe? Will it prove to be a vehicle for opera? What will we do with the existing operas?

These and numerous other questions inundate and perturb the mind. In the past, it may be maintained, without fear of contradiction, when catholicity prevailed culture was as a rule at a low ebb. When Latin was the language of the peoples from the Douro to the Danube literature was colorless and effete. It seems that only when men were moved by memories of intimate group experiences that they sang the Chanson Roland or the Nibelungen Lied. The Elizabethan period marks the "first great cultural expressions of English nationalism." Henry VII subdued the feudal nobles and Henry VIII broke with Rome. Nationalism in England thus received economic support and religious sanction. In the following reign, the reign of Elizabeth, the muses showered their gifts on misty London. It may be a mere coincidence, but it was in the reign of Philip II, a "true Spanish Nationalist," that Spain's greatest genius, Cervantes, lived and worked.

The first results of cultural fusion, even the most optimistic must admit, will be a disgusting hybridization. The colossal adjustments that races will have to make will take millennia. In the immediate future we may only expect a confusion of tongues and a chaos of cultures.

But will there not be an end to war in a universal state? Perhaps. It all depends as to what are the real causes of



war and whether such causes cannot thrive in a universalist state. Time does not allow us to consider this phase of the question. But it is not likely that anyone would assume that literature, sculpture, and music are as productive of war as political aggressiveness, commercial competition and human stupidity. The last mentioned is perhaps the source of most of our evils. Was it Renan who observed that human stupidity is the only proof he had of infinity? Only the moon-struck in our midst refused to hear Beethoven in the years of the world war.

But if Universalism is bound to come, the weaker, less "individuated" peoples will be the first to succumb. The Jew, if we at all judge him aright, will hold out until the last. He is an expert at resistance. He has so often seen the world in travail and hullabaloo. But he held his own. Hellenization, Christianization, Romanization, all failed to absorb him. How he will react to the new world order cannot yet be stated with scientific precision, albeit the statisticians have already plotted many a graph.

Here in America, we will perhaps be put to the test first. We are, indeed, living in a melting pot. In a *mishmash* it is difficult to preserve spiritual, cultural, or esthetic values. At least just now such values are not popular with us. The pursuit of comfort and excitement have taken hold of all of us. Industry, commerce—the machine, are grinding man to pulp. We have become standardized, uniform, 100 per centers. To think or act differently from those about us is the most unpardonable offense. How frequently does the word "freak" pass our lips?

We do not yet enjoy the benefits of a democratic form of government, but all its curses have already been visited upon us. The majority has become deified. And if we may be permitted to paraphrase Aristophanes, excellence is no longer king, Demos or his sycophants rule the world. Minorities with us are regarded as abnormal. We regard them as subjects for psychanalysis, ridicule, suspicion, and social ostracism.

The Jew here encounters the most formidable foe and gravest challenge. Will he pour out four thousand years of history for the delights of the material and the blessings of the stereotype? For centuries he stood like Gibraltar a bulwark against dissolution. Will his memory now be shattered and his personality dissolved? Or will he see his



duty and privilege? Will he again seize this golden opportunity to help give some color to this meaningless, monotonous uniformity of American life? America needs tradition, cultural values, personalities. Will the Jew help supply that need?

The American behavior pattern is still in the weaving. America, in spite of some European tourists, has not yet come of age. How many centuries will it yet take to assimilate the millions of colored people of our midst? The most daring prophet, Professor Boas, is allowing a considerable span of time. How long will it take for the mountaineers to view life with the perspective of Greenwich Village or vice versa?

Into what shall the Jew assimilate? "Think of the time and trouble nature has spent in building up her distinctive human types. Is it fair that her careful handiwork should be rashly undone?" (Sir Arthur Keith, *New York Times*, Magazine Sect., Sunday, June 2, 1929.)



# A Rabbi Takes Stock

BY SOLOMON GOLDMAN

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## A Rabbi Takes Stock

BY SOLOMON GOLDMAN

**T**HE end of almost a century of religious conflict in Jewry finds neither Orthodoxy nor Reform with any victory to record: finds, rather, both so impoverished in spiritual resources that neither can hope to meet the new challenges of our own day. The two camps still from time to time emit rhetorical defiances, neither evidently realizing that each is sinking into a bog of its own making. The failure of both has been grave, and the future of Judaism, if it rested with the might of either, would be dark indeed.

It is worth emphasizing that the decadence of Orthodoxy was not caused or even accelerated by the Reform movement. It was the irresoluteness and blindness of its own leaders which permitted it to slip into a cul-de-sac, from which there seems to be no hope that it will ever emerge. In other ages Jewry either extruded or absorbed new sects, but the Orthodoxy of our day has been too weak and disintegrated to perform either function.

Similarly, Reform will find in its own intellectual hollowness and spiritual sterility the cause of its failure. European Jewry has remained impervious to the influence of Reform Judaism, while its flamboyant "success" in America is limited to bricks and mortar. In spite of social position, wealth, and pulpit eloquence, it has nowhere gained ardent disciples.

In the meantime, a third religious group, the Conservative, has been making its way in American Jewry. Its short life of scarce twenty years has not been enough to reveal it fully. Thus far, it must be admitted, Conservative Judaism has inspired but little hope. Nevertheless, there are those who feel it contains the germ of great possibilities.

One experiences great uneasiness in writing about Conservative Judaism: one can never be quite certain that he is speaking for anybody but himself. Conservative Judaism has nowhere been defined, its program has never been clearly stated. One searches in vain the fifteen annual reports of the United Synagogue of America for even a trace of an attempt to deal with fundamentals, or to state in unmistakable terminology the philosophy and program of the organization. This essential matter seems either to have been overlooked because of the pressure of more "practical" affairs; or because of excessive politeness to have been studiously avoided.

In contrast with the failure of Conservative Judaism to formulate its beliefs, Reform has made its position clear in a number of convention platforms, official rabbinic pronouncements, and in the Union Prayer Book; while Orthodoxy points to the Shulhan Aruch as, so to speak, its platform. To be sure, even Orthodoxy must find the Shulhan Aruch by no means perfectly constituted for this purpose, but that does not seem to give its advocates much concern. If among Conservative Jews embarrassing questions are considered impolite, in Orthodox circles they are anathema.

The very name "Conservative Judaism" adds to the confusion. "Conservative" groups are commonly those which oppose "progressive" groups. But in opposition to the Reform movement we already had Orthodoxy. What new contribution has been made by Conservative Judaism to justify its separate existence? Suppose the angel Gabriel were to teach overnight all the members of the Agudat haRabanim to speak English and suppose also that the Orthodox synagogue were to introduce decorum, what then would be the function and purpose of the Conservative group? If the leaders of the movement give to the word "conservative" its general connotation, then it is high time that the Orthodox and Conservative groups merge.

But no Conservative Jew will agree that there is no difference between him and the Orthodox Jew. He will hasten to explain that he believes in the worth of progressive modern ideals; that he adopts the name "Conservative" only because he believes in conserving the permanent spiritual and cultural values in Judaism; that he is thus not so much a "Conservative Jew" as a "Conserving Jew." At this the captious intellectual might denounce him as guilty of mere rhetoric. An intellectual with a double dose of *hutzpah* might press him hard, might ask to be told what is value, how much of the "heritage" he wants to retain and what he is planning to throw overboard. But these intellectuals never "join" anyway, and the "Conservative" is too practical to waste his time reading their "stuff." His fellow-members at the club are too polite to ask embarrassing questions. Discussions of fundamental values are deemed unessential by those who arrogate to themselves the "big job" of saving Judaism. As for the rank



and file members of congregations, they buy their pews and are easily satisfied with parties, services and sermons.

Thus it is that the writer cannot describe a movement already in full swing, but one rather in the travail of birth. Neither can he present a body of fundamental beliefs shared by a large group. The most he can offer is a point of view held by a few men who can find no satisfaction either with Orthodoxy or Reform.

**T**HE structure of Orthodoxy is air-tight. It refuses to admit new ideas, although it has compromised with new experiences. In theory it claims to be unswerving and unchanging; it pretends to be squarely opposed to the philosophies advanced by modern science; it places a ban on Biblical criticism. In every letter of the Pentateuch the Orthodox Jew sees revealed the will of God. All Jewish tradition, oral as well as written, he regards as Sinaitic. All laws are therefore equally binding. The only norm for the present and future of society is the past: nothing has grown obsolete or archaic. "The law does not alter." In the intellectual realm nothing new has been achieved. "Whatever any scholar may conceive was already revealed to Moses on Sinai," he contends. So much for his theory.

In practice, however, the situation is quite different. Orthodox leaders and laymen seem to have abandoned much of the ideology underlying the *Shulhan Aruch*; and by silent consent to have reduced its injunctions to a minimum. Secular studies, for example, are pursued at other than twilight moments by many pious souls, despite the declaration of Rabbi Ishmael. Satan and Lilith, conspicuous personages in the ghetto, have fallen into disrepute even in the most respectable Orthodox circles. Similarly, the leaders of Orthodoxy are guilty of most grievous sins of omission. In their numerous proclamations to American Israel within recent years they have given considerable attention to *kashrut*, Sabbath observance, and synagogue ritual. But there is ominous silence concerning very important laws which are trodden upon by all. Have we not been urged: "Be as careful with the 'light' commandment, as with the 'severe,' for you know not the reward of a *mitzvah*"? Why, then, has the official code shrunk? Why maintain silence concerning the *mikvah*, shaving, *shaatnez*, the bare-headed married woman, the curtainless balcony, dancing, *et cetera, et cetera, ad infinitum*? Is this not a silent admission that the "Code" can no longer be accepted as our guide in life?

Yet Orthodoxy claims to be unchanged. The discussion of fundamentals is carefully avoided. At no time in its history has Judaism brought such heavy pressure to bear against frank utterances: many a rebel has been dragooned into obsequious submission. Fanaticism, someone has said, consists in redoubling your efforts when you have forgotten your aim.



The Reform movement also has brought nothing but confusion. **In-**deed, it has so deformed Judaism that it is largely to be blamed for the obstinacy with which Orthodoxy has resisted all suggestions of change. "See where the 'Reformers' have landed," is the perpetual cry. **Reform** is, in fact, the negation of Judaism. Like Christianity, it has retained **some** of the verities enunciated in the Bible, but, also like Christianity, it **has** parted company with the memories and aspirations of catholic **Israel**. Any Unitarian or liberal Christian could have written with better logic Hirsch's *My Religion* or Montefiore's *Synoptic Gospels*. Only by the most acrobatic convolutions can the Reform movement find justification for its opposition to intermarriage, at least with liberal Christians. Again, **like** Orthodoxy, it has taken little cognizance of the most modern thought.

Its whole structure is reared on ill-digested Kantianism. Thus **with** Bourbon close-mindedness it continues in the face of modern science to rodomontade of the Jewish mission. A group of Jews who did in **actual** fact become missionaries of prophecy, justice and love would indeed deserve wholehearted acclaim; but is it not presumptuous for a movement which **has** attracted mostly the propertied and the respectable to make any such claims? With what forward-looking movements is Reform Judaism identified? **How** many rebellious and pioneer spirits are to be found in the temples? Where in the United States is the Reform temple regarded as the symbol of the pain and travail that accompany the birth of new ideas? **How** can Reform Jews continue to speak of this "mission" when one of their rabbis is forced to give up his pulpit because he invited discussion on birth control, while another found his synagogue locked on Friday night because he had the temerity to announce a sermon on La Follette? It will be urged that this charge can be made with equal force against the Orthodox and the **Con-**servatives. Undoubtedly it can. But the members of those groups **pre-**tend to no such exalted aim; besides, the ties that bind them together are of a different nature. A family does not need a statement of principles as its *raison d'être*, but a "society" must either make good its claims or disband. If Jews want to emulate Hosea, Amos and Jeremiah, more power to them. But what has this to do with million-dollar temples, and the complacency and babbitttry that prevail in them?

The "Reform" Zionist has taken a step in the right direction, but until he goes the whole way he cannot be taken seriously. Reform and Zionism are as antithetical as the sweet and the bitter. One affirms exactly what the other negates. Nationalism is the heart of Zionism; denationalization, universalism, or assimilation is the very soul of Reform. Intellectual somersaults executed with enviable grace by those halting between two opinions may deaden the conscience, but are of no permanent value. The rank and file Reform Jews have been more consistent; they understand their



position better than some of their leaders. In spite of sincere eloquence they remain adamant in their opposition to Jewish nationalism, to a nationalist Palestine. After thirty years of the most intensive Zionist propaganda, the declaration "I am not a Zionist" is still the only articulate credo which differentiates the Reform Jew from the non-Jew. The liberal Zionist, therefore, must part company with the Reform movement. How can any Jew who dreams of Zion invoke a Geiger, an I. M. Wise, a Hirsch as his patron saint? Such men can mean no more to him than the Tobiades, Paul, or Anan. His spiritual fathers are Krochmal, Frankel, and Ahad Ha-Am.

It is in no spirit of controversy or malice that we have animadverted upon our official "Judaisms." It is because we sincerely think it most fatuous, and indeed most dangerous, to shut one's eyes to actualities. Jewish history records that the preachment of "peace" when there is no "peace" caused the destruction of the first temple. History may repeat itself. The whole edifice of Judaism may crumble within two or three generations should we continue to turn our heads away from reality.

**T**HE weakness of our present situation is in large measure due to our timidity to analyze fundamentals. We campaign breathlessly, build feverishly; we plunge desultorily from one activity into another; we hold conventions and adopt resolutions. But any suggestion to examine the premises upon which we are carrying on all these activities is shouted down with cries of "agnostic," "destroyer," "intellectual!" We thus succeed only in revealing our despair and pusillanimity. Happily, we cannot seriously hope to crush the spirit of inquiry with ex cathedra pronouncements. Rhetoric will not silence, much less convince, anyone.

We must learn to face the facts pressed upon us by present-day living and thinking. And one of the outstanding facts of our day is that our life has rapidly become secularized. This may be extremely annoying to many of us; to some it may mean the breakdown of our civilization; but we cannot escape it by withdrawing into the synagogue as into an ivory tower—unless, of course, we are satisfied to see its influence expunged from our midst.

The fact is that the synagogue has ceased to be a dynamo in Jewish life. The most vital endeavors of Jewry today are initiated and promoted by the "unsynagogued." The leaders in the upbuilding of Palestine and in Jewish education, the rejuvenators of the Hebrew language, the champions of modern Jewish knowledge, the promoters of Jewish art, all these with but few exceptions are known not to be synagogue Jews. Are we waiting for a miracle to bring these *apikorsim* back? Shall we stupidly consider ourselves the "remnant"? Or shall we try to understand what it was that



made men so thoroughly Jewish abandon the age-old center of Jewish life and thought?

Is it not because we have permitted the synagogue, that is, official Judaism, to concentrate upon prayer and ritual? As a result, those who were disinclined to pray or practice ritual left us. We failed to give the synagogue the proper ventilation; therefore it lost touch with its greatest sons and the most vital Jewish movements.

Judaism must be re-defined in terms of the whole of life. Nothing that enhances the physical, ethical, spiritual, or esthetic welfare of the individual dare be overlooked in its perspective. To be sure, some congregations have taken cognizance of their ineffectiveness and opened their synagogues to a few secular activities. But their ideology remains unchanged—hence their failure to win adherents. They sought to save themselves by grafting the vulgarities of modern life onto a body that needs surgical treatment. What good can a few “activities” accomplish as long as the mental attitude of pulpit and pew remains paleolithic?

**B**OTH Reform and Orthodoxy still cling to the theology of the Middle Ages. Not even Reform Judaism has advanced beyond the reasoning of the scholastics, who were themselves tremendously influenced by the “dialectical elaborations of Aristotle.” Classical philosophy which, as Professor Dewey has pointed out, is largely the rationalization of the spirit if not of the letter of ancient traditions, is still swallowed hook, line and sinker, without the least attention to the irreparable damage inflicted on it by the “social philosophers.” And it is upon this exploded “classic metaphysical idealism” that the whole structure of our theology rests. No wonder that it is confined to the static atmosphere of the synagogue. In a dynamic environment, in the midst of a civilization that is grappling with reality, it is discarded as otiose and effete.

If religion is again to play a part in the furtherance of human happiness, its philosophy must be relevant to human experience. The old idealism will have to pay its respects to the reconstruction taking place in our ways of thinking. In place of immutable dogma and stereotyped creeds we shall have to be satisfied with functioning hypotheses. Threadbare words and limp concepts will have to find a new, vital meaning. The criteria of modern thinking will have to be applied to the terms God and soul, sin and evil. Our ethical concepts and moral usages, too, must be submitted to careful scrutiny.

The conflict between religion and science is no longer confined, as it was in Tennessee, to the contradiction between the Mosaic cosmology and the theory of evolution. The chasm unfortunately is much wider. Upon critical analysis some time-honored ethical precepts and moral standards



have been found to be inimical to the welfare of modern man. This was to be expected. For even if we assume that to some men was given the power to "make the leap in the dark," in Huxley's phrase, it would still remain questionable whether their contemporaries and successors always adequately understood them. But we no longer view folkways, *mores*, and institutions as having leaped into sudden existence in response to a divine fiat. We know that all tradition and usage have a history. We perceive them as so many efforts on the part of the race to escape misery and find happiness. Their source is man living in some form of society. Coerced by environmental pressure, frightened by misunderstood natural phenomena, stirred by overwhelming emotions, driven by the conflict of human wills, man groped his way into belief, ritual, custom, and law. The results often met the exigencies of the moment; they assured to society a certain degree of stability. The civilization of the ancients was thus the result of their experience; their religion, their comprehension of this experience.

That which was vouchsafed our ancestors cannot be denied to us. Our religion and our morality must also be the outgrowth of our own experience and intelligence. In short, we must develop our science of religion, even as they did their theology.

We do not mean, of course, to imply that man is to start *de novo*, that he is to forget the past completely. That, even were it possible, would prove cataclysmic. Man can build only on the foundation provided for him by previous generations. We will find in the past achievements of the race considerable guidance and encouragement to live and create. Jewish history must ever be our deep concern.

But we must study the past, not only reverentially, but critically as well. We cannot assume that all the accounts which have come down to us from the past are literally true. We must not hesitate to separate the grain from the chaff. The interpretation of history found in sacred and learned literature need not be considered as final. On the contrary, we often are today in a better position to understand the movements and events of the days of long ago than those who preceded us by centuries. Jewish history is certainly no exception. But not alone have the ancient historians failed us; even the so-called German School of modern Jewish historians has fallen short of real achievement. They have, indeed, succeeded in making Jewish history vivid to a degree; we must see whether it cannot be made vital. Our whole past must therefore be re-evaluated. It will have to be studied psychologically and comparatively.

**T**HE Jewish people has thus far been given isolated treatment as though it were a special species different from the rest of humanity. Into what misconceptions this has led the world concerning us, the intelligent reader



need not be told. But what is more damaging is the fact that we, ourselves, frequently fell into the most egregious errors concerning our history and destiny. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, a Jewish savant argued that only those elements of Judaism could be considered as revealed which are peculiar to it alone. Universal concepts such as God and justice, which are common to the whole human race, are not "revelations" but the products of human intelligence. Thus Regio, following Halevi, considered our ceremonials, *tephilin*, *mezuzah*, and the like, as divinely revealed. How much this scholar would have been helped by a study of the folkways of other peoples! A glance at the table of contents, let us say of *Primitive Culture* or *The Golden Bough*, would have been sufficient to dispel this naïve notion of peculiarity. It is clear that we are as much in need of a science of Jewish history as we are of a science of Jewish religion.

Such an approach to Jewish history will make us see how absurd has been the question which has occupied the mind of American Jewry for well-nigh half a century: Do Jews constitute a religious group or are they a nation? Or the equally absurd question, now in vogue: Can the Jews separate their religion from nationalism? We would then realize, to the chagrin of some and to the delight of others, that perhaps no people on earth has been quite so nationalistic as our own. Woven into the fabric of the Jew's consciousness there has been a loyalty to his people which all the vicissitudes of the *Galut* have been unable to shake. Even his religion the Jew thoroughly nationalized. Eager as he was at times for proselytes, he was nevertheless reluctant to accept them on the mere profession of faith—they had to submit to a thorough process of nationalization. It was not enough for the convert to accept the Jewish God, he had to accept Abraham as his progenitor. It was not enough for him to accept our dogmas, we imposed upon him our *mores* and folkways. Thus it was that Judaism never became a universal religion. To the Jewish God and Jewish ethics in the abstract, other peoples, when their own failed them, could learn to make intellectual obeisance. But the accumulated experiences of the Jewish group—in one word, Jewish nationalism—naturally remained foreign to them.

It makes little difference that Israel was not alone in this, that other ancient peoples have often associated the national *ethos* with the national God, and ascribed the aspirations of this intense nationalism to a religious stimulus. In those days men's views of life were thoroughly theocentric. If it assumed more significance among us, it is because in our early history the molders of our destinies happened not to be conquerors but prophets—men who early gave spiritual direction to the course of Jewish life. Centuries of homelessness served to intensify the introspective and spiritual in



our life, but unfortunately also served to make many forget its national basis in the Jewish people. So we have today Jews who can accept Jewish abstractions, but not the Jewish national experience.

**I**T is not surprising, if the Jewish experience is so little understood, that the rôle of Jewish law in it should be so universally misinterpreted. Christian and some Jewish critics have for centuries frowned upon the insularity and legalism of Judaism. Rabbinism has been used as a term of reproach. To this day the Jew has been frequently described as a slave of the law, the weight of which destroyed his spirit.

The Western world received its religion from the Jews. It is natural, therefore, that it should have learned to look on the Jews as a religious group, and fail to understand why this evidently spiritual religion should have been encrusted with so much ceremony and practice. What connection was there, was persistently asked, between the dietary laws and prophecy? All peoples have developed diets peculiar to themselves, all peoples have certain manners, customs, conventions: why only among Jews have these manners, customs, conventions, been vested with the dignity of laws?

The reason for this attitude on the part of the Jew toward custom and ceremony is twofold. It should be remembered, in the first place, that Jewish folkways originated in remote antiquity at a time when the mere secular was unknown. The least as well as the most important of man's acts was believed to have been inspired by God or instigated by the devil in defiance of Him. The civilization of all peoples in early times was, in a sense, religious. The political as well as the social life was guided by a system of scruples and taboos. Judaism has been compelled by circumstances to retain unaltered this primitive relationship between religion and the whole of life.

In the second place, the Jew has been forced to use his folkways to make articulate his will to live, to perpetuate his existence. A community or a people can maintain its distinctiveness only by common living. One generation communicates to another its national heritage, and it is by means of such communication that the national life perpetuates itself. This communication, as Professor Dewey has pointed out, is of a twofold nature—the indirect and the direct. The indirect form of communication is inherent in the environment in which we live. We copy the practices and usages of the people about us, and the young learn by imitation of their elders. The other method is the direct or scholastic, through which the less obvious and more complex experiences of the race are transmitted. Now, the Jewish people has except for a brief span of years always found itself in an environment not quite its own. It could not, therefore, benefit as much



as other peoples from the indirect method of communication. Left to themselves, Jewish youths were prone to imitate other than their own elders. Pressure of the non-Jewish milieu was always cogent and real. The Jew's *modus vivendi* was not quite as obvious, might even appear artificial. He was, therefore, compelled to resort to the more direct method of communication and education. He could not leave the continuity of his distinctive life to chance. Hence he vested the whole of his life with the dignity of law and religious sanction.

The Law, then, was to the Jew the most effective means of safeguarding his distinctiveness. Numerous customs and observances were not prompted by a religious narrowness—they simply constituted for the Jew his environment. What a country did for other peoples the Law was made to do for the Jew: it created for him surroundings of his own.

The biased critic may contrast disparagingly the "dead weight of Talmudic legalism" with the free spirit of the Gospels; but historians with insight have never failed to discern that it was a noble patriotism which motivated the Pharisees. It is only when one realizes that the group will-to-live was at the basis of this elaborate system of law that one can understand how the same people was capable of carrying in its consciousness the challenging, rebellious spirit of the prophets and the labyrinth of tradition.

THE nationhood of Israel is an ineluctable fact. The contention of the Jewish religionist is so much absurdity, for no people with a common ancestry, common longings, common experiences, and common memories can ever form merely an idealistic or voluntary union. The Catholics of the world may have some common memories and experiences, but a common ancestry and a common language they do not possess, even though Latin plays an important part in the liturgy of the Church. One never refers to the characteristics of Catholics; one speaks of the characteristics of the Irish or the French. One never heard of a Catholic diet, although there are dietary regulations in the Church. But the Jews, though far-flung the world over, have continued their group life, their existence as a nation. We do speak of the characteristics of the Jew. Jewish literature has had an uninterrupted history for nigh three thousand years. The *kugel* and *gefillte fish* may not be able to boast of such a hoary age, but they are recognized as "Jewish dishes." No nationalistic group can be in any way confused with a league organized for a propaganda purpose. The Jews are a nation, no mere missionary society.

If we seem to have labored this point, and repeated a quantity of truisms, it is only because of the great number of pulpiteers in America who still beguile their innocent audiences with universalistic expressions, culled from Biblical and Talmudic literature and torn from their context, concern-



ing the destiny of the Jew. Once we rid ourselves of this perversion and misconception, wrought by life in exile, and grasp this one simple fact, the whole problem becomes, perhaps not less difficult, but clearer.

The Jew learns that he must assume the responsibility of nationhood. He may be unable to accept the ideology of this nation, but he cannot dissolve it in a religious union. That a man's mother is his mother cannot be disputed, but that the son must accept all of the mother's philosophy is naturally open to question. We accept the nationhood of Israel as axiomatic and in our program we must seek to carry out the implications of this fundamental axiom.

Jewish life thus viewed will receive new meaning. We accept the statement of the ethnologist that the first and irrevocable tie that binds a people together is language, and we must act upon it. Not only does its language constitute the "index to a people's soul," it is the only way to become acquainted with that soul. In our treasure house in national literature we preserve only works in the Hebrew language. Alexandrian literature, even though its content was Jewish, failed to influence the course of Jewish life because its form was not Jewish. But for a few able translators, that might have been the fate of the medieval Spanish-Jewish group. Style may be the man, but language is the people.

A sound Jewish program, therefore, cannot conceive of Jewish life without the Hebrew language, not merely as the language of prayer, but the language in which many of our ablest sons and daughters will make their best contributions to society. We refuse, of course, to accept any substitute in the synagogue. But we also lament the fact that past generations lacked the perseverance to continue using Hebrew as their spoken language. We feel it regrettable that the revivification of Hebrew in the Mishnah was not continued by the Amoraim.

Reform Jews speak about Jewish education, but attempt only enough Hebrew in the school curriculum to enable worshipers in temples to understand the *Shema*. Orthodoxy still clings to the notion of a "holy tongue." But we must maintain Hebrew as our people's living robust language.

We need hardly add that a language without a literature is a mere dialect. When we speak of the Hebrew language we have in mind the great literature that the Jew produced in this language. Of old, even as today, we know no better way of bringing the much abused younger generation nearer to the Jewish people than by acquainting it with the tremendous achievement in Jewish literature. From the Bible to Bialik what genuine beauty, what a glorious heritage!

It is not enough to deliver pronouncements against the Sunday School; we must, once and for all, abandon the sham of this educational system. To deceive Jews into believing that their children are being educated at the



Sunday School, or that the Sunday School is in any way adequate as a solution of the problem of Jewish education, is to be downright dishonest. The American rabbinate cannot go on tolerating such a situation without lasting disgrace.

Another task for immediate consideration, to which men who hold this point of view have given already considerable attention, is the investigation of Jewish law. We dare not take the attitude of either the Reform or Orthodox Jew regarding Jewish tradition. The former has been the proverbial bull in a china shop; the latter, the proverbial ostrich. Jewish laws, customs and ceremonies must be searchingly studied. Many of them we will find obsolete—these we must lose no time in discarding if we hope to continue Jewish communal life. Many traditions we will have to retain because of their group-binding value.

Of course, in an environment not of our own making, it will always be extremely hard for old customs to die, and for new ones to be born. In the Diaspora the renovation of traditional usages by logic and reasoning can proceed but slowly. In Palestine, on the other hand, the circumstances of life will prove more cogent. See what a new complexion the Sabbath has already assumed in Palestine. Jews are too practical and too human to permit a "blue" Sabbath. Some rabbis will frown, pious laymen will protest, but in a half century those who will object to recreation on the Sabbath will be rare.

The position of woman, too, should find ready solution. In the Diaspora we will spend much energy and waste considerable time in the discussion of non-essentials. In Palestine the problem will be worked out, not in the synagogue, but in the midst of life. Woman will and must become man's equal in all of life's endeavors: our society is indecent otherwise. Such atrocities as the Jewish system of divorce or the *halitzah* will not be tolerated in a self-respecting Jewish community. If the leaders of the community remain asleep, if they take no cognizance of the progress of events, the community in Palestine will move on without them.

**I**N Palestine these problems will be solved, we have said, in the broad daylight of public life. In the Diaspora it is the synagogue that must for a long time constitute the arena. Our intellectual friends will, therefore, have to be tolerant with the rabbi for stressing so much the synagogue life and ritual. The synagogue happens to be the institution that has the most powerful hold on great numbers of Jews. Any program for the reconstruction of Jewish life not only cannot omit it, but must give it primary consideration.

The reconstruction of Judaism must begin with the reconstruction of the synagogue. Ventilate it, renationalize it, beautify it, make it alive to

the needs of the Jewish people of today, to thousands of men and women, and particularly to young people; it will take on a new sense of value which all will recognize.

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The reader will detect in this paper many a gaping lacuna; the writer is conscious of them. But the writer did not intend—even if he could—to describe in detail all the implications of the program which he has been suggesting. He could not, for example, discuss adequately the vexing question of authority in Judaism. Can one still speak of the “will of Catholic Israel”? Who are to be the spokesmen? Or the equally vexing question: If the Shulhan Aruch is inadequate as a guide in Jewish life, can we suggest a minimum code of Jewish law that will constitute a criterion for Jewish loyalty? The writer’s most important generalizations have been all too vague; together with the rest of humanity, the Jew must give more study to the fundamentals upon which our society is reared. The bases of religion and, concomitantly, the sanctions it has given to ethics, morality, and our whole social scheme, will have to be reconsidered. In addition, the Jew, because of the peculiarity of his history and the uniqueness of his situation, will have to evaluate his past much more carefully than most peoples. His historic trials and failures, tribulations and joys, his whole accumulated experience will have to be made vital to the modern Jew.

But the writer is confident that such a fresh study of history will convince us that the Jew has always constituted a distinct national group; that he must always constitute a distinct national group; and that he must always keep this in mind when he approaches his problem.

So that, if he wishes to continue the memories of the past and his Jewish personality, the Jew must assume the obligations incumbent on the members of a national group. He must learn its language and literature, interest himself in the upbuilding of its home, and seek to adjust its traditions and folkways and religious thought to the wants of his time. Only in this way can the Jew maintain and perpetuate the Jewish personality.





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The Hebrew in Civilization.

(Crowned with the Worth Prize.)

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CHARLES HUGHES JOHNSTON.





University of North Carolina.

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY.

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The Hebrew in Civilization.

(Crowned with the Worth Prize.)

CHARLES HUGHES JOHNSTON.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.  
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## INTRODUCTION.

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Our pleasure in sending forth another number in the Series of Worth Prize Theses is disturbed by the fact that the founder of the prize has died during the past year.

It is an interesting fact that a man given to business, and abundantly successful therein, should seek out the Department of Philosophy for his attention. It is even more interesting that the form of service rendered should be in such perfect harmony with the spirit of Philosophy.

What are we to understand then from this fact? The aim of Philosophy is Truth. And that is truth to Philosophy that renders richest and fullest service to life.

In moments of frank reflection the conviction has come that to-day our best man is the business man. We mean that the highest specimen of civilization is now found in business.

The man who guides a great business is a citizen of the world. The markets of the world concern him. And in this world-wide sphere, everything is rated by its service to man. Thus he moves in a real world. And what concerns him always is that which is of value to man.

The fine business man is thus logically one who goes straight to the heart of the matter. He rates everything by its actual service to life.

Mr. David G. Worth seemed to us a splendid specimen of the business man.

Modern Philosophy shares the spirit of business. It is



asking of every movement in History this question, What have you done to help man? It is striving to arrange the great movements in the order of their actual value to life. Hence it is that students are very much occupied with the work of the Hebrew. A new interest in him has sprung up. He is seen to be one of the greatest forces in the world.

But it is another thing to state in words exactly the service rendered to man by the Hebrew.

Let the reader make the effort candidly for himself. Then he will not be too quick to deal harshly with Mr. Johnston.

Or if this is too large a task, let him state clearly and sharply how the work of Isaiah differs from the work of Elijah, and advances upon it.

H. H. WILLIAMS,  
*Dept. of Philosophy.*

## THE HEBREW IN CIVILIZATION.

To us looking back upon the great movements of nations from the vantage-ground of history the world is apparently rash in its accusations, hasty in its condemnations, and oftentimes wellnigh fatal in its executions. In the realm of philosophy it has killed a Socrates; in the region of politics it has murdered a Cicero; and in the province of religion it has crucified a Christ.

Yet after reflection we pay tribute to the Greek for the tangible form in which he has handed down to us his valuable contributions to the thought of the world. The Roman enjoys our respect for his brilliant achievements in martial rule. To the Oriental we extend our pity for his dependence upon dreams and hallucinations. But to the Hebrew, to whom we owe the greatest debt of gratitude, the world has as yet repaid little.

Among the Greeks thought is the reality, hence their life is superficial. Among the Romans obedience to law is the only thing real, hence their life is mechanical. To the Oriental (Hindoo) the reality is in dreams, hence his life is merely passive. But to the Hebrew his unceasing, undying unconquerable struggle has been to harmonize his impulses, thoughts, and actions with his conception of Divine Law, which was derived from his own experience; hence his life, although also mechanical, has ever been dominated by a religious motive.

It is a stubborn and unyielding fact that Israel has been the heart of all mankind in a religious sense. Just



as truly has it been said by Carlyle that "a man's religion is the chief fact in regard to him. A man's or a nation of men's." Certainly in the wide sweep of creation men or nations with the least religion are but the crippled or undeveloped specimens of a completer type.

Then if religion is so vital a part of man, an investigation into the typical religious life should be profitable.

Upon us the ends of the world are come. "We are the heirs of all the ages," and it is to our interest to take an inventory of our inheritance.

The dignified architecture and intellectual individualism of the Greeks are the pride and property of the whole world. The legislation of the Romans has become fundamental in modern codices. So the religious contribution of the Hebrews has come down to us the concrete, living, animating spirit of religious liberty

Then clearly, if the chief contribution of Judaism is through religion, it devolves upon us first to examine the great question "What is Religion?" What relation does it have to life? When we have answered this; and not until then, can we fully appreciate the Hebrew.

Religion? We find it everywhere. Does it require an investigation? Another question will suffice for an answer. Life, too, is everywhere. Who has interpreted it.

Then these two which are co-existent must have something in common; that is religion must be a part of life, practicable and therefore valuable. It then can be examined in the acts of a people; in the giving of a cup of cold water in the right spirit, or worshipping in spirit and in truth.

Thus it is not confined to the mere act but the motive that prompted it, the heart behind the act? The above is the practical definition. The theoretical one would be, "Religion is the conscious unity of the world as object with the self as subject, this unity being called Providence, or Reason, or Design, or Uniformity of Nature, or in short, God."\* We see then the question is profound and supreme. Then the highest form of religion must engage all our faculties; and if it is found to some extent in all men, it must be natural. That is as a man reasons without the knowledge of logic so he judges ethically.

Therefore we are brought to the conclusion that if religion is natural, universal and all-important to man, it must not only be logical, but also psychological; i. e. it must be the natural development of the full-grown man.

And if it is a consciousness of unity with the world, it must also be a sociological fact. So we see our definition broadening, becoming more inclusive. Then, too, a nation which has become the world's type of religion, must have developed the religious element with which life is endowed.

Religious nature is then complex and at the same time unified. "In the soul of religion the apprehension of truth and the enthusiasm of devotion inseparably blend; and in proportion as either is neglected by the other the conditions of right judgment fail. Religion is at once a mode of thought and a mode of feeling, nor does it matter in their indissoluble union which you put in the prior place, whether you trust first the instinct of intuitive reverence; or by intelligent judgment you surrender yourself to the awe and love of di-

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\*Bosanquet International Journal of Ethics, Vol. VII, p 53.



vine presence. These affections, rich in elements of wonder, admiration, and reverence culminate in worship.”\*

That is, it is the natural outgrowth and development of mankind. Then too we shall expect to find in the most developed stage of religion the highest elements of human nature, feeling, thinking, and willing in perfect harmony.

Further, we must see that without the element of feeling there can be no religion; for man does not, cannot worship an abstract idea. Where there is no object given there is no wonder nor admiration, hence no fear nor reverence; therefore no worship.

Religion originates in feeling. Feeling is the consummate flower of the religious system. It is not, as Kant supposed, alien to reason. Kant is wrong in calling feeling the “mortal enemy of truth.” There should be no conflict, for both are parts of life.

High feeling, pure thinking and right acting together must constitute our criterion. This then should be the unit of measurement for any people. It is the purpose of this paper to apply it to the Hebrew.

In this age when criticism pitilessly rends the veil of the naive method of investigation we must necessarily study the Hebrew just as impartially, and at the same time just as critically, as we do the Greek or the Roman.

We see then this eastern people doing just as all others do, busily engaged in getting a living and worshipping, laying more stress perhaps than the others on the latter. But, since we judge the Greeks by their Plato and Aristotle, and the Romans by their Cicero and Caesar, in like manner let us measure the Hebrews by their great prophets.

\*A Study of Religion, by James Martineau, Vol. I p. 3.

We find them bold and daring in their deeds as well as earnest and radical in their great theories. They seem to be searching for something that will supply an inner demand. They are not satisfied with life as they find it.

The struggle of Plato, carried on by Aristotle, the broader and deeper struggle of Kant still further developed by Hegel, is the same attempt of finite man to reach out after and grasp the universal reality. It is a ceaseless striving to interpret the mysterious problem of life. Hegel's great contribution is to put it into an intellectual formula. Nor has the great assumption made by him ever been explained by or confined to the process of reason. It is as deep as life.

We see then, from the nature of religion, that without it there can be no life. It is the first form of human activity that grapples with man's greatest problem.

Now these ideas are to be found in the religious consciousness of the people; and the field of a philosopher is in establishing their theoretical necessity; and the test of his philosophy is what he sees in human history.

The history of religion then is each people's solution of the deepest problem.

What solution do we get from the Hebrew? What are his contributions?

To fully appreciate his work let us step into his stage of consciousness.

His contributions may be grouped under three heads, viz:

1. His longing for a mediator.
2. The protest thought.
3. The significance of his faith.

First. They longed for a mediator between them



and Jehovah. The predominant feeling side of their nature made them seek for something permanent, hence their idea of an Unchangeable One. Here the Hebrew is in the stage of the moral man conscious of himself as more than moral; hence the moral law, which is the only true, real law, is laid down for them by the Absolute One. It is divine and arbitrary. But they could not keep the law. They were continually violating it. They need help and their Great God is far above them. He, their transcendent ideal, in some way must be more closely connected with life. They feel the need of an advocate to intercede for them; for their life and their God's are not in harmony. Some may call this superstition; but did not the great Kant meet and shun the same conflict. The Hebrew saw his life as it was and the will of his God in conflict, and was troubled and dissatisfied. Kant saw there was a world of nature and a world of spirit, and could not reconcile them. But with the lasting contribution of Kant that "we get at truth, though experience," we are ready to follow the Hebrew into the next phase of his work.

Second. The protest thought. The Hebrew is condemned by us, and perhaps with some justice, as being narrow.

To the Greek there occurred a conflict of the moral and religious law. Then one was to be broken. But to the Hebrew there could be no conflict. The religious law reigned supreme. Notwithstanding this their struggle goes on. Formerly they had thought that the kingdom of their Lord was in the State. Now Isaiah comes forward as the herald of a new radical view of things. Their Lord is One, hence says Isaiah, he must be consistent with himself; then as the Hebrew state is not

consistent, it cannot be the true home of the consistent spirit. But as the One must have a home, and the form must be consistent it must necessarily be in the consistent individual—in the “clean heart.”

So we see their idea being gradually brought into life. Nature and spirit are *unconsciously* being harmonized by them. They are approaching the great truth of Christ that “The kingdom of God is within you.” Now the condition of seeing Jehovah is having a clean heart.\* It is leading a certain sort of life. God dwells in the heart. Then it has no limitation by state. It is not geographical. They have become possible world citizens.

Then if their ideal now is founded on character, they must protest against political, social, or religious evil. No error is too insignificant. Why? They said it would be contrary to the will of Jehovah. But can we not see, as we watch their struggles and growth, that upon their consciousness is gradually dawning the fact of the Organic Unity of life clearly expounded by Paul? Any error is wrong because it is hurtful to society. They did not as yet realize this fully, but to the extent that their idea of “The One” was slowly being brought into life, to the same extent did religion become an individual matter, and the Hebrew a moral-religious man.

With this glimmering idea of the unity of society gradually being brought to light by the Hebrew, we pass on to his third and greatest contribution.

This is the striking faith of the Hebrews. He calls it revelation, which suggests to us a supernatural intervention of the train of experience, and we are too prone to pass it by without examination.

\*Isaiah, Chapter 6



Yet to this they attribute the cause of the achievements of their heroes. By this also we must estimate how they maintained the vigor of their national life. Certainly reason is a voice, but not the voice of truth. The Jewish religion, grounded on the principle of faith, is planted in the instincts of the people, whence comes its vitality.

What then are we to understand by this element of their life, that which seems to be the secret of their power?

By however much philosophical acumen we cannot appreciate nor appropriate all the riches that are embodied in the life of any great people. It is the same old story. "Mystery is a defiant giant." Still there is for us a deep phase of truth in this side of the Hebrew life. Unlike the Greeks they have always maintained that we can, in some way, obtain truth; therefore they believed that there was a relation between the individual and the absolute. Then again unconsciously through their acts (for they are not theorists) we see they have approached the stage of Hegel who said: "The world is ultimately intelligible." To *faith* then, whatever it is, the Hebrew gives credit for his perception of Truth, God, Unity of Things. "But the Hebrew prophets can only have drawn this ideal of the religious spirit out of their own souls."\* The cause of the Hebrew work then is the influence upon them of this Unity of Things. This is the Hebrew's solution of the problem of life. From their peculiar nature they could give no other solution, for *faith* is an element of their nature, and the conception of Unity is its direct natural product.

This is the distinguishing characteristic of their re-

\*Philosophy and Development of Religion. Pfleiderer.

ligious life. Also in our psychological analysis above we found that in religion, feeling was fundamental and laid hold on the permanent. Such is the action of faith. Thus faith, in this sense, as well as reason, is a voice of truth.

Hegel's great work is founded on Unity, but the process by which he attained this idea has never been explained. Language is a form of thought, but feelings can only find expression in the acts. Hegel felt the grand "Oneness" of the world, and from thence deduced his valuable philosophy.

Thus feeling, being a natural, fundamental, and indispensable part of human nature, must be one of the activities in the perception of reality. It is an essential element in the mysterious power of man to lay hold on reality. The chasm between man and the absolute cannot be bridged by reason alone. Faith is necessary. "Thus faith is the intuitive belief that the world is a complete and systematic whole."\* But while Dr. Everett's good "faith" means more than the one-sided development of man's emotions; yet he realizes their supreme necessity. This is the great work of the Hebrew, his unwavering fidelity to this side of man's nature.

Clearly without due attention to feeling, we cannot conceive of the unity of society, which is the basis of all true philosophy. Hence the importance of the Hebrew. He is our historic champion of feeling.

Yet the Hebrews had found but one side of the truth. As life is deeper than thought, so it is broader than feeling. Their "Unity" naturally became more exclusive than inclusive. They drifted more and more into the absolutism of law. Jerusalem, their capital,

\*Science of thought, p. 185. Dr. Everett.



is being destroyed on the Sabbath. The Sabbath is a divine law, hence they must sit still and worship. Law must not be all. A certain rigid mode of life is not sufficient.

They must realize that culture and character are interdependent, and that life cannot be confined to an arbitrary rule.

Thus we see that the Hebrew is by no means the ideal man, is far short of the universal. Yet he represents a great side of human life. To be deeply impressed by his life's work, imagine what we would be without his Bible, the record of the value and spirit of his contribution. It is partly a legend we know,

"But the legend we feel is a part  
Of the hunger and thirst of the heart."

"That however which fails to satisfy our whole nature comes short of perfection."\* Then that which partly satisfies us is valuable just to that extent.

Thus by our impartial criterion we see that the Hebrew represents a distinct, valuable phase, though only a phase of life. Life is broader than the Hebrew consciousness.

Surely this can be said of all other people as well. Yet through the movements in the Hebrew life we can see the unconscious crude attempts to force a way into the modern principles of subjective freedom. Their doctrines of God, in reality coming from their own peculiar nature as a living product of their faith, which itself is in a great degree dependent upon feeling, is today the absolute principle to which we must refer everything. The Hebrew prophets' immature dream has later been more fully expressed by Hegel in his "World of Spirit."

\*Appearance and Reality, Bradley.

Thus we see that in the onward sweep of progress the Hebrew nation, just as all other striving people, has surged and striven, drifting and being carried along by the tide of civilization from one form of absolutism to another. First it is the state as the absolute home of Jehovah ; at another time they subject themselves to strict obedience to an arbitrary Divine Law ; and still later the first idea of a church, as a divinely established institution, is their supreme reality.

Indeed throughout the ages all nations, as well as the Hebrew, have been slaves to some form of absolutism.

Evidently we have not yet reached our perfect religious stage, a universal system ; for no absolutism can be so.

Among the Hebrews little account was taken of the individual. They, we have seen, are a God-intoxicated people, hence deep, invaluable, but not universal ; for their absolutism is too arbitrary as the word itself implies. His is the deepest ; but it does not follow, as his acts show, that he represents the broadest side of life.

Although he has never tolerated a divorce of belief from character, while other religions have fostered this precarious duplicity, still he has neglected an important side of life. He has developed the feeling side of man, but has seen little else. He has ignored the importance of the individual and hence laid little stress on culture.

Renan is right in saying that "without proper knowledge of Judaism Christianity cannot be understood." He should have added, however, that the work of the people who developed the other side of life must also be understood.



For in Christianity all find satisfaction, life more abundantly. Then if Christianity is a product (and it must be to be universal) it had more than one cause. Yet we cannot estimate the several contributions of the nations by degrees. Each had striven for the universal in its own way. None had attained it for all were one-sided in their development.

Notwithstanding this, Israel's peculiar monotheistic conception, as she struggled to harmonize it with life, stands and will ever stand as a lasting monument to the patient labor of the greatest people of history. To live in the region of spirit, realizing that we are a part of the great system of things, is the freedom taught by Hegel. The prophet of the Hebrews is its first herald. To him it was but a glimmering light in the mist of human experience, but his nature enabled him to *feel* the absoluteness of the dawning truth as he shouts to his people "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one," and "Salvation shall be carried unto the ends of the earth."

Their universality fails in the meaning of their *Salvation*.

Clearly the liberal man must see the good in all sides of life. The subjective and objective must both be in the true life. The true system will furnish a religious foundation on which all men can meet. In so far as any system fails, it to that extent, is incomplete. The Greek and the Roman fall far short of perfection, so does the Hebrew. But if the religious side of life is the most important and universal, the work of the Hebrew is perhaps the greatest contribution of any people to the civilization of the world. In this sense then, we agree that they are the "chosen people."

But all people have imbibed some of the liquid of en-

lightenment from the virgin spring of truth. Experience gives us truth. Ours is the common heritage of humanity. Each stage, each epoch, each discovery, each revolution, each reformation is but a stepping-stone in the world's growth. Life is development. Without it there can be no life. Christianity is and must ever be realizing itself. This is why "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation." The crying need to-day is for a universal religion, for only that is perfect. Thus only when Christianity returns upon itself and merges the great stream of Christian development into the greater stream of human progress, can it be said to be the universal religion.

This was the far-off goal of the Hebrews, however far short they came of reaching it. Their faith is the covering under which the embryo first formed itself to man. This must be taken away if the man himself is to come out in the light of day,—gradually, not by violent revolution any more, but by the steady silent progress of experience the universal religion of man shall be established. *external evidence to that based on*

The transition from a faith based on a rational interpretation of man's experience, hard and difficult as it is proving to be, is coming and is freeing man. In the Hebrew life the former was the forerunner of the latter.

We to-day who see the implicit faith of the Hebrews gradually leaving us, should recognize its value, as we bid it farewell as a friend of the past whose necessary work is done. Their work, their struggle, and their imperfect results represent one stride in the onward sweep of creation. They afford us a great opportunity for widening our ideal.

The slow, unhasting, unresting process of the world's



development is slowly, surely spreading and gathering in its group all its foster children. And as the shades of ignorance are being lifted and as justice shines down upon the Jews' religion, stripped of the old oriental garments forced upon it through a thousand years, due honor will be given them by grateful humanity.

The deathless Jew is present among the earth's perfect peoples. Shall we begrudge his presence? His work in the world shall plead for him.

So when the great Hegel in his last work so justly concludes with Christianity, the purest, broadest, noblest, we cry "Do justice also to the Hebrew, for he helped make Christianity possible."

And although we to-day cannot view the Law in the sacred light of the Hebrews, yet as true philosophers must see it in the proper light of Paul, as our useful *Παιδαγωγός*.

It is true that when Christ came, the fulfillment of the Hebrew's sacred law, and the realization of his long-fought-for struggle for the reign of spirit, he did not recognize Him. Let us not, however, condemn him for this, for he helped to create the restless demand which Christ alone could satisfy.

CHAS. H. JOHNSTON, '98.

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COMPLIMENTS OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

Dr. Kaufmann Kohler

Personal  
Reminiscences

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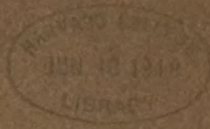
Early Life

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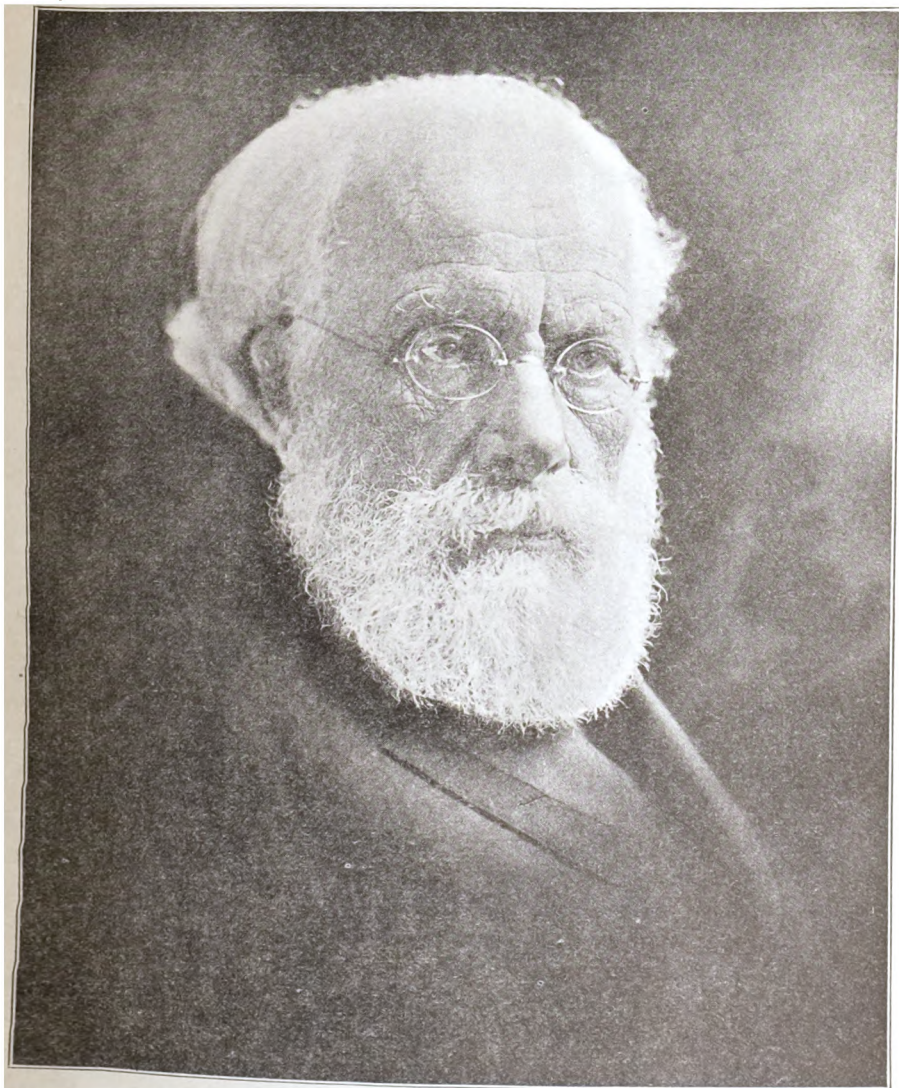
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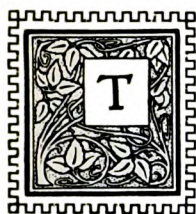
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DR. KAUFMANN KOHLER





THE wanderer through the Alps is frequently fascinated by the wondrous sight of the Alpine Glow, the afterglow of a glorious day when the sun, after it had gone down behind the mountains, casts its last rays upon the high peaks to make them reflect once more its brilliancy, as if it were still lingering above the horizon. Such an afterglow of great historical periods at the turning-points of history is always interesting to behold. It was my good fortune in the days of my youth to witness such an afterglow of the old Jewish life in its beauty and cheer, before the new era of modernism had altogether dispelled the old traditions with their cherished memories and observances.

### MY CHILDHOOD.

My native town Fuerth was the seat of a great Yeshibah, which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw hundreds of disciples (Bachurim), supported by a system of assessment of the well-to-do members of the Kahal, sit at the feet of famous Talmudic scholars summoned there as rabbis from all parts of Germany and Poland. It was widely known also for its Jewish printing press which furnished the student of the Torah with complete editions of the Talmud, the Schulchan Aruk with its commentaries and a large casuistic and liturgical literature. Thus in the religious circle in which I was brought up, it held fast to the proud memories and endearing customs of the ancient days, so that my childhood was passed in an atmosphere of genuine orthodoxy. At the same time my education was thoroughly modern. We spoke and wrote pure German at home, though my parents preferred to carry on their correspondence with their relatives and afterwards with us in Yuedish letters, that is the Hebrew script. My sainted father Moritz (Moses) Kohler, in common with his friends, devoted a portion of his time after the morning service at the "Shool" (Synagogue) to the study of the Talmud, and in the evening at home he prepared himself for the following day's portion. The Sulzbach edition of the Talmud which he used, I still possess. It bears the name of my grandfather, Jacob Kaufman, as he signed himself, before the city magistrate, in accordance with the edict of 1812, changed the family name into Kohler. My father initiated me into the Torah by teaching me Chumesh (Pentateuch) in my fifth year, and I remember how proud he was, when I asked him how Abraham could set before the angels the calf and milk together as a meal (Gen. XVIII, 8), and how he pointed to Rashi's solution of the religious problem for me. My sainted mother, Babette Loewenmayer, who died in her 91st year, and on whose tombstone I had the words from the Song of Songs inscribed: "I am asleep, but my heart is awake," was the daughter of David Loewenmayer, the teacher and cantor of the



Sulzbuerg community and sister of Dr. Mayer Loewenmayer, the rabbi of Sulzbuerg—related to the Sulzberger family in this country (see J. E. Art. Sulzberger). She loved to quote in her conversation and correspondence from her favorite poets, Lessing and Schiller; so that fondness of the German classics was ingrained in my soul early in life simultaneously with love for Hebrew literature. When I was about six years old, I entered the day school of Simon Bamberger, the learned teacher of the Jewish Orphan Asylum, who combined instruction in Bible and Talmud with secular lessons. He was a pupil of the renowned R. Wolf Hamburger, the last head of the Yeshibah in Fuerth, and I vividly recall the outburst of grief with which my teacher received the news of the demise of the great master on that memorable day, May 15th, 1850, when the whole city was suddenly transformed into one house of mourning and lamentation.

Indeed, with the passing away of Wolf Hamburger the pride and glory of the old communal life departed. It was his tragic fate to see the split of Jewry and Judaism into two camps glaringly brought out among his own pupils. Over against the few men of note that remained staunch adherents to his views and teachings, such as Seligman Baer Bamberger, Rabbi of Wuerzburg; Abraham Wechsler of Schwabach and a few others, there stood forth as banner-bearers of Reform, or as they were then called, Neologues, Isaac Loewi in his own city, Joseph Aub, Leopold Stein, Bernhard Wechsler, Elias Gruenebaum, M. Gutmann and the most pronounced of all, David Einhorn. Most aggravating and bitter was the conflict between the old and the new in his own community, where the Bavarian Government, in its support of all measures tending to the "enlightenment" of the Jew, took a hostile attitude to the old method of teaching, and finally had the Klaus (Beth Hamidrash), founded 150 years before by Baerman Frankel, an ancestor of his, closed to him altogether. One of the last pupils there, Eisle (Asher) Michael Schueler, my teacher in Hassfurt and Hoechberg, had to hide behind the benches to evade the searching policemen. A mere nonentity, Dr. Heidegger, was appointed as the official Talmud teacher. Hamburger's former co-laborers, men of great erudition and acumen, such as Joshua Moses Falkenau, Mendel Kargau, Jehuda Gera and Jehuda Loeb Halberstadt, had in my time all gone to their rest. Only their names and characteristic expressions were often mentioned in my hearing. Other venerable scholars I saw being lowered into the grave with an old Torah Scroll at their side as an emblem of their life. The house in which the former rabbi of Fuerth, the great Talmudist R. Zalman Cohn, lived, and the tombstones of Hirsch Yanov (Charif), of Baruch Rappaport and Joseph Steinhart with his learned wife Kroendla often brought the past glory of Fuerth home to my childhood. Only the noble figure of the adored octogenarian Wolf Hamburger still lives in my memory,

as he sat in a chair, after have functioned as Mohel in the house of my mother's uncle Isaac Dispecker, the grandson of David Dispeck, the rabbi of Baiersdorf and Baireuth and previously of Metz, the author of *Pardes David*, with whom Wolf Hamburger corresponded on ritualistic questions. He, my great-great-grand-father, was rather inclined to the pilpulistic method, and the story goes that, when he was summoned to the heavenly Yeshibah he was especially eager to meet the R. M. B. M. (Maimonides), pointing to his 54 discourses on the 54 Parashioth of the year, in which he endeavored by great acumen to harmonize 365 difficult passages in the Maimonidean Code, but the R. M. B. M. came to him with a smile, saying: "My dear Reb David, I am not at all so full of difficulties as you make me appear." Wolf Hamburger was as far remote from Pilpulum as from mysticism, but as simple in his teaching as in his whole religious life, exceedingly kind and generous to his pupils and fond of wit and good-natured sarcasm, so as to appreciate clever replies even of his liberal pupils in their conservative antagonists. His long protracted warfare against Dr. Loewi, his chief opponent, ended at last in a sort of truce, as the Government upheld the latter in his insistence on religious tolerance which made friends of Protestants and Catholics and Jews, but the outcome was religious indifference throughout the Jewish community.

#### MY BOYHOOD.

As my native town no longer offered me an opportunity to pursue the Rabbinical studies, my father placed me, when I was about ten years old, in charge of the above-mentioned Talmudist Eisle Michael Schueler in the little town of Hassfurt with whom I remained four years. A fine type of a modest old-time scholar, he lived on the so-called Shiurim, donations sent to him by generous friends, especially from America, as compensation for Torah lessons in memory of departed relatives.

As I was too young to fast on Atonement Day, I was teased for being a "Yomkippur-fresser." So the next year I fasted and from that time on kept all fasts with the rest of the boys. For my Bar Mizwah Derashah I selected, to the surprise of my teacher and of my father who had come to the celebration, the Sabbath discourse on the week's Parashah Behar from my ancestor's work: *Pardes David*.

In the last year I joined my beloved teacher when he moved to Hoechberg, a village near Wuerzburg, with the view of starting there, in common with Eleazar Ottensosser, a kind of preparatory school to the Yeshibah of Seligman Baer Bamberger of Wuerzburg. Ottensosser, however, though also a pupil of Wolf Hamburger, was more of a mystic than a scholar, and his method did not appeal to me. All the pupils had to recite their morning benedictions for him after the service in order to enable him to respond to each with Amen and have these put to his



account, so as thereby to complete the 100 benedictions the pious Jew is to recite each day. It was said of him that he went over each Talmudic treatise four times but always without the Rosh (an abbreviation of Rabbenu Asheri and at the same time meaning head). One of my fellow students there was Isaac Schwab who became the rabbi at St. Joseph, Missouri, and whose grandson is now one of our College students. Every Friday afternoon one of us went to Wuerzburg to get fish for the Sabbath eve meals of our teachers, and there I frequently went to Rabbi S. B. Bamberger, an exceedingly fine personality, honored alike by Jew and Gentile for his integrity of character. He would never have any closed letter of his delivered by friends without the stamp required by the Government in order not to rob it of its due, nor would his noble wife shake hands with any man lest her touch arouse unchaste feelings. He remembered my father from the Schindelhof in Fuerth, where our house was in the close neighborhood of the famous Jewish printing press, and when I expressed to him the wish to be admitted into his Yeshibah he told me to wait, lest all my school-mates would follow me and break up the Hoechberg school.

This led me to go to Mayence, where Dr. Lehmann, the rabbi of the orthodox congregation, was just starting a Rabbinical school, offering the students, besides the support given by wealthy members, instruction in Latin and Greek, as well as in German composition. His own Rabbinic knowledge, however, was markedly deficient, and I decided to attend the Talmudic lessons given by his father-in-law, Samuel Bondi, grandson and pupil of the renowned Herz Scheuer, a wealthy wine merchant who devoted his afternoons to the Torah. I felt that much of the four years I spent there was time wasted, but whenever I spoke of my intention to go to some University, warning was given me by all the older friends in Fuerth in the familiar Hebrew saying from Proverbs: "None that go to her (the University,) returns." Nor would my uncle Dr. Loewenmayer, also a pupil of Wolf Hamburger and at the same time a fine Latin scholar, persuade me to act against the wish of my father, though he encouraged me to deliver little homilies in his Sulzbuerg pulpit despite my immature youth.

Finally, I resolved, when in my 19th year, to go to the Yeshibah at Altona, near Hamburg, over which R. Jacob Ettlinger presided, while two excellent Talmudists, pupils of Moses Sofer in Pressburg, Jacob Cohn and Isaiah Hollander, functioned as Dayanim and assistant teachers. Ettlinger was a remarkable personality. Belonging to a family of scholars in Carlsruhe, Baden, he studied in Wuerzburg under Abraham Bing, while at the same time attending the university. Having been one of the earliest German Rabbis of academic training and having become one of the most prominent and strict upholders of orthodoxy in all its practices and beliefs, the saying was that Satan made him go



through the university and come forth immune and loyal so as to lure all the rest of modern rabbis to pursue those studies which caused their disloyalty to traditional Judaism. He was a pronounced mystic and spent hours in prayer, with the two kinds of Tefillin (Rashi's and R. Tam's), on, before he entered the lecture room, where he dwelt chiefly on the Halakic discussions, pointing out difficulties in the most naive fashion. An instance of this is given in his work on Sukkah where he grapples with the questions how the Jew on the American hemisphere is to comply with the law requiring the Lulab to be held upwards the way it has grown when the palm branch comes from the other hemisphere and to hold it as it had grown would mean to hold it upside down. It was, however, a great privilege to enjoy his and his wife's splendid hospitality each Sabbath and festival evening when the richly decked table



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with its dishes and songs had a peculiar charm. Even the 15th day of Shebat, the days of renewal of the year's vegetation (corresponding to the Valentine Day of Folklore) was made a day of thanksgiving, all kinds of fruits from the various parts of the world being offered for repast. My two years' stay at Altona, where I boarded at the cozy home of Elias Munk and his amiable wife, the sister of Dr. Israel Hil-

desheimer of Halberstadt, the leader of orthodoxy in many quarters, were indeed a great experience for me.

SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH.

The man who exerted the greatest influence upon my young life and imbued me with the divine ardor of true idealism was none other than the representative of what was called Neo-orthodoxy, Samson Raphael Hirsch, the pupil of Isaac Bernays, the Chakam of Hamburg, author of the anonymous book, "Der Bibel'sche Orient," and of Jacob Ettlinger when Klaus rabbi in Mannheim. Though he kept himself at a distance from his pupils, as he never invited us to his home nor manifested any personal interest in our welfare or progress, his strong personality was such as to work like a spell upon his hearers. Whether he spoke in the pulpit or expounded the Scripture to large audiences, or led us through the discussions of the Talmud, there was a striking originality and the fascinating power of genius in his grasp of the subject. His method of reading and explaining the Scripture or the Talmud was so different from the usual way; he made us find the meaning of the passage independently, though his own system of thought was peculiar. His was a strange combination of Hebrew lore and German culture, which culminated in his concept of the "Jisroel-Mensch," that is of a humanity which finds its highest expression in loyal, traditional Judaism. Every Saturday night in my letter to the dear ones at home I gave a faithful synopsis of the sermon I heard in the morning and the impressive teachings laid down in the "Horeb" and other works by Hirsch became part and parcel of my innermost life. At the same time I attended the two highest classes of the Gymnasium of Frankfurt in common with the two sons of Abraham Geiger, but not for the world would I ever approach them with the view of being introduced to their renowned father, the Reform leader. Nor did I ever enter any of the Reform temples either in Frankfort or Mayence, having been taught to regard them as Tiflah—a perversion of a house of worship.

Shortly before I left Frankfurt, I had the courage to go to the well-known liberal-minded Jewish philanthropist, B. H. Goldschmidt, and ask him for the grant of a stipend for my University studies out of his large stipendary fund and he gave me the characteristic answer: "A pupil of Samson Raphael Hirsch, the orthodox rabbi, you come to me for a stipend? I will grant it, feeling certain that before you have finished your university course you will have ceased to be a follower of Hirsch." Sooner than I could expect my change of views came. My Arabic studies under Prof. Mueller in Munich at once undermined the exegetical system of S. B. Hirsch built upon the assumption that Hebrew was the original language, and the philosophical and historical lectures I attended knocked the bottom out of his whole theology. I



passed days and weeks of indescribable woe and despondency; the heavens seemed to fall down upon me and crush me; and the strange tone of my letters puzzled my dear parents so as to make them suspect me of having fallen into bad company. I rallied strength and traveled to Frankfurt to lay my doubts and scruples before my revered teacher; but instead of having these satisfactorily removed, I received the remarkable answer: "My dear Kohler, he who wants to journey around the world must also pass the torrid zone; proceed and you will come back safely." I proceeded in my studies, but did not come back to where I started from. I only felt that having eaten of the thus long forbidden fruit from the tree of knowledge, my eyes opened and I was driven out of the paradise of my childhood.

#### MY BERLIN LIFE.

The Berlin University was now the goal of my ambition. There I hoped to obtain a full response to my innermost longings of heart and mind, but I met one disappointment after the other. Dr. Zunz, I was told, was inaccessible to visitors and especially to theological students, and the impression I received from hearing him speak at a political meeting was that he had become a morose misanthrope. To Aaron Bernstein, the author of "Voegelé der Maggid," then the editor of the "Berliner Volkszeitung," I came with a card of recommendation from Dr. Stern, Rector of the Philanthropin in Frankfurt, his former collaborator at the formation of the Berlin Reform Congregation, but was greeted with the following words: "You have come here to study theology, but will turn out to be a hypocrite like the rest." As a matter of fact, the dual life which he led in his own home showed him, to the initiated, to have been a real hypocrite. Dr. Joseph Aub with his Bavarian accent was no success in the pulpit of the Northern metropolis, and he said to me in his witty way: "I have been called hither as the Moshiaeh ben Joseph to prepare the way for Dr. Geiger, the real Moshiaeh." Though somewhat related to me, as my uncle married a cousin of his, a sister of Hirsch Aub rabbi of Munich, he never made me feel at home in his house. Dr. Steinschneider's lectures at the Veitel-Heine-Ephraim Institute offered me only the husks of Jewish learning, lists of names and dates of authors and of manuscripts, with all sorts of attacks on other bibliographers; in substance I profited little. In order to keep up my Talmudic studies, I attended daily the lessons of Michael Landsberg, the Klaus rabbi, a man of singular naivete who was easily upset by references to different readings or difficult questions put to him. With the exception of the holy day visits I made to my relative, Dr. Loewenmayer in Frankfort on the Oder, and the Friday evenings I often spent with his brother-in-law, Dr. Baerwald, afterwards Rector of the Philanthropin in Frankfort on the Main, the Jewish life in Berlin

appeared to me frosty and uncongenial. All the more was I anxious to make the best of my Biblical, philosophical and historical studies under Profs. Roediger, Dieterici and Trendelenburg, but it was Prof. Steintal's mythological and ethnological views which exerted the profoundest influence upon my whole thinking and feeling. It was the crisis of my life that I passed while the new ideas crowded upon my mind, driving it more and more from the old moorings, and I had no friend of prominence in the big city to confide in during these days of anxiety and trial. Nor did I have a real Jewish home to keep the cherished memories of old fresh in me. Still, while wrestling with my God and my own past, I never lost hold upon my ancestral faith, nor did I for a moment become skeptic like so many of my fellow-students, most of whom I met at the Jewish restaurant. I only felt that I had outgrown the romanticism and conservatism of those who adhered to the teachings of the Breslau Seminary. So in solitary strength of faith I followed my own ideal of a progressive and liberal Judaism.

#### MY "SEGEN JACOBS."

As the result of my Berlin studies I wrote and published in 1867 the "Segen Jacobs," a bold effort at reconstructing the entire historic development of the religious views of the Bible based upon novel mythological and critical research. It was iconoclastic only insofar as it applied the principle of historical evolution to the whole Pentateuch in opposition to the prevailing view, voiced chiefly by Ewald, of the Mosaic origin of the law. Some of my main arguments were at once adopted by the well-known Dutch critic Abraham Kuenen in his "History of the Religion of Israel" without even the mention of my name except when he differed with me as to detail. Dr. Geiger, however, in his *Zeitschrift* and in private letters welcomed me heartily as a co-laborer in the field of Biblical research and became my warm friend. I left Berlin with a Rabbinical diploma handed to me by Dr. Aub, after I had answered 14 ritual questions for him. "These are your first *Sheeloth*," he said jokingly, "and probably also the last you will have to answer."

Dr. Lehmann, my former teacher, in his journal *Der Israelit*, in the bitterest possible terms pronounced Anathema against me and my work, and there was consternation in my parental home when the news spread. Dr. Loewi, who had planned to make me a Rabbinical adjunct for the rising Congregation of Nuernberg, expressed sorrow at seeing, as he said, my Rabbinical career blocked by what I wrote. "Must a man tell all he knows to people that will hardly understand him?" he said. He did not realize that there was in me something of that fire of which the prophet Jeremiah says, that it cannot be quenched. I went indeed through the pangs of Jeremiah when I saw my parents,



who had built such great hopes upon my future, exposed to fanatical animosity and reproach for not disowning me.

At the suggestion of Dr. Geiger, I took up my Oriental studies in Leipzig under Prof. Fleischer, the eminent Arabic scholar, with the view of preparing for a professorship. There I came into closer contact with Franz Delitzsch and Julius Fuerst. The latter induced me to undertake for him the publication of the "Illustrierte Juedische Bibel fuer Israeliten," but when at the appearance of the first installment of the work to which I intended to give a real scientific character, I found my name as editor omitted, I gave it up. Altogether my heart was not in mere literary enterprises, and Dr. Geiger pointed to America as the land of promise for progressive Judaism, paving the road for me by warm letters of recommendation to Drs. Einhorn, Adler, Felsenthal and Lilienthal. In the meantime Dr. Lilienthal had written to him on behalf of the Detroit Congregation asking him to suggest a young rabbi for the vacant position, and I received a call there; while Dr. Einhorn in a number of letters kept me informed about American conditions and finally welcomed me at the landing in New York as an intimate friend. His striking personality made at once a deep impression on me, and his congenial family circle warmly appealed to me. I felt that "the Lord had led me into the house of kinsmen." The following year on the self-same day of my arrival in America, August 28th, 1870, I was married to my dear devoted help-mate, Johanna Einhorn. Previous, however, to my sailing across the ocean I attended the Synod at Leipzig, which gave a new impetus to my future career. The assembly of the renowned representatives of Liberal Judaism and the discussions of leading principles was to me a revelation. To hear the masterly address of Prof. Lazarus, the President of the Synod, and other distinguished personalities could only inspire me with new courage and confidence in my calling. At the same time the half-measures agreed upon in the spirit of compromise and the hide and seek policy I observed when meeting these eminent men on closer range, indicated to me a certain timidity which somewhat dampened my enthusiasm.

#### AMERICA THE LAND OF THE FUTURE.

When the sun sets over the Eastern hemisphere, it sends forth under the vast waves of the sea, as it were, the herald of a new day to dawn upon the Western Continent. Before my mind was the vision of the new world, no longer handicapped by fear of authorities and petty consideration of obsolete customs, but offering a free scope for general progress and individual independence and courage of conviction. Buoyed up by this spirit and firmly believing that a benign Providence had assigned to me the special task of working for a complete harmonization of modern thought with the ancient faith in the land of

my destination, I prepared mind and heart for entering upon my duties as American Rabbi. I preached my inaugural sermon at the Beth-El Congregation of Detroit the Sabbath before the Jewish New Year, 1869, and three months afterwards, I had the opportunity of meeting the American leaders of Reform Judaism at the Rabbinical Conference of Philadelphia, convened by Drs. Einhorn and Adler, which held its meetings in the house of Samuel Hirsch, and was attended by Drs. Wise and Lilienthal. On that occasion I heard for the first time an English sermon, which was preached by Dr. Wise, and his words are still vivid in my memory. The broadness of view and independence



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of thought, which characterized all the deliberations, formed a striking contrast to what I had heard and witnessed at the Leipzig Synod, and I thanked God for having been permitted to come to America, the land of liberty and large opportunity to help, with the powers allotted to me, in the building up of American Reform Judaism, the religion of the future. Looking back upon my years of preparation and my years of activity as American Rabbi, I feel like saying in the words of Scripture: "I have wrestled wrestlings for God, and have prevailed."





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THE  
WANDERING JEW;

OR,

THE PATH OF ISRAEL THROUGH HISTORY.

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A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE BETH-EL CONGREGATION, SUNDAY, JUNE 23D, 1878,

BY

REV. DR. K. KOHLER,

Rabbi of the Sinai Congregation, in Chicago.

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# THE WANDERING JEW ;

OR,

THE PATH OF ISRAEL THROUGH HISTORY.

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**W**HILE proposing to speak about the Wandering Jew, I do not intend to dwell on the nature of that curious tale, made so popular by novelists and so grand and striking by modern poets and painters. The object I have in view is to represent the Jewish people in a light far different from that reflected on them by the Christian legend of the middle ages. Thank God, the Jew is no more looked upon as the miserable and curse-laden wanderer, doomed to find no rest for his weary foot, on account of having refused for all time to acknowledge one of his own kindred as the world's savior. But although respected as a loyal member of society and admitted into the citizenship of the modern state, he is, on account of his Oriental origin and his conservatism concerning his race, more or less regarded as a foreign element amidst Occidental civilization. In spite of his ardent patriotism and his enthusiastic participation in the affairs of his country, he is, in the eyes of his fellow-citizens, if not in his own, still "a stranger and a sojourner," like his ancestor. His true historical mission as Jew, his Abraham-like character as a bearer of blessing for all nations, his prominent share in the world's civilization, in the exchange and propagation, not only of material goods which form the basis of human existence, but of ideas, of mankind's spiritual treasures, is hardly known and appreciated. Nor is it difficult to find the reason. To use a simile, for many centuries astronomy, so successful in the calculation of the planetary motions, hesitated to reckon the comets among the stars. These vagabond lights, which, by their eccentric paths, seemed rather to disturb the order of the solar system, were gazed at with superstitious fear and dreaded as forebodings of disaster. At last they, too, while proudly cutting a track of their own across the vast heavens, were found to

wheel around the same luminous centre as the others. Likewise did "the star of Jacob," the Jewish people, "in its solitude not reckoned among the nations," inspire mankind with wonder and awe. Neither the mediæval state founded upon the rock of St. Peter, nor modern nationality built upon a certain historical soil, could fully assimilate and absorb the Jew. Amidst the ebb and flood of time, which cause nations to rise and fall and civilizations to grow and decay, he is seen wandering through all lands, crossing all streams of culture and sharing in the progress of all nations without ever losing his way, ever undaunted by the currents and storms of the ages. To be sure, unbiased minds are bound to acknowledge the prevalence of a singular law regulating the wondrous course of Jewish history. Let us then, while quickly glancing over the great events and turning-points of human history, try to detect the part allotted to the Jew in the midst of mankind. Let us see how, through his twofold nature, through his earthly and divine spirit, he, like man in the range of animated beings, proves to be among the nations a citizen of two worlds, destined to immortality in order to give witness of the Everlasting God, whose name is entwined with his own.

When, four thousand years ago, Abraham left the Mesopotamian plain to roam along the river Jordan with his flock, the world was not at all as young as people are apt to think. How many races had already been swept away from the globe's surface, how many empires shattered to form the stratum of the ancient civilizations of Chaldea and Egypt at the very dawn of history, we will never know. Hebrew tradition offers but faint reminiscences even of the splendor and power of the latter kingdoms. Of course, when the proud cities of Babel and Urkasdim, of Damascus, Hebron and Zoan, built and peopled by the formidable race of Ham, were taken by the first-born sons of Shem, the shepherd of Haran, their kinsman, was, if already born, still in his cradle. And what had haughty Babylonia with all her greatness, her wisdom and art, industry and trade, with all her ancient lore and song, her curious cuneiform writings, her geometrical and astronomical observations, her machineries and manufactories, to offer to the plain son of Terah? He merely saw his freedom and the simplicity of his life and faith encroached upon by the progress and victory of the Mesopotamian conquerors, and was glad to find among kindred tribes in the Arabian desert pastures for his herds and flocks.

In this condition the Hebrews might have continued their Bedouin-life for untold centuries, unconcerned, like their Arabic breth-



ren, in all the wars waged round about them, but for Egypt. The Pharaohs with their iron scourge roused and spurred them into unwonted activity and enterprise, breaking the monotony of their desert wanderings and pushing them towards the high-road of history. The Egyptian shackles welded the vagrant Hebrew tribes into a nation. Far from tracing the Hebrew law and religion, yea, as has often been done, the very God of the Hebrews, the matchless *Yahveh*, to Egyptian origin, I behold in Egypt merely the hammer used by divine Providence to strike the Hebrew people in order to elicit its divine spark of religious inspiration, but not the sun to offer it its light therewith to brighten the world. The free desert, not the land of oppression, cradled and nursed the Hebrew faith. When Moses, says the Midrash, came to Pharaoh to reclaim his enslaved people for the service of *Yahveh*, the King sent for his large almanac of divinities to search for the name of the God of the Hebrews, but failed to find it. "Who," said he, "is *Yahveh* your God, whose voice I am to obey? I know him not, nor do I find him anywhere." "Truly," Moses replied, "our great God has no place among your deities, which are born to die, for He is *Yahveh*, the everlasting fountain-head of all life."

Perhaps never in history did two antagonistic powers offer such striking contrasts as did magnificent Egypt in the glorious days of Raameses II. and the insignificant Hebrew wanderers encamped in the outskirts of the royal city of Zoan. The land of the Nile had, in the course of many thousands of years, by an astonishing system of dams and dykes, of artificial lakes and canals built around the river, become the garden and granary of the world. Its pyramids of dazzling size, erected in honor of its kings; its colossal temples and statues, sphinxes and pillars in honor of its gods had made it the wonder of mankind. Its priests, by their many discoveries in every art and science, by their hieroglyphics and their immensely rich literature kept on monuments and papyri, had rendered it the focus of human culture. Its splendid dynasties of conquerors had gathered the wealth of all nations in its midst. Arabia and Syria had to contribute their rich produce of spices and mineral treasures, Africa her gaudy fauna, India her ivory, Mesopotamia her large manufacture, Phœnicia her trade, her purple and silk, even China her porcelain. Entire Africa and Asia lay prostrate at the feet of Egypt, spell-bound by her heroic valor and artistic splendor, which seemed to culminate in the reign of Raameses II., the great, long-lived conqueror and builder of temples and monuments. What could Egypt offer unto the despised Hebrew shepherds on her border but

the lash to force them to work? What could Raameses II. and his son Menephtha do but yoke them into servitude to use them for their numerous buildings? Could they imagine these slaves to be destined one day to eclipse all their fame and grandeur?

They knew not that the very riches of Egypt meant exhaustion. There was no possibility for Mizraim's brilliant civilization but to decline. She had actually become a "house of slaves." Her lords had been enervated by luxury. Her art and science were manacled and petrified by hierarchical rule and tradition. The purity of her race, her language and religion were, in consequence of incessant conquests, infected by foreign immigrations. Her gods Ra and Osiris, old Shemitic deities of light and vegetation, by their daily or yearly renewal beautiful suggestions of immortality, had been rendered ineffable, awful mysteries. The hope for a life beyond the grave had been overcast with dreadful gloom and superstition by the revived old African fear and worship of beasts of prey, believed to haunt the souls of the dead as well as the living. The priestly power had grown in strength so as to threaten the royal throne. But few centuries were necessary to render mighty Egypt the prey unto Mesopotamian and Ethiopian conquerors and finally to deliver it into the hands of Persia and Macedonia.

On the other hand, the very simplicity of the Hebrew shepherds was hidden strength and vigor. Their living God was their secret power. Unapproachable on Sinai's lofty heights He dwelled, the great Yahveh, the awful Ruler of the heavenly hosts, riding on storm and fire-clouds, worshipped by the patriarchs as the almighty Author of life, unto whom all beginnings and organs of life were sacred. In the city of Pithom, He had, as we now learn from the monuments, a temple attended by two young priestesses wearing royal crowns, probably the same mentioned in the Bible as the Hebrew midwives. The whole district was called the Province of the Sanctuary of the living God: Punt paanch, whence the name Zapunt paanch **צפנת פאנח** "governor of Sukkoth," ascribed by Hebrew tradition unto *Joseph*. To break the chains of bondage, the Hebrews required merely a keen, unflinching trust in Yahveh their God. Might He not at any moment command the elementary powers of the desert to smite the air, the water, and the land of Egypt with poison and disease, with hail, hot-wind, and swarms of insects in order to crush its haughty rulers and to rescue His people? No learned priest, no initiation into Egyptian mysteries, but a deep, faithful and sympathetic heart was needed to concentrate the fervent hopes and yearnings of the whole people into a focus and to blaze forth into



a divine revelation. A simple shepherd of Midian, thus the Bible tells us, drew down from heaven the Magna Charta of freedom for his people, and his name, Moses, goes down to coming centuries, outshining that of any other man on earth. Not the land of sphinxes and hieroglyphics, but the invigorating, untrammelled desert trained and schooled Israel and its first law-giver for their great task. Egypt could only fan and quicken, the free wilderness nourished the flame of prophetic inspiration, which elicited the sublimest and most precious truths from the deep human breast.

Dare not stay too long amongst kindred nomads in the desert, thou wandering people, in whose midst the God of mankind marcheth ! Canaan's land is thy destination ; there shall thy spirit be nurtured. The shepherd's crook will no more do for thee. Thou requirest the sword to test thy power, a firm soil to grow upon into a nation. As the planets in their course around the sun are ruled by two opposite forces, a centrifugal one to move them onwards, and a centripetal one to keep them on their track, we henceforth see Jewish history shaped by the interchange of a progressive, cosmopolitan, and a conservative and exclusive tendency. The former turned the Bedouin's tent into that of a warrior, conquered Canaan, established the kingdom, built a magnificent temple in Phœnician style unto the patriarchal God, brought the Hebrew people into contact with the wide world, opened the land and the sea before them, imparted to them the treasures of foreign countries, of olden wisdom and splendid art and skill, refined their habits of life, fostered their literary taste and culture. It gave Israel all its worldly greatness and wisdom, its political, yea, the very possibility of intellectual strength and vitality, to enable it to enter into contest with cultivated heathenism. Yet Canaanite civilization, so much superior to their own, tended to estrange the Hebrews from their patriarchal simplicity of faith and conduct. Canaanite life with its agricultural seasons and habits, with its art and industry, with its comfort and luxury, too greatly altered their views and customs not to affect also their religion. Baal and Astarte, the gods who had hitherto ruled the land and given it plenty of corn and wine, laid claims upon the newcomers. Who was to plead for the patriarchal God ? Who would make the majestic Sinai peal forth its awful thunders against Israel's breaking the old covenant ?

A curious phenomenon is to be noticed here as offering the key for many problems in Jewish history. A select class of men and women pledged their lives for the maintenance of the patriarchal faith. These were the *Nazarites*, who continued the simple habits of the old desert-

life, while strictly observing the priestly rules of sanctity and purity. To stir the sacred flame of the Hebrew religion ever anew, when it came near being quenched by heathen influences, was their only purpose of life. From their ranks rose the judges with heroic enthusiasm and the prophets with their irresistible sway of eloquence, bent upon establishing the glory of Yahveh, Israel's only God, in the land. Need I recall to your minds the names of those men, who, by their fiery eloquence, by their loftiness of mind and depth of heart, eclipsed all the renowned orators and statesmen, teachers and sages of the world? Need I dwell on the merits of an Amos, Hosea, Michah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, who, greater discoverers than all those named as such in history, found the master-key for all the divine treasures hidden in the human breast, putting the brightest of all jewels into the diadem of man, the truth of man's being the son and image of God? As indomitable heralds of truth and righteousness, they thrust forth, like a volcano, the lurid lava of divine wrath against idolatry and vice, only to surround the throne of God with the grandeur of holiness. What matters it to them whether the whole nation be shaken to the core, nine-tenths of it being broken off and flung away by the storm, and even the rest being winnowed, if but the holy stem, a single seed of righteousness, remains? What if Assyria devoured its strength and Babylonia carried off the rest? Amidst disappointment and despair their prophetic spirit unfolded its world-embracing, heaven-aspiring pinions, as never before, to behold in Zion, now God's holy mount, the future rallying-point of all nations for the adoration of Israel's God of truth and justice.

Only the people still groped in the dark, unable to follow their seers in their keen flight heavenwards. Clinging to pagan rites and abominable superstitions, they dared not lift up their eyes in prayer to their God on high, whom only the priest, veiled in the smoke of sacrifice, and the consecrated Nazarite could approach unpunished. Judaism, as a kingdom of priests and a holy nation, still slumbered in the hearts of but few, like a seed waiting for the ploughshare to furrow the soil, and the spring to make it grow. The Babylonian exile was the smelting-furnace to recast the remnant of Israel into a people of God. The prophetic promise of return to Canaan, henceforth the Holy Land of Israel's God, was the guiding-star of those wandering into captivity.

But there another brilliant civilization threatened to alienate the Jews from their mission. Babylon, being the centre of the world's commerce and industry, the grand university of letters of eldest



renown, showed heathenism arrayed in most attractive wisdom and splendor. Her sacred archives disclosed unto the Jewish captives the records of the remotest past, the secrets of the world's beginning. Her astronomers and magicians unveiled to them the mysteries of the heavens, the name and position of every star, angel, and spirit, whether good or evil, in the constellation of the universe, and this belief was, instead of the old Canaanite idolatry, blended with Judaism. Soon the fresh and clear Hebrew language was exchanged with the time-worn Babylonian dialect. Jewish talent and wisdom, soliciting the admiration of Babylonian rulers, found honorable fields of labor, recognition, and success. Israel was in a fair way of getting lost among the conflux of nations streaming to Babylonia, had not the remnant of the Nazarites, under the name of "the servants of God," or "the pious" and "humble ones," Ebionim, again guarded the sacred heritage of Israel, and by admonition, instruction, and prayers prepared the people for the longed-for return to the Holy Land. As pupils and heirs of the prophets, they, in company with the priests, gathered the priceless literary remnants of the nation to render them a treasury of comfort and inspiration for mankind. They also drew up systems of law for the restoration of the Jewish state, tending to regulate the domestic, social and political life of the people by the standard of priestly holiness and purity, in order to render the land worthy of the God dwelling in its midst. Having amidst sorrow and longing for Jerusalem elicited the most touching elegies from their harps whilst sitting on the shores of Babylon's rivers, they broke out into joy and jubilee when Cyrus, the Persian king, rose like the sun in the East, to triumph over Asia, and in the name of Ormuzd, the good spirit of light, to overthrow haughty Babylonia. As God's Anointed one, he is hailed by the lofty seer of the exile, who expects soon to have the temple rebuilt and as a house of prayer and enlightenment reopened unto all the nations. Alas! hope is a wing, possession becomes a fetter unto the soul. The great prophetic outburst of hope and enthusiasm ended within the small compass of the temple; the lofty aspirations of the nation dwindled into priestly ritualism. Restoration of the priestly privileges became the watchword of the sons of Saddok, as the contemplated restitution of the kingdom was interfered with by the Persian government.

But just then Judaism equipped itself for its world-conquering march. Its members had been dispersed over Asia, where they shared in the material and mental progress of Persia and other nations. Their talents and prospects outgrew the narrow limits

of Judea. The wide world became their home. When Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror, blended Eastern and Western civilization, the Jews were the first to combine the Jewish faith with Greek thought, Greek philosophy with Oriental lore. The Jews, admired by his teacher, Aristotle, for their wisdom, offered him brave soldiers for his armies, industrious settlers for his new colonies, the best element for his cosmopolitan plans and purposes. The whole Mediterranean shore on the Asiatic and African coast was dotted with Jewish settlements, attending to agriculture, commerce and industries, even to purple and silk manufactories inherited from the Phœnicians.

Nor was Judaism as a religion confined to the Holy Land. The temple at Jerusalem with its perpetual altar-fire nourished by the gifts of all the Jews, near and far, formed henceforth its bright national centre, instead of a mere territorial one. Its priests, the sons of Saddok, holding connections with foreign lands and nations, represented the cosmopolitan element of Judea. With their necessarily broad and universal education they formed the vanguard of Jewish propaganda all over the world. Being the aristocracy of blood and wealth, they, as a party, endeavored to blend heathen culture and refinement with their religion, in order to reflect credit on the latter. No doubt, the naturalization of Jewish ideas in Syria and Alexandria, the translation of the Bible into Greek and Aramean was due to their influence. But, ensnared by worldly power, by greed after wealth and sensual pleasures, they disgraced their proud name. Sadduceeism became a nickname, significative of apostasy and libertinism. Under the disguise of Greek refinement, heathen idolatry and vice flooded the land and the temple, threatening to wipe out Judaism.

To oppose Sadducean wantonness and license, the remnant of the old Nazarites, the Chasidim or "pious ones," afterward called by their Syrian name the Pharisees, rose, invested with priestly sanctity and prophetic power. As during the Babylonian exile, they longed and prepared themselves for the coming of the Messiah and the great time of resurrection. Their inspiring zeal for the Law carried the Hasmonean priests forward to brilliant victories, and counteracted also their ambition and arrogance, when they aspired first to the high-priest's diadem, and then to the royal crown. Their fervent hope, their sublime faith, their aspiration to the highest possible holiness and purity, their priestly lives and costume (the white, long-fringed garment and capsules of Biblical texts, fastened on the forehead and over the breast), shaped and moulded



the life of the Jewish people. They were the founders of the Synagogue, which, as a centre of public instruction, devotion and charity, soon outshone the temple in Jerusalem with all its priestly pomp and splendor. As popular preachers they succeeded in refining Jewish morals, and as teachers in sublimating the Biblical teachings about God and the hereafter, as they blended them at first with Oriental traditions and fables, and afterwards with Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy. Wherever Jewish enterprise and talent had found success and prosperity, they instituted congregational worship to scatter the sublime truths of a *common father, a common moral obligation, and a common hope* of mankind. They gave the world men like Hillel and Jesus with sweet lessons of humanity, of kindness and charity on their lips, men like Philo, the philosopher, and Josephus, the historian, with broad cosmopolitan views, and finally energetic men like Jochanan ben Sakkai and St. Paul, who upon the very ruins of the temple built new religious systems, the one for the dispersed Jewish people, the other for the great pagan world.

Well may the greedy Roman eagle now draw its fatal circle around Judea to pounce upon and consume her. Judaism is no longer bounded by the confines of its native land. Well may the relentless soldier of Titus' legion throw the fire-brand at the temple. From its ashes Judaism will rise phoenix-like through the Synagogue, and her two daughters, the Church and the Mosque, to enthrone God in the heart of humanity. Well may the Wandering Jew now start upon his dreary, endless journey; though he still fail to find his brethren, his God and Father is everywhere.

Many a Jew, then, like St. Paul, dreamed of a religion of humanity, of mankind united by the belief in One God, as it was actually held together by the iron grasp of Rome. But antiquity was sapped and exhausted. Mankind was too feeble to renounce its old gods and superstitions. To meet the wants of the age, Christianity, an offspring of the Jewish Essenes, a side-branch of the Pharisees, offered Jewish morals as a new Revelation, moulded Jewish philosophy and heathen beliefs into the dogmas of the Incarnation and the Trinity, and turned Roman politics into a ruling, prosecuting Church. Judaism, contending for its holy uncompromising God, protested, and was forced to take shelter in the East even more against Christian fanaticism than against heathen Rome. Again the Jews wander back to Babylonia. There, concentrated around two great seats of learning, with the Pharisean tradition and lore stored up in the bulky Talmud and Midrash literature, they mani-

fest their patriotism as soldiers, as industrious mechanics, agriculturists and traders, as lawyers, astronomers and physicians. They establish kingdoms in Persian and Arabian provinces, partake in the noble contest of Arabic chivalry and poetry. Everywhere they associate with all classes of society, high or low-bred, thankfully gather their wisdom, respect the laws and authorities of their land, adopt its language, habits and views, even its plays and superstitions, yet without forsaking their post as guardians of the pure faith in God, and without ever allowing heathen license and vice to stain their home-life, rendered so holy by the extensive bulwark of Rabbinism.

Soon Judaism gave the world a new child, which was to re-establish the kingdom of One God in the East. Islamism, also an offshoot of Jewish Essene teachings, inspired the enthusiastic camel-driver of Mecca with prophetic power to build an empire, which with lightning-speed spread over the three continents to subdue them unto the dominion of Allah. Mohammedanism became the sole heir and protector of Greek philosophy and science, while it saved their cultivators, Syrian Unitarians, from Byzantine fanaticism and idolatry. The East and the West soon mingled their streams of culture to refresh and to fertilize the world. The philosophy of Plato and Aristotle and the astronomy of Ptolomy, Galen's hygiene and Hindoo fable enlightened and delighted mankind. The Jews, although despised and persecuted by their Arabic kinsmen no less than by their Christian brethren, drew in with joy the sweet air and light of Mohammedan culture, helping greatly to foster and to propagate it. Marching in the rear of Islamic conquests, they spread its accumulated knowledge over the West to impart it to the Christian world. They, in company with the Arabian doctors, were the torch-bearers of science and free thought in the dark night of mediæval ignorance and barbarity. Whatever of philosophy and astronomy, of medical and physical knowledge Christianity possessed during the middle ages, was through direct communications or translations imparted by Jews. They encompassed all the exchange of ideas and opinions, even of popular sayings and fables. The Wandering Jew, with his enterprise and talent, with his energy and elasticity of mind, was, whatever prejudice may have to say to the contrary, the true pioneer of modern civilization.

Of course, the Jewish religion was also quickened and regenerated by the healthy breeze, which came forth from the Arabian peninsula. Koran theology, so much akin to Judaism, from which it sprang, stimulated to new and original studies and inquiries of the



Bible, of its language, its text and teachings. Rabbinism was sharply assailed by a sort of Puritan Bible-believers, the Karaites; its errors, its faults and abuses exposed and its tiresome yoke loosened. But, roused from its lethargy, Judaism betrayed anew its inborn strength and freshness. It called its boldest men to the front to defend its strongholds. Arabian philosophy furnished the instruments to build systems of Jewish thought, one keener and loftier than the other, to exalt the God of Israel above any human shortsightedness. Reason with its divine sceptre was declared to be the supreme judge of the Jewish faith; philosophy the true expounder of the Bible. The attributes of God were sublimated to outreach any human perception and resemblance; the Biblical notions of Creation, Revelation, and the Hereafter were spiritualized, so as to accord with the highest postulates of independent thinkers. Even the Mosaic laws and narratives were turned into mere symbolical lessons. A brilliant array of intellects, a majestic galaxy of stars of the first magnitude gleamed forth, now in Persia, then in Spain, represented in their various shades and hues by Saadiah, Solomon Ibn Gabirol or Avicbron, Juda Halevy, Maimonides, Gersonides, Crescas, and many others. They framed and nourished not merely the Jewish, but also the Christian minds during the middle ages, and Albertus Magnus, Thomas of Aquino, Duns the Scotchman drew their best ideas from Jewish sources. Although independent, still only as the pupil of Jewish philosophy, Baruch Spinoza ascended the steep and barren mountain-top of philosophy to herald the dawn of a new day of free thought. The bold cosmopolitan sweep of the intellect, however, threatened, both in Mohammedan and Jewish circles, to outroot faith. The rigorous exertion of the mind emptied the heart of its life-blood, causing religion to be dissolved into philosophical commonplaces and trivial platitudes. A mighty reaction in defence of the law and tradition ensued. Mysticism took the place of fresh thought. The Cabbala, rooted in old Essene lore and overgrown with superstition, old and modern, benumbed the Jewish mind, lulling it to rest and soothing the heart, while the storm of wild fanaticism and relentless persecution raged over the heads of the people all over Christendom.

Hated for their success, dreaded on account of their talent, cheated of their rights, robbed by the Christian Church and state of their possessions of lands or goods, treated like brutes and lepers by both the populace and the law, the Jews lost the memory of their great achievements, the title to the citizenship in every land and state from which they were to be expelled. They, together

with their tyrants, forgot that their enterprise and skill, their merchandise and industry no less than their import of ideas and their Holy Scriptures had civilized the European barbarians. But wondrous are the workings of Providence. The Cabbala found its way, like Jewish philosophy, its forerunner, into Christian monasteries, there to revive the study of the Hebrew and to kindle the spirit of the Reformation. Jewish scholarship in Italy, represented by original inquirers like Judah de Modena, Elias Levita, and many other teachers of Christian prelates, enlightened Humanism, nursed Protestantism, and thus became the godfather of modern civilization.

When the modern nations gradually awoke to a consciousness of their own destiny, endeavoring to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of the Church and of monarchical despotism, the Wandering Jew lay asleep for awhile. No wonder, if the wintry frost of the middle ages had at last also overtaken him, if his long, thorny path had fatigued and exhausted him. In his gloomy, narrow ghetto he failed to see the new day dawn. But risen he has, refreshed and reinvigorated, with thanks to God to hail the new light pouring in from all sides. Progress and enlightenment ever were congenial to him. Freedom and truth are the seal of his divine covenant. Gladly he lends his Samson-arm to pull down every bastille of tyranny. In every land and zone, on every field of honorable labor, in war and peace, in art and science, in law and politics, he outrivals his fellow-citizens to reflect glory upon his country and his profession. He delights in cosmopolitan humanity, which he always so anxiously looked for, and which, in fact, during the middle ages he solely represented. He feels at home in modern civilization, which he, in by-gone days as well as at present, helped to establish. For, indeed, much of the past glory and greatness of Spain and Portugal, of the wealth and power of Venice, of Sicily and Amsterdam was due to his enterprise and skill. Jews joined Columbus and other discoverers in their search for new lands and continents. The first white man who set his foot upon American soil was a Jew, if not by faith, at least by birth, he being sent by Columbus to converse with the people of Cuba, believed to be Orientals. In diplomatic, commercial and literary intercourse of nations, Jews served as intermediators, thus preparing the age of cosmopolitan humanity we now live in.

But then, why not now take off the Jewish garb? Why not become like one of our fellow-citizens in America, England and Germany, France or Italy? Why not give up our nationality, the peculiar-



ities of our race, and amalgamate with the great world around us? Why does the Wandering Jew not cast away his storm-beaten, ragged mantle to find rest amidst modern broad, liberal humanity?

I answer, because his great goal is not reached yet. The humanity he looks and yearns for, is not a vague and visionary cosmopolitanism of dreamers, a will-o'-the-wisp of philosophical fancy, but the great harvest of human history, the consummate growth of all divine seeds, of all efforts and aspirations of man to the good, the true and the beautiful, the accomplished kingdom of God on earth. In the mean time history will show many descents and ascents, many ebbs and floods of races and ideas. Often the sun of human civilization will, now here and then there, rise and set, until all the unlocked treasures of the soil and of the human breast shall have made the wide world shine with the majesty of God reflected on man. In the mean time the Jewish faith will gleam in soft brightness through the night, waning and waxing like the moon with ever renewed vigor. No. The Wandering Jew dare not renounce his great trust, mankind's dearest hope. He shall not sell his priestly robe, the thorny crown of his martyrdom, and the promised diadem of victory, for a pottage of lentils offered by the surrounding world. His master is not the ruling spirit of the age, but the Everlasting Spirit of all ages. Heaven forbid that we should disavow our glorious past and forsake our mission as a nation of priests among mankind! Nor ought we, by intermarriage and wholesale-proselytism, jeopardize the priestly character of Judaism. As ancient witnesses of the ever-living God, we are to maintain our nationality pure and unalloyed, whilst claiming our full share in the duties and rights the State devolves upon all its citizens. For we are not merely to confess faith in God and man, or to profess a philosophical deism and morality to emerge into a cosmopolitan humanity built in the air, but to guard mankind's perennial fount of life with its historical river-bed from its marvellous beginnings to its bright end in the distant future. To this end Reform desired to regenerate Judaism in order to turn it, from a shallow hope, into a real seed of promise. It wants to inspire its members with new enthusiasm and zeal to scatter it abroad; it wants men and women who take pride in our glorious mission, pious homes, energetic congregations, literary societies and grand institutions of learning to accomplish it. While having the interests of humanity at heart, it wants, amidst the material pursuits and progress of the age, to see Jewish home-life pervaded by its pristine sweetness and holiness and old Jewish piety and learning revived. For who can tell what may be still in

store for thee, Wandering Jew? Surely, as long as mankind's destiny is not fulfilled, thine is neither. As long as thy God is not recognized as **K**ing and **F**ather by all the nations, thy task is not accomplished. Go then, thou Wandering Jew, continue without faltering thy march through the ages. Thy God, the Savior of mankind, has turned thy curse, like that of Adam and of the builders of the Babel-tower, into blessing. With the ark of covenant upon thy shoulder, thou art to lead mankind to Zion, and like the priests on Jordan's shore, thou must wait, until the last of thy brethren has entered the land of promise.



# The Attitude of the Jew Towards the Non-Jew

JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH

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The greatest injustice which has been done to the Jewish people throughout the ages and which has been the cause of all the horrible crimes and outrages committed against them, has been the tendency among the gentiles to consider the Jew a stranger instead of a brother, an enemy instead of a friend. This attitude is not based upon correct information and sound conclusions; it is simply the result of ignorance as to what the Jew and Judaism stand for. Even in the manner in which he is judged, the Jew is discriminated against, in that people allow themselves to judge him without a hearing and to form opinions about his religion without knowing anything of it. The opinions of the majority of the gentiles on Jews and Judaism are based mostly on traditional hearsay and false rumors. Even many of the learned and educated of the non-Jews who, in any other case, would recognize the claims of scientific methods in collecting data of information and examining them carefully before passing judgment, seem to think, that in the case of the Jew and Judaism, they can ignore all rules of scientific exactness and abandon the usual standards of evidence.

Instead of collecting correct data and discriminatingly sifting the facts in order to get at the truth, they content themselves with references to some stray instances in Jewish life or to some casual remarks in Jewish literature on which they base their sweeping generalizations. The casual saying of one teacher, even though he be not prominent and not representative, uttered at one particular time, under peculiar conditions and with a special purpose, is represented as being the authoritative opinion of Judaism, accepted by all the teachers and valid for all times and





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under all conditions. The exceptional act of one individual Jew, even if committed under certain trying circumstances in an exceptional frame of mind, is frequently declared to be typical of how the Jew in general would always act even under the best of circumstances. Such willful misinterpretations, or even unintentional misunderstandings, of Jewish conduct and Jewish teachings are necessarily bound to result in false conceptions about Jews and Judaism.

With those people who willfully seek to misinterpret facts and misrepresent Jews and Judaism it is of no use to argue. It would be futile to try to convince them of their error, for they are merely seeking an excuse for their hatred and prejudice, and their errors are really willful misstatements. They do not wish to be enlightened. Any attempt to prove to them the incorrectness of their views would be a useless effort. These people merely seek pretenses and false excuses for their campaign of hate, "and he that seeketh, findeth". Fortunately, however, these intentional misinterpreters of Judaism are comparatively few. The majority of those people who are prejudiced against the Jew are merely misguided by some misinterpretation of Judaism and by false rumors about Jews. They are easy prey to anti-semitic propaganda, because they lack knowledge as to what Jews and Judaism stand for. But they are open-minded and could be freed from their prejudice and made to give up their wrong opinions, if we would convince them of their mistake by giving them correct information and an authoritative presentation of what the Jewish attitude really is and what Judaism demands of the Jew in his relation to the non-Jew. Such a presentation on the part of an authoritative body of Jewish teachers and rabbis as represented by this Conference, is not only a duty towards the Jews who should be defended against slander and false accusation, but is also a patriotic duty which we owe to our non-Jewish fellow-citizens. The majority of the American people are liberal and fair-minded. They are true to the lofty ideals and noble traditions of this great republic. They do not wish to misjudge their fellow-citizens of the Jewish faith; they rather wish to know them better and to appreciate them. By giving them correct information about Jews and Judaism we



render them the great service of clearing away any possible misunderstanding and preventing them from doing an unintentional wrong in misjudging their Jewish neighbors.

But above all, it is our sacred duty to truth to expose falsehood, and to remove misunderstandings, to help the people to a true knowledge of the ethical principles of Judaism and its teachings in regard to the relations between man and man by giving them an adequate presentation of these authoritative teachings of Judaism. Such a presentation of the teachings of Judaism in regard to the attitude of the Jew towards the non-Jew, I shall attempt to give in this paper.

Limitation of space prevents me from going into a detailed discussion of all the minutiae of the Jewish religious laws about the conduct of the Jew in his dealings with the non-Jew and his relation to him. I must content myself with stating the general attitude of Judaism towards the followers of other religions and presenting the principles in regard to dealings with non-Jews and the treatment of them by Jews, as formulated by representative teachers of Judaism and accepted as authoritative Jewish teachings by the majority of Jewish teachers in the various periods of Jewish history. For only such teachings which have been formulated by representative and responsible Jewish teachers and indorsed by the majority of the people, as represented by their teachers, throughout the various periods of Jewish history, can be considered as the true authoritative Jewish teachings.

Our method, therefore, will be both historical and critical. The teachings on a certain point or the sayings bearing upon a special question, as held by the teachers of successive generations will be stated in their chronological order: and, whenever necessary, these sayings will be compared with whatever apparently different statements or contradictory utterances may be found in Jewish literature, and then critically and carefully examined, and an objective decision will be sought as to which of these sayings are authentic Jewish teachings and which are merely momentary outburst of individual Jews of a certain temper or a peculiar state of mind, produced by particularly unfavorable conditions, by sad personal experience or harsh treatment and cruel

oppression, received at the hands of the non-Jewish people of a particular time or in a particular country.

For, surely, it could not be expected that the Jew who finds his house burned, his property destroyed, his children murdered, his wife outraged, and himself cruelly beaten and tortured by a fiendish enemy, would embrace that enemy and say to him: "Thou art my brother, made in the image of my God and I love thee as myself." This would be unnatural and untrue. The Jew could not see in his savage persecutor the image of God! In the agony of his suffering, he would naturally utter harsh words against his brutal tormentor or even curse him. And if such harsh words, uttered by the Jew, when suffering in distress and agony, were occasionally preserved in the records of Jewish literature, they did not thereby become Jewish religious teachings and are not to be considered as authoritative expressions of Judaism.

The Jew has a right to justice. And justice demands that the Jew be judged only by the acts of the majority of his people, by the rules of conduct recommended and approved by his representative leaders, and by the dicta of his authoritative teachers, expressed in all normal times and under normal conditions, but not by some of his passionate outcries made in moments of excitement and in an abnormal state of mind, produced by extreme pain and suffering.

It should also be understood that when we speak of the attitude of the Jew, we mean the attitude of the Jew, as a Jew, as one guided in his conduct and controlled in his life by the principles of the Jewish religion, and not the attitude of one who may be racially a Jew or belong to the Jewish people, but yet may hold views diametrically opposed to Jewish teachings, or conduct himself in utter violation of all Jewish religious principles. For there are some so-called Jews who are guilty of transgressing the Jewish religious laws not only in their relation to God but also in their dealings with their fellowman, Jew or non-Jew alike. Such individuals do not represent the Jewish people. And the Jewish people or the Jewish community cannot be held responsible for any act committed by such individuals, or for any view held by them. Our theme, therefore, correctly



formulated, is the Jewish attitude toward the non-Jew, or the attitude of Judaism toward the followers of other religions.

And we must keep in mind and insist upon distinguishing the religion of Judaism from the religion of the Old Testament. Judaism is not identical with the Old Testament religion. This fact, which Christian theologians persistently refuse to acknowledge, has been known and accepted by every professing rabbinic Jew ever since the doctrine of the authority of the traditional law has been proclaimed, which was a long time before Christianity came into the world. The Old Testament contains simply the foundation of Judaism but the superstructure is larger than the foundation. Furthermore, the Old Testament, besides containing the principles upon which Judaism is built, contains also, especially in the Pentateuch, the constitution and the civil and criminal codes of law, intended for the ancient Kingdoms of Judah and Israel. And whether some of these laws, found in this statute book of the ancient Jewish states, can meet with the approval of modern conceptions of just and humane state laws or not; whether they compare favorably or unfavorably with the laws on the statute books of modern civilized states, discriminating in their legislation between their own citizens and those of other countries, these are questions with which we are not now concerned. What concerns us in our present discussion is the fact that the laws for the ancient Jewish state, like so many other laws found in the Pentateuch, do not form part of the Jewish religion as such. They have never been considered as Jewish religious laws in the sense that they must be observed by the followers of the Jewish religion in other countries outside of Palestine, or even in Palestine since the time that an independent Jewish state ceased to exist. Consequently, any of these ancient *State* laws of Judea, comparatively few in number, which may have made some slight distinction between citizens and foreigners in Judea, could not, and actually did not, determine the attitude of the Jew, as a follower of Judaism, towards the non-Jews in all the countries in which the Jews for the last eighteen hundred and fifty years have lived merely as a religious people obeying the laws of the land in civil and political matters.

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And one more preliminary remark should be made. We must keep in mind, if we want to judge the Jewish attitude fairly and correctly, that Judaism has been constantly developing and there has always been progress and evolution in Judaism, even before the modern reform movement. With the ever-broadening of the Jewish conscience and the unfolding of the religious genius among the Jews, the Jewish religious authorities, as they grew in the understanding of the fundamental principles of the Bible, have discarded or modified many a law or ritual practice, prescribed in the Pentateuch, if it no longer harmonized with their higher religious conceptions or advanced moral standards. Such discarded views are no longer considered as the adequate expression of Jewish religious teachings. As illustration of such advanced teachings, one could cite all the instances where for the sake of קריית ה' or in order to avoid הלול ה' the rabbis went beyond the law and demanded of the Jew higher ethical standards in his dealings with the non-Jew.

With these ideas in mind, we can now proceed to the discussion of our theme. We begin with the general charge brought against the Jews and Judaism. It is the oft-repeated false accusation that Judaism is a religion of particularism and separateness, that it teaches the Jews to be a separatistic and unsocial people, to consider themselves as the favorites of God and hence, despise, hate, and keep aloof from all other peoples. This charge, originally made by Greek and Roman heathen writers, and repeated by Christian theologians and anti-semitic writers up to this day, is absurd. It is both false and stupid. It is based partly upon ignorance and misunderstanding, but mostly upon intentional misrepresentation and wilful misinterpretation of facts. It endures only through the narrowminded persistency of those who repeat it, in stubbornly refusing to seek and obtain correct information, or, when such information is offered, in wilfully ignoring the facts and rejecting all proofs that speak against their cherished preconceived notion.

Every unbiased and open-minded student, conversant with Jewish religious literature, cannot fail to recognize that Judaism, as a religion, is universalistic in essence and character as well as



in its ultimate aim and purpose. It extends its endeavors for human welfare to every human being and includes all mankind in its plan of salvation. For, although Judaism, the product of the religious genius of the Jew, recognizes in the Jewish people a distinct and separate group, it does not mean to discriminate against other peoples. Judaism insists upon the religious separateness of the Jews from other people not because of hatred or contempt for the rest of humanity, but on the contrary, out of love for humanity. Judaism makes the Jews a distinct people and assigns them a sacred task to fulfill. It imposes upon them special historic obligations, prescribes for them special rituals and religious institutions, demands of them that they preserve their identity and maintain their unique character by being loyal to their sacred traditions and by cherishing and cultivating their great spiritual heritage, in order that they may be better fitted for achieving the special task assigned to them in the economy of nations.

This task is to become a blessing unto all the families of the earth and to benefit humanity. The Jew must therefore avoid anything that might impair his usefulness in that direction or hinder him in the accomplishment of his noble task. He must keep himself separate in religion only, in the sense that he should not give up his religious teachings and practices for the sake of becoming like the others. He is, however, to associate and mingle freely with other peoples, live with them in neighborly friendliness and brotherly love and thus be enabled to teach them the principles of his religion and to give them an opportunity to appreciate and follow his ethical teachings. In other words, the Jew must be separatistic in order to be truly universalistic. His separateness is not an end in itself, but merely a means to an end; the end being to spread the true knowledge of God among all people and raise all mankind to the high standard of holiness and ethical morality set up by the Jewish prophets of old. This view as to the position of the Jew among other people is shared by all religious Jews, no matter what their special theological bias may be. The universalistic tendency gives the fundamental tone to all Jewish religious literature, it echoes from all

the Jewish liturgy, it forms the special theme of the choicest prayers recited by the Jews on the most solemn occasions;<sup>1</sup> it has always been, and still is, the hope and the aspiration of every Jew, no matter to what group or party he may belong.<sup>2</sup>

It is true, Judaism teaches that the Jewish people are the chosen people. But there is a fundamental difference between the conception of the selection of Israel, as taught by Judaism, and the notion of being a chosen people as entertained by other ancient and modern nations. While the latter considered themselves as better and superior peoples and hence looked down with contempt upon the rest of humanity as being inferior, the Jewish people, in regarding themselves as chosen, consider themselves merely as the older, more responsible, brother of the other nations. Israel is called the first-born son of God (Ex. IV, 23) which clearly indicates that the other nations are also children of God, younger brothers of Israel. It is the duty of the older brother to be kind, considerate, helpful and loving to his younger brothers. Hence, Jewish literature has no such opprobrious epithet for the other nations, as the term "Barbarian" applied by the Greeks and Romans to all other people.<sup>3</sup> For the Jew knows, because he has been taught so by all his teachers from the prophet Amos down to the rabbis of our own days, that he has been chosen not for special privileges but for special service, that as the older brother, with more responsibility, he has the duty and the obligation to be an exemplar to his younger brothers, a helpful influence and a blessing to all the peoples of the earth. Thus, the very doctrine of the selection of Israel, far from making the Jew particularistic and unfriendly to other people, has made him universalistic, broad-minded, tolerant, and friendly towards all other people. For, if he is to help in the education of the younger children of his Father in heaven, he can do so successfully only by loving kindness and sympathetic understanding of the younger children and not by an overbearing and unfriendly attitude. For "an impatient and ill-tempered person cannot be a successful teacher".

And the relation of Israel to the other nations, according to this very doctrine of the selection of Israel, is precisely the rela-



tion of teacher and pupil. There can be no enmity or ill-will on the part of a teacher to his pupil, especially when the teacher undertakes to teach voluntarily and without any compensation. Naturally, even such a teacher may occasionally get a little impatient with his pupils. He may, at times, be provoked to anger and righteous indignation by the indifference and lack of appreciation manifested by some pupils or by the misbehavior and bad conduct exhibited by others. At times, he may even wish to see such pupils disciplined and punished, but he does not wish them any real harm. He cannot think ill even of the worst of them. He never considers them hopelessly bad. If he did, he would surely give up the thankless job of trying to teach them, especially since his compensation is nothing but grievous disappointments and ingratitude. Yet, he does not abandon his task because he still loves his pupils in spite of their temporary indifference and their occasional display of bad manners and ill conduct. He persists in believing in the essential goodness and the potential nobility of his pupils whom he recognizes to be fashioned by the same Maker and of the same clay as himself. He knows well that he himself has attained to the position of teacher only by receiving the precious doctrine his great teachers gave to him and by assiduously training himself to follow the instructions and carrying out the commandments of his Master. And he feels assured that his pupil could do likewise. Hence, he never ceases in his efforts to help and benefit his pupil. Patiently and untiringly he labors at his task to impart to his pupil all the noble teachings and precious doctrines which it has been his own good fortune to acquire. He ignores the disappointments and swallows the humiliations and even disregards the insults which are occasionally heaped upon him, for he believes in the potential good qualities of even the most refractory pupil. He hopes and is convinced that his efforts will ultimately be crowned with success and that, sooner or later, he will have the joy and satisfaction of welcoming his pupils as his colleagues, collaborating with him in his sacred task. Could such a teacher be possibly suspected of hating, despising or wishing harm to and seeking to take advantage of his pupils? Only maliciousness or stupidity

could bring such charges against him. And the Jewish people in their relation to other peoples are exactly in the position of such a self-sacrificing, struggling teacher.

Of course, as a "teacher-people" Israel considers himself better trained in a moral-religious sense. If, out of a sense of false modesty, Israel should pretend that he is in no respect superior to his pupils, that he does not know any more than they do, and that he has actually nothing to offer them that they do not already possess, he would make a very poor teacher. He would be guilty of a betrayal of his sacred trust and a neglect of duty; he would practically be abandoning his task of being a teacher-or a priest-people. As a "priest-people" or "teacher-people", Israel properly believes himself to be in certain respects superior to his pupils. He claims to excel them in the things which he sets out to teach them, for he has received a longer training and a more thorough instruction along these lines. But he recognizes that his pupils are his equals in other respects and possibly even superior to him. In fact, even in his specialty, he believes them capable of being his equals if they would receive from him the instruction and the high teachings which he so gladly offers them. At any rate, this is certain. He can have no ill-feeling or contempt for them even while they have as yet not accepted his teachings. For these very teachings, which he proclaims, prevent him from discriminating against other people because of their different beliefs. His very religion, which he would like others to accept, teaches him to consider all men as equals and to have the same friendly attitude towards the stranger as towards one of his own people. This attitude of the Jew towards the non-Jew is taught in the very principles of the Jewish religion and is repeatedly expressed in numerous sayings by various Jewish teachers of all generations.

The most fundamental principle of Judaism is, according to the rabbis, the doctrine that all men are brothers, children of one father and one mother, as stated in the opening chapters of the Torah. Said Ben Assai, "This is the book of the generations of Adam (Gen. V, 1) is the most comprehensive rule of the Torah".<sup>4</sup> It is, so to speak, at the root of the Torah. It has



been put right in the beginning of the Torah to teach that the basic principle of the Torah is, that all human creatures are alike, made in the image of God, descendant from the same first human pair, hence peace, equality, and brotherly love must prevail among men, for no one can claim to be of nobler birth and hence better than his fellow-men.<sup>5</sup>

The second great principle of Judaism, which is but a logical consequence of the first, is declared to be the commandment (Lev. XIX, 18) "Thou shalt love thy fellow-man—not thy fellow-Jew only, but thy fellow-man—as thyself".<sup>6</sup> For, declared the same Rabbi Akiba, who quotes this great principle, "Every human being—and not only the Jew—is beloved by God since he is a creature of God, made in His image",<sup>7</sup> and therefore he should also be beloved by the Jew whose religious ideal is the *imitatio dei*,<sup>8</sup> to imitate God and to love whom God loves.

It is, therefore, a fundamental belief and the great hope of Judaism that there will come a time, the Messianic era, when all men will recognize these great principles and follow them and live together in brotherly love as behooves members of one family. It is the task of Israel to work for the realization of this ideal. This task involves a long educational process and only if the teachers are faithful in their endeavors and do their work creditably will God hasten the coming of that glorious time, the golden age of humanity.<sup>9</sup> Israel, accordingly, must teach by precept and example, and hence he cannot in any way discourage or discriminate against his younger brothers, even though he may notice their shortcomings and find fault with some of their actions. If he did in any way discriminate against his brother, he would be a poor example and would bring his fine teachings and high principles into disrepute, and thus fail in his efforts to make the other people recognize and accept these principles. But above all, his religion, as we have seen, expressly teaches him that he has no right to discriminate against his younger brothers, made in the image of his Father; he has no reason to think himself essentially different from and better than the others.<sup>10</sup>

Human beings, so the Talmud and the rabbis teach, are afflicted with certain weaknesses or evil proclivities, because, although

made in the image of God, they are also made of flesh and in the form of an animal. They can overcome these weaknesses and suppress these evil proclivities only by training and discipline, by cultivating the spiritual or divine element of their being and making it rule over and control their animal nature. Or, to use the words of the Talmud, (*Kiddushin*, 30b) the Torah furnishes the antidote for the poison of sin and evil passion. The Jewish people who have received the Torah from Sinai, have, to a certain extent, by their training and their discipline, gotten rid of some of these weaknesses. The other nations, who did not accept the ten commandments, are more subject to the baneful influence of that original evil tendency, lodged in man's animal nature.<sup>11</sup> But those of them who accept these principles of the Torah are no longer in any way inferior to the Jew. In fact, these principles of the Torah were *meant* for all peoples. There was no partiality shown to Israel in giving them the Torah. It was offered to the other nations who refused to accept it. Israel, prepared by the family traditions from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to appreciate such teachings, had the good sense to accept it.<sup>12</sup> But God did not give it to them as their exclusive possession. On the contrary, it was intended to be the common possession of all peoples. For this reason, say the rabbis, the Torah was not given in Palestine, in order that the Jews should not be able to claim it as their monopoly and say to the other nations, you have no share in it. The Torah was intentionally and purposely revealed on Sinai in the wilderness, in "no man's land," so that any person of any nation can acquire it. (*Mekilta Bohodesh*, I. Friedmann 62a). Furthermore, in laying down these principles, the Torah addresses itself, not to priest, levite, or Israelite, but to mankind, and whenever any one of the other nations occupies himself with the principles of the Torah and practices them, he is fully equal to the highpriest who officiated in the Temple at Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup> The Jew has but the duty to help all the other nations in acquiring those high principles of the Torah. In imitation of God who went around with the Torah among all nations, asking them to accept it, the Jew is also to seek to bring a knowledge of the



Torah to all the nations. One of the purposes aimed at by the Divine Providence with the dispersion of Israel, was that the Jew might thus be in position to spread the knowledge of God and His Torah among a larger number of men of various races and nations.<sup>14</sup> No race or nation is to be excluded from this privilege.<sup>15</sup>

The great teacher, Hillel, who so admirably summed up the whole of Judaism in the saying, "What is unpleasant to yourself, do not unto your fellowman", has also given the following maxim: "Love all human creatures and thus bring them nearer to the principles of the Torah".<sup>16</sup> That is to say, show your love and good will to all human beings and, in doing so, you will bring them near to the Torah and make them realize and appreciate its high teachings. In other words, not by forceful conversions and missionary enticements are we to carry out our mission, but by spreading the knowledge of the Torah and conducting ourselves according to its teachings.<sup>17</sup>

The non-Jew can be morally and ethically like the Jew and have all the spiritual advantages accruing from the Torah, even without formally accepting all the laws and rituals prescribed in the Torah. For, says the Midrash, (*Lev. R.* III, 7) "if the gentiles follow a wise course of ethical knowledge and moral understanding, they get the very essence and reach the fundamentals of the Torah and they love God with a complete and perfect love, no matter whether he sends them sorrow or happiness." And, says the Talmud, "the righteous among the gentiles will have a share in the future world."<sup>18</sup> And just as it is not necessary for the gentile to become a Jew in order to share equally in the future world, so it is not required of him to be a Jew in order to share in the rights, privileges, and courtesies of this world, as far as it is in the hands of the Jews to bestow such privileges and courtesies. Nay, more. In this world, even those gentiles who cannot be classed as "righteous gentiles" are entitled to our consideration and friendly and honest treatment. There is nothing in the religious teachings of Judaism that would allow or justify any unjust discrimination against the non-Jew. The "fellowman" whom our religion teaches us to love as ourselves need not be

exactly like ourselves. Whatever his race, creed, or nationality may be, we are to treat him as we would like to be treated by him; we must respect him, extend to him our courtesies and refrain from taking any undue advantage of him.

Judaism does not impose upon the Jew the task of seeking to convert all the world to the whole system of Jewish religious law and practice, or to make them all members of the Jewish congregation. Judaism demands of us only to spread the knowledge of God and the fundamental principles of Judaism among all peoples. We can therefore not discriminate against those who do not formally become Jews and do not fully accept the whole system of the Jewish religion. The Jewish religious attitude towards conversion of the non-Jew is as follows: If the non-Jew sincerely wishes to become a Jew and join the Jewish community as a full member, he is welcome to do so, and after his attention has been called to the difficulty of the task which he is to undertake and to the possible material disadvantage that might result to him from such a step, he will be received most cordially.<sup>19</sup> But the Jew is never to persuade him to do so, for there is really no need for the non-Jew to become formally a convert to Judaism. If he does not feel like doing it, he is not to be discriminated against and he is none the worse for it. He can nevertheless attain to spiritual heights and be like the best of the Jews, provided that he lives up to the moral teachings of his own religion and observes the so-called Noahitic laws, i. e. the seven commandments which the rabbis believed to have been given by God to Adam or to Noah, and thus made obligatory upon the children of the entire human race.<sup>20</sup> By observing these seven laws he is classed among the "righteous of the gentiles" and is equal to the best of Israel, for he observes the dicta of his religion and fulfills the commandments given to him, just as the religious Jew observes the laws given to him. Each one of them, then, is doing his duty and no distinction is to be made between them.<sup>21</sup> Such righteous gentiles are considered members of the priest-people, and to them the rabbis apply the scriptural verse: "Thy priests are clothed with righteousness", (Ps. XXXII, 9)<sup>22</sup> for, like the Jews, the priest-people, such gentiles are also helping to



spread the knowledge of God among the peoples of the earth. Of course, they are not regarded as Jews in such matters as are simply historic obligations or special religious laws incumbent upon the Jews as members of the house of Israel and upon all those who *formally* join their congregation. The gentile who does not believe in these laws and observances and is not a member of the house of Israel or of the Jewish congregation cannot, of course, function in a religious capacity in the performance of any such Jewish religious ceremony or ritual practice. But in all other respects, especially in matters of relations and dealings between man and his fellowman, no distinction whatever is made between such a gentile and a Jew. In fact, such a gentile, while, of course, he can not be regarded as a perfect and formal proselyte to Judaism, is considered by the Jewish religious teachings as being in a sense actually a proselyte. The rabbis have a special name for such a proselyte; they call him *Ger Toshab*.<sup>23</sup>

To this class of proselytes or *Ger Toshab*, belong also the Mohammedans and all the Christian sects, since they believe in and worship the One God and they embody in their religious principles all the seven commandments given to Noah.<sup>24</sup> In fact, in some very important points the followers of these religions come much nearer to Judaism than the ordinary *Ger Toshab*. For, as pointed out by the great medieval rabbinical authorities, the Christians and Mohammedans acknowledge and believe in the divine origin of the Jewish Bible which is the foundation of Judaism, and in other fundamental teachings of Judaism.<sup>25</sup> Although in the case of most of the Christian sects, their belief in God is not identical with the purely monotheistic belief, as taught by Judaism, yet it cannot be doubted that they believe in and worship the one, true God, even though they associate other beings with Him. Their associating other beings with God, as giving him a son whom they worship like the father, is, of course, according to the Jewish teaching a false notion, and an incorrect theological conception. But it cannot be considered as idol-worship on their part. For, in reality, they do believe in the One God, only they have not reached the true conception of His absolute unity and oneness. They are mistaken but not ill-intentioned.

Their heart is directed towards the true God alone, even when they mention another being with Him, and according to a general talmudic principle (*Berakot*, 15a) "their words must be understood according to the intention of their heart."<sup>26</sup> This view that the non-Jew who associates another being with God is, nevertheless, to be regarded as a worshipper of the one, true God, not as an idolater, is held by practically all the rabbinic authorities.<sup>27</sup> Hence, all rabbinic authorities agree that the attitude of the Jew towards the non-Jew of the Mohammedan faith or of the Christian denominations must be the same as the attitude towards the *Ger Toshab*. This means that with the exception of religious matters of a purely ritual character and congregational activities, we make no distinction whatever between Jew and Christian or Mohammedan. We consider the Christian and the Mohammedan as brothers fully our equals, so that in all human activities, as in questions of law, business relations, social welfare work, neighborly duties and mutual helpfulness, we would treat them as we would treat the Jew. Moreover, even in questions of traditional beliefs, historic obligations, or forms of worship and religious ritual, we teach mutual respect and tolerance. Let each seek to find God in his own way, express his religious ideas in his own forms, train his children in the ways of his fathers and cherish the traditions of his people or of his religious group.

Having described in broad outline the general attitude of the Jewish religion towards the people of other religions and especially towards the Christians and the Mohammedans, we shall now take up the discussion of individual questions bearing upon the various relations between Jew and non-Jew and ascertain the teachings of Judaism concerning these questions.

Let us begin with questions of social and neighborly relations. The Jewish religion teaches that in all activities of social welfare work, in acts of mutual helpfulness between man and man and of kindness to neighbors, the gentile should be included as well as the Jew. Thus, according to the talmudic-rabbinic law, the gentiles are to share in the gifts of the poor which according to the law, (*Lev. XIX, 9-10* and *Deut. XXV, 19*) are to be left in the field at harvest time,<sup>28</sup> and furthermore, we must support the



non-Jewish poor together and equally with the Jewish poor,<sup>29</sup> and even appoint non-Jews together with the Jews as officers and administrators of institutions carrying on such works of charity.<sup>30</sup> We should also visit and attend the sick among the non-Jewish people, bury their dead and comfort their mourners, just as we would do to Jewish people.<sup>31</sup> We should also offer protection to their property and help in the safekeeping of any articles belonging to them if such be in danger of being lost, stolen, or damaged, precisely as we would do for a fellow-Jew.<sup>32</sup> We should also offer them assistance and encouragement in their work, even if the work is of a kind which the Jew would not be allowed to do for himself, e. g. agricultural work on the Sabbatical year.<sup>33</sup> Since the non-Jew is not prohibited to do this work, the Jew should be friendly and neighborly and offer him encouragement.

As a general reason for all these regulations, the Talmud gives the motive: **מפני דרבי שלום** "in order to further peace and good-will among all men alike." This phrase, **מפני דרבי שלום** has been ignorantly or wilfully misinterpreted by some Christian theologians, and taken to mean, merely to avoid the enmity of the non-Jewish population in whose midst the Jews lived.<sup>34</sup> This interpretation is absolutely false. The Talmud is quite exact in its definitions and terminology. When in the case of some other laws, it wishes to give the reason of the law as being in order to avoid the enmity or the ill-will of the heathen, it says so expressly and uses the phrase **מישום איבה** for the sake of avoiding enmity or hatred on the part of the heathen (*Abodah Sarah* 26a and *passim*).<sup>35</sup> But the phrase **מפני דרבי שלום** expresses a positive ideal and a definite tendency to promote good-will among men. That this is the meaning of the phrase, **מפני דרבי שלום** is evident from the fact that it is used also as the reason for other laws and regulations which deal exclusively with relations between Jew and Jew in which case it certainly cannot mean "to maintain peaceful relations with the gentiles". But above all, we must let the Talmud itself explain the meaning of its phrases. And the Talmud (*Gittin*, 59b) unmistakably gives us the meaning of this phrase as being the furthering of peace and good-will among all men. For the

Talmud there says: **כל התורה כולה מופני דרני שלום** "The entire Torah has the aim and the purpose of furthering ways of peace, as it is written, (Prov. III, 17) 'Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.'"<sup>36</sup> This certainly cannot mean that the purpose of the entire Torah is merely to avoid the enmity of the heathen, or to maintain peaceful relations with them. And Maimonides, when quoting these regulations from the Talmud, together with their motivation, adds the following explanatory remarks: "for behold it is said, 'The Lord is good to all, and His tender mercies are over all His works' (Ps. CXLV, 9) and again it is said, 'Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace.'"<sup>37</sup> This clearly shows how he understood the phrase **מופני דרני שלום**.<sup>38</sup> Most of these regulations commanding the Jew to perform acts of kindness and friendliness towards the non-Jew, were formulated and enacted in Palestine not later than the second century of the common era, probably even earlier. And all these regulations together with their motivation, to further peace and good-will among all men, have been embodied, by Maimonides, Jacob Asheri, and Joseph Caro in their respective codes,<sup>39</sup> and are repeatedly quoted and emphasized in other standard works by Jewish authorities, which proves that these regulations are generally accepted as authoritative Jewish teachings.

The Jew is not only to be helpful and kind towards the non-Jew when the latter is in need of assistance and encouragement, he is also to extend to him all the social courtesies customary among neighbors, and be considerate of his feelings. The Jew must have regard for the honor and the human dignity of the non-Jew and show consideration for his cherished beliefs. Thus Shammai, about 30 B. C., taught: "Receive every man, not only every Jew, with a cheerful countenance." (*Abot* I, 15) and R. Mathithiah b. Heresh, a Tanna of the second century taught: "Be first in the salutation of peace to all men" (*Abot* IV, 15). Of Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai it was said that he was always the first to offer greetings to whomsoever he met on the street even to a heathen. A later talmudic teacher taught that a man must



be friendly, offer greetings and good wishes to every human being even to a heathen whom he meets on the street (*Berakot*, 27a).<sup>40</sup> These greetings and wishes of success and happiness should be offered to the heathen even during the season of their religious holidays.<sup>41</sup> We should honor the old men among the gentiles, stand up before them and show them all the respect due to old age according to the law (*Lev. XIX*, 32).<sup>42</sup>

All these laws are commanded to the Jew because of the honor and respect which, according to Judaism, we must have for every human being made in the image of God; and because, as the Midrash puts it, the Israelites are commanded to be kind at all times and on all occasions, and to be helpful to every one who comes along,<sup>44</sup> be he Jew or gentile. Hence, it is also forbidden to speak evil of or slander the non-Jew. Commenting upon the passage, "Thou sittest and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother's son" (*Ps. L*, 20), the rabbis say, "If you accustom your tongue to talk evil of, or speak against your non-Jewish brother who is not of your nation and race, you will also slander and find fault with the brother who is of your nation".<sup>45</sup> Or, to quote another comment, "If you speak evil of Esau, *i. e.* the non-Jew, who is your brother you will also talk against the greatest son of your nation, *i. e.*, Moses, the master of all the prophets".<sup>46</sup>

And it is most emphatically forbidden to deceive in any way or mislead the non-Jew by giving him the false impression that we have done something specially for him and thus cause him to consider us undeservedly his friends and think highly of us when we know that we do not merit it. We should not say flattering and friendly things to him, which we do not mean, intending thereby to make him believe that we think highly of him. Such a practice of insincerity, the rabbis term as *נניבת רעה* "stealing the good opinion of your fellow man", or receiving undue credit for our own selfish purpose. Such a practice of "stealing the good opinion" of the non-Jew is strictly forbidden in social relations, *e. g.* to lavish upon him our invitations, or to offer him our services whenever we know that he cannot and will not accept them, as well as in business relations *e. g.* to make him believe that we

have given him preferential treatment, or that we have let him have a special bargain or gone out of our way to accommodate him, when it is not so.<sup>47</sup> And this brings us to a discussion of the laws regulating the dealings of the Jew with the non-Jew in all business relations. The charge that the Jewish law permits the Jew to do business with a gentile on a different basis and according to different standards than those observed in dealings with a fellow Jew is, I emphatically declare, a malicious falsehood. The Jewish religious law in its regulations about business transactions and standards of business ethics does not discriminate against the non-Jew.

No distinction is made by the Jewish religious law between Jew and non-Jew with regard to the duty to deal honestly and refrain from taking any undue advantage. In fact, there is one distinction made in favor of the non-Jew in that any sharp practice or unfair dealing in any transaction with him is considered a graver sin and is more severely condemned than a similar offense committed against a fellow Jew, because in the former case there is added to the sin of dishonesty, the offence against the good name of the Jew and Judaism. Such a practice against the non-Jew may lead to a profanation of the name of God and bring the Jewish religion into ill-repute among the non-Jews. The ancient rabbis knew well that honesty knows no creed nor nationality, and that he who is dishonest with the stranger will be so also with his own people. Hence, they said, a man shall keep far from robbery or cheating whether he deals with Jews or gentiles, for he who steals from a gentile will also steal from a Jew, and he who robs the gentile will also rob the Jew, and he who swears falsely to the gentile, will also swear falsely to the Jew, and he who falsely denies the claim of a gentile will also falsely deny the claim of a Jew, and he who sheds the blood of a gentile will also shed the blood of a Jew (*Scder Elijahu Rabba* XXVI, Friedmann, p. 140).

The following general principle about business is therefore laid down by the rabbinic law, embodied in the standard codes of Maimonides and Joseph Caro, and accepted by all rabbinic authorities: "The Jew is forbidden by law to cheat people in business.



whether they be Jews or idol worshipers. If the Jewish merchant knows that the article which he sells is of inferior quality or has some defect unknown and unnoticeable to the non-Jewish buyer, he must call the latter's attention to it".<sup>48</sup> And the principle is repeatedly stated by mediaeval Jewish authorities, that the Jew in his dealings with the gentile must conduct himself with the same honesty and faithfulness which he is to observe in his dealings with his fellow-Jew, and he should never play a trick nor do an injustice to or deal falsely with the non-Jew.<sup>49</sup> These are general principles. To be more specific, let us take up the various aspects of honesty in business and see what the Jewish law teaches about these questions as regards transactions between Jew and non-Jew.

It is strictly forbidden by the Jewish law to force the non-Jew to give up some of his legally acquired property, to rob him of any of his possessions, and to take anything from him by violence or by cheating. The rabbis derived this law from the biblical law concerning a Jew who is sold as a slave to a non-Jew. The law in Lev. XXV, 47-52, reads: "And if a stranger who is a settler with thee be waxen rich and thy brother be waxen poor beside him and sell himself to the stranger who is a settler with thee . . . after that he is sold, he may be redeemed, one of his brethren may redeem him. . . . And he shall reckon with him that bought him, from the year that he sold himself to him unto the year of jubilee; and the price of his sale shall be according unto the number of years; according to the time of a hired servant shall he be with him. If there be yet many years, according unto them he shall give back the price of his redemption out of the money that he was bought for. And if there remain but few years unto the year of jubilee, then he shall reckon with him; according unto his years shall he give back the price of his redemption." Commenting upon this biblical law, Rabbi Akiba remarks that it teaches us that it is forbidden to rob or cheat the heathen. For in this law the Bible expressly tells us that the Jewish people, even when they have the power and the jurisdiction over the heathen who is a settler among them, cannot free without compensation the Jew who has sold himself as a slave

to the heathen stranger. The law expressly states: "After that he is sold he may be redeemed", but he may not be just taken out of the house of the stranger and set free, without compensating the owner. And lest you think, continues Rabbi Akiba, that the Jews might fix an arbitrary price for the Jewish slave and force the heathen to accept it, or try to cheat the heathen in figuring up the compensation due to him, therefore, the law expressly states: "And he shall reckon with him", etc., that means, be exact in figuring up the years of service which are still due the heathen owner and according to the value of these services fix a fair and exact compensation which the heathen should get for giving up his Jewish slave. (*Talmud B. K.*, 113ab. comp. *Tossafot ad. loc. s. v. הַיָּמִים* ). This talmudic law, forbidding the robbery or the cheating of the heathen, has been accepted by the rabbis of the Middle Ages. It is embodied in the standard codes of Jewish law, and is frequently repeated and quoted by the great rabbinic authorities.<sup>50</sup>

It is also strictly forbidden to steal anything from the gentile,<sup>51</sup> to defraud him by giving him short measure or poor weight,<sup>52</sup> or to sell him inferior goods, without calling his attention to it<sup>53</sup> or to deny his just claim, or to seek to avoid the payment of debts owed to him, or to make a false statement to him. Above all, we are to call his attention to any error or mistake which he himself may have happened to make in our favor,<sup>54</sup> we are to remind him of anything he has forgotten and left with us and to restore to him any article of his which he lost and we happened to find.<sup>55</sup> In what spirit this is to be done, and was done by the Jew, can be seen from the following story, told in the Palestinian Talmud (*B. M.* 11, 8c). A rabbi once came to visit Rome. While he was there it happened that the Empress lost a very valuable bracelet and the rabbi found it. A proclamation was made by the government to the effect that whosoever found this bracelet should return it within thirty days and receive a reward. Should he delay more than thirty days in returning it, he would be punished by death. The rabbi waited till the thirty days were over and then returned the bracelet which he had found. The Empress asked him, "Were you in the city all these thirty days?" The



rabbi said, "Yes". "Did you hear the proclamation"? asked the Empress. The rabbi said, "I did". "What did the proclamation say"? the Empress asked. "It said," answered the rabbi, "that he who returns the bracelet within thirty days would receive a reward, but he who returns it later, his head will be cut off". "Why then did you not return it within the fixed time"? asked the Empress. To this the rabbi answered, "In order that you should not think that I returned it because I care for the reward or am afraid of the punishment. My only motive for returning it was a religious one. I have returned this article lost by you because I fear my God". The Empress then exclaimed, "Praised be the God of the Jews."<sup>56</sup>

Not only are we to restore to the gentile any lost article, but we should even seek to protect his property and prevent him from incurring any loss. We should give him correct information about reliable firms with whom he may deal, and warn him against any person who might take undue advantage of him in business, even if that person should happen to be a Jew.<sup>57</sup> In other words, we should protect the non-Jew from any unfair treatment on the part of an unscrupulous Jew. It was, therefore, an established institution and common practice in many Jewish congregations, that the leaders of the community would see to it that no injustice or wrong be done to the non-Jew. They would accordingly publish the names of such Jewish persons who might be suspected of ordering goods on credit or borrowing money without the intention of paying, thus warning the non-Jew against dealings with such people. (*Beer Hagoloh* to *Shulhan Aruk*, *Hoshen Mispat* 388, 12.)

The laws cited above are to be observed by the Jew even in his dealings with heathens. Needless to say that they are to be even more strictly observed in dealings with Christians and Mohammedans who, as we have seen, are considered as *Ger Toshab*, and are treated exactly like Jews in all business transactions. In discussing some of the above-mentioned laws about business transactions between Jew and heathen, R. Menahem Meiri of Perpignon (1249-1306) expressly states, that those non-Jewish peoples who are controlled by some religious laws or ethical

principles and, in some form or another, worship the Deity, even though their religious beliefs be far removed and different from our own belief, are in respect to these matters to be considered fully equal to the best of the Jews, and no distinction whatever should be made between them and Jews in our business transactions or other dealings with them. [Quoted by R. Bezalel Ashkenazi in his *Shittah Mekubetzet* (to *B. K.* 113) Lemberg, 1876, p. 94a]. Furthermore, the Jew is taught to observe these rules of business conduct not merely as laws of equity but as *religious* laws, as laws which God wants him to observe, and he must always think of the name of his God whenever he deals with his non-Jewish fellowman. Hence, even when according to the law, the Jew might have the right to take special advantages, he must, from a purely religious motive, refrain from so doing. He must go beyond the letter of the law, avoid doing anything which, although legally permitted, might lead to a profanation of the name of the God of Israel and cast unfavorable reflection on the higher principles and ethical standards taught by Judaism.

It need hardly be stated that besides the above-discussed specific regulations and positive Jewish religious teachings concerning dealings with non-Jews, the general talmudic-rabbinic principle, *dina de malkuta dina*—that the law of the country is the law by which the Jew must abide—declares it a religious offence and a grave sin on the part of the Jew, to make any unfair discrimination against his non-Jewish fellow-citizen or to follow any practice in business or in other dealings with the non-Jew which would be forbidden by the law of the land.

This brings me to the discussion of one more question which is closely connected with the laws of business conduct, namely, the law about lending money on interest. This question will be discussed here at greater length. Such a discussion, I hope, will show the fallacy of identifying Old Testament laws, intended for the ancient Jewish state, with Jewish religious teachings, and will also prove to us that we cannot correctly understand the Jewish religious law without taking into consideration the course of its development and the changes and modifications to which it was subjected at the different periods in its evolution by its



authoritative interpreters. It is just this confusing of state laws in ancient Judea with principles of the Jewish religion, and the disregarding of the development of Jewish law, that caused so many people to make the mistake of believing that the teachings of the Jewish religion make unfair discriminations against the non-Jew in permitting the Jew to charge him interest on loans.

It is true, the biblical law, while prohibiting the Israelites from lending money on interest to a fellow Israelite, permits<sup>58</sup> the charging of interest on loans to a foreigner. The law in Deuteronomy (XXIII, 21) reads as follows: "Unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon interest but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest". As a state law in ancient Judea, protecting its citizens, as we shall see, from exploitation by foreigners, this was a just and wise rule, and compares favorably with modern laws regulating business relations between citizens of different nations. Special concessions or the privileges of favored nations are exchanged by modern nations on the basis of mutuality. Nationals of one country cannot claim any special protection or privileges in another country, if their own country does not accord the same privileges and the same protection to the citizens of that other country. This principle is underlying the biblical law permitting the Israelite to lend to a non-Israelite money on interest. For the foreign citizen or non-Israelite who was not subject to or did not accept the Judean law prohibiting its citizens to charge interest to one another, would, of course, charge the Israelite interest on loans. Had the law of the Jewish state forbidden the Israelite to take interest from the non-Israelite in cases when the latter was borrower, it would have been an unfair and unjust discrimination against the Israelite, who had to pay interest when he borrowed from the foreigner. It would have exposed the Israelite to unfair competition and exploitation on the part of the foreigner. Hence, this law is by no means a discrimination against the non-Israelite; it is merely a protection for the Israelite, securing for him the same rights in dealing with foreigners which the latter according to their own laws enjoy when dealing with Israelites.

After the Jewish state ceased to exist, the real significance of

this ancient state law, as a protection for its citizens, was no longer fully realized by the rabbis. The rabbis of the Talmud considering the law from the ethical and religious point of view and not from its practical side as a state law, came to look upon the taking of interest no matter from whom, as wrong in itself. They were mindful of the fact that when Ezekiel (XVIII, 8, 13, 17) and the Psalmist, as well as the author of Proverbs, condemned the practice of usury, they made no distinction between exacting usury from the native or from the foreigner. Accordingly, the rabbis of the Talmud, also condemned the practice of lending money upon interest even to a non-Jew. Hence, they interpreted the saying: "He that augmenteth his substance by interest and increase, gathereth it for him that is gracious to the poor," (Prov. XXVIII, 8) as applying even to one who takes interest from a non-Jew (*Talmud, B. M.* 70b). And Ps. XV, 5: "He that putteth not out his money on interest", they interpreted as referring to him who has not lent on interest even to non-Jews (*Makkot*, 24a). And they actually forbade lending money on interest to non-Jews (*B. M.* l. c.; see Maimonides, *Yad Malwe Welove*, V, 2).<sup>59</sup> Only in exceptional cases, as when the Jew absolutely has no other means of getting subsistence or earning a livelihood, would they permit the Jew to take interest from a non-Jew and even then only to the extent of getting subsistence כִּרְיָ הֵיִי but not as a business for acquiring wealth. This talmudic decree was accepted as a rabbinic law by the mediaeval Jewish authorities. Only when in the Middle Ages, the Jews were deprived of all other means of earning a livelihood and were actually driven into the money-lending business, the majority of the rabbis considered it a case of necessity, coming under the category of כִּרְיָ הֵיִי and hence, they were more lenient and would not enforce this rabbinic law which prohibited Jews from lending money on interest to non-Jews. But some great authorities persisted in objecting to it. Thus R. Nissim Gerondi (about 1340-1380) expresses his great surprise at the action of the people in lending money on interest to non-Jews which is contrary to the talmudic law (*Responsa* No. 56, edition Warsaw, 1882, p. 94). And Isaac Abravanel, expressly states that



Christians and Mohammedans, being considered as brothers to the Jews, are included in the biblical injunction, "But unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest".<sup>60</sup> The only excuse that the rabbis later on could find for permitting this practice was that the same considerations which originally prompted the enactment of the biblical law to protect the citizens of the Jewish State, might equally hold good now in the case of members of the Jewish group in other countries. Since the non-Jews, if they lend money to Jews, charge them interest, the Jew must equally charge interest if he lends money to the non-Jew. But in countries where interest rates are regulated by the state law for all citizens alike, all authorities agree that the Jew besides being in duty bound to obey the law of the land, is forbidden by his religious law to discriminate against the non-Jew and charge him a higher rate of interest than the one fixed by the law of the state, which he would also charge to his fellow-Jew.

The above discussion will convince any fair-minded intelligent person that the Jewish religious teachings do not permit the Jew to do business with a non-Jew on a different basis than with his fellow-Jew; but that, on the contrary, the Jewish religion makes it the sacred duty of the Jew to observe the standards of honest dealing and fair treatment with Jew and gentile alike.

Let us now consider a few isolated sayings in the Talmud which have been cited by anti-Semites as proof for their charge that Judaism teaches a hostile attitude towards the non-Jew. One of these sayings is the oft quoted remark of R. Simon b. Johia, "The best of the heathen should be killed", (p. *Kiddushin* IV, 66b). This is taken by anti-Semites to be one of the teachings of Judaism, expressing hatred for the non-Jew. Now, I have already stated in the opening of this paper that an isolated saying, quoted in the Talmud in the name of an individual teacher, cannot be considered as Jewish religious teachings unless it is approved by the other teachers and accepted by the rabbis after the talmudic period and embodied in their codes—which is not the case with this saying. But aside from this, and even considering such a saying as the private opinion of the individual teacher who uttered it, it is wrong to ignore the conditions under

which it was said, and to take it out of its context and misquote it, as is constantly done by the anti-Semites.

R. Simon b. Johai, the author of this saying, who witnessed the cruel persecutions of the Jews by the Romans under Hadrian, and who personally suffered greatly from the Romans, being compelled to hide in a cavern for thirteen years to escape his persecutors, naturally could not, and actually did not, have any too good opinion of the heathen Romans and could not entertain any friendly feelings towards them. So, we could well understand and pardon him if, in a moment of bitterness, he had uttered an unqualified general condemnation of all the Romans. But as a matter of fact he did not do so. He did not make the statement in such an unqualified form in which it is frequently quoted. Those who quote his saying leave out two very important words.

His full saying was טוב שבנוים הרונ בשעת מלחמה "The best of the heathen should be killed in time of war."<sup>61</sup> These words:

"in time of war" בשעת מלחמה are usually left out from the quotation, but every one will realize what a tremendous difference these words make in the meaning of this harsh saying. For we of the present generation know very well to what exaggerated expressions of hatred even very good and kind-hearted people can be driven by the excitement during time of war. But above all, the saying should not be taken out of its context. It should be given the same value as the other exaggerated statements, given there in the same passage of the Talmud, *e. g.*, "The most pious of women practice witchcraft", or "The best of the physicians is doomed to hell". Any one who, ignoring all the numerous teachings commanding kindness and helpfulness to the heathen which we have quoted, would take this saying of Simon b. Johai seriously and consider it as Jewish religious teaching, would also have to believe that Judaism condemns even the most pious women, notwithstanding the fact that Jewish religious literature is full of praise for the pious and virtuous woman. He would also have to assert that Judaism condemns to eternal damnation all its great religious teachers of all the generations who in addition to being teachers of religion also practiced medicine. I doubt very much if even the most malicious anti-Semite will be stupid enough to make such assertions.<sup>62</sup>



Another such isolated haggadic exaggeration is a saying by the same R. Simon b. Joḥai, who so thoroughly hated the Romans, to the effect that the heathen people do not deserve to be properly called "Adam" or "man" (*Yebamot*, 61a). Aside from the fact that this is merely an *haggadic* interpretation of a biblical passage (see *Tossafot Yomtob to M. Aboth*, 111, 14) and has absolutely no bearing upon *Halakic* practice or upon the conduct of the Jew towards the heathen, it is contradicted by numerous other statements in the Talmud, absolutely refuting such a definition of the term "Adam" or "man". But, even the author of this saying merely meant to say that only people who observe ethical or moral laws, and thus live up to the dignity of man, can properly be called "man". But those heathens who disregard the law of God and man, do not maintain their human dignity. Consequently, they do not deserve to be dignified by the title "man" (see Guedeman, *Juedische Apologetik*, Glogau, 1906, p. 240). But above all, who could ever think seriously that such exaggerated expressions by an individual teacher represent Jewish teachings. In the same talmudic tractate (*Yebamot*, 63a) there are found two sayings by another individual teacher to the effect, that he who has no wife, or does not possess land is not to be considered as an "Adam" or "man". And there always have been, and there still are, rabbis and teachers in Israel who are unmarried and the large majority of Jews do not own land. Yet we have never heard and not even the anti-Semites could claim, that the Jews discriminated against or held in contempt these unmarried teachers or those among them who were not landed proprietors.

To the same class of isolated and exaggerated expressions belongs also the saying of R. Joḥanan. "A heathen who studies the Torah is deserving of death". (*Sanhedrin*, 59a). Aside from the fact that on the same page of the Talmud is found the saying of the rabbis extolling the heathen who studies the law and declaring him to be like the highpriest, and that the rabbis themselves have taught the Torah to the heathens, and were very anxious for the non-Jew to study the Torah and learn the Jewish religion, no intelligent person could think that the author of this

saying, R. Johanan, really meant it to be understood literally. The same R. Johanan said that a student on whose garments is found any stain or spot is deserving death, (*Sabbath*, 114a) and also that the student who yields to an ignorant priest the honor of reciting first the benedictions is deserving death (*Megillah*, 28a) which, of course, is not to be taken literally.<sup>93</sup> It is just an emphatic way of expressing his disapproval of certain actions. It would hardly be necessary to discuss such isolated expressions which are contradicted by the whole tenor of Jewish teachings, were it not for the fact that it is the method of the slanderers of Judaism to ignore its authentic sayings and generally accepted true teachings, and pick out just such isolated sayings, uttered by an individual teacher under peculiar conditions or for a special purpose, to search out in the vast store of Jewish literature just such exceptional sayings and to represent them as if they were genuine Jewish teachings accepted by all Jewish teachers. It is, therefore, necessary to point out the fallacious methods of those false accusers of the Jewish religion. And who knows but that R. Johanan in strongly objecting to the heathen studying the Torah and in expressing his objection in such an emphatic manner, had in mind just such heathen slanderers and enemies of the Jews who with malice and evil intent were trying to study the Torah merely in order to misinterpret its teachings so as to lend a semblance of truth to their false accusations and libellous charges against the Jews and Judaism!

Another charge of unfriendliness and unsociability often brought against the Jew is based upon the law which forbids the Jew to walk in the ways of the heathen. And yet there is not the least justification for this charge. The law prohibiting the Jew to walk in the ways of the gentiles, has nothing to do with friendliness, sociability or mutual respect, which according to the Jewish religion should prevail between Jew and non-Jew. This law was not directed against foreign customs in general; it was directed originally against the immoral practices of certain heathen nations of antiquity. The law reads as follows: "After the doings of the land of Egypt wherein ye dwelt shall ye not do; and after the doings of the land of Canaan whither I bring



you shall ye not do; neither shall ye walk in their statutes.” (Lev. XVIII, 3). The law-giver then goes on to specify some of these incestuous and immoral practices which are thereby forbidden (verses 4-23) and concludes with the words: “Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out from before thee.” (verse 24). It is evident from this closing statement that the practices of the Canaanites were forbidden to the Israelites, not because they were foreign practices, but because they were immoral and abominable practices. The rabbis of the Talmud have included in this prohibition all heathen and superstitious practices designated by them as דרכי אַמּוּרִי “ways of the Amorites”<sup>64</sup> which are incompatible with the moral teachings and pure beliefs of Judaism, but did not include in it any practice of the heathen which could not be characterized as superstitious and was not of an immoral character (see *Abodah Zarah*, 11a and *Tossafot* there s. v. וַאֲי חוּקָה ). There has never been any objection on the part of the rabbis of the Talmud to imitating or adopting non-Jewish customs merely on the ground that they were non-Jewish. On the contrary, the rabbis of the Talmud urged upon the Jews to imitate what is good and noble in the conduct of other peoples (*Berakot* 8b, *Kiddushin* 31a, and parallels). Commenting upon the apparent contradiction in the words of Ezekiel, who, in one passage, says that God will punish the people because “they have not done after the ordinances of the nations that were round about them (V, 7-8) and in another passage, he rebukes them for having done after the ordinances of the nations that were round about them (XI, 12), the Talmud explains that the prophet reproaches the people for imitating only the bad practices of their non-Jewish neighbors, while neglecting to imitate and adopt their good customs כַּמּוֹלָקִים שֶׁבָּהֶם עֲשִׂיתֶם כַּמְחֻקִּים שֶׁבָּהֶם לֹא עֲשִׂיתֶם (*Sanhedrin* 39b). And the post-talmudic-rabbinic authorities have repeatedly stated that the Jew is to refrain from following practices or observing ceremonies of the non-Jew, only if such practices or ceremonies suggest a special belief, or symbolize an idea peculiar to the particular creed of the non-Jew which the Jew does not share.<sup>65</sup> The Jew who does not follow

the religion of the non-Jew and does not subscribe to his creed, should therefore not perform any ceremony prescribed by that religion or expressive of that creed.

I have endeavored, as far as it is possible within the limited scope of this paper, to give faithfully and accurately a concise presentation of the teachings of the Jewish religion as to the attitude of the Jew towards the non-Jew. I believe I have succeeded in showing that the principles of the Jewish religion in their broad universalism, aiming at embracing all humanity, cannot and do not countenance any hostile attitude towards any nation or group of the human family. I have also shown that the teachings of the Jewish religion in their specific rules of conduct in daily life do not contain any laws or regulations discriminating against people of other creeds who recognize and observe some system of laws of morality and justice, and that the Jew is not allowed to deal unjustly with them or treat them unfairly. Especially, in the case of the Christians and Mohammedans who are regarded as being, in a sense, proselytes to the Jewish religion, Judaism teaches that they are to be considered as brothers and equals. They are, of course, different from us in that they do not share all our beliefs and cherished traditions. Hence, we are strictly separate from them in matters of ritual and forms of worship, in specific congregational activities and in the fulfillment of all historic obligations resting exclusively upon members of the house of Israel and upon all those who formally joined themselves to it. But in all other matters of human relations, as in business transactions, general educational, cultural, and social welfare work and in neighborly helpfulness, they are to be treated exactly like Jews. For they certainly are included in the fundamental commandment: "Thou shalt love thy fellowman as thyself" and consequently, are entitled to all considerations, kindnesses, and courtesies which are to be extended to the fellowman.

We have also found that the biblical laws, unfavorable to certain nations of antiquity, were merely of the character of state laws of the ancient Jewish commonwealth, discriminating against foreign citizens, and are not to be considered as religious teach-



ings, imposing duties of corresponding actions upon the Jew living outside of Palestine or even in Palestine after it was no longer an independent Jewish state. Most of these laws have been practically abrogated by all Jewish authorities in that they have been unanimously interpreted to have been intended or directed only against the idolatrous nations of antiquity, especially the morally corrupt Canaanitic peoples or the so-called "seven Canaanitic nations", who, in the course of time, have entirely disappeared from the scene of history. If some of the early rabbis of the Talmud occasionally observed that among the nations of their times there were some morally corrupt and idolatrous people who might have been considered to be in a class with the ancient Canaanitic nations and to whom, therefore, some of the ancient discriminatory laws of the Bible could equally apply, and if Jewish literature has preserved the text and the wording of such dead-letter laws, and theoretically discussed, quoted, and commented upon them, it has at the same time been expressly and repeatedly stated by the great rabbinic authorities, that such laws do not apply to the nations of their times, and that such casual expressions of some ancient teachers no longer represented the Jewish religious attitude towards the non-Jewish people of later days.

In every age and generation and in every country where there were Jewish settlements and centers of Jewish culture, the great Jewish religious authorities have repeatedly made solemn declarations, asserting their friendly and well-intentioned attitude towards the non-Jew. It would fill volumes to cite these authoritative statements. For, there is hardly a book written by a Jewish teacher on subjects of law and ethics in which the author, either in the course of his discussion in the text of his book, or in his introduction, or in a special prefatory remark, does not affirm that when he occasionally brings a quotation from ancient sources, containing some deprecating remark or speaking in derogatory terms about the ancient heathen people, such remarks are not to be taken as referring to the peoples of subsequent ages who have abandoned the abominations of the ancient heathen nations. These emphatic general declarations on the part of all Jewish

teachers are more expressive of the real attitude of the Jew towards the non-Jew than any law or dictum in favor of the Gentile, found in Jewish literature, which I may have quoted. The fact that these declarations have been made by Jewish teachers in all ages and in all climes and under all kinds of conditions proves them to be the expressions of the real character of the Jewish teaching. It shows that they are common to all the Jewish teachers and accepted by all the groups of Jews of the most varied shades of opinion and theological differences. And all these statements are genuine expressions of Jewish doctrine. They were made in all sincerity and with the honest conviction on the part of their authors that, in making such statements, they correctly interpreted the teachings of the Jewish religion. For those statements were addressed to Jews. They were intended to impress the mind of the Jews with the true spirit of the teachings of Judaism. They were not intended to give the gentile a false impression of the real Jewish attitude, as our slanderers would have the world believe. Such statements were made by authors who never could have expected that their Hebrew works would be read by non-Jews. Such statements, expressing high regard for Mohammedans, were made by rabbis who wrote and published their works in Christian countries, and similar declarations, abounding in words of appreciation of the Christians, are found in works by authorities who lived in Mohammedan countries. So these statements were not made merely for the purpose of favorably impressing the non-Jewish people among whom the rabbis lived. Further, to make such statements is practically identical with giving a decision on a religious question and interpreting the Jewish law. To make such a statement without meaning it would, therefore, be tantamount to giving a false decision on a religious question and knowingly misinterpreting the Torah. Such an act is considered by the rabbis tantamount to denying the Torah, for it would actually deny the Torah in its true sense. And such an untrue decision, according to the rabbis, should not be rendered even when facing the dangers of persecution,<sup>66</sup> for it would mean denying one's religion to escape oppression, a practice with which



not even their worst enemy would charge the rabbis. But above all, considering how severely the Talmud and all mediaeval Jewish scholars condemn נניבת דעת "the stealing of the good opinion of the Gentile", the attempt to make a false impression upon them, is it conceivable that all the rabbis were guilty of a practice which they so strongly condemned? Is it possible to believe that while preaching against נניבת דעת and so utterly abhorring it, all these rabbis and teachers conspired to make such false statements about the attitude of the Jewish law towards the non-Jewish people of their times, merely in order to deceive the gentiles, "to steal their good opinion" and make them believe that the Jews were friendly to them, when actually they were not? Is it possible that such a practice could have been agreed upon by all the rabbis without even one of them at any time protesting against it? It would seem almost impossible that even the most stupidly credulous could believe in such a secret agreement among all the Jewish teachers of all the ages. And only malicious slander could bring such a charge against religious teachers who have given numerous proofs of their readiness to die for the truth of their religion.

#### CLOSING STATEMENT

In the presentation of the Jewish religious teachings in regard to the Jewish attitude towards the non-Jew given above, I have considered only such Jewish authorities who lived before the beginning of the modern liberal movement in Judaism. I have purposely refrained from citing statements by authors who lived later than the eighteenth century. For, it might be argued, though there is, of course, no justification whatever for such an argument, that those modern teachers had an apologetic purpose in their liberal utterances and in their interpretations of Jewish teachings. But, considering that there has always been progress and development in Judaism, and that according to the talmudic principle אין לך אלה שופט שבימך (*Tosefta, Kiddushin* 11, 3) the teachers of every generation are the sole arbiters to decide for that generation what is authoritative Jewish teaching, are not

the modern teachers, the only authorities who have the right to declare what constitutes Jewish religious teaching? And who, I ask in all fairness, is better qualified to interpret Jewish religious law and state what the Jewish religion teaches? Is it the anti-Semite who with malice and evil intention sets out to find in the vast storehouse of Jewish literature such sayings which he can possibly distort and misinterpret so as to give them a meaning which would serve his purpose of hate, or is it not rather the rabbi who has made a special study of Jewish literature and devoted his life to teaching and preaching Judaism?

With all due modesty, I may say that no one can deny me the right and the authority to interpret Jewish law and to decide what is and what is not Jewish religious teachings. I have received my rabbinical training and my rabbinical ordination from great European rabbis of the strictest orthodox school. I now belong to the liberal progressive party in Judaism and am a member of this Conference, representing a body of rabbis and teachers who did not hesitate to discard some beliefs, formerly held by Jewish teachers, when such beliefs were no longer compatible with their advanced thoughts, and to abrogate and abolish some older Jewish laws and practices when such were no longer expressive of the true spirit of Jewish religious doctrine as understood by them. If I had found that the Jewish religion, according to the orthodox interpretation, teaches something against the non-Jew which is incompatible with my liberal views, I would not hesitate to say so and to declare that we of the reform group no longer share such views. But I have not found this to be the case. I have found, on the contrary, that on these questions we all agree, and I can speak on behalf of the orthodox as well as the reform group in Jewry. To the best of my knowledge and in honest scientific search for the truth, I have gathered my material from sources older than the nineteenth century and examined the expressions of opinions by recognized authorities of past ages as to the Jewish attitude toward the non-Jew. I have presented these authoritative opinions in this paper, quoting the statements from the original sources and giving the exact references where these statements are found. I feel convinced



that every one who will examine the material presented, will agree with me that the following is the attitude which, according to the authoritative teachings of our religion, we Jews, orthodox and reform alike, are to observe toward people who follow other religions. We of the House of Israel are united by the bond of common blood, common history, common sufferings, and common traditional beliefs which naturally make us feel near and close to one another as members of one family. But these feelings of close relationship to our co-religionists do not prevent us from having similar sentiments of brotherly love and friendship toward people of other faiths. We consider ourselves also as members of the larger human family whom we also must love, just as the greater love which one naturally feels for his blood-relatives and brothers in the flesh does not prevent him from also loving his friends and brethren outside of his immediate family circle. And, certainly we have no hatred or ill-will towards people of other faiths or other races. For we are mindful of the fundamental principles of our religion, that we all have one Father in heaven, that every human being is made in the image of the Father and that we sin against God if we harm any man. We consider it, therefore, our sacred religious duty to be honest, kind, considerate, friendly, and helpful to any human being of whatever race or creed he may be, and to treat him as we wish to be treated by him. Thus, we endeavor to live up to the great commandment of our religion: Thou shalt love thy fellowman as thyself, as interpreted by one of our greatest teachers, "not to do unto others, what we would not wish others to do unto us." This, we declare with our great teacher, Hillel, is the sum and substance of our religion, the Jewish Torah.

זו היא כל התורה כולה

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See the prayer offered by Solomon at the dedication of his Temple (I K. VIII, 41-43) which Josephus (*Ant.* VIII, 4, 3) paraphrases in the following words: "Nay, moreover, this help is what I implore of Thee not for the Hebrews only when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever and shall return from their sins and implore Thy pardon, do Thou then pardon them and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that Thou Thyself wast pleased with the building of this house for Thee and that we are not ourselves of an unsociable nature, nor behave ourselves like enemies to such as are not of our own people, but are wishing that Thy assistance should be communicated by Thee to all men in common and that they may have the enjoyment of Thy benefits bestowed upon them". And the anonymous prophet in speaking of the Temple says: "For My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (*Isa.* LVI, 7). The seventy bullocks which were offered in the Temple at Jerusalem on the Succoth festival were intended as an atonement for the seventy nations, says the Talmud (*Sukkah* 55b; compare also R. Moses Hagiz, Palestinian rabbi, (1671-1750) in his work *Elch ha-Mizvot* (Amsterdam, 1713, p. 107). And in the ancient as well as modern service of the Synagog for New Year's day and Day of Atonement we hear repeatedly such strains, as: "May all creatures worship Thee and may they all form one band to do Thy will with a perfect heart" or "Shine forth in the majesty of Thy strength over all the inhabitants of Thy world that every form may know that Thou hast formed it and every creature understand that Thou hast created it" (comp. also R. Jacob Emden in his *Responsa Sheilat Yabez*, No. 144). And in the adoration, recited three times daily, the Jew prays for the time when "the world will be perfected under the kingdom of the Almighty and all the children of flesh will call upon Thy name."

<sup>2</sup> Jewish nationalists and political Zionists also aim through their plans to benefit not only Israel but all mankind. The hope for the coming of the Messiah and the restoration of the Jewish state has always been conceived as tending to help in carrying out the Jewish mission of teaching the world ideals of justice and righteousness. By setting up an ideal government of righteousness and truth the messianic state will be a model of true democracy and all nations will come up to Mount Zion and learn to walk in the ways of the Lord. The Messiah will be the arbiter between many nations and from Zion shall come forth the true doctrines of universal peace and the brotherhood of man.

<sup>3</sup> The term *עַם* in the Bible simply means "people" or "nation" and is applied to Israel as well as to any other nation. In postbiblical Jewish literature it has been used to designate a person from any other people



but the Jewish. It is exactly equivalent to the word Gentile. It has no evil connotation at all and casts no aspersion upon the character of those thus designated. See M. Guedemann, *Juedische Apologetik* (Glogau, 1906) p. 47; compare also A. Berliner, *Randbemerkungen zum taeglichen Gebetbuch*, II. (Berlin, 1912) p. 33ff. and p. 72ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Sifra Kedoshim*, IV (Weiss 89b). The reason for this principle of Gen. V, 1, being considered greater than the one of Lev. XIX, 18, is given by R. Aaron Ibn Hayyim (a Moroccan rabbi, d. 1632) in his commentary *Korban Aaron* (Venice, 1609) p. 306b, in the following words: משום דקרא דואהבת לרעך הוא מחייב האהבה מצד הרעות לבר אבל זה ספר מחייב אותה מצד האהבה שהוא חיוב יותר גדול ועוד כי בזה הראה לנו שכלנו בצלם אחד ובחזותם אחד והיא הצורה האלהית שהיא תחייב אותנו להתאחד בכל דברינו כשם שאנו אחדים בצורה האלהית.

ומפני שלום הבריות שלא יאמר אדם לחבירו אבא גדול מאביך<sup>5</sup> (*M. Sanhedrin*, IV, 5). Here it is evident that the term רבבריות as well as אדם and חבירו mean human beings Jew or non-Jew alike; see the following note.

<sup>6</sup> *Sifra* I. c. ואהבת לרעך כמוך רבי עקיבא אומר זה כלל גדול בתורה compare *Midrash Gen. R.* XXIV, 7, where this rule of R. Akiba is repeated and given the following specific application: אמר רבי עקיבא זה כלל גדול בתורה שלא תאמר הואיל ונתבוייתי יתבוהו הביירי עמי הואיל ונתקללתי יתקלל חבירי עמי אמר רבי תנחומא אם עשית כן דע למי אתה מבזה בדטות אלהים עשה אותנו. Here, again, it is evident that under the term רעך is understood every human being made in the image of God. The reason for the equality of all men is that one God made them all; compare *P. B. K.* VIII 6c where R. Johanan gives the same reason for treating his slave as an equal. See also my *Ethics of the Halakah*, p. 22. It is significant that in the entire Midrashic literature not one comment can be found which would limit or qualify the meaning of the term רעך in this verse so as to exclude the non-Jew. Evidently it was understood by all the rabbis to mean "fellowman," Jew and non-Jew alike. This is further proved by the fact that Hillel, who a long time before R. Akiba expressed this great principle in a negative form (*Sabbath*, 31a), also commanded the love for all human creatures (see below note 16). Speaking about the duty of loving one's fellowman, R. Phinehas Elija Hurwitz in the second part of his *Sefer ha-Berit* (Bruenn, 1797) in the treatise אהבת רעים Ch. IV remarks, as follows: והתורה מתייבת אותנו זאת באר היטב כמה שבתוב ואהבת לרעך כמוך ואין הכוונה בו לישראל דוקא . . . אבל הכוונה בן לרעך שהוא אדם כמוך ועוסק ביישובו של עולם כטוך וכל האומות במשמע.

חביב אדם שנברא בצלם חבה יתירה נודעת לו שנברא<sup>7</sup> בצלם שנאמר בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם  
It is evident that under אדם here are meant all descendants of Adam, Jew

and non-Jew alike. This is further proved from the context. In the same sentence R. Akiba speaks of another distinction which he says is peculiar to the Jews, hence the distinction of being beloved because being made in the image of God, is common to all mankind. In this sense R. Akiba's statement has been understood by mediaeval Jewish authorities who quote and comment upon it. Only a few need be cited here. R. Jacob Anatoli (1194-1256) in his *Malmad ha-Talmidim* (Berlin, 1866) p. 25ab. R. Obadiah Sforno (1475-1550) in his commentary to the Pentateuch, commenting upon the passage "Yea, He loveth the people" (Deut. XXXIII, 3) quotes the statement of R. Akiba in support of his interpretation of the passage to mean that the entire human family is God's precious treasure. He says: **ובזה הודעת שכל המין הראנושי סגולה אצלך נאמרם ז"ל חביב אדם שנברא בעלם** Compare also his remarks to Exod. IX, 19 and XIX, 5. R. Yomtob Lipmann Heller (1579-1654) in his commentary *Tossafot Yomtob ad loc.* remarks: **ובכל אדם אמר רבי עקיבא וכמו שהיא הראיה שממנו הביא שהיא נאמר לבני נח לא לישראל לברם ורצה רבי עקיבא לזכות את כל אדם אף לבני נח**

<sup>8</sup> *Sifre Deut.* 49, Friedmann, 85a. Comp. also K. Kohler, *Jewish Theology*, p. 477ff.

**זכוחא' שנה** <sup>9</sup> *Sanhedrin*, 98a.

<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that according to the rabbis the Genesis story also teaches the equality of all men as regards their moral and religious responsibilities. Thus the *Tosefta* (*Sanhedrin*, VIII, 4) says: **ולמה נברא יחידי בעולם שלא יהו הצדיקים אומרים אנו בניו של צדיק ושלא יהו הרשעים יחידי רשע** In other words a man's religious and moral character is not determined by his birth and does not depend on the race or nationality to which he belongs. It depends solely upon his self-determination and his free choice whether he shall be righteous or wicked. For, although man is afflicted with evil inclinations, and may be born with evil passions, God has provided for him religious teachings by which he can train and discipline himself, so as to overcome all evil inclinations, as the Talmud says (*Kiddushin*, 30b): **בראתי יצר הרע ובראתי לו תורה: תבלין ואם אתם עוסקין בתורה אין אתם נמסרין בידו.**

<sup>11</sup> Some of these inherent weaknesses are ascribed by the rabbis to the poisoning of the human race by the serpent in his intercourse with Eve. By receiving the Torah, Israel freed himself from the effects of this poison. This is expressed by the Talmud (*Sabbath*, 146a) as follows: **בשעה שבא נחש על חוה הטיל בה זוחמא ישראל ישעטרו על הר סיני פסקה זוהמתן עוברי נחש על חוה הטיל בה זוחמא ישראל ישעטרו על הר סיני לא פסקה זוהמתן** This is an echo of the idea of the original sin. Judaism has suppressed this idea as tending to paralyze human efforts at religious and moral improvement. Hence it is but rarely mentioned in Jewish literature. Where it is mentioned, as in this passage, it is made harmless by the declaration that the



acceptance of the Torah counteracts the evil effects of that poisoning. Not only the Jew but also the gentile can, by accepting the Torah, free himself from these human weaknesses. This is expressed in the Talmud (*ibidem*, l. c.) in the following discussion: אמר ליה רב אתא בריהדרבא לרב אשי גרים טאי אמר ליה אף עז נב דאינהו לא הוו מזלייהו הוה דכתיב את אשר ישנו פה ' ' ' ואת אשר איננו פה

In other words, any person who accepts the Torah gets the same wholesome benefit from it, whether his ancestors stood at the foot of Mount Sinai or not.

כשנגלה המקום ליתן תורה לישראל לא על ישראל בלבד הוא נגלה אלא<sup>12</sup> 'על כל האומות וכו' (*Sifre Deut.* 343, Friedmann, 142b, compare also *Abodah Zarah*, 2b). The meaning of the midrashic statement in *Sifre* that the other nations refused to accept the Torah, is simply this that due to their inherent weaknesses which were their national characteristics and to their lack of training, since they had not observed even the seven commandments given to them, they were not prepared to accept the Torah. The Israelites, on the other hand, were prepared, because they had been trained in the observance of the seven commandments and even practiced other virtues which they inherited from the patriarchs. This is clearly expressed in the midrashic saying (*Pseudo-Seder Elijahu Zutta*, ed. Friedmann, Wien, 1904, p. 56) that when God asked the Israelites whether they would accept the Torah they answered and said: "עד שלא שמענו התורה שמרנו את מצות התורה" "We have practiced many of the laws of the Torah even before we heard of the Torah." This is but another way of saying we have been trained in its practice and consequently are ready to receive it. Compare my article on *Jewish Theology* in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, XII, p. 136.

אתה אומר מנין אפילו נוי ועושה את התורה הרי הוא ככהן גדול תלמוד לומר<sup>13</sup> אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם וכן הוא אומר- וזאת תורת הנהנים והלויים וישראלים לא נאמר כאן אלא- וזאת תורת האדם ה' אליהם. וכן הוא אומר פתחו שערים- ויבא כהנים ולויים וישראלים לא נאמר אלא- ויבא נוי צדק שומר אמונים. וכן הוא אומר זה השער לה' כהנים לויים וישראלים לא נאמר אלא- צדיקים יבואו בו. וכן הוא אומר- הטיבה ה' לכהנים ללויים לישראל לא נאמר כאן אלא- הטיבה ה' לטובים הא אפילו נוי ועושה את *Sifra Aḥare Mot*, XIII, Weiss, 86b, compare also *Sanhedrin*, 59a and 77a.

לא הנלה הקדיש ברוך הוא את ישראל לביו האומות אלא כדו שיתוספו<sup>14</sup> עליהם גרים *Pesahim*, 87b, comp. also R. Moses of Coucy (first half of 13th century) in his *SeMaG, Commandments*, 74, and R. Raphael b. Gabriel of Norzi (16th century) in his *ספר סתת* Amsterdam, 1757, p. 8b.

<sup>15</sup> In ancient times some restrictions, based upon the biblical law, were put upon members of certain nations, when they joined the Jewish people. They were admitted into the Jewish fold and could join the congregation but were refused the right of intermarrying with those of pure Jewish

descent. These restrictions were removed at the beginning of the second century, C. E. when R. Joshua declared in the assembly at Jabneh that the nations in question, although called by the same names and inhabiting the same countries as those against whom the biblical prohibitions were directed, could no longer be considered as absolutely identical with the nations mentioned in the biblical law, hence its prohibition was not to be applied to them. See *M. Yadayim*, IV, 4. This, by the way, shows how the rabbis of the Talmud could and actually did, declare biblical laws, discriminating against certain nations, as no longer binding for their times. As a result of this decision of R. Joshua which was accepted as law, no restriction whatever is put upon the members of any race or nation if they wish to join the Jewish community. They are given full equality with those born in the Jewish fold.

<sup>16</sup> הלל אומר הוה מתלמידיו של אהרן אוהב שלום ורודף שלום אוהב את התורה ומקרבן לתורה *Abot* I, 12. It is evident that under the term בריות here are meant people who are not of the Jewish faith, not yet under the Law, but are to be attracted to it. Compare also R. Hayyim Vital (1543-1620) in his *Shaare ha-Kedushah*, I, 5, (Sulzbach, 1758), p. 8b, where he expressly teaches to love all human creatures Jew and non-Jew alike לאהוב את כל הבריות ואפילו כותים.

<sup>17</sup> Because the Jew is to teach his religious principles by precept and example, Judaism considers any act on the part of the Jew whereby the reputation of the high standard of the Jewish religion is maintained as of the greatest religious merit, as an act of קדושת השם "glorification of the name of God." On the other hand, any act on the part of the Jew whereby the Jewish religion is brought into disrepute, is regarded as the gravest sin for which no forgiveness can be obtained. It is considered a

הלול השם a "profanation of the name of God and His Torah." See K. Kohler, *Kiddush ha-Shem* and *Hillul ha-Shem* in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, p. 484ff.

<sup>18</sup> יש צדיקים באומות שיש להם חלק לעולם הבא *Tosefta Sanhedrin*, XIII, 2 and *b. Sanhedrin*, 105a. Compare also *Midrash, T'hillim*, IX, 15, ed. Buber, p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> *Yebamot*, 47a; Maimonides, *Yad, Melakim*, VIII, 10 and *Issure Biah*, XIV; *Shulhan Aruk, Yore Deah*, 268, 2.

<sup>20</sup> These seven commandments are: (1) to establish courts of justice, (2) not to blaspheme the name of God, (3) not to worship idols, (4) not to commit adultery, (5) not to commit murder, (6) not to commit robbery and (7) not to eat flesh that had been cut off from a living animal (*Sanhedrin*, 56ab). The first six had been commanded to Adam and then repeated to Noah with the addition of the seventh one. Compare J. H. Greenstone, *Laws Noachian* in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, p. 648ff. The



gentile who accepts these seven laws is considered as one of the **חסירי אומות העולם** the pious ones among the gentiles who will have a share in the future world (Maimonides, *Yad, Melakim*, VIII, 11).

<sup>21</sup> The Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 59a) interprets the saying **את נכרי ועושה את** (see above, note 13) to mean that the gentile who practices the seven commandments is like the highpriest. Compare also *Midrash Tanhuma Ekeb*, 3, where it is stated that the gentiles in their way observe the commandments and glorify the name of God.

<sup>22</sup> **כהניך ילבישו צדק . . . כהניך אלו צדיקי אומות העולם שהם כהנים להקדוש הזה** *Seder Elijah Zutta*, XX, (Warsaw, 1880), p. 151.

<sup>23</sup> **גד תושב כל שקיבל עליו בפני שלש חברים שלא לעבוד עבודת אלילים דברי רבי מאיר והכמים אומרים כל שקיבל עליו שבע מצות שקבלו עליהם בני נת** (*Abodah Zarah*, 64b, comp. also tractate *Gerim*, in R. Kirchheim's *septem libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani*, Frankfurt a. M. 1851, p. 41). Maimonides, *Yad, Issure Biah*, XIV, 7, accepts the opinion of the **הכמים** though some medieval authorities accept the opinion of R. Meir, that the mere resolution not to worship idols makes one a *Ger Toshab* (R. Isaac b. Sheshet, *Responsa*, No. 119, and R. Raphael of Norzi in his *פאה סלת* p. 7b). The formal promise in the presence of three members **בפני שלשה חברים** was necessary only during the time when there was an independent Jewish state, see Isaac Baer Levinsohn in his *Zerubabel*, III (Warsaw, 1901), pp. 16-18, and D. Hoffman, *Der Shulchan Aruch und die Rabbinen ueber das Verhaeltniss der Juden zu Anders-glaubigen*, (Berlin, 1894) pp. 151-152. Indeed the words, **בפני שלשה חברים** are omitted in tractate *Gerim*. Such a *Ger Toshab* is to be helped and supported, ransomed from captivity and saved from any danger exactly like a Jew, see R. Moses b. Nahman in his comments to Maimonides, *Book of the Commandments*, commandment 16 (*editio*, Warsaw, 1903), p. 43; R. Eliezer Askari of Safed (16th century) in his *ספר חרדים* commandments ch. V. (*editio*, Lublin, 1889), p. 18a, and R. Raphael of Norzi *op. cit. l. c.* In tractate *Gerim* there is also stated that it is forbidden to lend to him or borrow from him money on interest **ולא מלוין אותו וקא לויין ממנו ברבית** compare Kirchheim note 11 and see below note.

<sup>24</sup> Compare *Responsa, Zera Emet* by R. Ismael ha Kohen (Leghorn, 1796), part II, No. 112; Levinsohn, *op. cit.* II, p. 90; Hoffman *op. cit.* p. 152.

<sup>25</sup> Maimonides, *Yad, Melakim* XI, 4 (*editio*, Amsterdam, 1702-03) declares that Christianity and Mohammedanism are preparing the way for the messianic era expected by the Jews; R. Joseph Jabez (15th and 16th century) in his *Maamar ha-Ahdut* III, (Altona 1794, p. 4) says, **כי האומות היום מאמינים בחדושי העולם . . . מודים בעקרי אמונתנו ובמעלת אבותינו** Don Isaac Abravanel in his commentary to Deut. XXIII, 21 states that Edom, i. e. Christians, and Ishmael, i. e. Mohammed-

dans, cannot be considered as strangers but are to be regarded as brothers to the Jews. R. Moses Alshech (Rabbi in Safed, Palestine, second half of 16th century) in the preface to his *Torat Moshe*, a commentary to the Pentateuch, declares that Christians and Mohammedans, although differing in many points are alike in that they believe in God the Creator and they honor the Torah and it is one of the wonderful plans of the Divine wisdom, thus to include others in the covenant with the holy people Israel: הצד השווה שבהם שיטניהם יודו ויאמינו בה' קונה שמים וארץ . . . ומבלעד נצחיות התורה כל יקר ראתה עיניהם והמה נותנים כבוד לתורתנו הקדושה . . . והוא מפלאי ההכמה הריבונית להכנים כברית עם קודש ישראל גם את הזולת. Compare also the letter addressed to the leaders of the Council of Four Lands, *W'aad Arba Arazot*, by R. Jacob Emden, printed in the latter's edition of *Sefer Olam*, Hamburg, 1757.

<sup>26</sup> See Maimonides' *Letters* (Leipzig, 1859), p. 23: ומה שיטאלת על האומות הוי יודע דרחמנא לבא בעי ואחר כוונת הלב הם הם הרברים.

<sup>27</sup> Compare Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 144ff, where the authorities holding this opinion are cited.

<sup>28</sup> *Gittin*, 59b.

<sup>29</sup> *Gittin*, 61a; *Tosefta Gittin*, V, 4-5; p. *Demai*, IV, 5, 24a.

<sup>30</sup> p. *Gittin*, V, 9, 47c.

<sup>31</sup> *Tosefta Gittin*, l. c. b. *Gittin*, 61a.

<sup>32</sup> p. *Gittin* l. c. compare *Tur Hoshen Mishpat*, 266.

<sup>33</sup> *Gittin*, 62a compare Rashi *ad loc.*; *M. Sheb'it*, IV, 3 and V, 9 and p. *Sheb'it*, 36a.

<sup>34</sup> Compare A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und Juden zu den Fremden* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 347.

<sup>35</sup> Where the rabbis wish to express merely the idea, for the sake of peace or to avoid quarrels, they use the expression בישביל השלום or מפני דרכי שלום but not the phrase לעשות שלום or בדבר השלום.

<sup>36</sup> Philo, *De Virtutibus* (*De Humanitate*) Mang. 395 (Translation, C. D. Yonge, III, p. 439) expresses the same idea when he says: "And this is an object which the most holy prophet is endeavoring to bring to pass throughout the whole of his code of laws, studying to create unanimity and fellowship and agreement and that due admixture of different dispositions by which homes and cities and altars and nations and countries and the whole human race may be conducted to the very highest happiness.

<sup>37</sup> *Yad, Melakim*, X, 12.

<sup>38</sup> See also Hoffman *op. cit.* p. 49; Guedemann, *op. cit.* p. 78, and my *Ethics of the Halakah*, p. 35, note 83.

<sup>39</sup> Maimonides, *Yad, Matnot Aniyyim*, I, 9; *Abodat kokabim*, I, 5; *Melakim*, X, 12; *Ebel*, XIV, 8; *Shemittah ve-Yobel*, VIII, 8; *Tur Yoreh Deah*,



151, 335, 367; *Shulhan Aruk, Yoreh Deah*, 151, 12-13; 251, 1 (*Isserles*); 335, 9; 367, 1.

<sup>40</sup> Compare also *Seder Elijah Rabbah*, XVIII, Friedmann, p. 104.

<sup>41</sup> *Kallah Rabbati*, שואלין בשלומם ואפילו ביום אידם מפני דרכי שלום, III, compare also b. *Gittin*, 62a.

<sup>42</sup> *Qiddushin*, 33a, decision of Issi b. Jehudah, declared by R. Johanan to be the accepted Halakah; Maimonides *Yad, Talmud Torah*, VI, 9, *Shulhan Aruk, Yoreh Deah*, 244, 7.

<sup>43</sup> גדול כבוד הבריות שדוחה לא תעשה שבתורה *Sabbath*, 81b, compare *Ethics of the Halakah*, p. 20.

<sup>44</sup> מצווין הן ישראל לעשות חסד לכל מי שיבא *Midrash Tehillim* to Psalm LII, Buber, p. 286, compare Buber's remarks *ibidem*, note 33.

<sup>45</sup> אמר רבי יוחנן אם הרגלת לשונך לדבר באהיך שאינו בן אומתך סוף בן אומתך תתן דופי ומבואר מכאן *Midrash Debarim*, R. VI, 9. R. David Lurja in *ad loc.* remarks to this passage, as follows: שאסור לספר לשון הרע על עובדי כוכבים

רבי יהושע בן לוי אמר אמר דוד אם דברת בעשו שהוא אתיך סופך לדבר רבי יהושע בן לוי אמר אמר דוד אם דברת בעשו שהוא אתיך סופך לדבר *Tanhuma Pikkude*, 7, (Lublin, 1893) p. 223.

<sup>47</sup> אסור לנגוב דעת הבריות ואפילו דעתו של עובד כוכבים *Hullin*, 94a; Maimonides, *Yad, Deot*, II, 6; *Mekirah*, XVIII, 1; *Sefer Hassidim*, 51; *Shulhan Aruk, Hoshen Mishpat*, 228, p.

<sup>48</sup> Maimonides *Yad, Mekirah*, l. c. R. Moses Coucy in his *SeMaG, Prohibitions*, 170; *Shulhan Aruk, Hoshen Mishpat*, l. c.

<sup>49</sup> *Sefer Hassidim* (editio Wistinetzki, Berlin 1891) 1232, says: אל יעשה אדם שקר אפילו לניי שאתה צריך להיות נוהג באמונה עם ישראל כך ארתה צריך להתנהג עם הנכרי *R. Jonah Girondi* (13th century) in his *Sefer ha-Yirah* (Königsberg) p. 4a says: This principle is also expressed by R. Bahya b. Asher (13th and 14th century) in his *Kad ha-Kemah*, Warsaw 1870, p. 17b; by R. Jacob b. Isaac Luzzatto in his *Kaftor va-Ferah*, Amsterdam 1709, p. 30; by R. Raphael Norzi op cit. p. 6b and R. Moses Hagiz in his *Zikkaron libne Israel*, No. 20.

<sup>50</sup> Maimonides, *Yad, Gezeleh ve-Abedah* I, 2; *Shulhan Aruk, Hoshen Mishpat*, 359, 1. To rob the Non-Jew is considered even a graver sin than to rob the Jew because the former act may lead to a profanation of the name חמור נזל הנזל מנזל ישראל מפני הלול השם (*Tosefta B. K.*, X, 15); compare also *Seder Elijah Rabbah*, XVI, Friedmann, pp. 74-75; Bahya b. Asher op cit., p. 17; and R. Samuel Edels (1555-1631) in his *Novellae* to the Talmud *Ketubot*, 67a, who strongly condemns the cheating of a Non-Jew and declares it to be a חלול השם a desecration of the name.

<sup>51</sup> R. Eliezer b. Nathan (first half of the 12th century) in his *Eben ha-Ezer*, (Prague 1610) p. 91b; Maimonides *Yad, Genebah* I, 1; *Sefer Ḥassidim*, 661; *Shulḥan Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 348, 2.

<sup>52</sup> Maimonides *Yad, Genebah*, VII, 8; *Shulḥan Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 231, 1; compare also *Seder Elijahu Rabbah*, XVI, Friedmann, pp. 74-75.

<sup>53</sup> *Tosefta Ḥullin*, VII, 3; b. *Hullin*, 94a; Maimonides, *Yad, Mekirah*, XVIII, 1; *Shulḥan Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 228, 6.

<sup>54</sup> See p. *B. M.* II, 8c, story about Simon b. Shetaḥ; R. Eliezer b. Nathan, *op. cit. l. c.*; Maimonides, *Yad, Genebah*, VIII, 8; *Sefer Ḥassidim*, 358; R. Menahem Meiri quoted by R. Bezalel Ashkenasi in his *Shittah Mekubetzet to B. K.*, 113b, and R. Moses Ribkes (17th century) in his *Beer ha-Golah to Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 348.

<sup>55</sup> In the case of people who have no laws of their own and do not respect property rights, the Jew is by the letter of the law not bound to make an effort to restore to them their lost articles, since they on their part would not restore to the Jew any of his lost article, if they should happen to find them. However, for the sake of avoiding a חלול השם the Jew is commanded to restore even to such people their lost article (*B. K.*, 113b, compare especially marginal note in Talmud, edition Wilna); *Maimonides Yad, Gczechah ve-Abedah*, XI, 3; *Shulḥan Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 266, 1. But in the case of people who have laws of their own and respect property rights, the Jew is commanded by the strict letter of the law to restore to them their lost articles. See *Sefer Ḥassidim* and R. Menahem Meiri *l. c.* and *Beer ha-Golah to Ḥoshen Mishpat*, 266; compare also Hoffmann *op. cit.*, p. 61ff.

<sup>56</sup> This is but one of many instances. A similar story is told there in the Palestinian Talmud of Abba Hoshaya who once restored to a non-Jewish woman a piece of jewelry which she had lost in his place. The lady refused to accept it, saying: "This is not of much value to me, I have many other better and more valuable pieces". Abba Hoshaya, however, insisted that she take it back, for, says he, אוריינתא נורת דנהזור "the Torah commands us to return lost articles even to non-Jews." Compare also commentary *Pene Moshe ad loc.* and Menaḥem de Lonzano in his *Maarik* (ed. Jellinek Leipzig 1853), p. 124; and *Midrash Tehillim*, XII, ed. Buber, 104.

<sup>57</sup> *Sefer Ḥassidim*, 1080.

<sup>58</sup> Maimonides' view that the biblical law commands the Jew to charge interest on loans to non-Jews (*Malve ve-Lo've*, V, 1) is rejected by all authorities, see commentaries *ad loc.*; compare also Eliezer Zebi Zweifel in his *Sanegor*, Warsaw, 1894, p. 291ff.

<sup>59</sup> The reason why the rabbis forbade one to charge interest to non-Jews is given by a later Amora in the Talmud (*ibidem l. c.*) שמה ילמוד



ממעשיו It seems to me that the meaning of this phrase is that the Jew should not imitate the non-Jew in this unethical practice of charging interest. The sole reason why the Torah permitted the Jew to charge interest to the non-Jew was, as we have seen, because the non-Jew charged interest to the Jew. Against this the rabbis argued that the Jew must not imitate a non-Jewish unethical practice, hence he should not charge interest to the non-Jew even though the latter charges him interest. The commentators take the words שמה ילמוד ממעשיו to mean, lest the Jew learn from the non-Jew some other bad practices. But one fails to see how this danger is avoided by merely prohibiting the Jew from charging the non-Jew interest, while permitting him to lend the non-Jew money without interest and otherwise to associate in business with him. It must be admitted that the following words ובין דתלמיד חכם הוא לא ילמוד ממעשיו which are added in the Talmud to the statement שמה ילמוד ממעשיו favor the interpretation of the commentators. On the other hand, it seems strange that while according to the talmudic statement ובין דתלמיד חכם הוא לא ילמוד ממעשיו the learned, not being in danger of imitating bad practices, would be permitted to charge interest to non-Jews, R. Amram Gaon in a *Responsum* (*Shaare Zedek*, p. 40a) declares this prohibition of taking interest from the non-Jew to be especially strict in the case of the learned. Did Amram have a different reading in the Talmud?

<sup>60</sup> See his commentary to Deut. XXIII, 21; compare also David de Pomis (16th century) *Apologia Pro Medico Hebraeo*, extracts of which are given by Winter und Wuensche, *Juedische Literatur*, III, p. 698ff. De Pomis quotes a Christian theologian who observed that pious Jews abhor usury whether practiced upon Jew or non-Jew.

<sup>61</sup> So it is quoted by Tossafot, (*Abodah Zarah*, 26b s. v. מורידיו) from the Palestinian Talmud and so it is also found in tractate *Soferim*, XV, 10; compare Mueller, p. 211. See also I. B. Lewinsohn, *Zerubabel* II, p. 97; Graetz, *Monatschrift*, XIX, p. 486; Zweifel, *Sanegor*, pp. 290-291; G. Deutsch, *Jew and Gentile*, (Boston, 1920) pp. 122-123.

<sup>62</sup> Another such saying which has been misunderstood even by early Jewish authorities, is the one found in the *Tosefta B. M.* II, 32, and also quoted in the Talmud, *Abodah Zarah*, 26ab, which reads as follows: העובדי כוכבים והרועים בהמה דקה ומגדליה לא מעלין ולא מורדין The meaning of this *Baraittha* is either that the idol worshipers of those days, as well as the Jewish shepherds, both of whom did not enjoy a high reputation for honesty, were not to be appointed to public offices, but if once appointed to such an office were not to be removed from it (Graetz, *ibidem* l. c.) or, what is more likely, that they were to be refused the privilege of getting up in public to announce that they lost certain articles and to claim them from the finder, for they were suspected of making false claims (Rector A.

Schwarz in *Hazofeh Meercz Hagar*, I, 3 (Budapest 1911) p. 488ff.) The latter interpretation is supported by the context in the *Tosefta*.

<sup>63</sup> A similar exaggerated expression is the saying עובר כוככים ששבת חייב מיתה (Sanhedrin, 58b). See Zweifel, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-86.

<sup>64</sup> See *Sifra, Aḥare Mot*, XIII, Weiss 86a; *Tosefta Sabbath*, VI-VII.

<sup>65</sup> R. Joseph Colon (2nd half of the 15th century) in his *Responsa*, No. 88, quoted by Joseph Caro in *Bet Joseph* and Moses Isserles in *Darke Moshe to Tur Yorch Deah*, 178.

<sup>66</sup> R. Solomon Lurja (1510-73) in his work *Yam shel Shomoh to Baba Kamma* (Prague 1616) p. 39a.









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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN CHICAGO BEFORE THE

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# JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION.

BY D. G. LYON.

[This address is the outgrowth of the author's studies in connection with a course of instruction on the "History of Israel," which he gives annually to the students of Harvard University. Under the title "Columbus and the Jew," it was first delivered at the "Temple of the Congregation of the Sons of Israel and David," Providence, R. I., as a part of the Columbian Celebration of that Society, on October 21, 1892. It was afterwards read before the Ministers' Club, of which the writer is a member; before a group of the members of the Elysium Club, Boston; and in its present somewhat modified form, before the first World's Parliament of Religions, Columbus Hall, Chicago, Sept. 18, 1893. This explanation may make clearer certain of the forms of expression employed. The address has appeared in full in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, of Sept. 19, 1893, and in Vol. II. of the "World's Parliament of Religions," edited by Rev. Dr. J. H. Barrows, Chicago, 1893. In sending it out again, the writer hopes that it may aid in hastening the era of brotherly love so beautifully foretold by the ancient Hebrew prophet.]

In this glad Columbian year, when all the world is rejoicing with us, and in this hall consecrated to the greatest idea of the century, I could perform no task more welcome than that to which I have been assigned, — the task of paying a tribute based on history. I shall use the word Jew, not in the religious, but in the ethnic sense. In so doing, the antithesis to "Jew" is not Christian, but non-Jew, or Gentile.

The position of the Jews in the world is peculiar. They may be Englishmen, Germans, Americans, and as such, loyal to the land of their birth. They may or may not continue to adhere to a certain phase of religion. But they cannot avoid being known as the scattered fragments of a nation. Most of them are as distinctly marked by mental traits and by physiognomy as is an Englishman, a German, or a Chinaman.

The Jew, as thus described, is in our midst an American, and has all reasons to be glad which belong to the community at large; but his unique position today, and his importance in history, justify the inquiry whether he may not have special reasons for rejoicing in this auspicious year.

I. Such ground for rejoicing is seen in the fact that the discovery and settlement of America was the work of faith. Columbus believed in the existence and attainableness of that which neither he nor his fellows had ever seen. Apart from his own character and his aims in the voyage of discovery, it was this belief that saved him from discouragement and held his barque true to its westward course. What though he found something greater than he sought? It was his belief in the smaller that made the greater discovery possible.

What is true of the discovery is true of the settlement of America. This, too, was an act of faith. The colonists of Chesapeake and of Massachusetts Bays left the comforts of the old world, braved the dangers of sea, and cold, and savage populations, because they believed in something which could be felt, though not seen, the guidance of a hand which directs the destiny of individuals and of empires.

Now the Jews, as a people, stand in a pre-eminent degree for faith. They must be judged, not by those of their number who, in our day, give themselves over to a life of materialism, but by their best representatives, and by the general current of their history. At the fountain of their being they place a man whose name is the synonym of faith. Abraham, the first Jew, nurtured in the comforts and refinements of a civilization whose grandeur is just beginning to find due appreciation, hears an inward compelling voice, bidding him forsake the land of his fathers, and go forth, he knows not whither, to lay in the distant West the foundations of the empire of faith. The hopes of the entire subsequent world encamped in the tent of the wanderer



from Ur of Chaldea. The migration was a splendid adventure, prophetic of the great development of which it was the beginning.

What was it but the audacity of faith which, in later times, enabled an Isaiah to defy the most powerful army in the world, and Jeremiah to be firm in his convictions in the midst of a city full of enemies? What but faith could have held together the exiles in Babylon, and could have inspired them once more to exchange this home of ease and luxury for the hardships and uncertainties of their devastated Palestinian hills? It was faith that nerved the arm of the Maccabees for their heroic struggle, and the sublimity of faith when the dauntless daughter of Zion defied the power of Rome. The brute force of Rome won the day, but the Jews, dispersed throughout the world, have still been true to the foundation principle of their history. They believe that God has spoken to their fathers, and that he has not forsaken the children, and through that belief they endure.

II. A second ground for Jewish rejoicing today is that America, in its development, is realizing Jewish dreams. A bolder dreamer than the Hebrew prophet the world has not known. He revelled in glowing pictures of home and prosperity and brotherhood in the good times that were yet to be. The strength of his wing as poet is seen in his ability to take these flights at times when all outward appearances were a denial of his hopes. It was not the prosperous state whose continuance he foresaw, but the decaying state, destined to be shattered, then purified, then rebuilt, then to continue forever. It was not external power, but external power in alliance with inward goodness, whose description called forth his highest genius. His dream, it is true, had its temporal and its local coloring. His coming state, built on righteousness, was to be a kingdom, because this was the form of government with which he was familiar. The seat of this empire was to be Jerusalem, and his patriot heart could have made no other choice. We are now learning to distinguish the essential ideas of a writer from the phraseology in which they find expression. A Jewish empire does not exist, and Jerusalem is not the mistress of the world. And yet the dream of the prophet is true. A home for the oppressed has been found, a home where prosperity and brotherhood dwell together. Substitute America for Jerusalem and a republic for a kingdom and the correctness of the prophet's dream is realized. Let us examine the details of the picture.

1. The prophet foresees a home. In this he is true to one of the marked traits of his people. Who has sung more sweetly than the Hebrew poet of home, where every man shall "sit under his vine and fig tree, and none shall make him afraid;" where the father of a large family is like the hunter whose quiver is full of arrows; where the children are likened to olive plants around the father's table; and where a cardinal virtue of childhood is honor to father and mother? And where shall one look today for finer types of domestic felicity than may be found in Jewish homes? Or, taking the word "home" in its larger sense, where shall one surpass the splendid patriotism of the Hebrew exile:

" If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,  
 Let my right hand forget her cunning,  
 Let my tongue cleave to the root of my mouth,  
 If I remember thee not:  
 If I prefer not Jerusalem  
 Above my chief joy."

Yet, notwithstanding this love of local habitation, the Jew has been for many cruel centuries a wanderer on the face of the earth. The nations have raged, the kings of the earth have set themselves and have taken counsel together, and the standing miracle of history is that the Jew has not been ground to powder as between the upper and the nether millstone. But these hardships are now, let us hope, near their end. This young republic has welcomed the Jew who has fled from the oppression of the old world. Its constitution declares the equality of men, and experience demonstrates our power to assimilate all comers who desire to be one with us. Here thought and its expression are free. Here is the restful haven which realizes the prophet's dream. Not the Jew only, but all the oppressed of earth, may here find welcome and home. The inspiring example of Columbia's portals always open to the world is destined to alleviate the ills and check the crimes of man against man throughout all lands. And what though here and there a hard and unphilanthropic soul would bolt Columbia's door and recall her invitation or check her free intercourse with nations! This is but the eddy in her course, and to heed these harsh advisers she must be as false to her own past as to her splendid ideal. Chinese exclusion acts and some of the current doctrines of protection are as un-American as they are inhuman.



2. But the Jewish dream was no less of prosperity than of home. America realizes this feature of the dream to an extent never seen before. Where should one seek for a parallel to her inexhaustible resources, and to her phenomenal material development? No element of the community has understood better than the Jewish to reap the harvest which has ever tempted the sickles of industry. Jewish names are numerous and potent in all the exchanges and in all great commercial enterprises. The spirit that schooled itself by hard contact with Judean hills, that has been held in check by adversity for twenty-five centuries, shows in this free land the elasticity of the uncaged eagle. Not only trade, but all other avenues of advance are here open to men of endowments, of whatsoever race and clime. In journalism, in education, in philanthropy, the Jews will average as well as the Gentiles, perhaps better, while many individual Jews have risen to an enviable eminence.

3. A third feature in the Jewish dream, an era of brotherhood and good feeling, is attaining here a beautiful realization.

(1) Nowhere have we finer illustration of this than in the attitude toward the Jews of the great seats of learning. The oldest and largest American university employs its instructors without applying any test of race or religion. In its faculty Jews are always found. To its liberal feast of learning there is a constant and increasing resort of ambitious Jewish youth. Harvard is, of course, not peculiar in this regard. There are other seats of learning where wisdom invites as warmly to her banquet halls. The spectacle at Harvard is, however, specially gratifying, because it seems to be prophetically embodied in her seal, "Christo et Ecclesiae," an acknowledgement of her obligations to the Jew and the dedication of her powers to a Jewish carpenter and to a Jewish institution.

(2) The era of brotherhood is also seen in the co-operation of Jew and Gentile to further good causes. To refer again, by permission, to Harvard University, one of the unique and most significant collections is a Semitic museum, fostered by many friends, but chiefly by a Jew. And it is a pleasure to add here that one of the great departments of the library of the University of Chicago has been adopted by the Jews. Although taxed to the utmost to care for their destitute, and to seek our shores to escape old world persecution, the Jews are ever ready to join others in good works for the relief of their fellow-men.

Baron Hirsch's colossal benefactions distributed in America are restricted to Jews, it is because this philanthropist sees in these unfortunate refugees the most needy subjects of benefaction.

(3) But most significant of all is the fact that we are beginning to understand one another in a religious sense. When Jewish rabbis are invited to deliver religious lectures at great universities, and when Jewish congregations welcome Columbian addresses from Christian ministers, we seem to have taken a long step toward acquaintance with one another. The discussion now going on among Jews regarding the adoption of Sunday as the day of public worship, and the Jewish recognition of the greatness of Jesus, which finds expression in synagogue addresses — such things are prophecies, whose significance the thoughtful hearer will not fail to perceive.

Now what is the result of this closer union, of which I have instanced a few examples in learning, in philanthropy, and in affairs religious? Is it not the removal of mutual misunderstandings? So long as Judaism and American Christianity stand aloof, each will continue to ascribe to the other the vices of its most unworthy representatives. But when they meet and learn to know one another, they find a great common standing-ground. Judging each by its best, each can have for the other only respect and good will.

The one great exception to the tenor of these remarks, is in matters social. There does not exist that free intercourse between Jews and non-Jews which one might reasonably expect. One of the causes is religious prejudice on both sides, but the chief cause is the evil already mentioned, of estimating Jews and non-Jews by the least worthy members of the two classes. The Jew who is forced to surrender all his goods and flee from Russian oppression, or who purchases the right to remain in the Czar's empire by a sacrifice of his faith, can hardly be blamed if he sees only the bad in those who call themselves Christians. If one of these refugees prospers in America, and carries himself in a lordly manner, and makes himself distasteful even to the cultivated among his co-religionists, can it be wondered at that others transfer his bad manners to all Jews? But let Jew and non-Jew come to understand one another, and the refinement in the one will receive its full recognition from the refinement in the other. Acquaintance and a good heart are the checks against the unthinking condemnation by classes.



III. A third and main reason why the Jew should rejoice in this Columbian year is that American society is, in an important sense, produced and held together by Jewish thought. The justification of this assertion forces on us the question, "What has the Jew done for civilization?"

1. First of all, he has given us the Bible, the scriptures, old and new. It matters not for this discussion that the Jews, as a religious sect, have never given to the books of the New Testament the dignity of canonicity. It suffices that these books, with one or possibly two exceptions, were written by men of Jewish birth.

(1) And where shall one go if not to the Bible to find the noblest literature of the soul? Where shall one find so well expressed as in the Psalms the longing for God and the deep satisfaction of his presence? Where is burning indignation against wrong-doing more strongly portrayed than in the Prophets? Where such a picture as the Gospel gives of love that consumes itself in sacrifice? The highest hopes and moods of the soul reached such attainment among the Jews 2,000 years ago that the intervening ages have not yet shown one step in advance.

(2) Viewed as a hand-book of ethics, the Bible has a power second only to its exalted position as a classic of the soul. The "Ten Words," though negatively expressed, are, in their second half, an admirable statement of the fundamental relations of man to man. Paul's eulogy of love is an unmatched masterpiece of the foundation principle of right living. The adoption of the Golden Rule by all men would banish crime and convert earth into a paradise.

(3) The characters depicted in the Bible are in their way no less effective than the teachings regarding ethics and religion. Indeed, that which is so admirable in these characters is the rare combination of ethics and religion which finds in them expression. In Abraham we see hospitality and faith attaining to adequate expression. Grant, if one will, the claim that part of the picture is unhistorical. Aye, let him have it who will that such a person as Abraham never existed at all. The character, as a creation, does as much honor to the Jew who conceived it as the man, if real, does to the race to which he belonged. Moses is the pattern of the unselfish, state-building patriot, who despised hardships because "he endured as seeing him who is invisible." Jeremiah will forever be inspiration to reformers whose lot is cast in

degenerate days. Paul is the synonym of self-denying zeal, which can be content with nothing less than a gigantic effort to carry good news to the entire world.

And Jesus was a Jew. How often is this fact forgotten, so completely is he identified with the history of the world at large! We say to ourselves that such a commanding personality is too universal for national limitations. We overlook perchance the Judean birth and the Galilean training. Far be it from me to attempt an estimate of the significance of the character and work of Jesus for human progress. Nothing short of omniscience could perform such a task. My purpose is attained by reminding myself and others anew of the nationality of him whom an important part of the world has agreed to consider the greatest and best of human kind. I do not forget that the Jews have not yet in large numbers admitted the greatness of Jesus, but this failure may be largely explained as the effect of certain theological teachings concerning his person, and of the sufferings which Jews have endured at the hands of those who bear his name. But in that name and that personality rightly conceived, there is such potency to bless and to elevate, that I can see no reason why Jesus should not become to the Jews the greatest and most beloved of all their illustrious teachers.

Viewing the Bible as a whole, as a library of ethics, of religion, of ethical-religious character, its influence on language, on devotion, on growth in a hundred directions, exceeds all human computation.

2. Along with the sacred writings have come to the race through the Jew certain great doctrines.

(1) Foremost of these is the belief in one God. Greek philosophy, it is true, was also able to formulate a doctrine of monotheism, but the monotheism which has perpetuated itself is that announced by Hebrew seer and not by Greek philosopher. Something was wanting to make the doctrine more than a cold formula, and that something the Jew supplied. It is the phase of monotheism which he attained that has commended itself to the peoples of Europe and America, to the teeming millions of Islam, and whose adoption by the remaining nations of earth is more than a pious hope.

(2) This God, who is one, is not a blind force, working on lines but half defined, coming to consciousness only as he attains to expression in his universe, but he is a wise architect, whose devising all



things are. "The heavens declare his glory and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

(3) His government is well ordered and right. Chance and fate have here no place. No sparrow falls without him. The very hairs of your head are numbered. Righteousness is the habitation of his throne. Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?

(4) This one God, maker and governor of all things, is more; he is our Father. Man is created in his image, man's nostrils set vibrating with the divine breath. The prayer of all prayers begins: "Our Father." What infinite dignity and value does this doctrine place upon the human soul! From God we come, and his perpetual care we are. How this conviction lifts men above all pettiness and discouragement! Am I his, co-worker with him on lines which he has preordained? Then mine the joyful task to work with zeal in the good cause whose sure success is seen by him, though not by me.

(5) If God be our father, then we are brothers. The convenient distinctions among men, the division of men into classes, are all superficial — all based on externals. In essence men are one. If we be all brothers, then brotherly duties rest upon us all. Due recognition of our brotherhood would stay the act or thought of wrong and open in every heart a fountain of love. Brothers? Then will I seek the Father's features in every face and try to arouse in every soul the consciousness of its lofty kinship.

(6) The immortality of the soul, though not distinctively a Jewish belief, is implied in much of the Old Testament, is clearly announced in Daniel, is well defined in the centuries preceding our era, and in the New Testament is often stated and everywhere assumed. The doctrine was rescued by the monotheism of the Jew from the grotesque features and ceremonies which characterized it among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks. The spiritual genius of the Jew, while asserting unequivocally the fact and emphasizing its moral significance, has wisely abstained from an expression of opinion regarding a thousand details.

(7) By the side of these great doctrines concerning God, his fatherhood, man's brotherhood, the soul, its dignity and immortality, we must place yet another, the Jewish conception of the golden age. This age to him is not past, but future. He had, it is true, the picture of Eden, that garden of God, where the first man and the first

verse with his Maker. But this picture is not of Jewish origin. It came from Babylon and never succeeded in making a strong impression on the national thought. The Old Testament makes but little of it outside of the narrative in Genesis. In view of the emphasis given to the story by later theologies, the reserve in the New Testament is likewise most significant. The reason is clear. The age of gold is yet to be. Prophet and apostle and apocalyptic seer vie with one another in describing the glory of renewed humanity in the coming kingdom of God. The Jew cannot fasten his thought on a shattered fortune. The brilliant castle which he is yet to build is too entrancing to his vision. There is here no place for tears over the remote past, but only a fond looking forward and working toward the dawn of the day of righteousness and of peace.

3. I have spoken of our indebtedness to the Jew for the Bible and its great doctrines. We are under no less obligations for certain great institutions.

(1) Whence comes our day of rest, one in seven, this beneficent provision for recreation of man and beast, this day consecrated by the experience of centuries to good deeds and holy thoughts? We meet with indications of a seven-day division of time in an Assyrian calendar tablet, but we are able to assert definitely by a study of the Assyrian and Babylonian commercial records that these peoples had nothing which corresponded to the Jewish Sabbath, the very name of which means rest. The origin of the Sabbath may well have to do with the moon's phases. But the Jew viewed the day with such sacredness that he makes its institution coeval with the work of creation. From him it has become the possession of the western world, and its significance for our well-being, physical, moral, and spiritual, is vaster than can be computed.

(2) I have spoken already of Jesus as a Jew. Then is the religion which bears his name a Jewish institution. It has elements which are not Jewish, it has passed into the keeping of those who are not Jews. But its earliest advocates and disciples no less than its founder were Jews. Not only so, but these all considered Jesus, his teaching and the teaching concerning him as the culmination of the Hebrew development, the fulfilment of the Hebrew prophet's hope. The greatest expounder of Christianity writes to the Romans that they have been grafted into the olive stock of which the Jews were branches by



nature. Many causes have wrought together to insure the victory which Christianity has won in the world. But those who are filled with its true spirit and who are thoughtful can never forget its Judean origin.

(3) To the same source we must likewise trace institutional Christianity, the church. The first church was at Jerusalem. The first churches were among devout Jews dispersed in the great Gentile centers of population. The ordinances of the church have an intimate connection with Jewish religious usages. In the course of a long development other elements have crept in. But in her main features the church bears ever the stamp of her origin. The service is Jewish. We still read from the Jewish psalter, we still sing the themes of psalmist and apostle, the aim of the sermon is still to arouse the listener to the adoption of Jewish ideas, we pray in phraseology taken from Jewish scriptures. Our Sunday-schools have for their prime object acquaintance with Jewish writings. Our missions are designed to tell men of God's love as revealed to them through a Jew. Our church and Christian charities are but the embodiment of the Golden Rule as uttered by a Jew.

4. It may furthermore be fairly said that the Jew, through these writings, doctrines, and institutions, has bequeathed to the world the highest ideals of life. On the binding and title page of its books the Jewish Publication Society of America has pictured the lion and the lamb lying down together and the child playing with the asp, while underneath the picture is written the words, "Israel's mission is peace." The picture tells what Israel's prophet saw more than twenty-five centuries ago. The subscription tells less than the truth. Israel's mission is peace, morality, and religion, or, better still, Israel's mission is peace through morality and religion. This the nation's lesson to the world. This the spirit of the greatest characters in Israel's history. To live in the same spirit, in a word, to become like the foremost of all Israelites — this is the highest that any man yet venture to hope.

I have catalogued with some detail, though by no means with fullness, Jewish elements in our civilization. In most cases I have passed no judgment on these elements. If one were disposed to inquire into their value he might answer his question by trying to conceive what we should be without the Bible, its characters, doctrines, ethics, institu-

tions, hopes and ideals. To think these elements absent from our civilization is impossible, because they have largely made us what we are. Not more closely interlocked are the warp and woof of a fabric than are these elements with all that is best and highest in our life and thought. If the culture of our day is a fairer product than that of any preceding age we cannot fail to see how far we are indebted for this to the Jew.

My purpose has not been to inquire by what means the little nation of Palestine attained to its unique eminence. Some will say it was by revelation made to them alone, others that they were fortunate discoverers, and yet others would explain it all by the spell, "development." Be one or all of these answers true, the Deity can reveal himself only to the choice souls who have understanding for the higher thought; discovery is made only by those who recognize a new truth when it floats into the field of vision; development is only growth and differentiation from germs already existing. Why should Israel develop unlike other peoples; why discover truth hidden from others; why become receptacles for revelation higher than any attained elsewhere? This is one of the mysteries of history, but the mystery can in no wise obscure the fact.

However explained, or unexplained, the Jewish rôle in history belongs to the most splendid achievements of the human race. Alas, that these achievements are so often forgotten! Forgotten by the Jew himself when he devotes his powers to the problems of today with such intensity as to be indifferent to his nation's past. Forgotten by those among whom he lives when they view him as an alien, and when in the enjoyment they fail to recognize the source of some of their greatest blessings. It is not alone the land which was discovered by Columbus, but the entire world owes to the Jew a debt of gratitude which never can be paid.

A practical closing question forces itself on our attention. The great rôle in history was played by this people while it had a national or semi-national existence. At present the Jews are separated from the rest of the community mainly by certain religious observances. Is the Jew of today worthy of the glorious past of his people, and is he entitled to any of the consideration which impartial history must accord to his ancestors? An affirmative answer, if it can be given, ought to do something to remove prejudices which yet linger among



us and to alleviate the fortunes of the Jew in lands less liberal than our own.

The ancient Jew was a man of persistence and of moral and spiritual genius. His modern brother is not lacking in either genius or persistence. His persistence and power to recuperate have saved him from annihilation. His genius shows itself chiefly in matters of finance, in the ability to turn the most adverse conditions into power. In literature, art, music, philosophy, he is of the community at large, averaging high, no doubt, but with nothing distinctive. In the world's markets, in commerce and trade, he distances competitors.

The extent to which he educates his children and helps his poor to become self-supporting, and the very small percentage which he furnishes to the annals of crime, give to him a high character for morality. The Montefiores, Hirsches, Emma Lazaruses, Jacob Schiffs, and Felix Adlers show what power and spirit of benevolence and reform still belong to the Jew.

It would, perhaps, be too much to demand further great religious contributions from this people. But the genius which showed itself of old in the realm of religion, and which is today no less evident in the realm of practical affairs, may be again expected to turn itself more and more to the noblest living and to the amelioration of the lot of men. Nothing will be so helpful in bringing about this end as for the Jew himself to magnify the work of his fathers, and for the rest of the community cordially to recognize what he has done and what he still has the power to do. It can hardly be that a people of such glory in the past and of such present power shall fail to attain again to that eminence in the highest things for which they seem to be marked out by their unique history.



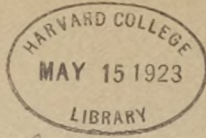


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## AIMS AND TASKS OF JEWISH HISTORIOGRAPHY.

BY ALEXANDER MARX, PH. D.

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*Gratis*

## AIMS AND TASKS OF JEWISH HISTORIOGRAPHY.

BY ALEXANDER MARX, PH. D.

It is nearly a century since Leopold Zunz in his famous essay, *Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur*,<sup>1</sup> which inaugurated his great scholarly career, drew in bold outlines the plan for the structure of the science of Judaism, a plan which was yet unrealized when reprinted about sixty years later<sup>2</sup> and which to a large extent is still unrealized. The publication of his essay in 1818 may be said to mark the beginning of the modern science of Judaism. It is interesting that in drawing up this plan Zunz left out Jewish history altogether; to this subject he intended to devote himself later, but meanwhile was anticipated by Isaac Marcus Jost, who in 1820 began the publication of his great history, the appearance of which made Zunz turn to other tasks. The fact that we are gathered to-day at the twenty-fifth annual meeting of our Society suggested to me the idea of outlining in a general way the task confronting the Jewish historian, summing up at the same time as briefly as I can the principal achievements of the last century.

Jost's *Geschichte der Israeliten*<sup>3</sup> in nine volumes is the first real treatment of the subject; for the work of his predecessor, Basnage, can in no way be compared with it. It is the conscientious work of a careful and industrious scholar who

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, 1818. The bibliographical notes are added here merely to serve as illustrations, and claim in no way to be complete. This explains the fact that the names of many prominent historians such as Isidore Loeb and Meier Kayserling nowhere appear in the following pages.

<sup>2</sup> Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1875, vol. i, pp. 1-31.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin, 1820-29.



aimed at absolute objectivity and tried to master all the accessible material. His work is naturally antiquated now and can only here and there be consulted by the specialist with profit. In his later, shorter histories,<sup>4</sup> Jost himself often corrected his earlier views. The rich material collected in the three parts of the tenth volume of his larger history which he published almost thirty years after the completion of the ninth volume<sup>5</sup> still retains its value as a contemporary source for the modern historian.

The article *Juden* in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopaedie*<sup>6</sup> by Selig Cassel, which covers over 230 closely printed quarto pages marks the next great advance. Here for the first and only time political history is treated independently of literary history, and many new sources are consulted to complete the picture of the condition of the Jews in the various countries. The work is of lasting value and is perhaps the best of the productions of this fertile writer. It shows less of that ingenuity which found expression in the numberless wild hypotheses scattered in the works of this author, especially those of his later years when Saul had become Paul. His enormously wide reading which often makes the perusal of his works wearisome served him in good stead in this instance.

All of these predecessors were thrown into the shade by the great historian of Jewry, Hirsch Graetz.<sup>7</sup> While Jost was characterized by objectivity, Graetz is subjective through and through. His passionate partisanship in passing judgment on

<sup>4</sup> *Allgemeine Geschichte des israelitischen Volkes*, Berlin, 1832, 2 vols.; *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, Leipzig, 1857-59, 3 vols.

<sup>5</sup> *Neuere Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1846-47.

<sup>6</sup> Leipzig, 1850, Section II, vol. xxvii, pp. 1-238.

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte der Juden*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1853-76, 11 vols. Graetz published a second edition of vols. iii-x, a third of iii, v-vi, viii-ix, and a fourth of iii. Since his death ii, part 1, and xi appeared in a second, iv-v in a fourth and vii in a third edition.

the central figures of the past, his strong Jewish feeling which makes no concessions to the non-Jewish reader, whereas in the case of Jost a certain apologetic tendency is clearly noticeable, and the vividness of his style makes his history exceedingly interesting reading, while his wide learning and originality render his work indispensable to the scholar. It is an achievement which will not so easily be displaced by another, even though based on fuller sources, for it reflects so much of the rich personality of the gifted author, and presents so many brilliant hypotheses that every successor will have to take it into consideration.

But such a strong subjective note is bound to have its serious drawbacks. The author has his pronounced prejudices to which he gives unrestricted vent. He has *e. g.*, no sympathy with and no understanding for mysticism, and the mere fact that any writer is mystically inclined is in his eyes a sufficient warrant for condemning him. He equally dislikes Polish Judaism, and Polish Jews, as a rule, find no favor in his eyes, whatever be their merits. His treatment of their history is perhaps the most unsatisfactory part of the whole work, although, to be perfectly fair, we must not forget that he had less preliminary work to draw upon for this period than for most of the others. But it seems that he did not care to devote too much research to this branch of Jewry. Graetz's book not only means an advance in the careful study of new sources and the fresh and independent examination of the old ones, it also offers most thorough and methodical discussions of mooted points which, taken by themselves, are masterpieces of historical criticism. It is very much to be regretted that the notes and excursuses which constitute one-fifth of the book and give it its scientific background are entirely omitted in the English translation of this standard work. Graetz corrected his book in the later editions in many details, but he did not incorporate all the additions and corrections resulting from later investiga-

tions, not even some of those published by his own pupils, among others, in the *Monatsschrift* of which he was the editor.

In the volumes of the work which have appeared in new editions since the author's death as well as in the Hebrew and Russian translations an effort has been made to bring the work up to date by adding in the footnotes references to later investigations. As to the parts dealing with the history of the Jews in Eastern Europe, the Hebrew translator, Saul Pinchas Rabinovitz, found himself compelled to enlarge and rewrite those chapters.

Thus we see that it is not easy to keep this standard book of Jewish history abreast of modern research into the history of the Jews in various parts of the world. Still, it is not at all likely that another comprehensive history will be written in the near future and it is therefore highly desirable that as far as possible, Graetz's work be kept up to date. Future editors would do well to follow the example of Bury in his famous edition of Gibbon. By supplying additional notes they would give us at least one source of information to draw upon on subjects or periods in which we are not specialists. These notes also ought to draw attention to the not infrequent cases in which the author records as an assured historical fact what is only a subjective hypothesis, since the sources quoted hardly warrant his conclusions.

The political history of the Jews after the loss of their national independence became, as the Middle Ages proceeded, more and more a history of persecutions. This is a painful and dreary subject, proud though we may be of the steadfastness displayed by our forefathers in all their sufferings to which, as Judah Halevi put it,<sup>8</sup> they could so easily have made an end by pronouncing a short formula of conversion. To relieve the monotonous description of their agonies we, therefore, have become accustomed to turn to their spiritual activity ;

<sup>8</sup> Kusari iv, 23.



and thus literary history has come to take up perhaps undue space in our histories.

Now, though we cannot well imagine a Jewish history in which the greatest men Judaism has produced would be passed over without mention, still their literary merits will have to be assigned much less space in a general history of the Jews, just as the great men who formerly constituted the main subject of historiography have to a large extent yielded their places to the common people from whose ranks they had risen and whose life has now become the object of our investigations. Literary history will have to be superseded by constitutional, social and economic history. The description of the ordinary life of the people, their legal status and their economic activities will not only relieve the dreary picture of the periodically recurring persecutions, but also help to explain the causes of these persecutions and contribute towards a better understanding of the course of events. Wilhelm Roscher<sup>9</sup> in his famous article on the position of the Jews in the Middle Ages from the point of view of economic development ascribes the unhappy condition of the Jews in the later Middle Ages to the jealousy of the commercial classes in the cities. The latter wanted to free themselves from the tutelage of the Jews who up to that time had had the monopoly of trade in their hands. Georg Caro, on the other hand, maintains that the Church-law is mainly responsible for their degradation and that they were drawn into the whirlpool of the continuous

<sup>9</sup> *Die Stellung der Juden im Mittelalter, betrachtet vom Standpunkt der allgemeinen Handelspolitik in Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, Tübingen, 1875, vol. xxxi, pp. 503-26 (reprinted in *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft*, 3d edition, Leipzig, 1878, vol. ii, pp. 321-54). Roscher's view has been enlarged upon in Hoeniger's able paper *Zur Geschichte der Juden Deutschlands im frühen Mittelalter*, in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, Braunschweig, 1887, vol. i, pp. 65-97, see especially p. 78 et seq.

struggle between the municipalities and the smaller nobility. In this struggle their financial support in the form of loans strengthened the nobility with the result that the Jews going counter to the trend of the time incurred the merciless hatred of the guilds, which were striving to obtain control of the cities and predominance over the nobility.<sup>10</sup> Whichever theory we accept, one thing is evident: Entirely new emphasis has to be laid on the economic question in connection with the general history of the Jews in order to reach a clearer understanding of the social and economic development of the Jews in mediaeval Europe.

I need not say that these remarks are not meant to belittle the importance of the history of Jewish literature; on the contrary, without it an understanding of the development not only of Judaism but of the cultural conditions of the Jews in general is utterly impossible. Furthermore the spiritual activity of our forefathers is certainly in many respects more deserving of admiration than their financial transactions. But literary history ought to be studied by itself, not as a mere section of the general history of the Jews. Its less important phenomena have no proper place in it and only the great lines of development ought to form part of it.

But before we shall be able to substitute these economic and social facts for literary history, we first must do the preliminary work that will enable us to write a history along these new lines. This work, however, is still in its initial stages.

<sup>10</sup> *Die Juden des Mittelalters in ihrer wirtschaftlichen Betätigung*, in *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Breslau, 1904, vol. xlviii, pp. 423-39, 576-603, see especially p. 588 ff.; 599 ff.; see also Julius Guttmann, *Die wirtschaftliche und sociale Bedeutung der Juden im Mittelalter* in *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 257-90 (1907); Ignatz Schipper, *Anfänge des Kapitalismus bei den abendländischen Juden im früheren Mittelalter*, Wien, 1907, reprinted from *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung*, vol. xv (1906).

Researches in detailed phases of the history of the Jews did not stop with Graetz's monumental work. When the structure had been erected students naturally turned to the interior decoration, *i. e.*, the investigation of the minutiae of the historical and literary development in various countries, provinces and cities, etc. Through these studies the knowledge of the social and economic as well as of the legal status of the Jews in various parts naturally made considerable progress. Some more comprehensive studies like Guedemann's history of education and culture in several countries,<sup>11</sup> to mention only one example, contributed towards broadening the scope of Jewish history, but there still remains an immense amount of labor to be done in this field and, moreover, to be done systematically in order to enable us to take up once more Jewish history as a whole.

When these special investigations will have reached a certain degree of completeness, a new comprehensive history of the Jews may be written at some future day such as will be worthy of its great subject. But unlike its predecessors this history, in all likelihood, will be the result of the coöperation of a group of scholars, who will have specialized in the history of various countries and periods and will be in a position to illuminate the course of Jewish history in its relation to the general conditions of the particular time and place. Only thus can we gain the true perspective, which will enable us to

<sup>11</sup> *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode*, Wien, 1873; *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Wien, 1880-88, 3 vols., dealing with Germany and Italy. For the former Guedemann had a predecessor in A. Berliner, *Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1871 (second enlarged edition, *ibid.*, 1900), one of the most suggestive writings of the author. See also, Israel Abrahams, "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," Philadelphia, 1896.



interpret correctly the facts and events of the Jewish past. For Jewish history offers on a smaller scale the same difficulties which to-day make it virtually impossible for one individual historian to undertake the writing of a universal history. The Jews have lived in every country, and the indispensable knowledge of the conditions and the history of all these countries cannot be expected from any historian in our time of specialization, the more so as in the case of some countries our knowledge of their general history is not quite adequate. The future Jewish history, then, will have to make connections with general history and the great advance made in the methods applied to historiography in general will benefit it in the fullest measure. But a very great deal will have to be done before we can seriously take up this task of raising the study of Jewish history to the height attained in other fields of historical research and making it an organic part of the history of the world.

The basis of all historical investigation is free access to all the sources. To attain this end large collections of historical records for all the countries of the world are necessary and many such collections have actually been published or are in the course of preparation. This task cannot be undertaken by individuals if the necessary completeness and uniformity are to be attained, and for this reason all such series of publications have been brought out under the supervision of academies of the respective countries, which direct the work and provide the necessary funds for traveling, photographs, copies, assistants, etc. I need only refer to the missions entrusted to Adolf Neubauer<sup>12</sup> for the preparation of the two half-volumes

<sup>12</sup>See his reports on his missions to Spain, Southern France, Italy, Eastern France, Switzerland and Germany in *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 1869, pp. 423-35; 1873, pp. 551-75. For another case of support of Jewish studies by the French government see note 32, *infra*.

of the literary history of France devoted to Jewish writers," which led him through the libraries of England, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria and Russia. We, unfortunately, lack an organization that could take the place of an academy and could by means of financial grants and wise guidance help to place the science of Judaism gradually on an equal plane with the progress of other studies in modern times. Only such an academy could inaugurate important serial publications necessary in various branches of Jewish scholarship which must be based on an exhaustive use of the available material and on uniform modern principles without curbing the individuality of the collaborators. Only in such a way could we hope, in the special subject under discussion, to get truly satisfactory collections of sources. An academic body, such as I have in mind has, unfortunately, but little chance of coming into being at the present time. I venture to suggest, therefore, a project for the speedy realization of which there is unfortunately very little hope, and what may actually be done must needs fall far short of the goal to be attained.

The sources of Jewish history are of widely different character. What occupies the largest place in similar collections of other peoples, chronicles and historical accounts, is not very largely represented in the literature of the "people of the Book."<sup>14</sup> Somehow, the historical sense was not very strongly developed in mediaeval Jewry. But those chronicles which have come down to us ought to be made accessible in uniform critical editions<sup>15</sup> with full scientific apparatus. Similarly a

<sup>14</sup> Renan [-Neubauer], *Les Rabbins français du commencement du quatorzième siècle*, Paris, 1877; *Les Ecrivains juifs français du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1893; reprinted from vols. xxvii and xxxi of the *Histoire littéraire*.

<sup>15</sup> See Steinschneider, *Geschichtsliteratur der Juden, I, Bibliographie der Hebraeischen Schriften*, Frankfurt a. M., 1905.

<sup>16</sup> Neubauer, "Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles," Oxford, 1887-95, 2 vols., is not intended to present a complete collection nor are all the texts edited in a satisfactory manner.



full collection of elegies and other religious poems containing historical references ought to be brought together in chronological order. The old minute-books of important communities are another rich and valuable source which has nowhere, perhaps, been fully utilized. If we think, *e. g.*, of the important extracts from the *Pinkasim* (minutes) of the Cracow and Posen communities published in various places<sup>16</sup> and the light they throw on the Council of the Four Lands, that central body which for nearly two centuries directed all the affairs of Polish and Lithuanian Jewry, we at once realize how important it would be to have a complete edition of all these materials as far as they have been preserved. But even the few remnants of the official minute-book of that Council itself which were discovered by Dubnow<sup>17</sup> have remained unpublished up to the present day.

Systematic examination of another class of sources, deeds and documents, enables us to gain an insight into the commercial activities of the Jews and gives an entirely new aspect to their economic history. The history of English Jewry of the preëxpulsion period has had to be entirely rewritten since we have become more intimately acquainted with the masses

<sup>16</sup> Wettstein gave extracts from the Cracow minute books in *Ozar ha-Sifrut*, 1892, vol. iv, pp. 577-642; *Ha-Eschkol*, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 161-76; 1899, vol. ii, pp. 161-76; *Luach Schaaschum*, 1902, pp. 193-214; *Meassef*, Petersburg, 1902, pp. 7-78; *Kaufmann Gedenkbuch*, Breslau, 1901, Hebrew part, pp. 69-84. From the Posen *Pinkas* Perles published important extracts in *Monatsschrift*, 1867, pp. 108-11, 152-4, 222-6, 304-8, 343-8; and Louis Lewin in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt a. M., 1904, vol. ii, pp. 1-26; 1905, vol. iii, pp. 79-130.

<sup>17</sup> See Dubnow in the Sokolow Jubilee Volume, Warsaw, 1904, p. 250, note; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. iv, pp. 307-8, with facsimile of a page. Dubnow is also publishing the Minute Book of the Lithuanian Council for the years 1623-1761 as an appendix to his periodical *Yevreiskaya Starina*, 1909 *et seq.*



of information buried in the Exchequer<sup>18</sup> which even now are by no means fully accessible. Again the private correspondence of Jews which has come down to us is frequently of very great interest for the study of conditions and adds much to our knowledge of times and persons. We are but rarely in the fortunate position of possessing collections of letters from any particular circle which taken together give us more than a casual glimpse into the life of a group of people, such as the Judaeo-German Gratz letters described at our last meeting which surely deserve publication.<sup>19</sup> How much new material of a purely historical character we may gain from private letters which a kind fate has saved from destruction can best be seen from some of those which were published from the inexhaustible treasures of the Geniza, recovered through our revered master, Solomon Schechter.<sup>20</sup> It is very much to be regretted

<sup>18</sup> See Charles Gross, "The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages," in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, London, 1888, pp. 170-230; Joseph Jacobs, "The Jews of Angevin England," New York, 1893; J. M. Rigg, "Select Pleas, Starrs and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, 1220-1284," London, 1902; "Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews," i, Henry III, 1218-72, 1905; ii, Edward I, 1273-75, 1910.

<sup>19</sup> See *Publications*, *supra*, No. 22, p. xxii; *ibid.*, No. 25, p. xiii; for an interesting older collection see also Alfred Landau and Bernhard Wachstein, *Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619*, Wien, 1911, a batch of over 50 letters by Jews of Prague to Co-religionists at Vienna which were intercepted by the authorities at the time and deposited in the Vienna archives, where they were recently discovered.

<sup>20</sup> Thus Schechter's discovery of the letter of Hushiel, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xi, pp. 643-50, disposed of the legend of the dissemination of Jewish learning in Northern Africa by emissaries of the Babylonian academies and showed, on the other hand, the influence of Italy and, indirectly, of Palestine on these schools. The letter published by Cowley, *ibid.*, vol. xviii, pp. 400-403, to quote another notable example, threw a great deal of light on the relations of Spain to Babylonia.

that no one has seriously thought of undertaking a comprehensive publication of the letters and documents found in the Geniza which would again bring together these *dissecta membra* which, after having rested in the dust for so many centuries, are now dispersed through so many libraries and can only be made to yield their rich information in full when they are again placed together in systematic order. Even though many of them are incomplete and full of puzzles, since we find allusions frequently to facts entirely unknown to us, a complete *corpus* of these texts will immensely increase our knowledge of conditions during the period of transition when the center of Judaism gradually shifted from East to West. We will, then, perhaps be granted a deeper insight into the private life of the people during this epoch for which we formerly had no sources whatever than we possess now even for periods opened up more fully by historical research. Moreover, this work does not devolve on the Jewry of any particular land, as is the case with the examination of archives which of course will have to be carried on by scholars of the respective countries—just as we do not expect others to publish for us the records found on this side of the Atlantic. These Geniza MSS., however, were—fortunately—carried away from the places the past of which they reveal to us and we cannot depend on Egyptian Jewry, not to speak of communities long ago destroyed like that of Kairovan, to take up this task.

For a similar reason outsiders will have to help and are actually helping<sup>21</sup> in the investigation of the archives of Spain.

<sup>21</sup> See Joseph Jacobs, "An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain," London, 1894; and especially Jean Régéné, *Catalogue des actes de Jaime I, Pedro III, et Alfonso III, rois d'Aragon, concernant les Juifs (1213-91)*, Paris, 1911-14, reprinted from the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 1910-14; the third part dealing with the reign of Alfonso was interrupted through the suspension of the *Revue* during the war; so far 1845 entries have been published reaching up to the end of 1287 and giving us some



That country, from which the Jews were expelled over four centuries ago, possesses enormous stores of documents dealing with the Jews, consisting not only of records of the Inquisition relating to the Marannos which after all are of only secondary importance to us, but also about the earlier period. A very great deal has been done in Spain in recent years by non-Jewish scholars like Bofarull<sup>22</sup> and Miret<sup>23</sup> and above all the president of the Madrid Royal Academy of History, Fidel Fita,<sup>24</sup> whom we have the distinction to count among the honorary members

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idea of the wealth of information to be gleaned from the Aragonian archives. In 1893 Heinrich Finke, in *Römische Quartalsschrift*, pp. 229 *et seq.*, wrote: "Die Registerbände der aragonesischen Könige in Barcelona beginnen mit dem Jahre 1237 und enthalten bis in den Beginn der Neuzeit hinein über 6000 Bände mit über eine Million Urkunden . . . sie sind eine geradezu unergründliche Fundgrube für die Geschichte der spanischen Juden."

<sup>22</sup> Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, *Los Judios en el territorio de Barcelona (siglo X al XIII). Reinado de Jaime I, 1213-76*, Barcelona, 1911, based on a large collection of documents brought together by his father, who preceded him as archivist of the Crown of Aragon. A few similar articles have appeared in the publications of the Barcelona Academy of Belles-Lettres.

<sup>23</sup> Joaquin Miret y Sans et Moïse Schwab, *Documents sur les Juifs Catalans au XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles in Revue des Études Juives*, 1914, vol. lxxviii, pp. 49-83, 174-98. *Nouveaux documents sur les Juifs Barcelonnais au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* and *Documents de Juifs Barcelonnais au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Madrid, 1916, both reprinted from the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*; some other texts he printed in Spanish publications.

<sup>24</sup> Mostly in the *Boletín* of the Madrid Academy and reprinted in the eight volumes of his *Estudios Historicos*, Madrid, 1882-7 and *La España Hebrea*, *ibid.*, 1890-98, 2 vols. For the sake of completeness the earlier important contributions of José Amador de los Rios and Francisco Fernandez y Gonzalez must be noted. In this connection the contributions of Mendes dos Remedios for the history of the Portuguese Jews have to be mentioned: *Os Judeus em Portugal*, Coimbra, 1895; his reprint of Usque's extremely rare *Consolaçam à tribulaçoens de Israel*, *ibid.*, 1906, etc.



of our Society and whose work in this field merits the highest praise. The appointment of Dr. Abraham S. Yahuda as Professor at the University of Madrid, will greatly contribute to further these studies and will make it easier for foreign scholars to get the information they may need. The important publications of Spanish historians are scattered over a great many periodicals which are devoted to various local historical researches, and are not always accessible abroad, and unless they happen to be excerpted in the *Revue des Études Juives* they remain unknown to the majority of Jewish scholars. The same remark applies to some extent to Italy where lately the interest of the people in the history of their past seems to have greatly increased. Umberto Cassuto's valuable bibliography of Jewish studies in Italy for the last fifty years<sup>25</sup> records a very large number of historical monographs printed in all kinds of inaccessible and obscure local periodicals, many of which became first known to us through his list. This, by the way, is a good example of the urgent need for a comprehensive bibliography of all publications, books and articles, dealing with Jewish historical subjects.<sup>26</sup>

Closely related to these documents to be gleaned from the archives are the references that may be gathered by a systematic examination from the legalistic Hebrew literature of the various

<sup>25</sup> Umberto Cassuto, *Gli studi Giudaici in Italia negli ultimi cinquant'anni (1861-1911)*, I *Bibliografia*, Rome, 1913, reprinted from the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. v. Much valuable material is found in the ten volumes of the *Rivista Israelitica* of Florence.

<sup>26</sup> It is very much to be regretted that the second volume of Steinschneider's *Geschichtsliteratur* (see note 14, *supra*) has not been published; even if not quite complete it would offer invaluable help to the student. [Freidus], "List of works relating to the history and condition of the Jews in various countries," New York 1914, limited though it is in its scope as a catalogue of the respective divisions of the New York Public Library, is a very useful beginning.

countries, especially the *Responsa*. That these occasionally yield new facts of a purely historical character was pointed out long ago.<sup>27</sup> How much we can learn from them for the economic history was shown a few years ago in a thorough treatise on the money transactions of the German Jews prior to 1350,<sup>28</sup> and it is greatly to be regretted that the otherwise excellent recent economic history of the Jews by Caro<sup>29</sup> did not draw upon these rich sources of undoubted authenticity.

Tumular inscriptions<sup>30</sup> and similar monuments cannot become so important a source for Jewish history as they are for many other branches of general history, since a very large number of them was destroyed during the persecutions and very often the stones were used as building material.<sup>31</sup> Still those

<sup>27</sup> M. Wiener, *Ueber den Gewinn, den die Geschichtswissenschaft aus dem Studium des religionsgesetzlichen (halachischen) Theils der neuhebräischen Literatur des Mittelalters zu erwarten hat*, in *Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xix, pp. 507-21; Isaak Unna in Wohlgemuth's *Jeschurun*, Berlin, 1914, vol. i, pp. 397-402, 426-34; see also Neuman in *Publications, supra*, No. 22, pp. 61-70; I. Elfenbein, in *Students' Annual*, New York, 1915, vol. ii, pp. 102-21.

<sup>28</sup> M. Hoffmann, *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden während des Mittelalters bis zum Jahre 1350*, Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>29</sup> *Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit*, Leipzig, 1908, vol. i.

<sup>30</sup> See the bibliography of Steinschneider in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi, pp. 373-80, vol. xvii, pp. 564-70, which might be considerably enlarged.

<sup>31</sup> In April, 1345, the citizens of Liegnitz, and in September of the same year those of Breslau received permission to utilize the tombstones of the Jewish cemeteries as building materials (M. Brann, *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien*, pp. 47-48); in 1438, after the expulsion of the Jews from Mayence the same happened there (Salfeld, *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. vi, p. 17). For many more examples see Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin, 1845, pp. 395-401. Of the *circa* 100 tombstones used for the fortifications of Erfurt in 1845, of which Zunz speaks, p. iv, some came to light again in 1881; see Kroner, *Die Erfurter hebräischen*



which have come down to us frequently prove of great assistance in fixing dates, etc. But only those of France and Spain were collected and that by the indefatigable Moïse Schwab<sup>32</sup> with the support of the French government.

Besides these distinctly Jewish sources references to Jews in mediaeval chronicles and other works are a most important and indispensable source of information. They have to be collected and discussed with a critical estimate of the trustworthiness of the respective authors. If carried through, *e. g.*, with respect to the Church fathers, Byzantine and Arabic authors, such an undertaking will furnish fresh material of the utmost value.

The laws enacted concerning—mostly, against—the Jews should likewise be gathered and carefully examined in the light of the general legislation of the particular country and period in order to get a true estimate of their significance. In this connection a comparative study must be made of the legislation of the various countries and constant attention must be paid to the Church legislation. The frequent differences between the policies of the Popes which find expression in their *bullae* and *brevia* on the one hand and the enactments of the Church Councils on the other must be carefully considered.<sup>33</sup> Up till now only a small beginning has been made in the collection of

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*Grabschriften, in Monatsschrift*, vol. xxxiii (1884), p. 351. In May, 1914, thirty-three inscriptions were found in Rothenburg a. d. Tauber; see *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, January 14, 1916, pp. 19-20.

<sup>32</sup> *Rapport sur les Inscriptions Hébraïques de la France*, Paris, 1904; *Rapport sur les Inscriptions Hébraïques de l'Espagne*, *ibid.*, 1907, both reprinted from the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, vols. xii, xiv.

<sup>33</sup> L. Erler's treatment of the subject in *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*, vols. xlvi, 1-liv, is outspokenly anti-Semitic in its tendency. A careful monograph on a special period is Max Simonsohn, *Die kirchliche Judengesetzgebung im Zeitalter der Reformationskonzilien von Konstanz und Basel*, Breslau, 1912.



Papal documents<sup>34</sup> concerning the Jews and very little has been done in investigating the details of Church legislation. The Roman law which was one of the basic elements of all later legislation relating to the Jews has been dealt with exhaustively in Juster's book<sup>35</sup> on the conditions of the Jews under the Roman empire in their legal, economic and social aspects, one of the most important contributions in our field in recent years. The principles underlying the mediaeval legislation concerning the Jews were briefly discussed in the introduction to Scherer's monumental work<sup>36</sup> on the legal status of the Jews in the Austrian states, which has remained incomplete owing to the author's death. For the study of the legal status of the German Jews in the Middle Ages Stobbe's classic book<sup>37</sup> marked a great advance, as its author started out from the history of mediaeval German constitutional law and was attracted to our subject by the rich sources he met in his studies. But the material that has come to light since, makes a new comprehensive treatment of the subject most desirable.

The need of systematic collections of the sources of Jewish history naturally has been felt by many and at various times Jewish societies have made efforts in this direction, but in every case they stopped before accomplishing the task they had

<sup>34</sup> Moritz Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, Kiel, 1893, vol. i; *ibid.*, 1895, vol. ii, 1. *Päpstliche Bullen gegen die Blutbeschuldigung*, Berlin, 1893. Konrad Eubel, *Zu dem Verhalten der Päpste zu den Juden*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, Rome, 1899, vol. xiii, pp. 29-42 (*regesta* for the years 1379-1450).

<sup>35</sup> *Les Juifs dans l'empire Romain, leur condition juridique, économique et sociale*, Paris, 1914, 2 vols.

<sup>36</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judenrechtes im Mittelalter, I, Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-österreichischen Ländern. Mit einer Einleitung über die Principien der Judengesetzgebung in Europa während des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1901.

<sup>37</sup> *Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters in politischer, sozialer und rechtlicher Beziehung*, Braunschweig, 1866.

set out for. The *Fontes rerum Judaicarum of the Société des Études Juives* did not extend beyond the first volume, Théodore Reinach's valuable collection of texts of Greek and Roman writers relating to Judaism, which appeared over twenty years ago.<sup>38</sup> The Latin and Greek inscriptions<sup>39</sup> and the legal texts which were to form the succeeding volumes never appeared. Important as are the contributions we owe to the Historical Commission for the History of German Jews, we are waiting in vain for the historical poems and the *responsa* material included in its plan and, what is worse, the *Regesten*<sup>40</sup> which are an indispensable help to the student have never been continued beyond the year 1273. For a Jewish geography, towards which the maps in "The Jewish Encyclopedia" are a useful contribution, we have Gross's *Gallia Judaica*<sup>41</sup> which, however, includes only places mentioned in Hebrew literature, omitting those places in which Jews are mentioned as living in Latin and French documents. A similar work on a more comprehensive scale dealing with Germany was announced as ready to appear at the outbreak of the war.

The "Plan for coöperative work in collecting material for encyclopaedic studies in Jewish history and literature" outlined by Prof. Gotthard Deutsch ten years ago<sup>42</sup> provides particularly for the gathering of sources for modern history and could easily be made to include full supplements to a

<sup>38</sup> *Textes d' auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, Paris, 1895.

<sup>39</sup> See Seymour de Ricci, in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. ix, pp. 471-5; Johann Oehler, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums*, in *Monatsschrift*, vol. liii (1909) pp. 292-302, 443-52, 525-38.

<sup>40</sup> Julius Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273*, Berlin, 1887-1902.

<sup>41</sup> Paris, 1897.

<sup>42</sup> "Yearbook, Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1906, vol. xvi, pp. 241-50; 1907, vol. xvii, pp. 259-70.



bibliography of Jewish history, should such a bibliography be compiled in the future.

Thus far I have emphasized those tasks which can be carried out in a fully satisfactory manner only by the coöperation of bodies of scholars: collection of chronicles, letters, deeds and documents, inscriptions as well as references in non-Jewish literature and in legislation; further a Jewish geography of the various countries incorporating all the information about the spread of Jewry and giving the dates of all Jewish settlements. On the basis of all this material *Regesta* ought to be arranged, after a critical examination of all the accounts so as to form the foundation for the exhaustive histories of the Jews in the different countries and for the future general history of the Jews. These ideal plans, as I said before, could only be carried out expeditiously under the supervision of an academy which we do not have and for the creation of which there is hardly any prospect. This work will, therefore, have to be undertaken gradually and on a much more modest scale. It will finally, I think, have to be executed somewhat along these lines and, therefore the formulation of these plans may perhaps not be entirely superfluous. I may add that a periodical devoted to Jewish history exclusively, which would make it its function to present a summary of all contributions in its field in whatever language they appear, would give a powerful impetus to historical studies. By this means the articles in Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Roumanian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, etc., would become generally accessible.

This is, of course only one of the many tasks of the Jewish historian, although perhaps for the moment the most important one. But it is evident that all this work, after all, would only have a preliminary character and would certainly not attract larger circles to take an interest in Jewish history if carried on purely with an eye to producing such source collections. No one will find it desirable that in the study of Jewish history we should resign all creative activity for a long time in



order to enable a later generation to harvest the seed we are sowing. Furthermore, such collections if carried on mechanically can never be fully satisfactory. Even if we make up our minds that preparation of the material is our most urgent need, the investigation of historical problems will have to go on as before. If I may use a practical illustration: Since the question of calling a synod is coming up so frequently, a thorough treatise on the synods which convened in Talmudic and mediæval times would be extremely timely and welcome, just as was the important paper of Max J. Kohler and Simon Wolf on the Jewish question before the Berlin Congress, which forms No. 24 of our *Publications*. We need monographs on numberless subjects before we can do justice to the larger tasks; and it is of the greatest importance that from time to time the history of a period or a country be written summing up the results reached after a certain amount of research on that subject. Although it may be incomplete and tentative, it is necessary in order to prevent us from losing sight of the large aspects and to prepare the proper setting for the details which we have to investigate so often and which are very apt to assume undue importance in our eyes, a danger to which the local historians so often succumb. The labors of Albert M. Friedenberg, our industrious and enthusiastic corresponding secretary, who is engaged in sifting the material accumulated in the twenty-five volumes of our *Publications* and on the basis of this material is preparing a history of the Jews of America, now appearing in serial parts in *The American Hebrew*, cannot be commended too highly.<sup>43</sup> It is to be hoped that we will get this history soon in book form with the indispensable references to the sources.

Owing to lack of time I may perhaps have given the impression that the progress of Jewish historiography since

<sup>43</sup> Beginning January 5, 1917, *et seq.*

Graetz has not in many respects been very great. This is far from my mind. I need only point to comprehensive books like Schürer's history<sup>44</sup> or the two works on the history of the Jews in Rome<sup>45</sup> to show how false such an impression would be and how vast an amount has been accomplished. The monographs on the history of cities and sometimes provinces of France, Germany, Poland and other countries are very numerous, and many of these contain much new material. Some important contributions to family histories have appeared, biographies of scholars and statesmen have been undertaken, in short all branches of history have found interested contributors. But most of the efforts are sporadic and we lack coherence in our work and as a rule encouragement is conspicuous by its absence; otherwise an important contribution like Stern's collection of the Papal documents could not have stopped after the issue of two parts. What we owe to private initiative is often very considerable; one only has to think, *e. g.*, of the collection of Sicilian documents by the brothers Lagumina,<sup>46</sup> of which three bulky volumes have appeared, or the sources for the history of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia by Bondy and Dvorsky<sup>47</sup> and Joseph Jacobs' "Jews of Angevin

<sup>44</sup> *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th edition, Leipzig, 1901-11, 3 vols. Graetz, in the later editions of volume iii, made use of the first edition of Schürer, which had appeared in 1874 in one volume.

<sup>45</sup> A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Frankfurt, a. M., 1893, 2 vols.; H. Vogelstein and Paul Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Berlin, 1895-6, 2 vols.

<sup>46</sup> *Codice diplomatico dei Giudei di Sicilia raccolto e pubblicato dai fratelli sacerdoti Bartolomeo e Giuseppe Lagumina*, Palermo, 1884-1909, 3 vols. so far published.

<sup>47</sup> *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien von 906-1620*, Prag, 1906.

England.”\* Still the work before us is enormous and the number of trained collaborators is limited. This labor is of vital interest, however, and it is to be hoped that there will be a growing recognition of its importance as times goes on. Our Society ought to play a prominent part in realizing these great aspirations.

\* See above, note 18.



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Historic Jewish-Christian<sup>bp</sup>  
Relationships

*and*

The Bible As Classical  
Literature

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Two lectures delivered in Temple Israel, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.,  
on February, 18, 1935 by

THE REV. DR. JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

Professor of Hebrew in the Graduate School of the  
University of Pennsylvania and Professor of Old Testament Literature  
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*Harvard College*

# Historic Jewish-Christian Relationships

IT IS a great pleasure to your Speaker to visit your delightful city and to have the privilege of addressing a friendly group of Jews and Christians. That this sentiment of mutual esteem exists in a small city is notable, for in such circumstances there is always more intimate acquaintance of people with and about each other. And the occasion is of good omen to my eyes, for I believe that the true heart of America is to be found in the small cities and towns rather than in the metropolitan areas, in the customary "Main Street" of our American life, not on the "Broad White Ways".

I am sorely anxious for the cooperation of our two Religions and their peoples and primarily for their mutual respect and understanding. For the stars bode ill to-day for the fate of institutional religion. It is unnecessary to name the several great nations of our day which are oppressing and even suppressing religion as a vital force in society; and the persecution, it is to be noted, comes from the political extremes, from the Right and the Left, from Fascism and Communism. The immediate moral for us is that this is a time of trial for true religion, and we who are interested in that cause must prefer to emphasize those things which we possess in common rather than to insist on the factors which separate us.

To your speaker's mind the only religion that is congenial to the Christian is the Jewish. The word "congenial" is etymologically correct; for it means "of the same genus", and indeed historically Judaism and Christianity with all their ultimate differences are of the same mother-stock. I cannot speak so for Islam, although it too was mothered from the same stock, and although it has long displaced its parents in their home-land. Of all the other religions of the world I try to think with humane and sympathetic respect. But they do not belong in the class of our two religions to which we may give as common denominator the name of "the Bible Religion".

As a student of theology I have of necessity covered wide fields, extending all the way from the Hebrew Bible down through the New Testament into the territory of Church History at large. My present particular interest is Hebrew and the Hebrew Bible with the related Semitic languages and literatures, and just now my studies are far remote from the origins of the Church. But I have always been dominated by the interest in that late and dark age of Bible history, round about the beginning of the Christian era, out of which grew on the one hand Rabbinic Judaism and on the other the Christian Church.

The result of this study and thought, coming largely unconsciously as the best mental results are wont to come, has been the realization how largely and fundamentally the Christian religion is based upon Judaism. The Church soon came to wear a cosmopolitan dress of culture and language—Greek, Latin, Teutonic. Yet this ecumenical development was not strange to its origins. It is interesting to observe how despite the Jew's apparent exclusiveness as "a peculiar people" he has been since and indeed from before the Exile, 2500 years ago, a cosmopolitan, a characteristic which Jews themselves may ignore. Aristotle, in the fourth century B. C., tells how he met in Asia Minor a Jew who was "Hellenic not only in language but in soul." The first great Jewish philosopher and the greatest Jewish historian, Philo and Josephus, wrote in Greek. The Jewish part in the Arabic world of letters and philosophy is known to all. Indeed the Church followed its mother's roaming instincts. One of the earliest of Christian documents, the Epistle of James, was addressed from Jerusalem "to the Churches in the Diaspora." But despite excommunication from the mother



and its sense of its world-wide mission, the Church never forgot its Judaic origin.

The outstanding symbol of this maintenance of the true historical tradition is the Church's preservation of the Hebrew Bible, primarily as its first and only Sacred Scripture, to which were added, as after a model, the New Testament Scriptures. The Christian calls the two parts of his Bible the Old and the New Testament, or rather Covenant it should be, of which word "Testament" is an unfortunate Latin translation. But this without any superciliousness, as of reproach of "the old" after the lingo of the Modernist. The Church followed the Biblical and Jewish notion of the succession of Covenants; to its mind a New Covenant was logically in place. But this may at least be noted that the Church continued the Biblical notion of the development of religion in history, of the belief in a God of History; and it is peculiarly on this score that the two Bible religions stand apart from all other religions; their history is part of their faith and religious consciousness.

This position of the Church toward the Old Testament did not remain naive, unconscious as to its import. A remarkable movement occurred in Asia Minor in the second century, named after its leader Montanus, which desired to suppress the Old Testament and taught that its God was another than that of the New and hostile to him—a kind of dualism which may have seeped in from Persia. This heresy the Church deliberately condemned, and it perished. There are modern movements to-day of similar kind in our own country, more or less open condemnation of the Old Testament by Protestant leaders. Most appalling to the historical as well as to the religious sense is the present official movement in Germany to ban the Old Testament even as it does the actual Jews who are citizens of the land—the Old Testament which is as Jewish as the Jews themselves. This movement comes from a renascent Paganism. It does not proceed from the Christian Germans. In fact, so far as possible, there has been a tough resistance expressed to that historically absurd political dogma by the German scholarship. I cite at random two statements by very eminent German Protestant professors, printed under date of 1932. (I will not name them, for fear it might be taken ill against them). One of them speaks as follows: "The Holy Scriptures which the Evangelical Church since her establishment has rested as upon her foundation include, whether we like it or not, also the Old Testament. Or let us go one step farther back; the Founder of the Church, Jesus Christ, in spite of his rugged antithesis to the Judaism of his day, simply cannot be detached from the Old Testament." The other scholar makes the following statement: "One speaks more and more to-day of a Biblical Religion, including Old and New Testament. He who rejects the Old must reject the New."

Of general insidiousness in our modern Christianity is the ignoring of strict Bible study, as this appears in the very general giving up of Hebrew in the ministerial preparation. This movement proceeds in part from sheer mental laziness, in part from a neology which will have nothing to do with a volume millennia of years old. But Christian theological education must beware, for the same argument holds as against the New Testament, which is already nigh two millennia old. But why these ancient volumes as part and parcel of our religious faith? Because to the Christian, as to the Jew, his religion is historical. More than one half of the common creed of Christians, the Apostles' Creed, is a statement of belief in historic facts.

Now this inclusion of the Old Testament in the Christian Bible does not proceed from mere conservatism or for apologetic purpose—for which latter object it has been theologically used in polemics against Jew and Pagan. The Church, as *ecclesia orans*, has found it essential to its spiritual



and devotional life. The older Psalm-singing Puritanism will recall this as a historical fact. It is set forth in the Prayer Book of my own Church, in which one-third of the space is given to the Jewish Psalter. Indeed there is more Psalter along with extracts from other Old Testament writings in this Prayer Book than there is New Testament. We are all aware of the part that the hymn has played in the Church, especially in Protestantism. The basis of this hymnology, its model, has been the Jewish Psalter, of which many of our finest hymns are but transcripts, while perhaps it is only within about a century that in many Churches the only hymns allowed were the so-called Psalms in Metre. The Christian hymnal to-day is a cosmopolitan volume, but its inspiration comes from the Hebrew Psalms.

I will now, in a brief and necessarily categorical way, speak of certain theses pertinent to my subject.

(1) *The New Testament is a Jewish volume written by Jews.*

The only exception, if any, that might be taken to this statement would apply to certain minor Epistles of whose authorship we are in doubt. Luke, the author of the Third Gospel, was according to tradition a proselyte—but nevertheless a Jew. There is no question concerning the Judaism of Paul and of his Jewish learning—even if he was not a Rabbi. (The Hitlerites think to treat him with disrespect by calling him “Rabbi Paul”.) The Book of Revelation may best be explained as a translation from the Hebrew. As for the Four Gospels there is at present sharp debate. There is no question that Jesus’ words were all Aramaic, and that we have them now only in Greek translation. It has long been recognized that the first three Gospels are composite, made up of earlier Gospel stories. It is reasonable that these or their counterparts were written in part in Aramaic (one section indeed in Hebrew, Luke 1-2). The recently published theory by Professor Torrey of Yale, one of the most distinguished of American Semitists, and written without apologetic purpose of any kind, in his *Four Gospels: a New Translation*, maintains that all the four Gospels in Greek are translations from the Aramaic (and he has argued elsewhere that this is also true for the first half of the Acts of the Apostles). This novel theory has provoked large opposition, but for the present object it serves to insist upon the fact of the thoroughly Judaistic character of the earliest Christian documents. The position too generally held by historians of the Church and its thought that the early Church was distinctly Hellenic in its character must now shift to another viewpoint focussing upon the Jewish origins.

(2) *The Christology of the New Testament concerning Jesus as Messiah and Lord is entirely Jewish in idea and language.*

This statement confronts the surprise and contradiction of customary Christian history of doctrine, and equally, I doubt not, of Jewish scholars. I have come to see, for I was not brought up that way by my guides in that history, such men as the great Harnack, that all the theological terminology in the New Testament is drawn from the Old, and I am glad to have Dr. Torrey’s corroboration of my deliberate opinion. The Church took form in its thought when it was still a Jewish sect, and that embryonic formation has characterized it ever since. The exegesis that supported the Christian theology was entirely drawn from the Jewish exegesis of the Hebrew Bible. For instance, we can compare the theological interpretation of the Scriptures in the Epistle of the Hebrews with that of Philo, the greatest of early Jewish theologians and philosophers, except that the former is far less Hellenic than the latter. The Gospel of John, which has generally been understood as peculiarly Hellenic, is to my mind absolutely Judaistic. However this may be, we may note that there is a change coming over Christian historical theology which is compelling it more and more to recognize the



Jewish origins. It is again a case—to quote the German professor—of “whether we like it or not”. To my audience I would say that the two groups do not sufficiently understand the particular volumes cherished by one another, and indeed the Jew knows less about the New Testament than the Christian knows about the Old. Each group has had its special interest, the Jew in his Torah, the Law, the Christian in his Gospel, and when we come to argue we insist on these contrasts. But for his Gospel the Christian uses Old Testament language, while the evangelical principle of the Gospel came to be early balanced by a law for the new Christian society. And this leads me on to my next thesis.

(3) *There is a contrast between the phases of religion represented in the Old and the New Testaments, a contrast generally expressed in the antithesis of Law and Gospel. The contrast is this: the former represents a this-worldly religion, the latter an other-worldly religion.*

In this statement I refer to the religion of the actual volumes. Now like any broad and general statement, the above thesis may seem quite too categorical to either Jew or Christian, and such a thesis must be explained and confined to certain limits. Let us observe the political and social circumstances in which the two volumes severally arose and for which they speak.

The religion of the Old Testament, the religion for whose history that volume is our only authority, grew up and developed in all the diverse kinds of history which a people can experience. Indeed, that volume is the history of its religion. We find in it the story of the beginnings of Israel with its peculiar religion, as a patriarchal family, a tribe or folk, to use the Teutonic term. We see it developing into a people with a will to be one, and so into a nation, taking its part in the turmoil of ancient Oriental history. It loses its political independence and becomes a Church-State with its own local autonomy in the great empires of Persia, the Greeks, and finally Rome. The concern of that religion is the maintenance of the Chosen People in this “naughty and wicked world”. It is not concerned with a future life. The references to the hope of immortality are late and few and uncertain. At the best there is a millennial hope for a better world, but still always a this-world. The volume which presents this remarkable history—and there is no other such volume in the whole gamut of the history of religion—is a reflection of the “morals and manners” of that history, as expressive of the religion. The very elements in that history which many moderns object to, with its dealing with ordinary humans and their passions, is the thing which makes it precious to the Christian at least, for in it we read of the fermentation of that religion in this present, so real world, and mark how that leaven triumphed, or how far it triumphed in actual history. The Church has always found its *exempla morum* in the Old Testament, whether in its Sunday Schools, to which that volume presents real human characters in every-day life, or to Christian political thinkers, men like Augustine, Calvin, Coleridge. Almost every programme of the Christian Commonwealth has taken the Old Testament for its text-book, whether it be the Holy Roman Empire with the Pope sitting in the seat of the High Priest, or the Puritan establishments modelled directly after the Jewish theocracy.

In antithesis, the New Testament presents the history of the growth of a small sect within barely its first two generations. It was first an appendage of the Jewish Church, and when, as it felt, it was excommunicated by the mother, it went forth into the world as a waif without legal position. It had no political concern. Only slowly there grew up the social problems that were presented in the narrow limits of its domestic circle. It was at first communistic, with the believers sharing all things in common—a condition which did not last long, and Paul had to emit the dictum that “if a



man will not work, neither let him eat," a rule that might be still observed in modern dole systems. Foolish language is abroad to-day to the effect that that Church was politically revolutionary, anarchistic. It was nothing of the sort. There are very few references in the New Testament to the Christian's attitude toward politics, and these are all, to say the least, conservative, very much indeed such as the intelligent Jew would have observed. There is one word of Jesus, "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's" and the Caesar of his day was Tiberius. Paul teaches that "the powers that be are ordained of God—resist not the power for it bears not the sword in vain", and commands the believers to "pray for the king and all in authority"—and that king was probably the emperor Nero. In this the Apostle was following the ritual usage of the Jews in the Temple with the daily sacrifice for the emperor, the deliberate omission of which in 66 A. D. was the overt act of rebellion against the empire.

It will be answered to this presentation that there are the immortal principles of Christianity of love to neighbor, of turning one's cheek, and so on. But these are principles concerning which the Christian must anxiously inquire how far he is fulfilling them. It must be remembered that as concerns the early Church, such principles were primarily carried out within the inner circle, that as to their application to the larger world there was little sense of responsibility. For instance Paul directs, "Do good to all men, especially those of the household of faith."

But apart from what may be called the spiritual principles of a religion or its founder, which are of concern to the adherent of the religion, there remains for the historian the equally important, perhaps, secularly speaking, more interesting question: How were these original principles practically applied to this world's life? The early Church looked for the speedy end of this world and the coming of another, "a new heavens and a new earth," in a spirit of exultation. Its concern with this world was *pro tempore*. It was another question for that infant body when thrown out into the world it began to grow lusty and strong, to become a social and political factor, and finally within three short centuries to be exalted as the religion of the Roman empire. Then came the trial of the Christian principles, as we call them. And how did the Church put them into practice? We Christians often condemn the constantly sordid and cruel history of the Israelite monarchies, and we can equally condemn the history of the Judean commonwealth under the Hasmonaeans and the later high priests. What a contrast throughout that history with the high principles of the Law and the Prophets and the Psalmists, so we think. But we Christians must equally with sadness inquire how far Christian principles have controlled the shapeless body we call Christendom, whether under Catholicism or Protestantism or Modernism. Well, the Church that has entered into the arena of this world has another problem than when it was concerned merely with the other world. And it is for the sake of this mundane responsibility that the Church needs as a balance to its Gospel the historical experience of the True Religion as it appears in realistic form in the Old Testament.

(4) *The Christian ethic is solidly rooted in the Jewish ethic.*

Peculiarly in our own day religion is being judged, not by its norms of faith, but by its practical results in human character and action. Now I do not think that there exists among intelligent and unprejudiced Christian people any unkind criticism of Jewish ethics. On the other hand there is a large ignorance of or ignoring of the fact that much of what we term Christian in our ethical life goes back to the religion of the Old Testament. Especially to-day, when there is a growing ignorance about the Old Testament, there has developed an exaggeration of opinion about the New, as



though everything in it was new without father or mother. We find little to corroborate this notion in the New Testament itself. We have indeed, especially in the words of Jesus, practical ethical instructions of a supreme order, but almost always in the words of the Old Testament. While Paul breaks with the Rabbinic treatment of the Law, he in no way denies the ethical values inherited from Judaism. We Christians may claim that there were ethical advances, but we must equally admit the rich soil out of which these ethical principles grew. The question of the relative value of Jewish and Christian ethics is a delicate one. I think, as is true of all ethical judgments, whether upon individuals or groups, that there is such a mixture of various elements that it is difficult to settle down to definite comparisons. I must confine myself therefore to some concrete points, not indulge in generalities.

We are wont to speak of Christian charity in the sense of the care for the poor and unfortunate. This social feature the Church took over directly from Judaism and, by the way, the book of Deuteronomy contains the first Poor Laws in history. This shining characteristic the Jew has kept to the present time, (all honor to him), and we Christians must admit none are more generous in small circles of what is called charity or in the wide ranges of philanthropy than the Jewish people. Again we Christians are proud to speak of the Christian Home. But this institution grew up out of the Jewish home. There are just two cases of domestic home life with parents in the New Testament. The one is the tender relation between Jesus and his mother, and Christian preachers and artists have never wearied in pressing that sacred relationship of a Jewish home. And that is a striking reproduction of a pious Jewish home which Paul recalls in writing to his disciple, the young Jew Timothy, "recalling the unfeigned faith that is in thee; which first was in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice." Those who know the Jewish home will recognize the characters.

Again we Christians are accustomed to speak of the humanity of Christian law in contrast to non-Christian legal institutions. I do not think that in this judgment we are including the Jews, although we may point to many a cruel and unjust act in their history, just as we must in our own Christian history. But I fear we fail to recollect the barbarity of Anglo-Saxon law in its treatment of the condemned criminal, its savagery towards the offenders of lesser degree. Down until within a century the British criminal law on the statute books was infinitely more barbarous than the ancient Hebrew law, where there was a remarkable limitation of the number of capital offences, and where, with one exception, there was no mutilation of the offender. And let us remember that that law is at least 2500 years old. In one respect the Hebrew law stands forth in remarkable contrast to almost all Western law down to our own day; it appreciates the person above property, whereas the English law, which we have inherited, does the reverse. It is cheaper with us to kill a man than to steal a small sum of money. The murder rate is higher in our own country than in any other land. We have to do some housecleaning before we sit in judgment upon the morals of other peoples, even ancient peoples.

(5) *The categorical contrast of Law and Gospel as expressive of the distinction between Old and New Testament is false. If there is polarization of the two elements in the two volumes, the two are mutually complementary and essential.*

I have no doubt that this thesis will arouse much objection, more particularly from the Christian quarter. There is a shibboleth of contrast that is freely bandied about to express the difference between Jew and Christian in the curt formula of "Gospel versus Law". A recent high spokesman for



the present Administration contrasted his New Deal with the old and sad condition of things in the antithesis of Law and Gospel, which was cheering to all who do not like the law until they found that the new Gospel was to be enforced with heavy fines and long imprisonments—which is not the way of the Gospel.

But the Church in retaining the Old Testament in its Holy Scriptures recognized the part that law holds in society. The Apostle Paul, who is for the most part responsible for the vogue of that contrast, nevertheless found it necessary to lay down the law for the infant churches for which he was responsible. The exaggeration of the evangelical antithesis to law was early seized upon by many antinomian outcroppings in the early Church, which was forced to lay a heavy hand of discipline upon the fools and the licentious who imagined that all law was now done away with in the freedom of the Gospel. In this connection I may quote from a recent statement by an impartial judge, Professor F. C. Burkitt, of Cambridge (in his *Church and Gnosis*, 1932, pp. 23 f.): “We still hear from time to time in some quarters that there is too much of the Old Testament in Christianity. The best answer to this is that many scholars tend nowadays to treat Christianity as one of the pagan Mystery-Religions. If the Church had not been determined to claim the Old Testament for its own, to declare itself the true Israel and the heir of the Old Testament anticipations, I think it would have been swept away from an historical view of Religion altogether.” And what is true of the Church’s historical consciousness is true also of its sense of responsibility for the world’s social condition, for which it needed the Old Testament as an exemplary volume in order to keep its feet upon this earth.

It is indeed to be admitted that there is a certain polarization of the two elements, Law and Gospel, Righteousness and Love, in the several volumes. We may speak of a difference of proportion in the respective handling of the two elements. But there has been an exaggerated stressing of the distinction on the part of evangelical Christians, with again an unfortunate influence on those who know little about the Bible. We find also in the Old Testament the balancing of Law and Gospel, of Righteousness and Love. Their parity is finely put by the singer of Psalm 101: “I will sing of mercy and justice”; if we translate “mercy” rather with “grace”, we get a formula that fits both Old Testament and New Testament.

I have no doubt that both parties, Jews and Christians, are to blame for the common distortion of the facts. The Jew because he has especially in reaction from the daughter heresy, exaggerated the Torah; and the Christian, because in exalting the divine Grace he has depreciated the divine Right and Righteousness. To my Evangelical brothers I would say that the Christian exaggeration produces a vast harm, which they should take to heart. Modern Christianity is putting on the market too much of a cheap Gospel of “Divine Grace and Love”. As well in the New Testament as in the old we read of the divine righteousness, and “the terrors of the Lord” are pictured as strongly there as in the Old Testament—more strongly indeed, for there the terrors as well as the grace are for eternity. But lest we be misled by isolated passages of the Gospel, the Church preserves the authoritative volume of the Old Testament that we may watch our step and keep the proper balance. The Bible religion is a religion of paradoxes—that is what makes it great. And one of the great paradoxes is that God is God of Right and of Love. As another Psalmist has it (36:6-7): “Thy righteousness is like the mountains of El, Thy judgments are a great deep.... How precious is thy grace, O God, And the children of men take refuge under the shadow of thy wings.” What we need to-day in the present uncertainties and problems of the world is not a watered Gospel but one



also that includes the fearfulness of the divine judgments. And the love for God, first inculcated in the Jewish Shema, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind and soul and strength", which the Church has taken over from its parent, will only be realized when we come to acknowledge Him with awe as the Holy and Righteous God, who yet can be, by most strange paradox, the Lover of those who will love him.

## The Bible As Classical Literature

By the word "classical" I mean that element in art which is original and which because of its proved value becomes formative, exemplary in its special sphere. In our Western Civilization the word has been largely pre-empted for Graeco-Roman arts and letters; hence "Classical" may be opposed to "Gothic" or "Modernistic" in art, or in letters may distinguish the Graeco-Roman literature from the subsequent literatures of the European peoples and nations. But in these subsequent developments, we may again speak of "classical" stages, as in respect to the English Classics; or it may again be used in particular departments of literature and we may speak of classical poetry or romance or history or biography, and so forth. The word is, therefore, relative, and yet possesses a definite stamp.

Now in speaking of the Bible literature as classical, I mean that it possesses these elements of originality and formativeness. On the one hand, it has contributed to our Western civilization—and I speak especially of our Anglo-Saxon inheritance—something which it would not otherwise have possessed; while on the other hand it presents patterns of art which have deeply and permanently affected our literature.

On the score of its antiquity, may I observe what is obvious but what may not have been generally observed. The Bible literature is the only Oriental literature that has been taken into the bosom of our Occidental civilization and entered into its life-blood. Other great Oriental literatures there are, but our Western cultures have been but slightly affected by them. The Arabic gives us one of the great world-literatures, itself of Semitic origin and cosmopolitan in its scope, yet despite the fascination of the Arabic world for the Westerner, that literature has impinged upon the West only indirectly. Persia has produced a great poetry, but while it has fascinated a few Western litterateurs, and is known and travestied in the name of Omar Khayyam, who knows Firdausi, Persia's epic poet, whose millennial anniversary is being celebrated this year? India possesses the oldest poetic classics known, but they have not influenced the West, although akin to us as the earliest Aryan literature. China is wedded to its Classics and remains, until the social catastrophes of our own day, the land that is peculiarly obsessed by Classicism, but only recondite scholars know that literature. But out of all the great literatures of Asia only one has been adopted by the Western civilization as part and parcel of its treasures—that volume which is the classical remains of the Hebrew literature, and which is the major portion of the Christian Bible.

Any historical student can tell how this happened: that it so chanced that a sect of Judaism came in a remarkable way to be the religion of the Roman Empire and so of all Europe and its dependency America. This subject belongs to the history of religion. Now the literary critic may invidiously observe that the Bible entered as literature into our Western civilization in a meretricious way; it happened to be the Sacred Book of that conquering religion and so was enforced upon the converted empire. This argument might claim that similarly the Book of Mormon might have become the American Bible, had Mormonism become the great American



religion. I can only reply that one reason why this did not take place is because the Book of Mormon is not great literature. A very large part of the assets of that triumphant religion was its sacred book, which, inherited from its Jewish matrix, read and sang itself into the minds and hearts of the Western world. It was not only as religion but as literature that it mightily affected that world. It brought from the Orient a fresh breath into the decadence of the Classical civilization of the Mediterranean world, and later became one of the bases of the literatures of the Northern Barbarians who entered the orbit of the Mediterranean civilization. However all this may be, I hold it to be part of the Providence of literary history that our Western civilization possesses this volume among its classics. There is a smug conceit in our Western consciousness that all that we have is our own creation, our own birthright; Europe and America look down upon Asia as backward and Barbarian; race lines are invoked, the Aryan versus the Semite, the dolichocephalic versus the mesocephalic, etc. It belongs to the irony of history that the greatest of Western classics, and particularly in the Teutonic world, the one that is most read, that has most widely affected idiom and language, is an Oriental product. I am glad to think of our Jew remaining in our midst, "dwelling in the tents of Japheth," to remind us that we Occidentals are not the whole world, and to think of the Bible, a Jewish creation, both Old and New Testament, as Asia's supreme literary gift to our Western civilization. *Ex oriente lux!*

In what I shall now say I shall, for this audience, speak almost entirely of what Christians call the Old Testament, the Hebrew Bible of the Jews. But may I remark that Jews and Christians do not stand on the same footing in regard to what is currently called the Bible; for all Christians are as acquainted with what they call the Old Testament, as they are with the Christian volume, their New Testament. Whereas Jews do not generally know the latter volume. May I remind my Jewish hearers, perhaps some Christian hearers as well, that the New Testament is a Jewish product. It was written by Jews who knew the Hebrew Bible by heart—as good Jews do,—who spoke the Semitic Aramaic tongue, who, if they wrote in Greek, did only what the cosmopolitan Jew always does, uses the language of the culture in which he finds himself. Of course, the spoken language of the Palestinian actors was Semitic, including all the words of Jesus; and the report of the latter's words can only be understood as translations. Moreover, to those writers of the documents that have been compiled in the New Testament the Old Testament was always the classical volume. The New Testament was to the early Christian Church the interpretation of the Old, the New thing in its faith being the person of its Lord Jesus. And similarly in its literary phase, whatever is fine, in rhetoric or poetry, is due to the Semitic background, whether it be the parables of Jesus, or the rhapsodies of Paul, or the choric music of the Book of Revelation. The New Testament is Greek in dress but Oriental in spirit and substance.

I turn now to speak of certain phases of this Biblical literature which reveal a classical character. It must be at once remarked that much of our Bible cannot be subsumed under this category. For instance, genealogy, law, ritual are not of this character, nor are mere historical outlines, as in Kings, although all such material is of greatest value to the student of history and religion. But in the field of belles-lettres two genres appear as the earliest Biblical literature.

One of these is the Heroic Ode and the other the Epic Story. Song, growing into poetry, is the primary genre of all primitive literature. And with other peoples than the Hebrew folk, the song expanding out of the myths of gods and men celebrated in rituals, develops into the Epic Poem. This development the Hebrew lacked, but it invented a fresh form of literature in



what may well be called the Epic Story. I refer to the Patriarchal legends which we possess in Genesis.

The outstanding example of the Heroic Ode is the Song of Deborah, although there exist snatches of other such compositions, proving that that notable gem was not unique. Such compositions are likeliest to the great classical Arabic poetry which came into being, as is generally held, within the century before Mohammed. It is interesting how this ancient Semitic strain persisted, to revive some fifteen centuries later. Both expressed the native genius, both arose on the eve of national development, in Palestine before the rise of the monarchy, in Arabia by the time of the Arabic state of Islam. But out of the other cultures of the Near Orient we have surviving no such poetry as the Song of Deborah, nothing like it in Greece or Rome; perhaps we should go to the Norse Eddas for a similar. If the other Semitic peoples had such poetry, they forgot it in the sophistication of their culture. But the peculiarity of the Hebrew literary as well as religious genius is that it never forgot its traditional legends. With all their many experiences and political vicissitudes, and their incorporation into the cosmopolitan world of culture, along with their neighbors of Egypt and Syria and the Mesopotamian Valley, the Hebrews still harked back to their origins as to a paradisaic age.

This fact appears particularly in what I have called the Epic Story. Apart from the literary charm of the Patriarchal legends and traditions they constitute a remarkable and unique historical monument. Of all migrating peoples—and ancient civilizations grew up out of the shock and counter-play of such migrations—Israel alone preserved a tradition of its origins and wanderings. We know that the Greek people was made up of several waves of immigrants, Achaeans, Dorians and others, but the Hellenic traditions on this score are most meagre and confusing; modern historical scholarship is only slowly throwing light on the chaos, discerning, for instance, that those invading hordes fell upon and possessed an older civilization, the Minoan, which can rank as a peer with the great civilizations of the second millennium B. C. But the Hebrew tradition insists upon the distant origins and widespread wanderings of its people, while modern archaeology is proving and confessing the general truth of that historical tradition. The other peoples settled about their fleshpots, were fascinated with their civilization, and their sophistication lost track of their simpler origins. But Israel—I believe because of its peculiar religion, with a God who wandered with it—found its literary delight in the stories of the Wandering Patriarchs, in the scenes of the “great out-of-doors”, of the desert in preference to the Sown-land, the country as opposed to the city. And the unique feature of those traditions is that they deal, not with heroic episodes of war and rapine—although these dominated the Palestinian history of that age, but with the homely scenes of domestic life, of the love of men and women, of the devotion of parents to their children, of the feuds between brother and brother. The book of Genesis, as also many another episode in the Bible history, is peculiarly fitted *ad exemplum morum*, as the epic Berserker tales of the heroes of Homer and the Vedas and Eddas can never be.

In consanguinity with this genre of traditional story is what I would call the Historical Story. I think in the first place of the episodes in the Book of Judges, all centered about Heroes who “saved” their people; and then of the development of this episodic history into that series of biographical histories which we possess in the Book of Samuel, of the somewhat obscure seer Samuel, of the first King Saul, who failed, and of David who succeeded and became his people’s national ideal for the past and the future. I may



here only summarily remark that this is the first appearance in literature of such historical writing. Centuries later appears Herodotus, the cosmopolitan traveller, borne on the waves of the triumph of the Greek genius; he presents such Historical Stories galore, culled from over the earth. He performs this duty as the "investigator" of history (for history was for him "investigation"). Without any such "scientific" consciousness the composers of the Samuel Book, especially in the David history, have left to us artless and strikingly true portraitures of their heroes. There has been much discussion on the part of students of history as to how far these Biblical biographical stories are to be rated in the category of high History. That they have none of the art and consciousness of a Thucydides and a Polybius is evident. But they present an objective and realistic view of their subject, without passion and prejudice, which makes their compositions true dramas of human life. If David is presented as "the man after God's heart" and thereafter becomes his people's Messianic ideal, it is the same David who is confronted by the prophet's damning accusation "Thou art the man," the same human David who prays for his dying baby and who mourns over his rebel son. Only occasionally in ancient history do we obtain human records like these. The Bible history is most concerned with the essentially and universally human. The book of Ruth has been variously diagnosed by the critics, many assuming it to be a piece of propaganda; if so, how artfully it is disguised in a story which culminates in the birth of a baby!

Such Historical Story develops at last into formal History, such as we possess in Kings, with the usual historical apparatus of chronologies, dynasties, wars, the ups and downs of national history. As a whole that book is a historical compendium, not to be reckoned in high literature. And yet there are brilliant exceptions when the ancient Historical Story reappears, as in the Story of Elijah, of the prophet Micaiah, of the revolt of Jehu with its climax in the death of the proud and relentless Jezebel.

But there is one note in Hebrew historiography which I would insist upon and which makes it classical in the history of history. The Bible is the first volume to grasp the notion of the unity of human history. I sometimes think that the Table of the Nations in Genesis 10 is one of the most remarkable of historical documents, not so much for its assemblage of more or less authentic ethnological facts, as for its philosophy of history. The human race is one. Abraham's family with all its peculiar privileges takes its place in the anthropological pedigree along with all the other known races. For Israel's historical philosophy, the one God involves the unity of the human race, a doctrine taught from the first chapters of Genesis. Anthropologists of our day may dispute this anthropological monism; but the actual unity and common destiny of the world's population are being borne in upon us by the crowding events of current history in our own day. Later the great Prophets of Israel were to express for the first time in literature the unity of the divine *pronoia*, as the Jewish historian Josephus termed it, the divine providence over history. Schiller's thesis that "Weltgeschichte ist Weltgericht" was pronounced first in the Bible. When Paul at Athens cited, *ad captandam benevolentiam* of his audience, the Greek poet Cleanthes' novel assertion for the Hellenic world, "For we are also his offspring," he was but speaking ancient Hebrew philosophy. It is of interest that following these Biblical lines the Christian historiographer Eusebius, in the fourth century, gave the world in epitome the first Universal History.

I have dwelt so far upon the prose literature of the Bible; I have purposely magnified it, because its classical value is often ignored or depreciated. I turn my attention now to the Poetry of the Bible. This field of that



literature is so familiar to us, so much a part of our religious heritage that we may easily overlook its notable classical value as literature. Probably the very reason that the Prophets and the Psalms are books of ritual and religious edification stands in the way of the literary appreciation of them by Jew and Christian. But they are monuments to the fact that great thought expresses itself in great diction, and that religion has always primarily given voice in poetic form. What the quality be of that poetry depends upon the genius of the people. It has become clear to my mind that out of all the poetic literatures at the basis of our Western civilization, there is only one that can be ranked with that of Greece, namely, the Hebrew poetry. From Mesopotamia and Egypt and Syria only rare bits have been discovered that may compare to it. And Hebrew poetry has this universal characteristic that even when it is translated into other tongues its fundamental character still persists; this is shown by the verse form into which the early versions largely turned it.

Of the remains of this Hebrew poetry several genres survive, bearing witness to an original widespread poetical accomplishment. I have spoken earlier of the Heroic Ode, most finely exemplified in the Song of Deborah. The throbs of such music survive in more chastened form in the later Prophets, who still in elevated fashion sing of the "Wars of the Lord". But before we pass to this religious poetry, we should notice the phenomenon of an ample secular music and song, testified to from many a current reference in story and history, and possessing its chief monument in the Song of Songs, the Song of Solomon. There are many explanations of this gem of love-poetry, some holding it to be an imitation of the late Greek bucolic poetry best known to us under the name of Theocritus. But I believe it to be thoroughly Oriental, Syrian; it is the remains of a widespread genre, which has survived to us only through the Bible, but it is a species that is thoroughly Oriental as the later Arabic love-poetry shows, which itself had its influence upon Western poetry in the chansons of the Troubadours.

The Book of Proverbs belongs to a cosmopolitan category of literature witnessed to in extent from Egypt and Babylonia and Syria. Following the ancient mode of the proverb, it is cast into poetic form. In general of no higher literary value than the poetic compositions of the English and the French of the eighteenth century. Still, it is to be observed that a literary form is required and followed, which speaks for the artistic taste of the people. And there is one book, unique in the Bible, lying as we might say, between religion and philosophy, whose author strives hopelessly to strike the balance between faith and doubt—the Book of Job. This work is generally acclaimed as one of the great literary dramas of the world, one of the "Five Great Dramas", as one critic has held. It expresses a soul's struggle and despair in finding justification of that "ethical monotheism" which is said to be the characteristic of the Hebrew religion. It is a Soul's Tragedy, and it belongs to an age of sophistication appearing most modern and agreeable to our doubts and gainsayings concerning the Just Providence that should rule the world. But we forget in our conceit that many recurring ages of sophistication have passed over the world's thought about itself, and that in these cycles such sophistication has never had the last word. If we are world-weary, antiquity had that sorrow long ago. It is of interest that we have, too, an earlier Babylonian Job, and in Egypt also a composition of similar character, a "Man's Argument with his Soul". The relations of the Hebrew Job with such compositions are naturally scrutinized by literary critics, inter-dependence there must have been, for that ancient world was cosmopolitan to an extent that we are only beginning to



recognize. But whatever the relationship among these compositions may be, the Hebrew Job maintains its position as the great Drama of the Soul in conflict with its God.

I have referred to several poetical books which belong to or can be considered a secular literature. For example Job can be treated literarily as a great poetic drama, quite apart from its theology, in the same way as we appreciate *Prometheus Bound* and *Faust*. There remains the primarily religious poetry that we possess in the Prophets and the Psalter and that collection of national Elegies which we call Lamentations, which latter is a remarkable example of artistic metrical form.

Of the classical, formative character of the Psalms there can be no question. They have survived, peculiarly in the Christian Church, as the model of all hymnology.

This is not due to a sluggish imitativeness on the part of the religious, but to the eternal suggestiveness of form and content of those religious poems. Modern study has been exhibiting the varieties of orchestral and dramatic form which lie far back in the history of these hymns, and has discovered that they belong for the most part to the ancient ritual of Judaism, which then must itself have been a "Singing Church". They are not merely hymns of odd saints, but for the most part songs and penitentials of a living corporate religion. These "Songs of Zion" still remain the classics, in their original form, or in metrical paraphrases, for all Christian ritual and devotional poetry.

As for the Prophets it is the rich result of fairly modern literary criticism that a large part of that literature is now definitely assigned to the category of poetry. This is true particularly of the pre-Exilic Prophets and of that greatest of all Biblical poetical compositions, the Second Isaiah, the Odes of a Great Unknown, the flower of the Exilic or post-Exilic age. The great, impelling rhetoric of the Prophets has always been recognizable. They have been models for preachers throughout the generations, even as their religion has been generally recognized to be of the high-water level of the Hebrew Bible—a point which I think has been stressed at times to a too exclusive extreme. The Prophets have been the Preacher's Handbook, and this peculiarly for Christian preachers, for the New Testament does not offer that kind of material. There is no book in the latter volume which in any way pairs with the Old Testament Prophets; at the most we have only brief extracts, outlines, of so-called "Sermons" by Jesus, by Paul and a few others. Hence the Prophets remain as the classical model of great religious oratory.

But my theme is "classical literature," not the text-books of religion, and I desire in conclusion to describe the peculiar genius of Hebrew poetry, which reaches its highest level in the Prophets. Our King James Version, which first of all was to be a faithfully literal translation, often caught the glory of that ancient poetry, perhaps unconsciously. Such a line as "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer son of the morning" (Isaiah 14:12)—a perfect English hexameter—is as fine a piece of translation from poetry to poetry as exists. A similar rendering into English music is the translation of Isaiah 60:1: "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Such poetry kindled Alexander Pope in his great metrical hymn, "Rise, crowned with light, imperial Salem, rise!"

Now these two examples exhibit the metrical characteristic of ancient Hebrew verse, a characteristic which in its wealth and variety stamps Hebrew poetry as unique and, to my mind, as one of the great poetries of the world. English poetry, like European poetry in general, following



Greek and Latin models, counts the syllables, and depends upon the alternation of long and short, or rather, in English, accented and unaccented syllables. To this metre or musical measure there has been added the often meretricious element of rhyme which to common taste, I fear, is the chief criterion of poetry. We possess from the Semitic world, outside of the Hebrew poetry, two species of poetic art. One of them, in the Aramaic field, namely, in Syriac literature, simply counts the syllables and is hardly palatable to our taste. The other is the great Arabic poetry; this goes *pari passu* with Classical poetry in the count of syllables, along with an exaggerated use of rhyme and other conceits.

But Hebrew verse has gone its own way, with its counterpart only in old Teutonic measures. It counts the accented syllables, discounts the unaccented, and hence within the single verse there is a mobility of musical accent. If sung, the music must follow the singer's emphasis, not the reverse as in our usual songs and hymns where the poetry is compressed by an iron-clad tune. The verse or line is divided by a caesura into two parts, and then a balance is effected between the two by regulation of the beats. The most common form is 3x3, but we find a shorter more peremptory form 2x2, as also a heavier more imposing form 4x4, while the most musical of all is 3x2. We may apply to these forms the technical terms of hexameter, dimeter, tetrameter, pentameter, but only with caution; the poet is not confined to a procrustean bed of counted syllables of alternating quantity. In addition to the musical quality of Hebrew verse, a remarkable range of art is witnessed to by the strophe-formations. The most usual strophe consists of a pair of lines or verses, and corresponds to our quatrain of four lines. But the strophe form has a large development, and the poet kept it subject to his own handling by varying the length of his strophes to suit his purpose, even as within any given ode he could vary his measures to suit his theme or passion.

We possess, then, in Hebrew poetry an independent contribution to the world's poetics. It is a creation of art, but the art-forms are not imposed from without, but are rather spontaneous expressions of the poet's own music. The Hebrew poet was a man who sang to his harp, and as he sang the music followed. Later Jewish poets accommodated themselves to the literary forms of the civilizations in which their Diasporas were lodged. In the Hellenistic age they wrote in Greek hexameters, and the great Jewish poets of the Middle Ages made use of the forms of Arabic poetry. The ancient systems of metrics survive best in ancient synagogal music and the cantillation of the Psalms in the Latin and the Anglican Church. Probably the finest modern expression of that ancient poetry is to be found in the oratorios of Bach and Handel. I believe that for the poet and the lover of poetry there are literary treasures in the Hebrew Bible for form as well as substance, which still remain to be explored.

I conclude with a few specimens of the poetry of the Second Isaiah rendered into corresponding metrical form in the English. The varieties of metre and so of expression of thought will be obvious.

*Isaiah* 40:1-2, the Introductory Ode.



Comfort ye, comfort ye my people,  
Saith your God.  
Speak to the heart of Jerusalem,  
And call to her:

How that her service is fulfilled,  
Her guilt made good;  
That she has received from the hand of the LORD  
Full double for her sins.

42:8-9, The Divine Self-Assertion.

I am the LORD.  
That is my Name!  
And I give not my glory to others  
Nor my praise to graven idols.

The first things, lo! have arrived,  
And new things now I announce;  
Before they spring forth,  
I advise you thereof.

47:1-4. The Satire over Babylon, Stanza I.

Go and sit in the dust,  
Thou Virgin Babel!  
Sit on the earth dethroned,  
Thou Daughter of Chaldea!  
For never again shall they call thee  
Tender and Dainty!  
Take the millstones and grind flour;  
Take off the veil!  
Uncover the train, bare the leg,  
Pass through the river!  
Vengeance I will take unchecked,  
Says our Redeemer,  
The LORD of Hosts His name,  
Israel's Holiest.

53:2-5. Stanzas from the Ode of the Martyr-Servant.

Before us he grew up like a sapling  
Or a root from a drought-stricken land;  
Without form, without beauty to look at,  
No sight for us to delight in.

Despised and outlawed of men,  
Sorrow's man and acquainted with sickness;  
Like one from whom men hide the face,  
Despised and we gave him no thought.

Yet surely our sickness he bore,  
And he our sorrows did carry;  
While we—we accounted him stricken,  
Plagued of God and afflicted.

Yea, he was pierced for our faults,  
For our trespasses' sake was he bruised,  
The chastisement for our peace was upon him,  
And by his stripes is healing made ours.

60:1-3, 19-20, Stanzas 1 and 9 of the Ode on the New Jerusalem.

Rise, shine, for thy light has come,  
And the glory of the LORD has dawned upon thee.  
For lo, darkness covers the earth,  
And deepest gloom the nations;  
But upon thee the LORD will dawn.  
And His glory will appear upon thee.  
And the peoples will set forth to thy light,  
And kings to thy brilliant dawning.

The sun will be no more thy light,  
Nor the moon to light thee shine,  
But the LORD thy light everlasting  
And thy God thy beauty will be.  
Thy sun will never go down,  
Nor ever wane thy moon;  
For the LORD is thy light everlasting,  
And thy mourning days are gone.









Jews



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### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELATION BETWEEN RABBI AND CONGREGATION.

By DAVID PHILIPSON.

The spiritual welfare of the Jewish community depends upon the mutual relationship of rabbi and congregation. This relationship is unique. True, the congregation employs the rabbi, and the rabbi serves the congregation, but the attitude of the one to the other is not that of employer to employee, or of servant to master. The relation should be that of mutual confidence and respect; the congregation, through its board, should feel that the rabbi's position is an honorable one and that in honoring him they honor themselves; the rabbi should feel that his congregation is a sacred charge, and do everything for his people in the spirit of holy sincerity. They should stand to one another in a relation as close as that which unites the members of a household. Where this mutual confidence exists, the high cause wherein both are enlisted will be truly furthered and the religious life will be exalted.

The congregation that upholds the dignity of its rabbi benefits old and young alike, inasmuch as they derive instruction, inspiration and comfort from him who ministers to their spiritual needs and reverence for him is in harmony with the traditional sentiment expressed by our sages in the words, מורה שמים רבך כמורה שמים

To realize this high ideal in our congregational life, we beg to submit the following propositions:

(a) THE ELECTION OF THE RABBI.

We discountenance the so-called "trial sermon" except in the case of the rabbinical novice, who is just entering the pulpit, or of such as have been in office only a short time and of whose capacity there is no other means of

judging. But in all other cases we are of the opinion that it would add to the dignity of both the congregation seeking a minister, and the candidates desiring the position, if some other method were pursued than that now commonly in vogue of having the candidate come, place himself on exhibition and preach one or two trial sermons, which may be no test of the man's ability whatever. We suggest as far preferable that the congregation in search of a minister appoint a committee to go and hear the rabbi they think of engaging, in his own pulpit, twice or thrice; this will be a far better test than a dozen trial sermons; then, if this committee is satisfied with his preaching, his character and his work and standing in the community where he has lived and labored, and upon consultation with him find that he seems to be the man for whom they are seeking, the congregation will be prepared the better to extend him a call.

(b) THE TERM OF THE RABBI.

It is to the advantage of both congregation and rabbi that they become closely identified with one another's interests; therefore the practice prevalent in many congregations of electing a rabbi for one or two years after he has proved his fitness for the position during a year of probation should be discontinued. It is the fruitful source of dissension in the congregation and of uneasiness for the rabbi. Every annual election involves a possible ruffling of the congregational peace. One of two methods should become customary; either an election for a long term of years, or, preferably, an election for an undetermined term, with the understanding that either party to the contract can dissolve it for sufficient reasons.

If a congregation's constitution provides for the annual or biennial election of its minister, the Conference suggests that such congregation be requested to change its law in conformity with this paragraph.

(c) THE QUESTION OF CONTRACT.

In case of the election of the rabbi and his acceptance of the office, it goes without saying that he should remain faithful to his contract unless released by the congregation. However, should a rabbi desire to leave his charge for another in view of the larger field of usefulness that it opens for him, we cannot but consider it unwise for his congregation to prevent him, for his work will suffer, and under such circumstances it is better for both parties to sever the connection. Should the congregation insist upon the bond in spite of the apparent dissatisfaction of the rabbi, nothing remains for the latter but to continue at his post, or, in case of departure, to lay himself open to the charge of not keeping faith. However, in all such difficult cases, this Conference offers its good offices to bring about a mutual understanding between both parties.

(d) THE RABBI AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

If anyone has the interest of the congregation at heart, it is the rabbi. There should be perfect confidence between the board, as the representative of the



congregation, and the rabbi. In order that they may be able to keep in full touch with one another, the rabbi should be an honorary member of the board and be privileged to attend its meetings. He gives more attention and study to the religious needs of the community than anyone else, and it is only natural that he should be better informed on the subject than any member of the congregation. The election of the rabbi as an honorary member of the board will do more than anything else to remove the veiled distrust of the rabbi that prevails to some extent in a number of congregational boards.

(e) RITUAL CHANGES.

Since the rabbi is the religious guide of the congregation, no action touching the ritual, the school, or any branch of congregational activity should be taken by a board without consulting him. Unless this confidence in the ability of the rabbi to advise wisely exists, no true good can result from his ministrations. The rabbi should not be looked upon simply as the paid servant of the congregation, who is to be commanded to do this or forbidden to do that. On the other hand, the rabbi should not be autocratic; he should make no important change in the ritual or take any step that involves an alteration in any channel of congregational activity without consulting and advising with the standing committee on ritual. In a word, mutual confidence should exist, and both parties should work hand in hand, having in mind solely the good of the cause, and not personal aggrandizement. The rabbi is the spiritual head of the congregation, and only when he is respected as such does the right spirit prevail. When he can no longer be respected as such, it is time for the relations to be severed.

(f) THE RABBI AND INCREASE OF MEMBERSHIP.

While it is the duty of the rabbi to further the material prosperity of his congregation and to do all he can to enlist the interest and co-operation of the unaffiliated, yet we cannot but regard it as unfortunate that the minister's usefulness is judged frequently from the standpoint of commercialism, which gauges his success and worth wholly by the increase in the membership roll.

Now, it were folly to disregard the financial side of congregational life and the necessity of effort to bring money into the treasury. But this is not the rabbi's chief concern. When he can bring new members into the fold without sacrificing the dignity of his position, let him do so. In truth, it is of the highest importance that he should bring into the congregation every one among the unaffiliated whom he can influence. But, after all, it is his work in the pulpit, the study and the community that tells. If this work is effective, the congregation will increase; the board of trustees will not find great difficulty in inducing people to affiliate themselves with the congregation under the charge of such a minister.

(g) THE RABBI IN THE PULPIT.

The rabbi stands and falls with his pulpit work. This is his chief concern. The congregation has the right to expect the very best that is in him. He may

not take this work lightly, nor step into his pulpit unless he is thoroughly prepared. On the other hand, the congregation should receive his utterances in a sympathetic spirit. Every rabbi ought to welcome honest criticism, but the fault-finding, carping attitude that obtains in so many instances on the part of laymen cannot be deprecated too strongly. Let our people come to the house of worship not as critics but as worshipers.

The congregation has the right to expect *Jewish* sermons from the pulpit. The pulpit is not a platform for the discussion of miscellaneous themes of an encyclopediac nature. Conversely, the pulpit is the rabbi's domain; it is sheer presumption for any officer or member of the congregation to dictate to him what to preach. It should also be his privilege to invite into his pulpit any one who he thinks has a right to stand there.

#### (h) PASTORAL WORK.

The Jewish conception of the rabbi is that he should be primarily a scholar, not a pastor. He should call on his people on occasions of joy and sorrow, in sickness and in trouble; but miscellaneous, indiscriminating social calling that passes under the name of pastoral work is a sham and a delusion as *pastoral work*. The gossip of the day forms the theme of conversation, and it is difficult to understand how the cause for which the rabbi stands is fathered in any way. If his ideal is to be scholarly and true to the best traditions of Judaism, he should not be expected to fritter his time away by constant attendance upon social functions, for in the long run this cannot but work to the detriment of the congregation, the cause he represents and himself. Naturally this does not mean to say that he shall not endeavor to know his people and to be on terms of pleasant social converse with the members of his congregation. It is absolutely necessary for him to know his people if he is to be able to minister successfully to their needs, but it is simply out of the question for him to give to this social work a leading place in his activity if he wishes to be something more than a society man in the pulpit.

#### (i) THE RABBI AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

The religious school is so important an adjunct of the congregation that the rabbi, in taking charge of it, must give it his best thought. The school is the foundation whereon the congregation rests. The rabbi should be the superintendent of the school, and nothing should be done in the school without his being consulted. The same relation should exist between him and the school board as was set forth above in speaking of the congregational board. His should be the duty of recommending the teachers for the school, and no teacher should be dismissed without his consent. He should arrange the curriculum of the school. He should organize, as far as he can, other classes for the study of Judaism, the Bible and Jewish history. The longer he can hold his young people by means of these various classes, the better. This is his legitimate work. He is primarily the Jewish teacher. If he devotes himself to his pulpit work and his religious classes as he ought, he will do the



cause which he represents all that good which may be rightfully and naturally expected from him.

(j) THE RABBI AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CONGREGATION IN THE  
COMMUNITY AT LARGE.

In our American life the rabbi is a citizen of his community as well as the spiritual head of his congregation. As the representative of the congregation, it should be his pleasure as well as his duty to represent his congregation in the various charitable, municipal and social activities that interest the community at large. His congregation expects this, for he must be not only in the world but of it.





# Latin Pagan Side-Lights on Judaism

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## ART. VII.—LATIN PAGAN SIDE-LIGHTS ON JUDAISM.

HERE AHLWARDT is simply the last of a long line of Jew-baiters. Anti-Semitism is as old as Christianity. In view of this fact, what light do pagan Latin remains, literary, legal, and archæological, throw upon Judaism? \* The literary allusions are found in over fifty Latin writers from Cicero to Placidus, from the middle of the first century B. C. to the middle of the fifth century A. D. Every department of literature that flourished after the middle of the first century B. C. is represented here: Cicero, the orator, the poets of satire, epos, elegy, and epigram, historians from Livy to Rutilius Namatianus, romancers like Petronius and Apuleius, Seneca, the philosopher, Quintilian and Macrobius among scholars. Considering that Jews are not found in Rome in large numbers until after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius in B. C. 63, it need hardly excite surprise that there are but two references to Jews in the voluminous works of Cicero. Vergil's allusions are wholly indirect. The satirists do not refer to the Jews so frequently as we should expect. But for the *periochæ* to Livy's lost books we should not know that he had ever heard of Judæa, and with a single marked exception the historians make no serious attempt to write Jewish history. Too frequently, if Judaism is mentioned at all, it is to glorify some villain of high degree, to add interest to a court scandal, to record the idiosyncrasy of a *princeps*, or to misrepresent people destined to outlive their conquerors. It was to be expected that the elder Pliny, as the polyhistor of the early empire, would, at least in the *Naturalis Historia*, have considerable to say about the origin and history of the Jews. But aside from geographical allusions, † mention of

\* Some years ago the writer began to note the references in pagan Latin sources to the Jews and Christians, with a view to subsequent collation and study. This paper has to do with the first part of the subject—Judaism. It is, perhaps, proper to add that, until his own collation had been completed, he had not heard of, much less seen, Giles's *Heathen Records to the Jewish Scripture History*, Lond., 1856, or Meier's *Judaica*, Jena, 1832. The work of neither Giles nor Meier is complete, and writers other than pagan have been admitted. T. Reinach's *Fontes rerum Judaicarum*, I. Paris, 1895, he has not been able to consult.

† See *N. H.* 12 § 64: 19 § 101; 5 § 66 *sqq.* (Judæa, Galilæa, Samaria). Q. Curtius Rufus (t. 8. 9–10) speaks of Alexander's vengeance on the Samaritans. The *cod. Theodos.* (16. 8. 15) of the fifth century mentions Jews and Samaritans together, and the late allusions to them in the legal codes show their importance; for example, *Nov.* 129 *praef.* (541 A. D.); *cod. Theodos.* 13. 5. 18; *ib.* 16. 8. 16 and 28. Judæa is mentioned in a number of inscriptions, for example, Orelli-H. 5451 = Wilm. 1170; Wilm. 1183 = *C. I. L.* 3. 2830; Wilm. 1622 *a* = *C. I. L.* 3. 5776; *C. I. L.*

natural and manufactured products,\* there is but little to gratify our expectation. He barely mentions Cæsarea (comp. Tac., *H.* 2. 78), but tells us (5 § 69) that Iope (Joppa) was older than the deluge, and that there were still traces of the chains which had bound Andromeda to the rock running out into the sea at that place. (Comp. 9 § 11.) Jerusalem (5 § 70) he styles *longe clarissima urbium orientis non Iudaeae modo*—language apparently warranted, if the adjective refers to the architectural splendor and military strength of the city.† In succeeding paragraphs P. describes the Jordan and Lake Gennesaret “surrounded by beautiful cities.” ‡ With Pliny’s curious description of the Dead Sea (5 § 72; 2 § 226; 7 § 65) should be compared Tac., *H.* 5. 6–7 and Justin. 36. 3. 6, 7. The peculiarities of the Essenes attracted the attention not only of Pliny, but of other Latin writers. Pliny (5 § 73) styles them “a lonely people, remarkable above others in the whole world, with no woman among them, purposely abstaining from love, without [the use of] money, living among the palms” (*gens sociâ palmarum*). He adds that their numbers are replenished by the unfortunates who, weary of life and the ups and downs of fortune, seek a home among them, and that in this way a people is perpetuated among whom no child is born.

We do not have to learn from Pliny (5 § 70, and 13 § 44) that the palm groves of Jericho were famous, for Horace uses them as typical of a large income, speaking of one of two brothers who prefers a life of luxury and ease to the rich palm groves of Herod, § and Vergil, in *Georg.* 3. 12, exclaims:

3, p. 857, dipl. xiv. The hint of Placidus, *Glossae* 53. 24 (ed. Deverling) is still in place: *Iudaea: cum a scribendum*.

\* See Pliny, *N. H.* 14 § 122; 12 § 111 (comp. Justinus 36. 3); 21 § 95; 13 § 26, 44, 49. Although Pliny mentions Scythopolis (Bethshan), he says nothing about its famous linen industry, which was famous as late as Diocletian (*Edictum de pret. rerum*, C. I. L. 3, p. 501 sqq.). Comp. Claudius Claudianus, in *Eutrop.* 1. 356–357.

† Tacitus (*H.* 5. 2) speaks of J. as a *famosa urbs*, and in 5. 8 sqq. he describes the temple stronghold and fortifications. However, considering that the temple in size and splendor probably surpassed any structure of the kind in Rome, both Pliny and Tacitus are contemptuously silent or strangely ignorant.

‡ It would seem that Pliny for a part of his account drew on Pomponius Mela, one of the earliest writers (first cent. B. C.) who attempted a description of the ancient world. It is amazing that P. has added so little to what Mela says. There was less excuse for Martianus Capella, an encyclopedic sort of writer, who, writing in the fifth century, had earlier writers to draw upon. See 6 §§ 678, 679. Ammianus Marcellinus at end third cent. A. D. mentions Palestine as fertile and having famous cities, reminds us that Cæsarea was built by Herod, and restricts his references to Eleutheropolis, Scythopolis, Neapolis, Ascalon, and Gaza (14. 8. 11; 19. 12. 8).

§ *Epp.* 2. 2. 183–184. This grove was presented to Cleopatra by M. Antonius, but ultimately became the property of Herod. See description in Justin. 36. 3.



*Primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas.\** Nor was the fame of these palms short-lived, for these groves are mentioned in a *descriptio orbis* of the fourth century A. D. But while we miss in Pliny what we should expect to find, and although Jewish allusions are in given authors few and far between, in the aggregate they are numerous and most suggestive. In them we see revealed the Roman's opinion of Judaism, while we catch glimpses of the influence of Judaism on Rome.

What light is thrown upon Jewish settlement and history by the Latin pagan remains? We know that the Jew became much of a cosmopolitan, and that wherever men came together, especially for trade purposes, he was soon found.† There, without really becoming one of them, he mingled in a small way commercially with the men of the community, setting up his synagogue and emphasizing his social and religious exclusiveness. The testimony to the wide dispersion and number of the Jews is varied in character. Greek pagan writers, inscriptions, coins, archæology, Bible history (for example, Acts ii, 5-11), and much indirect, but very conclusive, testimony all reveal to us Jews settled in every part of the habitable world. Some of these settlements are very old and some are very large. For example, Dio Cassius is authority for the statement that in the Jewish revolts of 116 A. D. in Egypt, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and Cyrene 460,000 Jews perished. Before the middle of the first century A. D., according to Philo the Jew, the Egyptian Jews numbered a million souls. Later on we find the chosen people everywhere: in the islands of the sea, as far west as Spain, and as far north as Cologne. The Hebrew holds his own alike in Babylon, the Mighty, and in Palmyra, the Queen of the Desert. In the south he makes for himself a home in Mediterranean Africa, and insists on the right to live and gain in the towns of Italy, in the city of the Golden Horn, and in the western Mistress of the World. Small wonder that Philo affected to hope that Judaism would soon become the religion of mankind. Latin literature and inscriptions corroborate this story of wide dispersion. As early as B. C. 59 Cicero (*pro Flacco* 28. 67) tells us that *aurum Iudaeorum nomine quotan-*

\*Comp. Lucan, *Phar.* 3. 216; Statius, *Silv.* 5. 2. 138, 139; Servius to Verg., *Geor.* 3. 12; M. Valerius Probus ad h. l.

†L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (5th ed.) 3: 571.

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*nis ex Italia et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma exportari solet.*\* In that same speech (28. 68) C. implies that the Jews and their adherents were very numerous throughout the East. He expressly mentions Adramytium, Laodicea, and Pergamum in the province of Asia, and Apamea in Phrygia, as Jewish centers. The later Jewish dispersion is attested by the epitaph on the tomb of the emperor Gordianus III: *Gordiano sepulcrum milites apud Circesium castrum fecerunt in finibus Persidis, titulum huius modi addentes et Graecis et Latinis et Persicis et Iudaicis et Aegyptiacis litteris.* (Jul. Capitol. 20. 34. 2.) At a much later time Ammianus Marcellinus (24. 4. 1) speaks of a community of Jews located near Babylon, whose town was burned by Julian's soldiers. In 321 Constantine (*cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 3) notifies the *decuriones* of Cologne that the Jews cannot claim exemption from municipal service. The *edictum* of Arcadius of 397 A. D., and a little later (412) that of Theodosius to the governors of Illyricum (incl. Macedonia and Dacia), presuppose Jews in considerable numbers in those countries. (*Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 12 and 21.) In the far West we find Jews at Abdera, in southern Spain (epitaph of a Jewish child, *C. I. L.* 2. 1982), at Dertosa, on the north-east coast (epitaph of a Jewess in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew), in the south at Sitifi, in Mauritania (Orell.-H. 6145—*C. I. L.* 8. 8499), where a certain M. Avilius Januarius is styled *pater sinagogae*, a term of honor like our "father" or "mother in Israel,"† both of which occur in a considerable number of inscriptions; at Cirta (*C. I. L.* 8. 7155); also in Lower Pannonia (*C. I. L.* 3. 1. 3688; comp. also *Eph. Epigr.* 2. 593). The number of Jews in the provinces seems to have increased steadily. In 398 the emperors Honorius and Arcadius issued an edict (*cod. Theodos.* 12. 1. 157) because of the peculiar condition of affairs in southern Italy, where incumbents for the public offices could not be found, inasmuch as the Jews refused to serve the state in this capacity. Naturally we find traces of Jews in the provincial towns of Italy.‡ Likewise is the Roman

\* Flaccus is lauded as a patriot for his *edictum*. The sum realized at two *drachmæ* a head would have been insignificant except upon the theory that the number of contributors was very great.

† Orell.-Henz. 2522, gives an epitaph to a *mater sinagogarum Campi et Bolumni*, by name Sara, a *proselita an xvi*.

‡ See Orell.-Henz. 5302—*C. I. L.* 10. 1971, from Naples: *Claudia Aster Hierosolymitana captiva*; *C. I. L.* 10. 1893, from Murano near Naples, in which case the *ἀρχων* was elected



Hebrew much in evidence. While Jews had come to Rome on special occasions at a much earlier period, and must have drifted thither along with other streams of foreigners, the first Jewish colony that we can trace historically sprang from the prisoners whom Pompeius brought from Jerusalem, after its capture in B. C. 63, to grace the *triumphus* that was voted him by the senate. This nucleus apparently grew rapidly.\* While the Latin pagan testimony to the number and influence of the Jews in Rome is to a great extent indirect, it is none the less conclusive. The inscriptions which reveal this fact are mostly Greek rather than Latin, probably because Greek was the vernacular of these Roman Jews. But our knowledge of Jewish proselytism, the hints in Latin poets, and the testimony of the *columbaria* speak as decisively as could more direct statement. The spread of Judaism was due in no small measure to successful propagandism. This was felt at Rome apparently as early as B. C. 139, the year of the Maccabean embassy of Simon. Valerius Maximus, according to the epitome of Julius Paris (1. 3. 3), remarks: *Idem* [the prætor, Cn. Cornelius Hispalus] *Judæos, qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas cœgit.*† Strange Jews these, to be attempting to corrupt (*inficere*) Roman religion with the cult of Juppiter Sabazius, a Phrygian deity! The Roman confused the Jewish Zebaoth or Sabaoth (Jehovah of Hosts) with Sabazius.‡ Read rightly, Valerius Maximus says that the Jews, who came in the embassy, attempted a propaganda against the state religion and that the *prætor peregrinus*, in order to break it up, sent them home.§

for life, hence the *διὰ βίον*; Orell.-Henz. 6144=C. I. L. 10. 3905, from Capua. The *arcosynagogus* proves the existence of a Jewish community. For other rulers of the *synagoge* (*ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*) see C. I. L. 9. 6201, 6205, 6232, and comp. *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 4; also (*γερονισίαρχης*) C. I. L. 9. 6213, 6208, 6221; *ib.* 10. 1893. The *princeps libertinorum* of a Pompeian inscription (C. I. L. 4. 117) is believed by Marini and de Rossi to refer to the Jewish community there. Comp. Acts vi, 9. Jews of northern Italy are represented by a Brixia (Brescia) epitaph (C. I. L. 5. 1. 441): *Coclia Paterna mater synagoges Brixianorum*; and from Pola, across the Adriatic, we have an inscription to one of that class known as *σεβόμενοι* (Orelli-Henz. 2523): *matri pientiss | religioni Iud | aicæ metuenti.*

\* See Acts xxviii, 17-31.

† The epitome of Nepotianus has: *Judæos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit arasque privatas e publicis locis abiecit.* The mention by Valerius of the consuls of the year (139) fixes the date.

‡ Friedlaender (*Sittengeschichte Roms* 3: 617, 6th ed., Leip., 1890) explains the confusion of names on the assumption that the Greek Jews pronounced the word Zebaoth like Sabaoth.

§ The later legislation against Judaism was in many cases aimed at proselyting zeal. Septimius Severus sought to prohibit conversions to Judaism (Spartianus, *Sept. Sev.* 17. 1). The *cod. Theodos.* (16. 8. 1) in 315 A. D. threatened with death Jews who assailed apostates.

Cicero's language, referring to the Jews in his speech *pro Flacco*, while having regard primarily to those of the province of Asia, is such as to make it certain that he is speaking also of the Hebrews of the city. He says: "You know, Lælius, what a crowd of them there is, how they stick together as one man, what influence they have in the public assemblies." And in the same connection he speaks of a *multitudinem Iudaeorum, flagrantem nonnumquam in contionibus*. Horace (*Sat.* 1. 4. 142-143), writing about B. C. 35, playfully threatens one who does not agree with him that he with a company of fellow-poets will come *ac veluti te | Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam*. Among proselytes are to be reckoned not only those who submitted to circumcision, but the "proselytes of the gate," the God-fearing Gentiles\* who kept the Sabbath, burned lights before daybreak of the Sabbath, so that the law forbidding the kindling of fire on the Sabbath need not be violated, and who abstained from swine's flesh.† Many of the references, even of a contemptuous character, to the Sabbath observance and to other Jewish usages prove conclusively the vast number of Jewish adherents. Horace in a well-known passage (*Sat.* 1. 9. 68-72) represents a Roman as breaking away from a friend, who wished on the street to speak of a private matter, with the excuse: "At a more suitable time; to-day is the thirtieth Sabbath. Would you give offense to the circumcised Jews?" "I have no scruple, I reply." "But I have. I am a trifle weak—one of the many. Pardon, but some other time." Here it seems clear that the contempt in the mention of the Jews does not apply to the *unus multorum*. In other words, the person who here would observe the Sabbath is one of a multitude of non-Jewish Sabbath-fearing persons.‡ Ovid in a tone perfectly serious, when urging the lover to miss no opportunity which promised an amour, mentions particularly the Jewish Sabbath as a favorable time, doubtless because of the number of people who made a holiday of it.§ In the *Remed. amor.* he implies the same thing, when in a given case he urges

\* Among these were the φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν and the σεβόμενοι, who, while not practicing the ceremonial law, attended the synagogue and rejected polytheistic worship. Comp. Orell.-Henz. 2523=C. I. L. 5. 1. 88, and Acts of the Apost. x, 2; xiii, 16, 26, 43.

† See Exod. xxxv, 3.

‡ Comp. Persius 5. 179-184.

§ *Ars amat.* 1. 75-76: *nec te praetereat Veneri ploratus Adonis, | cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro.*



the necessity of travel despite the fact that it is the Sabbath.\* Tibullus (1. 3. 18) speaks of the Sabbath as a good excuse along with *aves* and *omina dira* for not starting on a journey. Such passages tend to show how strongly Judaism had entrenched itself in the city of its conquerors. Before the end of the first century the Roman Jews have so multiplied that they are no longer found exclusively in the Trastevere (*regio trans Tiberim*) and the Ghetto. Juvenal (3. 11 *sqq.*) makes the neighborhood of the Porta Capena a habitat of the Jews. The Jewish burial places found in the Subura and Campus Martius prove the dispersion throughout the city.

Several causes contributed to successful propagandism, especially the decay of the old faith and the felt need of something to take its place. The mystery which enveloped Jewish worship appealed to the same curiosity which made the other foreign "mysteries" popular, and which was but one manifestation of a general trend toward orientalism. The "new cults," for example, those of Mithras and Isis, had, as Schucrer † has pointed out, two common attractions, namely, the substitution of some form of monotheism for the bewildering mazes of polytheism and a professed atonement for sin. This tended to satisfy a real religious demand, and Judaism could in this direction outbid any rival cult. But how far beyond mere numerical conquest did Judaism impress itself upon the life of the Roman world? At least, how far is this influence reflected in Latin pagan literature or art? At a time comparatively early—not over five or six years after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius—we have seen Cicero resenting the influence of the Jews in the public assemblies, apparently at Rome. That they early obtained recognition is clear enough. Josephus (*Antiqq.* 14. 10. 1–2) with evident appreciation gives us the decrees of the first Cæsar in behalf of the Jews. He had further commended himself to them in that he had overthrown their old enemy, Pompeius—the man who had outraged their religious sentiments by forcibly entering the Holy of Holies of the temple, where no alien had ever before stood.‡ No won-

\* 219–220:  *nec te peregrina morentur | Sabbata.*

† *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, 2d Div., 2: 302–303. N. Y., 1891.

‡ Pompeius, however, spared the temple and laid no hand upon the immense money treasure therein stored. His restraint was more likely due to "policy" than to *pudor*, as Cicero would have us believe (*pro Flacco* 28. 67). Comp. Livy, epit. cii. and Tac., *H.* 5. 9.

der that Suetonius (*Julius* 84), in writing of the grief manifested in Rome at Cæsar's death, makes especial mention of the Jews, who during whole nights hung in crowds about the place where his body had been burned. The early emperors and many of their successors thought it expedient to favor them so far as to allow them jurisdiction over their own communities; they administered their own funds; their worship was protected by the law; they were exempt from public office and army service.\* In a word, Judaism became at a period comparatively early a fashionable fad along with the cults of Cybele, Isis, and Mithras. The Jewish princes, who from time to time were educated at Rome or lived there as hostages, and who were frequently intimate with the court circle, must have contributed to a better understanding of the "mysteries" of Judaism. For example, the sons of Herod the Great, because of the intimacy of their father with Marcus Agrippa, were educated at Rome.† Herod's grandson, Herodes Agrippa I, was educated there with Drusus, the son of Tiberius and Claudius, whom an odd freak of fortune was destined to make Emperor of Rome, while H. Agrippa's mother, Berenice, during a long residence at Rome, was an intimate friend of Antonia, sister-in-law of the emperor Tiberius. Augustus allowed the Jews to have their way about sending the two-drachmæ tax to Jerusalem,‡ whereas Cicero had praised Flaccus for confiscating in his province of Asia large sums got together for this purpose. Claudius, in an edict given in Josephus (*Antiqq.* 19. 5. 3), grants the Jews complete toleration. The *columbaria* at Rome containing the ashes of the freedmen and slaves of the imperial houses, especially of Claudius, contain names that are evidently Jewish. Likewise was Nero's court in close touch with Jewish influences. If Poppæa, the wife of Nero, was not actually a Jewish proselyte, § she affected to favor what was apparently a fashionable interest in Jewish ceremonial and practices. Josephus in styling this infamous empress a "God-fearing" or "devout" woman (*Antiqq.* 20. 8. 11)

\* Until Hadrian's reign, with the exception of Tiberius's outburst, the Jews appear to have enjoyed immunity from legal persecution.

† Josephus, *Antiqq.* 15. 10. 1.

‡ Josephus, *Antiqq.* 16. 6. 2.

§ Tac. (*Ann.* 16. 6) says that the body of Poppæa was not burned according to Roman custom, but after the usage of foreign kings was embalmed. She also veiled her face (*ib.* 13. 45).



must have referred to her recognition of Judaism and her partiality to his countrymen.\* Jewish beauty invaded even the imperial dwelling on the Palatine. Berenice, the eldest daughter of Herodes Agrippa I and sister of Herodes Agrippa II, the "King Agrippa" of the Acts of the Apostles, was one of the most handsome women of her time and race. Her beauty and riches had been her ruin, but were yet destined to enable her to play for high stakes with the ruler of the world. Her career had been a checkered one before St. Paul made his wonderful appeal in her presence (Acts xxv, 13, 22 *sqq.*). She had been the legal wife of two husbands and, as rumor had it, the paramour of her own brother, with whom she lived. That this had been the gossip of Rome is evident from Juvenal (6. 156-158), where the poet represents an extravagant Roman dame, when shopping, as handling among other very costly articles "a diamond ring famous and more expensive as having adorned the finger of Berenice—a ring which in other days a foreign king presented to his incestuous sweetheart—which Agrippa gave to his sister." Six or seven years later, when, after vainly striving to dissuade their countrymen from war with Rome, policy or necessity made brother and sister the allies of their country's enemies,† Berenice captured the heart of Titus, son of Vespasian, and conqueror of Judæa.‡ The intimacy thus begun was long continued. Some time after the destruction of Jerusalem Berenice went to Rome (in 75 A. D.) and lived on the Palatine as the wife of Titus. Suetonius (*Tit.* 7) says that this *amour* was notorious, that T. had promised to marry her, and he adds, later on: *Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam.*§ In this Vespasian may have had a hand, for after his death in 79 she returned to Rome. But Titus had recovered his head and refused to recognize the former object of his passion. With her return to Palestine she disappears from history.

\* Comp. Josephus, *Life* § 3.

† Tac. (*H.* 2. 81), narrating the movements by which Vespasian became emperor, says: *ne minore animo regina Berenice partes inibat, florens aetate formaque.*

‡ Tac. (*H.* 2. 2), referring to Titus's sudden return to his father from Corinth (he was en route to Rome from Judæa), says: *fuertint qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus.*

§ This agrees exactly with what Aurelius Victor (*Epitom.* 10. 7) says. The same author gives an illustration of Titus's great jealousy of her (*ibid.* 10. 4). Quintilian's mention of her refers probably to that period in her life when she lived with Titus. Q. tells us (*Inst. orat.* 4. 1. 19) that he argued a case for Queen Berenice in which she herself was *iudex*.

Seneca, not later than 65 A. D., acknowledged that the conquered Jews gave laws to the conquerors\*—a sentiment echoed by a hostile writer centuries later.†

Antoninus Pius permitted circumcision in the case of native Jews.‡ From Ulpian (*Dig.* 50. 2. 3. 3) we learn that a "constitution" of Septimius Severus and Caracalla opened to the Jews the highest honors under conditions which recognized their scruples. Elagabalus thought that the Jewish worship should have a place in his Pantheon.§ Alexander Severus *Judaeis privilegia reservavit.* ||¶ These repeated favors are but a reflection of the influence that Judaism must have been able to exert.

How far did the representatives of literature and of the educated classes appreciate the virtues of Judaism? What was their treatment of it, when they began to realize its power? Their answer was a string of charges, based on ignorant prejudice and a hatred which manifested its venom in studied contempt and willful misrepresentation. The Romans could not, or would not, understand the significance of Jewish institutions and usages. Abstinence from swine flesh, the Sabbath observance, with its respite from toil, imageless worship, circumcision, fasting, and contempt for art excited mingled disgust, credulity, and hatred. We have seen that those who more or less strictly kept the Sabbath constituted a great multitude, but the gap between the crowd and the literary class was a wide one, and upon the latter must we depend for our information. Juvenal (14. 97 *sqq.*) speaks of proselytes who, abstaining from the pork from which their fathers abstained, put the same estimate on the flesh of pigs and men, and in another place\*\* he jests about the country where a long-continued mercy (abstinence) has made it possible for pigs to attain advanced age. Macrobius (*Saturn.* 2. 4. 11), writing of the jokes of old-time and famous

\* St. Augustine (*de civ. dei* 6. 11): *De illis sane Judaeis cum loqueretur, ait* [sc. Seneca] *cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes terras recepta sit: victi victoribus leges dederunt.*"

† See Claudius Rutilius Namatianus: *de reditu suo*, ed. L. Mueller (1. 398): *Victoresque suos natio victa premit.*

‡ *Digesta* 48. 8. 11.

§ Aelius Lampridius, *Heliogab.* 3. 5.

|| Ael. Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.* 22. 4.

¶ The treatment of Judaism by the Christian emperors as revealed in the legal codes is beyond the scope of this paper.

\*\* 6. 160 *et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.*



men, says that when Augustus was told of Herod's cruelty in ordering the "slaughter of the innocents" under two years, and that among them was a child of Herod himself, the emperor remarked, "It is better to be Herod's hog than his son." The Roman liked pork and esteemed the boar as the *pièce de résistance* of a dinner.\* He interpreted the Jew's refusal to eat swine as an insult and a reflection upon his taste in matters of the table. Tacitus explained their abstinence from pork on the assumption that the pig is subject to leprosy (*scabies*), † from which the Jews had suffered. ‡ Seneca (*Epp.* 108. 22) seems to have in mind Jewish abstinence from certain meats and to the "talk" (*calumniæ*) engendered thereby.

The references to the Sabbath found in the Latin writers may have been based more on misunderstanding than on malice. When Tacitus, in *Hist.* 5. 3, hints at the origin of the rest-day as due to the leprosy and the consequent exile, he is probably using a source that was common to Justinus. To prove the Jews to be leprous Egyptians would be to make them out the very offscouring of earth. §

The Sabbath *rest* the pagans never understood, or, if they did, they purposely misrepresented it as *laziness*. Juvenal || reproaches the proselyte with being made a Jew by a father who spent the seventh day in doing nothing and held aloof from the things that men consider necessary. Seneca (cited by St. Augustine, *de civ. dei* 6. 11) made the same objection to the Sabbath, that it was wrong to waste one seventh of our time and thus neglect matters that urgently need attention. The same moralist, in *Epp.* 95. 47, says: "Away with the lighting of lamps on the Sabbath. Surely the gods do not need a light, and even men do not enjoy soot." Three hundred years later, when Rutilius Claudius Namatianus wrote, the Jewish race is characterized as the source of pure folly, in love with their *frigida sabbata*. ¶ As early as Tibullus (1. 3. 18) the seventh

\* Juvenal 1. 141 of the boar: *animal propter convivia natum.*

† Justinus (36. 2. 12) calls the leprosy *scabiem et vitiliginem.*

‡ Tac., *H.* 5. 4.

§ The source of these slanders was doubtless Alexandria. See Jos., *contra Apion.* 2. 2, where the origin of the word Sabbath is an Egyptian word = ulcer. Comp. Just. 36. 2, with the very different account of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 4).

|| 14. 105. *Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux | ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.*

¶ The *Scholia Bernensia* to Vergil (ed. H. Hagen, Lips., 1867), *Georg.* 1. 336, have three notes to the word *frigida*, of which the second reads: *satis cognitum est, Saturni stellam frigidam esse et ideo apud Iudaeos Saturni die frigidos cibos esse.*

day is referred to as *dies Saturni*.\* The Romans seem to have fallen into the mistake of supposing that the Sabbath was a necessary fast day with the Jews. † Martial (4. 4. 7) compares “the fasting breath of Sabbath-fearing women” of Domitian’s time to sundry vile and malodorous things. Suetonius (*Aug.* 76) represents Augustus as remarking that no Jew kept his Sabbath fast so scrupulously as he had fasted on a given day. That the Jews fasted much is clear enough (Luke xviii, 12). Tacitus remarks (*II.* 5. 4) that they still commemorate the long-continued famine of older times by frequent fastings, and that their use of unleavened bread is a proof of the corn that they seized (to satisfy hunger).

Another object of particular ridicule was the Jewish “worship without images.” This seemed to the Roman a contradiction of terms and, as we shall see, soon resolved itself into a charge of atheism. Nothing connected with Judaism was so hard for Roman comprehension as this Hebrew God—spiritual, invisible, and still the basis of an elaborate ceremonial worship. In one breath the Jew is styled an atheist, in another he becomes a worshiper of the sky or of a pig. Now his god is Sabazius, or Bacchus, now the golden ass which, it was believed, had been set up in the Holy of Holies. The position of the Jew was to the Roman untenable. The latter had a place in his Pantheon for representatives of all cults; the Jew recognized no Pantheon. The man who could not, at least silently, tolerate the gods of his adopted country, but pronounced them spurious, put himself outside the pale of civilization and proclaimed himself an Ishmaelite. He was an “atheist.” ‡ Tacitus (*II.* 5. 5) represents the proselyte as carefully taught to despise the gods of his fathers. . . . “The Egyptians venerate several animals and the representations of them that they make. The Jews know but one God and know him only spiritually (*mente sola*), considering as impious those who fashion images of the gods in human likeness, and believing that Deity is supreme, eternal, inimitable, imperishable. Accordingly they allow no images

\* Petronius (*fragm.* 37) probably refers to this: *ni tamen et ferro succiderit inguinis oram | et nisi nodatum solverit arte caput, | exemptus populo Graia migrabit ab urbe | et non ieiuna sabbata lege premet.* Also Fronto: *Epist. ad M. Caes.* 2. 7 (ed. Naber, 1867, p. 32): *Nec aliter Kal. Sept. expecto, quam superstitiosi stellam qua visa ieiunium pollutant.*

† Comp. Censorinus 11. 6; Ovid, *A. A.* 1. 415-417.

‡ Pliny (*N. H.* 13 § 46) says that the Jews were a *gens contumelia numinum insignis*.



(*simulacra*) in their cities, much less in their temples." The historian adds (*ib.* 5. 4) that whatever Romans regard as sacred the Jew considers as profane; the Jew believes it right to do what the Romans consider *incesta*; . . . he offers up a ram as if to insult Juppiter Hammon; the ox which the Egyptians revere as Apis the Jew sacrifices. Juvenal (14. 96 *sqq.*) says that certain persons [Jews], descendants of a father who keeps the Sabbath, worship nothing except the clouds and the divinity of the sky (*numen caeli*)—that is, they have no God! Petronius (*frag.* 37) goes a step farther and ridicules the Jew as a hog worshiper as well as a sky worshiper.\* This is worse than Lucan, who says (*Phar.* 2. 592) that the Jews are given up to the worship of an unknown god: *dedita sacris | incerti Iudaea dei*. This language is eminently respectful compared with the insulting charge of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 4), namely, that the Jews consecrated and set up the image of an ass in the Holy of Holies,† because a herd of wild asses led Moses to a rock out of whose veins he got an abundant supply of water when they were about to perish on the march. Hence the nickname *asinarii*, which, applied to the Jews, is to be traced to Alexandria, for it is one of the slanders of Apion which Josephus styles "a palpable lie" (*contra Ap.* 2. 7). Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) further informs his countrymen that the impression that Bacchus was an object of Jewish worship—a belief due to the sacred music of pipes and timbrels, and to the famous golden vine of the temple ‡—was erroneous, inasmuch as there is nothing common between the festive Bacchanalia and the absurd and mean practice of the Jews. §

As might be expected, hardly anything receives more contemptuous mention than circumcision, though other peculiarities, such as fasting, burning of lights, use of unleavened bread, abstinence from meat, come in for their share. Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) explains circumcision as due to a desire to be recognized as different from other people (*ut diversitate noscantur*). The ancient horror of human mutilation operated to intensify the

\* *Iudaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret | et caeli summas advocet auriculas.*

† But he says (*H.* 5. 9) that Pompeius entered the Holy Place and found it empty, and, further, (*ib.* 5. 5) that the Jews allowed no representation of Deity.

‡ Josephus, *Antiqq.* 15. 11. 3.

§ And nothing seemed too absurd! Ael. Lampridius, *Heliogabalus* 28. 4: *struthocamelos exhibuit [Heliogabalus] in cenis aliquotiens, dicens praeceptum Iudaeis, ut ederent.*

abhorrence and contempt for those who practiced circumcision, which must have seemed to the Romans but a form of mutilation.\* Claudius Namatianus (*de reditu suo* 1. 387, 388), about 415 A. D., only voices an abhorrence common to many preceding generations in his *reddimus obscaenae convicia debita genti, | quae genitule caput propudiosa metit*. Imperial legislation against it recognizes this as fully as the necessity of checking proselytism. Hence laws against circumcision were not made applicable to Jews alone: the prohibition was general. (See Jul. Paullus, *Sent.* 5. 22. 3-4 in *Jurisprudentiæ Ante-Justin.*, ed. Huschke, 5th edit.) According to the *Digesta* 48. 8. 4. 2 (comp. Paulus, *Sent.* 5. 22. 3, 4), castration is treated as homicide, and circumcision and castration were not regarded as worthy of different treatment.†

It is generally assumed that Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision was the cause of the great Jewish uprising led by Simeon bar Koziba.‡ It is more likely that the attempt of the emperor to rebuild the place of the Holy City with the pagan Aelia Capitolina, having a temple to the heathen Jupiter on the site of the temple of Jehovah, drove the Jews to desperation. The bitterness of the subsequent struggle makes for this view. Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, restricted the prohibition of circumcision to Gentiles.§

Further, the Jew was charged with practicing sorcery, with avarice, with social exclusiveness and hatred of mankind, with immorality, with contempt for art, and with disloyalty to Rome. What have Roman writers to say about these charges?¶

Moses's wonder-working before Pharaoh gave him a wide reputation as magician, which long outlasted his time—a reputation in which Abraham somewhat shared! Abraham's origin as a Chaldean may have had something to do with this. ||

\* Juvenal in 14. 99 *sqq.* seems to hint at Jewish circumvention of a law against circumcision: *nox et praepulcia ponunt; | Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges—Judaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius, | tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses*. Petronius (*fragm.* 37. 1-4) contemptuously mentions the hog worshiper as the circumcised. In *Satir.* § 102 he refers to circumcision as distinctly Jewish. Martial's (7. 30) compares the circumcised Jew with the scum of the earth. Comp. *Id.* 7. 35. 3-4.

† The act of 415 A. D. against circumcision is plainly directed against Jewish proselyting. Comp. *Dig.* 48. 8. 11.

‡ See Spartianus, *Hadrianus* 1. 14. 2: *moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia*.

§ See *Dig.* 48. 8. 11.

|| As late as the fourth century Firmicus Maternus regards Abraham as a master in astrology.



Pliny (*N. H.* 30 § 11), in a chapter on the origin of magic, makes Jannes, Lotapes or Jotapes (? Jambres), and Moses representatives of a class of magicians (*alia magices factio*). Justinus makes Moses the inheritor of his father, Joseph's (!), magical powers, whose story he gives.\* In Apuleius (*de Magia* 90) Moses is mentioned along with Jannes and other great magicians.† Comp. 2 Tim. iii, 8. Certain is it that the Jews are represented as making a business of fortune-telling and exorcism, and had a reputation for dealing in the black art.‡ The old Jewess was the gypsy hag of antiquity.§ Juvenal (6. 542 *sqq.*) classes the Jewish fortune-teller with other immoral and lying cheats; for example, with the Isis priests and the Chaldean soothsayers. No sooner has the priest of Isis taken his departure from the house of the typical woman of the period, when the Jewish hag enters: *Cum dedit ille locum, cophino faenoque relicto | arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem, | interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos | arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli. | Implet et illa manum, sed percius; aere minuto | qualiacumque voles, Iudaei somnia vendunt.*

The charge of avarice probably grew out of jealousy, commercial or otherwise. Jewish settlements were trade settlements. Especially at Alexandria did the Jew come into rivalry with the Greek, and to this same Alexandrian Greek are to be traced many of the anti-Semitic slanders of the time. The large amount of gold exported as temple tax from Italy

\* 36. 2. *Post Damascenum Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israel reges* [of Damascus] *fuere. Sed Israhelem felix decem filiorum proventus maioribus suis clariorem fecit. Itaque populum in decem regna divisum filiis tradidit, omnesque ex nomine Iudae, qui post divisionem decesserat, Iudaeos appellavit, colique memoriam eius ab omnibus iussit, cuius portio omnibus accesserat. Minimus actate inter fratres Ioseph fuit, cuius excellens ingenium fratres veriti clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt. A quibus deportatus in Aegyptum, cum magicas tibi artes sollerti ingenio percepisset, brevi ipsi regi percarus fuit. Nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat et somniorum primus intelligentiam condidit, nihilque divini iuris humanique ei incognitum videbatur: adeo ut etiam sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos providerit; perissetque omnis Aegyptus fame, nisi monitu eius rex edicto servari per multos annos fruges fuisse; tantaque experimenta eius fuerunt, ut non ab homine, sed a deo responsa viderentur. Filius eius Moses fuit, quem praeter paternae scientiae hereditatem etiam formae pulchritudo commendabat.*

† See Trebellius Pollio, *Claudius* 2. 4.

‡ Flavius Vopiscus (*Saturn.* 8. 3) makes Hadrian say: *Nemo illic* [that is, in Egypt] *archisynagogus Iudaeorum, nemo Samarites . . . non mathematicus, non haruspex.*

§ The Syrian woman mentioned by Valerius Maximus (*Epit. Jan. Nepotianus*) 1. 3. 4 (*Syram mulierem Marius in castris habebat sacerdotam, ex cuius se auctoritate assereret omnia aggredi*) was likely a Jewess.

and the provinces to Jerusalem seems to have excited the cupidity of the Romans. *Unde auctae Iudaeorum res* are the words of Tacitus (*II. 5. 5*) in referring to this. Nearly 300 A. D. Flavius Vopiseus (*Saturnin. 8. 7*) asserts that the Jews have but one god, and that his name is Lucre.

The charge of social and religious exclusiveness admitted of easier proof. This clannishness was not inconsistent with the fact that "Judaism was an effective leaven of cosmopolitanism and of national decomposition." The high-sounding claim of the Jew, that he represented a chosen people and that others were his inferiors, seemed to the Roman a ridiculous claim, when set up by an insignificant people inhabiting a small province. Rome tried to break down the old national barriers: it was exasperating that the Jew sought to thwart the attempt. According to Tacitus (*II. 5. 5*) the Jews will neither eat nor sleep with aliens, and, while as a race they are most libidinous, they refuse to intermarry with other nations. Even their obligation to each other appears to be "obstinacy," and, while they are mutually sympathetic, they show *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. Justinus (36. 2. 15) explains this clannishness on the ground that the prudential non-intercourse with foreigners, growing out of the old Egyptian lie about the leprosy contagion, became a religious obligation. Juvenal\* and Tacitus unite in representing this clannishness as carried so far that the circumcised would not, except to fellow-Jews, point out a highway or direct to a spring of water.†

The Jew was not only a man-hater, *he was vicious and immoral*. Seneca, who as a moralist might be expected to have some appreciation of the morality underlying Jewish practices, can see in them nothing better than a *sceleratissima gens*.‡ Tacitus, who assumes the virtue of impartiality, outdoes their enemies in calling them *proiectissima ad libidinem gens* and in sexual matters *inter se nil illicitum* (*II. 5. 5*). There is not much doubt that the immoral tendencies of Egyptian worship were laid equally at the door of Judaism. The Roman knew the Egyptian origin of the Jews, § and likely assumed that, before

\* 14. 103-104: (sc. solent) non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti, | quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.

† The enthusiasm of Claudius Namatianus for paganism leads him to go out of his way to assail both Christianity and Judaism: *Radix stultitiae: cui frigida sabbata corat, | sed cor frigidius religione sua* (1. 389-390).

‡ *Fragm. 42* (ed. Haase, Lelp., 1878).

§ See Tacitus, *H. 5. 3*.



the Jews left Egypt, their religion was Egyptian. That the Jewish worship was confounded with that of Isis is clear, and the Isis priest, whose linen robes and fillets reminded the indiscriminating crowd of the priests of Jehovah,\* was recognized as a corrupter of women. In the reign of Tiberius the Jews and Egyptians were *together* expelled from Rome.†

The Hebrew's *opposition to art* was a religious one, or, at least in part, a result of his law, which forbade the making of human figures.‡ Because he carried it so far as to refuse to erect statues in honor of the Cæsars, his enemies converted the refusal into a *charge of disloyalty* to Rome. How groundless was the charge is shown by the well-known custom of offering temple sacrifice for the emperor and the Roman people twice each day. Still Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) will have it that the proselytes are taught to despise the gods of the state and to ignore the claims of country. In sharp contrast to other provincials was the Jew's refusal to undertake magistracies, as we have seen (*cod. Theod.* 12. 1. 158), and to fight in the armies of the empire. This fairly earned reputation as seditious and discontented subjects of Rome the Hebrews maintained long after every hope of national rehabilitation had vanished. When the emperor Marcus Aurelius was in Judæa *en route* to Egypt, disgusted with the filthy and seditious Jews, he is said to have exclaimed: "*O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni!*" §

The ignorance and prejudice of the Romans as to matters Jewish is especially patent when we take into account the treatment of Judaism by the historians, and this, too, when Rome was full of Jews, when appeal might have been made to their sacred books, and when Judaism had been ably defended by its own representatives. This prejudice degenerates too frequently into studied contempt or hardly disguised hatred. Of the Romans who wrote in Latin of Jewish affairs the most voluminous is Tacitus. In view of his professions of fairness we have a right to expect that he will seriously look into the history of the people of whose origin he writes. Instead of so

\* C. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, Lond., 1872, vi, 432, n. 1.

† Sueton., *Tiberius* 36; Tacit., *Ann.* 2. 85.

‡ See Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* 2. 10. 4.

§ Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 5. 5. Various readings for *inquietiores* are *inertiores*, *detertiores*, and *incertiores*.

doing, he apparently assumes the task of maligning a whole race and of rendering unpopular a people whose religion a multitude of his countrymen had evidently come to believe in and respect. We have already seen Tacitus serving as retailer of the Egyptian falsifiers who systematically misrepresented things Jewish. No one can read what Josephus says about the falsifications of Manetho (*contra Ap.* 1. 25 *sqq.*), of Cheremon (*ib.* 32, 33), and of Lysimachus (*ib.* 34, 35) without believing that Tacitus used either these writers or J. himself. In the latter event, the historian has left himself without excuse, for he has purposely overlooked the account of Josephus and culled out the malicious fabrications which Josephus only mentions that he may fairly answer them. In narrating the origin of the Jews Tacitus (*II.* 5. 2) indulges in a tissue of absurdities, historical and etymological, referring the Jews, according to hearsay, successively to Crete, to Aethiopia, to Assyria, and even to the Solymi, "a people celebrated in the Homeric poems."\* The whole account is calculated to make the reader believe that these people were national pariahs, who had no history, no God, and no worship that could commend itself to rational men. Even Jewish patriotism becomes in the eyes of Tacitus a culpable obstinacy.† But ignorance and expressed contempt are not to be predicated of Tacitus only. Justinus (36. 2) has an account of the origin of the Jews worthy of comparison with that of Tacitus. Cicero, who was in most matters no narrow bigot, probably voices the opinion of the educated classes when he compares the Jews as a nation of slaves with the Syrians.‡ In *pro Flacco* 28 Judaism is a *barbara superstitio*. And this was the view commonly entertained of it.§ Suetonius (*Aug.* 93) thinks it worthy of mention that Augustus *Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit*, and, after bringing to a successful issue a great struggle, of which the most dreadful siege of ancient times was the culmination, neither Vespasian nor Titus was

\* *Iliad* 6. 184, 204; *Od.* 5. 283.

† Tacitus (*H.* 5. 10) (writing of Vespasian before the siege of Jerusalem): *augebat iras, quod soli Iudaei non cessissent*.

‡ In *orat. de prov. cons.* chap. 5, Cic. says that Gabinius delivered the publicani *in servitum Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti*.

§ Comp. Seneca cited by St. Augustine, *de civ. dei* 6. 11; Tac., *Ann.* 2. 85, and *H.* 2. 4; 5. 8; Quint. 3. 7. 21; Pliny, *Panegy.* 49. 8; Apuleius, *Flor.* 1. 6; Servius to Verg., *A.* 8. 137; *Digesta* 50. 2. 3. 3. Comp. Horace, *Sat.* 1. 5. 97-101.



willing to assume the name *Judaicus*, as was to be expected. The Jew is consistently represented by Juvenal and Martial as a low, poor wretch and an object of public insult—a marked contrast to his condition at an earlier time.\* These writers both picture him as a chronic beggar, as when Martial (12. 57. 13) speaks of “the Jew who has been trained by his mother”—who begged before him—“to beg.” In order to paint as darkly as possible the neglect by his countrymen of a site hallowed by the Numa myth, Juvenal† pictures the place as inhabited by poverty-stricken Jews—so poor that the trees are their shelter by night, and their goods and chattels a basket for begging, and a bundle of hay on which to sleep. Even when Martial (11. 94) addresses a Jewish poet (*Solymis . . . natus in ipsis*) it is in the most insulting tone. Juvenal (3. 296 *sqq.*), in describing the night dangers of the Roman streets, makes the drunken bully who assaults Umbricius add insult to injury by calling him a Jewish beggar: *Ede ubi consistas; in qua te quaero proseucha?* Sometimes the insult was carried so far as to outrage decency and private rights. Suetonius (*Domit.* 12), after the statement that the two-drachmæ poll tax imposed on the Jews was under Domitian collected with extreme rigor, adds that when a young man he was present in a crowded assembly as a state official physically examined a man ninety years of age to ascertain whether, having been circumcised, he was subject to the tax.‡

We have seen how the peculiar attitude of the Hebrew excited contempt and even hatred. This must have been intensified in no slight degree by the bitterness of the great struggle which ended with the capture of Jerusalem.§ How far is this

\* Rank, military service, and high place did not stand between him and the taunts of the satirist. There is not much doubt that the object of Juvenal's insulting words, 1-129-131—

*Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere  
Nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,  
Cuius ad effigiem non tantum mœriere fas est*

(*sc. sed etiam cacare*: Fried. Juv. ad loc.)—is none other than the Alexandrian Jew Tiberius Julius Alexander, nephew of Philo, procurator of Judea, procurator of Egypt, soldier in the Parthian and Jewish wars. Comp. Suet., *Vespas.* 6; Tac., *Ann.* 15. 28, *Hist.* 1. 11; *ib.* 2. 74 and 79. For a time much later see Claud. Claudianus, in *Eutrop.* 1. 220-221.

† 3. 12-16.

*Hic, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituēbat amicae,  
Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur  
Iudaels, quorum cophinus faenumque suppellex,  
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est  
Arbor et electis mendicat silva Camenis.*

‡ To this sort of thing Martial 7. 55. 7-8 refers.

§ As individuals the Jews seem to have been law-abiding, attending to legitimate means of acquiring wealth. Incidental allusions, such as Justinus (40. 2. 4) makes to Jewish brigands in Syria, prove nothing.

later conventional Roman opinion reflected in the treatment to which the Jew was subjected by his conqueror? We have seen at various times evidences of liberal treatment at the hands of the Roman. Tacitus (*H.* 5. 9), after recognizing that Pompeius was of Romans the first to subdue the Jews, seems to assume that some defense of his action in entering the Holy of Holies is necessary. Cicero (*pro Flacco* 28) seems to consider it a mark of great virtue in Pompeius that he did not steal the vast temple treasure, attributing it to "pudor!" But the political unrest of the Jew continually involved him in trouble. After the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius in B. C. 63, Roman and Jew stood as enemies face to face. The brevity of treatment by the historians is only too indicative of the contempt or ignorance commonly entertained for the conquered people.\* Tacitus disposes of the career of Herod the Great in two or three lines—scant notice for a man of whom Josephus (*Antiqq.* 15. 10. 3) can say, "Whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar and then Agrippa, who was his principal favorite, Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod beside Cæsar."

In the year 19 A. D., during Tiberius's reign, the senate, moved by some dreadful exposure,† proceeded against the Isis worship, and Judaism, for reasons already mentioned, seems to have been confounded with the Egyptian cult. What happened we know from Tacitus (*An.* 2. 85): "Measures were taken to rid Rome of the Egyptian and Jewish cults, and the senate voted that four thousand men of the freedman class, contaminated by that superstition and of proper [military] age, should be transported to Sardinia for the purpose of putting a check upon the banditti there. It was assumed that, should they perish there because of the unhealthiness of the climate it would be small loss (*vile damnum*). As to the rest, it was further decreed that, unless before a given day they abandoned their unholy rites, they should withdraw from Italy." It is quite clear,

\* Julius Florus (40. 30) says: *verum hanc quoque et intravit [Pompeius] et videt illud grande impiae gentis arcanum patens, sub aurea vite cillum*. Aurelius Victor (*de virt illustr.* c. 77) disposes of the Jewish war with *atque Iudaeos cum magno sui terrore penetravit [Pompeius]*. Pliny (*N. H.* 7 § 98) and Ammianus Marcellinus (14. 8. 12) are almost as brief. Comp. also *epit.* to Bk. 102 of Livy. The limits of this paper preclude more than an illustrative use of the statements of the historians.

† See also Jos., *Antiqq.* 18. 3. 4, 5.



from Suet., *Tiberius* 36, that the Jews are referred to here.\* Tacitus's reference (*H.* 5. 9) to the demand of Caligula, that his supreme divinity should be acknowledged in the temple, utterly fails to recognize the monstrosity of the idea to a monotheistic Jew, who could tolerate no human image whatever. That of all the procurators, † Tacitus characterizes Felix, brother of the notorious Pallas, the favorite freedman of Claudius himself, as preeminently outrageous and vile is abundant proof that other accounts of his rule are not overdrawn. The historian says (*H.* 5. 9): ‡ “Antonius Felix, distinguishing himself for cruelty and licentiousness of every sort, exercised with the spirit of a slave a despotism worthy of a tyrant.” In view of Tacitus's explicit mention of Christ (*Ann.* 15. 44) as founder of the Christians and his execution under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa, what are we to think of the statement of Suetonius? § Is it a case of crass ignorance? ¶ The *impulsore Chresto* will admit of more than one explanation. *Chrestus* may have been a Jewish false Messiah at Rome, with the real or assumed name *Chrestus*. The name *Chrestus*—*χρηστός*, “good, gentle,” was not rare at Rome. ¶ It is more than likely that the Jews and Christians were confounded in Roman imagination and that Suetonius blunders, placing Christ, whom he misnamed *Chrestus*, at Rome instead of Jerusalem. The difference in pronunciation between *Chrestus* and *Christus* was very slight, and the latter—“the anointed one,” would mean nothing to a pagan Gentile.\*\*

Tacitus's description of Jerusalem and account of the great rebellion ††—the end of which was coincident with the collapse of the Jewish nation—fragmentary though it is, because of the

\* Comp. Tac., *H.* 5. 9. This is not likely inconsistent with the statement of *Ann.* 2. 42, made relative to the year 17, that Judæa and Syria, overburdened with taxation, prayed for relief, and that “the young Germanicus” was sent with extraordinary power to the East to pacify the malcontents.

† Tacitus mentions other procuratores and legati, as do the inscriptions, for example, Wilm. 1622 a=C. I. L. 3. 5776; *ib.* 3, p. 857, priv. veter. xiv; *ib.* 10. 4862 (Sext. Vettulenus Cerialis).

‡ Tac. *Ann.* 12. 54 ought to be read. Comp. Acts chap. xxiv.

§ *Claud.* 25: *Iudæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.*

¶ Dio Cassius (60. 6) informs us that the proposed expulsion of the Jews was abandoned. Comp. Acts xviii, 2.

¶ See Cic. *ad faml.* 2. 8. 1 and the Indexes to the volumes of the *C. I. L.*

\*\* On the misuse of *Chrestus* for *Christus*, see Tertullian, *Apol.* 3; *Id. ad nat.* 1. 3; Lactantius, *Instit. divin.* 4. 7.

†† See Tac., *H.* 1. 10; 2. 4; 5. 1 and 10 *sqq.*

lost books, is most interesting. Too long to quote here, it should be read in connection with the account of Josephus.

Other writers add but little to the fragments of Tacitus. Suetonius \* glorifies Titus's personal prowess in the final assault. The inscription on the arch of Titus (*C. I. L.* 6. 945= *Wilm.* 923), erected in Rome by the senate to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem, ignores any mention of the Jewish war; but the *relief* inside the arch shows the triumphal procession with men bearing sacred vessels brought from the temple.† However, another arch, dedicated to Titus, which stood in the Circus Maximus until the fourteenth or fifteenth century, alludes to the capture of Jerusalem in language needlessly false.‡ These reminders of the past, no less than the coinage of the Flavian emperors with its IVDAEA CAPTA, IVDAEA DEVICTA, must have stung the survivors to the quick (*Eckhel, Doctr. Num.* 6. 326, 354, 2d edit.). Especially galling to men who recalled the splendor of the old temple§ and had seen that splendor disappear amid fire and carnage must have been the tribute paid to maintain the worship of the Capitoline Jupiter.¶ That the Messianic hope was the mainspring of the unrest, which culminated in revolt, receives countenance from Suetonius (*Vespas.* 4): *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et con-*

\* *Tit.* 5: *Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque cum natali filiae suae.* Eutropius (see 7. 21 sqq.) says the same thing. Aurelius Victor (*Tit.* 10) has not a word about the Jewish war; comp. *Id de Caesar, Vespas.* 9. 10. More interesting is the picture which Valerius Flaccus (in his dedication of the *Argonautica* to Vespasian) gives of Titus at the siege: *versam proles tua pandet Idumen | (namque potest), Solymo ac nigramem pulvere fratrem | spargentemque facces, et in omni turre furentem.* Comp. *Martial* 2. 2. 5.

† On the fate of the golden candlestick, etc., see R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Bost., 1889), p. 290 sqq.

‡ *C. I. L.* 6. 944= *Wilm.* 922: SENATUS . POPULUSQ . ROMANUS IMP . TITO . CAESARI . DIVI . VESPASIANI . F . VESPASIANO . AUGUSTO . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POT . X . IMP . XVII . COS . VIII . P . P . PRINCIPI . SUO . QUOD . PRAECEPTIS . PATRIS . CONSILIIQ . ET . AUSPICIIIS . GENTEM . IUDAEORUM . DOMUIT . ET . URBEM . HIERSOLYMAM . OMNIB . ANTE . SE . DUCIBUS . REGIBUS . GENTIBUS . AUT . FRUSTRA . PETITAM . AUT . OMNINO . INTEMPTATAM DELEVIT. This ignores the repeated capture of Jerusalem by the Egyptian kings, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes in B. C. 168 (*Justin.* 36. 1. 1; comp. 36. 3. 8-9) and Pompeius. Comp. *Seneca, Suasor.* 2§ 21. Other witnesses to the siege are the seals found on the Mount of Olives and under the debris of the city and bearing the inscription LXF or LXFRE= *legio X. Fretensis* (*Eph. Epigr.* 2. 346, p. 293; *ib.* 5, 1441, p. 618), which receives interpretation in the fact that the tenth legion was the one left by Titus in charge of the ruined city. The coin of Vespasian, VICTORIA NAVALIS (*Eckhel* 6, p. 330; comp. *Eph. Epigr.* 3. p. 331), commemorates Vespasian's naval victory on Lake Gennesaret, described by Josephus, *Wars of Jews*, 3. 10. 9, 10.

§ As late as 400 A. D. the *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 14 forbade the collection of the Jewish tax for the maintenance of the temple worship.

¶ If the coin FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA (*Eckh.* 6, p. 404) can be depended upon, there would appear to have been some amelioration in the matter of the two-drachmæ tax.



*stans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu paruit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellaverunt.\** The Romans naturally referred this prophecy to Vespasian, hailed emperor by the legions of Syria, of which Judæa was a part.

But Jewish patriotism was not dead. When Trajan died Hadrian inherited the bequest of mingled power and trouble. The result of the last desperate struggle for Palestine (132-135 A. D.), precipitated apparently by Hadrian's attempt to rebuild Jerusalem † (from which the Jew was barred by royal mandate), and led by Simeon bar Koziba (Barcochebas), surnamed "the Son of the Star" (Num. xxiv, 17), could not be doubtful. (Comp. Spartianus, *Hadr.* 5. 2 and 14. 2.) The issue of this forlorn hope was absolute ruin. Still, the obstinacy of the Jew made the Roman victory costly. ‡ Even the later coinage calls to mind the fact that the cup of Jewish bitterness was not yet full. The very name of the sacred city was to give place to a pagan one—Aelia Capitolina §—by which the Jew must be reminded at once of his conqueror and of the triumph of the

\* Various stories are told by Tacitus and Suetonius of prophecies which foretold to Vespasian the power that afterward became his. For examples, Tac., *H. 2. 78*: *Est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus [mt. range through a part of Galilee and across Phœnicia to the sea]: ita vocant montem deumque [that is, whose oracle was there]; nec simulacrum deo aut templum,—sic tradidere maiores—arantantum et reverentia. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos, inspectis identidem extis, "Quicquid est," inquit, "Vespasianic, quod paras, seu domum exstruere seu prolatiare agros sive ampliari servitium, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum."* Has ambages et statim creperat fama et tunc aperiebat. Suet. (*Vespas.* 5) tells the same story, adding, *et unus ex nobilibus captivis Iosephus, cum coiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem [that is, Vespasian] brevi solveretur, verum iam imperatore.* Comp. Josephus's own account, *Wars of Jews* 3. 8-9. See also Cicero, *de divinit.* 2. 54. 110 sqq.

† We know from coins and inscriptions that Hadrian was in Syria in 130-131 A. D.; for example, coins with ADVENTUI AVGVSTI IUDAEA, Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* 6. 495. *C. I. L.* 3. 116 (found at Jerusalem) is a reminder of H.'s visit: *imp. caes. TITO. AEL. HADRIANO | ANTONINO AVGVSTO | P. P. PONTIF. AVGVSTI | D. D. [=decurionum decreto]*. The title *Imp. II.* was doubtless conferred upon Hadrian in recognition of the Jewish war. See *C. I. L.* 6. 975 and 976=Orelli-H. 813 and 2286 and *C. I. L.* 14. 3577. *Comp. C. I. L.* 6. 974=Orelli-H. 5457. *C. I. L.* 3. 2830 mentions the ornamenta triumphalia conferred upon Julius Severus, who was transferred from Britain to Judæa to suppress the revolt.

‡ Dio (69. 14) gives the number that perished in battle as 580,000—but a small part of the total loss by plague and famine. Fronto, *de bello Parth.*, in a letter to M. Aurelius (ed. Naber, Lelp., 1867, pp. 217-218), says, *quid? avo vestro Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum a Iudaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum?* The desperate character of the war is also attested by the inscriptions which prove the participation of legions and auxiliaries, some of them from outlying provinces, where they had long been located. See, for example, *C. I. L.* 14. 3610=Orelli. 6501; *C. I. L.* 6. 3505; *ib.* 6. 1523=Orelli-H. 5480; *C. I. L.* 10. 3733=Orelli-H. 832; Orelli-H. 3571. Even the Syrian fleet was called upon, for example, *C. I. L.* 8. 8934=Orelli-H. 6924 and *C. I. L.* 6. 1565 (*Eph. Epigr.* 3, p. 331). See also *C. I. L.* 8. 6706=Orelli-H. 6500.

§ See Eckhel 3, p. 441 sqq.; HELYA CAPITOLINA, in the *Tabula Peutinger.*; *C. I. L.* 3. 116.

chief representative of the pagan's gods.\* As if this were not enough, the site of the Holy Place must be desecrated by a temple erected to the Capitoline Juppiter. The old unrest remains, but it cannot longer be dignified as patriotism.† Henceforth, though cosmopolitan, the Jew is a stranger among men.

The history of later Judaism is not to be read in pagan sources, for the later conflict was waged with the Church, and the Church was not so tolerant of unbelievers as had been paganism. It is doubtful whether much of the legal enactment against Judaism after the second century can be considered as pagan at all, for the union of Church and State inaugurated an active propaganda and the *edicta* of the Christian emperors were inspired by Christianity.‡ On the other hand, Julian (361-363 A. D.), who hated Christianity, favored the Jews. His favor extended so far that, before his fatal Persian expedition, he attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. Why he failed we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (23. 1. 2-3).

Such is the light thrown by Latin sources, other than patristic, upon Judaism. We have seen the Jew pushing his propaganda to the farthest corners of the Old World; we catch glimpses of conquered Judaism wringing reluctant acknowledgment from its conquerors; we see what the Roman thought of it, as Roman opinion veered from favor to jealousy or contempt, and, later, to a hatred which led to repressive measures. But amid poverty, misrepresentation, carnage, and political ruin, national character still asserts itself, until passion has burned itself out in futile efforts to preserve national entity.

\* *Aelia*, the nomen of Hadrian; *Capitolina*, referring to Juppiter Capitolinus.

† Of this unrest we have occasional glimpses, as, for example, Julius Capitolinus, *Anton. Pius* 5. 4; Spartianus, *Severus* 16. 7; Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* 42. 10.

‡ For example, *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 1 (Constantine, 315 A. D.) provided a death penalty for Jews. *Ib.* 1. 9. 1 invalidated a bequest to the Jews of Antioch. At a later time new means of repression and annoyance were found; for example, *cod.* 1. 9. 5 (Gratianus, 383 A. D.) required service of Jews at court. *Cod. Theodos.* 3. 7. 2 forbade marriage between Jews and Christians. *Comp. cod.* 9. 9. 5 and *cod. Just.* 1. 7. 6. *Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 15 (Honorius, 401 A. D.) excluded Jews from an army career. *Nov.* III (Theodosius II, 425 A. D.) disbarred Jews from legal practice, from the civil service, and forbade the erection of new synagogues. *Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 22 (415 A. D.) continues the war against circumcision.

Edwin Post.









Prayers of the Apocrypha  
and their Importance  
in the Study of  
Jewish Liturgy



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PRAYERS OF THE APOCRYPHA  
AND THEIR  
IMPORTANCE IN THE STUDY OF JEWISH LITURGY

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As this paper has for its subject "Prayers of the Apocrypha and their Importance in the Study of Jewish Liturgy", it will be necessary to treat, firstly, of the synagog; secondly, of the conditions which gave rise to it, and, thirdly, of its liturgy before taking up a study of the individual prayers of the Apocryphal books.

I. Synagog

I. *Origin of:*<sup>1</sup>

The real origin of the synagog is unknown. The first mention or reference that we have of it seems to be in Psalm LXXIV 8, מועדי אל which is generally conceded to be from Maccabean times.

In the time of Jesus it was a well established institution judging particularly from the great antiquity ascribed to it in passages, such as Acts of the Apostles XV 21, "For Moses from of old has in every city men who preach him publicly in the synagog (and his words) are read every Sabbath Day." Josephus, Philo and later Jewish authorities also ascribe the establishment of the synagog to Moses,<sup>2</sup> but this institution

<sup>1</sup> Schürer II 429.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *C. Apion.* II 17; Philo, *Vita Mos.* III 27; *Targ. Jerus.* I. Ex. XVIII 20, ascribes it to the father-in-law of Moses. בבית כנישתהון



could not possibly have been pre-exilic. It was the destruction of the Temple and the resulting conditions of Jewish life which necessitated the re-adaptation which gave rise to these places of assembly.

The original object of meeting together was for the study of the Law rather than for worship,<sup>3</sup> but Philo speaks of synagogues as being also places for prayer,<sup>4</sup> and in one passage he refers to *παιᾶνες, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαί* as being sung there.<sup>5</sup>

In Josephus<sup>6</sup> we find the same opinion that the synagogue was primarily a place for the study of and instruction in the Law; it was also a house of prayer, though in a less degree; Philo uses the name "house of prayer" (*προσευχή*) more often than "place of assembly" (*συναγωγή*). Josephus uses the latter several times, the former only once. In Matth. VI 5, it is implied that it was the regular practice to pray in the synagogue.<sup>7</sup>

## II. Conditions during Exile.

Although the exiles in Babylon among whom the institution arose were allowed to live together in clans and families, they were well nigh hopeless, as there was no common bond either intellectual, religious or national other than the disheartening memory of defeat. Many became assimilated to the surrounding heathenism, and the faithful who remained were as has been said,<sup>8</sup> "lying under a sort of vast interdict; they could not celebrate any sacrifice or keep any feast; they could only celebrate days of fasting and humiliation and such rites as had no inseparable connection with the Holy Land."

Ezra it was who first realized practically what philosophers have taught ever since, namely, that in order to make life

<sup>3</sup> Philo, *Vita Mos.* II 168; *De septen* II 282; Eusebius, quotation of fragments of Philo, in *Praep. Evan.* VIII 7.

<sup>4</sup> In *Flacc* 6, 7; *Leg. ad Gaium* 20, 23, 43, 46, *Vita Mos.* III 27.

<sup>5</sup> *The Psalms in the Jewish Church*, W. O. E. Oesterly, p. 129 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiq.* XVI, VI 2 (Margoliouth ed. 1906).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Acts* IV 24, V 31. N. B. ἐν ᾧ συναγόμενοι

<sup>8</sup> *Religion and Worship of the Synagog*, Oesterly and Box, cp. I, IV.

worth while a people must be made so proud of its heritage and of its position in the world, that no amount of slurs or slights will make it lose its pride. To the outsider this may even be interpreted as overweening or arrogant pride and clannishness, but it is in reality the same kind of protection from annihilation that all life, whether oyster, armadillo, porcupine or man must adopt. As Herford says: "Ezra had it clear in his mind that if Israel was to survive at all, it must resolutely cut itself off from all possible contact with what was not Israel. It must become a closed corporation, a community occupying not merely a political, but much more, a religious and social enclosure of its own, within which it could work out its own salvation." . . . "The institution of the synagog provided a means of developing the spiritual life of the people in a way that the Temple ritual hardly could and certainly did not do."<sup>9</sup> It encysted the past and protected it until future conditions were favorable to the further development of Judaism along the lines of its original pristine purity. Under Ezraic influence, the synagog was so modeled as to "develop through religious fellowship the whole nature of those who met there."

As Herford enthusiastically says: "Of all the institutions that man has ever devised, the one with the longest continuous history is the synagog, and that it answers to a real and permanent religious need is shown by the fact that the Christian religion took over both the idea and the form of the synagog, in organizing its own meetings for worship, and has retained them ever since."<sup>10</sup> But at present we are not so much interested in the synagog as in its original contribution to the religion of the world.

The world had ritual and communal religion before, but here was a new and deep note which rolled and reverberated throughout all times and places. The fall of the Temple meant the rise of the synagog. The fall of the Temple struck the death knell of ritual and community sacrifice. The rise of the synagog meant Prayer. It is true the synagog was primarily

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<sup>9</sup> *Pharisaism*, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.



for study about the Temple ritual while it was impossible to fulfill that ritual; but finally the public assemblage gave natural rise to individual and communal prayer with an importance above and beyond that of sacrifice; but let it be well marked that the synagog liturgy and study were originally intended merely as a temporary substitute for the Temple ritual.<sup>11</sup> It was, however, the most natural thing in the world for this to develop and strengthen the individual note.

The fact of liturgy, prayer or speech of any description apart from or in connection with sacrifice was in itself a startling departure from the custom of the ancient world, as we may see from the fragment of the works of Theophrastus of Lesbos, the pupil of Aristotle, as quoted by the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyrius, who wrote about 275 C. E.

In describing a Jewish sacrificial service, he says: "Throughout the entire time, inasmuch as they are philosophers by race, they discuss the nature of the Deity among themselves and spend the night in observing the stars, looking up at them and invoking them as divine in their prayers." Mark well the important parenthetic remark, "inasmuch as they are philosophers by race." This, as Max Radin points out in his excellent work, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans*,<sup>12</sup> shows that one strikingly different custom impressed Theophrastus, namely, that part of the divine service of the Jews was some form of theological discussion.

Remembering for the time being that prayer and liturgy in the synagog were only intended as a temporary substitute for sacrifice and remembering at the same time that any form of theological discussion was a new departure in religion we will describe the general character of prayers in the liturgy.

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<sup>11</sup> Midrash, *Sifre*, 80a. "Just as the service at the altar was called an *Abodah* (sacrificial service), so also is the study of the Law."

*Sifre*, 80a. "Prayer is equivalent to the offering of sacrifices." *Berachoth*, 24b, 26b, where it is taught that "the daily prayers of the synagog have taken the place of the daily sacrifice in the Temple."

<sup>12</sup> P. 81ff.

III. *General Character of Prayers in Liturgy.*

Of the synagog liturgy, Oesterley and Box, two of the greatest Christian authorities on the subject, say the following: "It was the piety of men who clung tenaciously to the Law as the final and supreme expression of a divine revelation, but the piety was none the less true and deep. It could enlist in its service all the affections and the passionate devotion of large hearted and profoundly religious natures. As expressed in its Prayer-Book, the legalistic piety of Orthodox Judaism affords one more example of the religious genius of a people uniquely distinguished in the domain of religion."<sup>13</sup>

The nucleus<sup>14</sup> of the synagog service is of course the *Shema'* and the Ten Commandments; the eighteen or nineteen benedictions known as *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, *Tephillah*, or *'Amidah*, of which the first three and last three paragraphs were composed in pre-Maccabean times; and the passages which precede and follow the *Shema'*, namely, *Ahabhah rabbah ahabhtanu* and *emeth weyazzib*. The reading of the Law, introduced by Ezra, was a regular feature of the Service as were certain private prayers by famous men which were adopted for public use. This latter characteristic of adopting private prayers is especially important in studying the Prayers of the Apocrypha.

In general we might say the following in regard to the style and character of the prayers:

1. Their scriptural character is well marked. Not only are entire psalms, other passages and verses, but the material of those prayers, which are not directly scriptural citations, is largely drawn from the sacred writings. Some are striking allusions to some point in Scripture, others are adaptations of a scriptural sentence. For example: Is. I 26, *We'ashibhah shoftayich kebharishonah weyo'azayich kebhatillah* becomes a petition in the eleventh clause of *Shemoneh 'Esreh*: *hashibha shoftenu kebharishonah weyo'azenu kebhatillah*.

<sup>13</sup> *Religion and Worship of the Synagog*, p. 327.

<sup>14</sup> Abrahams, in Singer's Prayer Book, p. ivff.



2. Their congregational character is well marked. With but few exceptions, which only include prayers and formulas to be recited privately all petitions and prayers are in the plural number to include all Israel.

3. The only proper names in liturgy applied to the Jewish people are the sacred name of "Israel" or "The House," "People of Israel," "God's People," but never "Jews."

4. The Divine names employed in earlier compositions are those of the Bible. In later rabbinical forms, paraphrases and circumlocutions are used such as: "The Holy One Blessed be He," *Ha-kadosh baruch hu'*; "The Place" or "the Omnipresent," *Ha-makom*; "Our Father, Our King," *'Abhinu malkenu*; "The Merciful," *Ha-rahman* (cf. "in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" of the Koran).

After this general survey of the liturgy, we will now study the prayers of the Apocrypha and judge their likeness and dissimilarity with the form and content of liturgical prayers.

## 2. Apocryphal Prayers

Prayer and prayers are referred to and quoted so frequently throughout the Apocryphal books that I shall treat of the prayers of each book separately.

### 1 or 3 Esdras.

The first book of the Apocrypha, known as 1 Esdras in the Greek Uncials A. B., in the Latin and Syriac versions and in English Bibles since the Geneva Edition of 1560; and as 3 Esdras in Latin Bibles since the time of Jerome is with the exception of one passage a somewhat free Greek version of the biblical History from Josiah's Passover (II Ch. XXXV), to the Reading of the Law by Ezra (Neh. VIII). The book is historical, was used by Josephus<sup>15</sup> for his account of King Josiah and is translated from a Semitic original. Its date cannot be placed more accurately than 333 B. C. E. the time of Chronicles as the *terminus a quo* and 100 C. E. the date of Josephus as

<sup>15</sup> *Charles' Apoc.*, vol. I, p. 3.

the *terminus ad quem*. Cook, Lupton, André, Thackeray and Volz claim that the book is Alexandrian in origin; Charles, Zunz and Torrey favor Palestine as the home of its editors.

1 Esdras IV 58-60:

58. Now when this young man was gone forth, he lifted up his face to heaven toward Jerusalem,<sup>16</sup> and praised the King of Heaven.

59. And said, From thee cometh victory, from thee cometh wisdom, and thine is the glory, and I am thy servant.

60. Blessed art Thou, who hast given me wisdom; for to thee I give thanks, O Lord of our fathers.

Here we have the turning towards Jerusalem in prayer which Cheyne<sup>17</sup> tells us was the Zoroastrian custom of turning towards the East. Just the opposite rule held at the Temple of Jerusalem and the synagog of Talmudic times where the entrance was in the East and worshippers faced the ark in the West.<sup>18</sup>

This would deny Cheyne's idea of Zoroastrian Sun worship influence even if it were not expressly stated that it was Jerusalem that was to be turned to in time of prayer and not the sun.

Notice the familiar formula in this prayer:

εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὃς ἔδωκός μοι κτέ which is the Hebrew *Baruch atah . . . asher nathan*, and the words "from thee cometh victory", etc., reminding us of *lecha JHWH ha-gedullah ha-hod weha-nezah* and the δέσποτα τῶν πατέρων or *elohe abhothenu*.

1 Esdras VIII 73-92.

Here we have a typical confession of sin that is strongly

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Dan. VI 10, Tob. III 11 sq.; 1 Kings VIII 48, for "direction while praying."

Cf. Ezra VII 27, Dan. II 19, 20, 23, for prayer.

Origen, *Hom.* IX in *Iosua*, quotes from Esdras: "'A te Domine est victoria et ego servus tuus, benedictus es Deus veritatis.'" (v. 40, God of Truth.)

<sup>17</sup> *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 251.

<sup>18</sup> *Religion and Worship of the Synagog*, p. 309.



reminiscent of the יְדִי of *Yom Kippur*, to which the answer is made: *Hatanu*.

As this prayer is essentially the same as that which occurs in Ezra IX 5, to X 2, it is not solely Apocryphal and therefore needs no further comment.

1 Esdras IX 46-47, tells of Ezra opening the law and blessing God to which all the people, who were standing, "answered Amen;"<sup>19</sup> and lifting up their hands they fell to the ground and worshipped the Lord."

The Book Tobit is a Palestinian work written in Aramaic about the third century, B. C. E. Of this work Simpson, in *Charles' Apocrypha*, says: "Popular religious and magical speculations, current mythology and demonology, ethical and moral maxims of the day, traditional folklore and romantic legend, all contributed their quota to the education of the author. They widened his outlook on life without vitiating the spirituality of his religion or the reality of his adhesion to Judaism. They endowed him with the culture necessary to a writer whose appeal was probably directed to the educated pagan as well as the enlightened Jew of the diaspora in its early days." "Tobit was written", according to Simpson, "as a rival production to a tractate of the god Khons, in order to show that it is JHWH alone who has sovereignty over the spiritual and material worlds."<sup>20</sup>

The Prayers of Tobit are an excellent combination of priestly and prophetic ideals. The cultus, the precepts of the law (tithes, etc.), and Jerusalem are important considerations in the author's life. Prayer, almsgiving and fasting, the so-called "Three Pillars of Judaism" rank high in the estimation of the author and are continually enjoined. The structural arrangement, content and note of heartfelt sincerity of the prayers in this book, show the high plane of spiritual development to which the Apocryphal writers sometimes attained.

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<sup>19</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.*, VIII 7 (fragment of Philo). Deut. XXVII 15; Tobit VIII 9, 1 Cor. XIV 16; *Berachoth* VIII 8.

<sup>20</sup> Simpson, *Charles' Apoc.*, p. 198.

The author or authors of Tobit express the sentiments of many as evidenced by the great popularity of the book, and they are representative of the new and *personal* note of religion struck by many of the Apocryphal writers.

The prayers of the book are 1, Tobit's prayer (III 2-6), 2, Sarah's prayer (III 11-15). These are uttered with face turned to Jerusalem; then the immediate answer to them (III 16, 17), is the climax to the Introduction. Each prayer contains an invocation, followed by act of adoration (III 2, 11), and the specific supplication with a lengthy retrospective explanation.<sup>21</sup>

The same structural arrangement characterizes almost all of the other prayers. The "Amen" of the liturgy appears in VIII 8.<sup>22</sup> In XII 8, the value of prayer is expressed particularly, but throughout the book the motto seems to be *tefillah uzēdakah wazom yazzilū mimmarweth*.<sup>23</sup> The efficacy of prayer is asserted in XII 12, and finally this is followed by the exile's prayer of exhortation and consolation, XIII 1-6.

In all of these prayers we have the characteristics or attributes of God and the fundamental requirements of a virtuous, religious life emphasized. The "Great name" of God is continually appealed to (e. g. Tobit XI 14, et passim), which of course calls to mind the supplication of Joshua: "What wilt thou do for thy great name?" Jos. VII 8-9, *umah ta'aseh leshimcha ha-gadol*.

The exile's prayer of exhortation, praise and consolation is especially noteworthy because of the marked and striking similarity to the *Kedushah*, *Ahabhah*, *Shema'*, *'Amidah* and *Ge'ullah* Prayers of the Liturgy. These prayers are very old as the style and beauty of the biblical Hebrew diction would seem to show, and then too they are referred to in both the Mishnah and Talmud.<sup>24</sup> The aim, scope, style and certain in-

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<sup>21</sup> Simpson, *Charles' Apoc.*, p. 198.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Judith XIII 20.

<sup>23</sup> Tobit XII 11-12.

<sup>24</sup> *Tamid* V; *Berachoth* 11b, 12, 13.



dividual expressions might well lead us to infer that the author of Tobit had these prayers before him when he wrote, as we hope the following comparisons will show. In the first place Raphael says: "Bless God and give him thanks in the sight of all that live for the good things which he hath done unto you to bless and praise his name" (XVIII 6 sq.). This is the direct injunction of Psalm XCII contained in the Liturgy, *Tobh lehodoth ladonay*, especially if we include the words "day by day" which come in the continuation of the injunction to pray in verse 18. Then Raphael reveals himself to Tobit and Tobias his son, and says: "I am Raphael, one of the seven angels which stand and enter before the glory of the Holy One." Then he commands them to "bless God to all eternity, praise ye him day by day." Of course Raphael, the healer, was the most appropriate mentor to Tobias; and most natural mediator between God and Tobit in his various afflictions. Contrast this angelology with the angelology of the particular part of the Liturgy<sup>25</sup> that precedes and succeeds the Trisagion or *Kadosh* prayer. Raphael is "one of the seven angels which stand and enter before the glory of the Holy One, and the passage in the liturgy tells us what these angels say when they enter, namely, *baruch kebhad Adonai mimmekomo*. Thus we have the "place" מקום of the prayer referred to when Raphael says he enters before the Lord and we have the glory כבוד יהוה of the prayer mentioned as well as the קדוש itself in the words τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου "the glory of the Holy One."

Then Tobit's prayer begins with the words "Blessed is God that liveth forever and his kingdom"; in other words, *Baruch shem kebhad malchutho le'olam wa'ed*. The *Shema'* immediately follows the *Kedushah* and the *Ahabhah* prayers in the prayer book,<sup>26</sup> and here we have this verse which is almost a translation of the doxology that follows the *Shema'*, come right after the foregoing words which were taken from the *Kedushah*.

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<sup>25</sup> Singer P. B., p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Singer P. B., p. 40.

The sentence "O cause a new light to shine upon Zion,"<sup>27</sup> and the idea of *יוצר המאורות* in the *Ahabhah* prayer are found in Tobit, chapter XIII, verse 11, in the petition concerning the New Jerusalem, as follows: "A bright light shall shine upon all the ends of the earth; many nations shall come from afar, and the inhabitants of the utmost ends of the earth unto thy Holy name."

Compare also: "He leadeth down to Hades . . . and he bringeth up" of verse 2 with *morid sheol wayya'al* and "give thanks unto him before the Gentiles" of verse 3 with *Hodu ladonai . . . hodi'u ba'ammim 'alilothaw* of 1 Chron. XVI 8. Also compare *gomel hasadim tobhim* with "and will show mercy unto you all, of verse 6, and *wexocher hasde 'abhoth umebhi' go'el libhne bhenchem* with "Yea, He is a God to all ages, He will chastise you for your iniquities and will show mercy unto you all" of verse 5. Of course the entire prayer is one exhorting the exiles to repentance in the hope that God will bring a *Go'el* or *ge'ullah* to them even as the *ge'ullah* prayer praises God for redeeming them from Egypt. The *ge'ullah* prayer, to quote Mr. Abrahams,<sup>28</sup> is known as the Redemption prayer because after a reference to the exodus it terminates with a eulogy of God as Redeemer of Israel. Mr. Abrahams goes on to say: "There is implied throughout the benediction a profession in the doctrine of retribution which is formulated in the second paragraph of the *Shema*." This is unquestionably the trend of thought throughout this prayer in Tobit. Retribution in fact is one of the main lessons of the entire book, as Tobit's blessings are the result of fulfilling *mizwoth*, burying the dead, etc., so Tobit says: "He will chastise you for your iniquities, and will show mercy unto all. When ye turn unto him out of all the nations whithersoever ye shall be scattered with your whole heart and with your whole soul, to do truth before him, then he will turn unto you, and will no

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<sup>27</sup> Singer P. B., p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> Singer P. B., notes LIV.



longer hide his face from you." Mr. Abrahams<sup>29</sup> points out in the *Ahabhah* prayer that "there is a characteristic union of the practical and the ideal. Israel entreats the merciful Father, out of his very love for the father and the children, to bestow a practical knowledge of his precepts, and a power to perform them. There is also a yearning for an inward sense of God, that each man's heart may be one and undivided." This might be said of Tobit's prayer also, so completely does it realize the Jewish idea of practical and ideal. Abrahams goes on to say in characterizing this part of the liturgy: "They (the words) breathe the hope that the hearts of all Israel may be united in the love and fear of God, so that minor differences may not lessen the solidarity of Israel in its enthusiasm for the mission." Tobit also breathes this spirit of zeal for Israel's mission<sup>30</sup> as is particularly mentioned by Simpson throughout his commentary in *Charles' Apocrypha*.

The general idea that the author of this prayer had in mind was, in our opinion, influenced and directly suggested by the important elements of the liturgy which the author of Tobit undoubtedly had before him. Of course these prayers were not in the form that we have now, but from this Apocryphal prayer it does appear unmistakably that the order and elements of the service were the same.

The general idea of the Redemption Prayer for example is a eulogy of God the Redeemer of Israel after mention has been made of the Deliverance from Egypt, and the firm belief in Retribution. This prayer of Tobit mentions the similar conditions of adversity because of Israel being scattered among the Gentiles, then speaks of Retribution in the same confident way and ends with the eulogy to God. Tobit's author wrote and published his writings at a time when there were many Jews in Egypt and he had for his audience the cultured among the Gentiles as well as among the Jews, so he would naturally hesitate to sing a song of triumph over the Exodus mentioning the Egyptians alone, but in keeping with his broader outlook

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<sup>29</sup> Singer P. B., XLIX.

<sup>30</sup> Tobit XIII.

on life, he would include all the Diaspora. This he has done, but it appears quite evident that the parts of the liturgy mentioned above were before him as he wrote.

Judith is a legendary book written originally in Hebrew, in Palestine, about the second century, B. C. E. It was written to revive the spirit of patriotism and to encourage the Jews to resist the oppression probably of Syrian power. The generals and names of Assyria are used as a disguise for Syria.<sup>31</sup>

The Prayers of Judith are in no way noteworthy so far as our particular study goes. They are ultra-Pharisaic in character, as is the tendency of the writer throughout the book. They consist of biblical allusions (for example, chap. IX 2-14, referring to Gen. XXXIV, the story of Dinah, cf., also the story of Jael, Esther and Deborah), and biblical verses, with nothing to be noted particularly with the exception of this fact. The Pharisaic regimen and times of prayer are carefully preserved by Judith<sup>32</sup> and the Pharisaic attitude towards life is well expressed by the Prayers. For example: Chap. VIII 14, "How can ye search out God . . . and know his mind or comprehend his purpose?" which recalls the verse: "Canst thou by searching find out God?" Then in verse 15, "For if he be not minded to help us within these five days he hath power to defend us in such time as he will or to destroy us before the face of our enemies." Then in chap. IX, verse 11, "For thy power standeth not in multitude, nor thy might in strong men: but thou art a God of the afflicted, thou art a helper of the oppressed, an upholder of the weak, a protector of the forlorn, a saviour of them that are without hope."

Here we have a reminiscence of *lo' bhehayil welo' bhechoah ki'im beruhi* and the Social service or fast developing *zedakah*, the applied righteousness spirit of Judaism which developed from the communal solidarity that followed the exile.

In chap. XIII, verses 17 et passim, we find blessings with

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<sup>31</sup> *Religious Development*, p. 193.  
*Charles' Apoc.*, vol. I, p. 245.

<sup>32</sup> Judith VIII 6, XI 17, XII 6, XIII 3.



the Liturgical invocation: *Baruch attah adonai 'asher* as a regularly recurrent stock formula. At the end of the blessings of gratitude to Judith, chap. XIII 20, and chap. XV 10, we have the words: *καὶ εἶπαν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰένοιτο, γένοιτο* which is probably the Greek translation of the original Hebrew, *אמן ואמן*

The triumphal song of Judith in chap. XVI is quite similar in character to the song of Deborah in Judges.

The rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther were evidently added to supply the religious element which is completely lacking in the canonical work.<sup>33</sup> They are six in number, are historical and legendary in character, dating from about 100-1, B. C. E. They were probably written originally in Greek. In regard to these Dr. Rosenau says, "The object of the Greek Apocryphal chapters was not, as is sometimes intimated, to vindicate the marriage of a Jewess to a heathen prince, but was like that of the *Targumim* and *Midrashim* of Esther to cheer the Jews at the time of misfortune and, more particularly, to demonstrate how the rescue of the Jews depended upon God's intervention, a point neglected in the Canonical book, where no mention is made of God. This latter point is especially supported by the introduction of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther. Expanded forms of these prayers are given by the Midrash and Josephus ben Gorion."<sup>34</sup>

In the Prayer of Mardocheus we meet phrases similar to those in the Liturgy such as the following: XIII 9. . . . "there is no man that can gainsay thee". Contrast with this the liturgical phrase from Job IX 12, *mi yo'mar 'claw mah ta'aseh*, IX 10, "Who doeth great things past finding out; yea, and wonders without number", cf. Ps. 72, 18, *'oseh nifla'oth lebhaddo*, verse 11. "Thou art Lord of all things, and there is no man that can resist thee", with Job IX 12, and Ps. 97, 5, *'adon kol ha'ares*, and verse 15, ". . . Spare thy people for . . . they desire to destroy thine inheritance", with Joel 2, 17, and Ps. 28, 9, *hoshi'ah eth 'amecha ubharech eth nahalathecha*,

<sup>33</sup> Charles' *Apoc.* 665.

<sup>34</sup> *Prayers in the Apocryphal Chapters of the Book of Esther.*

and so on throughout the prayer which shows the usual use of biblical ideas and verses in Apocryphal and liturgical prayers.

In the prayer of Esther we have the same characteristics, but note, especially, verse 3, "My Lord our King . . . help me who stand alone and have no helper save thee", and verse 5, "I have heard ever since I was born in the tribe of my family that 'Thou, Lord, didst take Israel out of all nations . . . for an everlasting inheritance, and that Thou didst for them all that 'Thou didst promise". Here we have the synagog phrase: "Praised be Thou, . . . who has chosen us from amongst all nations" and the Liturgical Biblical passage from Dt. XXVI 15, *Ka'asher nishba'ta la'abhothenu*.

The Book of Wisdom or Wisdom of Solomon is a composite pseudepigraph of the first century, B. C. E. It exhibits all the synthetic philosophy and theology of the Hellenistic Jewish School later developed by Philo. In the long prayer for, and then panegyric to wisdom in chaps. IX to XIX, the end of the book, we find a philosophic elaboration of Solomon's prayer for wisdom in I Kings III 6-10, joined with the praise of wisdom as suggested by Proverbs VIII. In this prayer we find the following philosophical elements: The *Ma'aseh bere'shith*, or Theory of Ideas of Plato, e. g., verse 8, "Thou gavest command to build a sanctuary in Thy holy mountain . . . a copy of the holy tabernacle which Thou preparedst aforehand from the beginning." Then too we have running throughout the prayer, the *Logos* or *Sophia* idea, i. e., the philosophical idea of hypostasized wisdom, as for example in the words: "O God . . . who madest all things by thy word; and by thy wisdom formedst man", in chap. IX, verse 1. Later on in the panegyric to Wisdom and the Haggadic or Midrashic exposition of the part that wisdom has played in the history of the world and its work, we have the more Palestinian idea of intermediary called variously *מטטרון* perhaps from the Greek *μετάθρονος* or *μετατύραννος* and *מורה* perhaps a corruption of the Hebrew *מאמר* which suggests or sounds like the Greek *ῥῆμα*, meaning expression or speech, as



λόγος means word. The elements of this philosophical idea of intermediary are still found in the liturgy in the following passages:<sup>35</sup> First, *Baruch* . . . *asher bidebharo ma'aribh 'arabhim*, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who at Thy *word* bringest on the evening twilight", etc. Second,<sup>36</sup> *Baruch* . . . *sheha-kol niheyeh bidebharo*, by whose word all things exist," which is quite similar to Wisdom IX, verse 1: ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐν λόγῳ σου "who madest all things by thy word", and third, *Baruch* . . . *asher bema'amaro bara' shehakim*, ". . . by whose word the heavens were created."

The Palestinian didactic Book, "*Ecclesiasticus*," or the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach was written between the years 200-175, B. C. E., in Hebrew by a Sadducean. According to Smend, Charles<sup>37</sup> and Oesterley and Box,<sup>38</sup> our present text is a Pharisaic revision of the original, which was undertaken to make the book conform more closely to the orthodox Pharisaic standards of later times.

In chapter II 10, 11, and III 5 we find the author's *in*ea of prayer as follows: "Whom did God ever despise that called upon him?" and then comes the attribute formula: "For compassionate and merciful is the Lord, long suffering and very pitiful and he forgiveth sins and saveth in time of affliction."

This passage should be well noted as this formula of *Adonai adonai 'el rahum wehannun* seems to be the conscious theology and philosophy of all Apocryphal prayers. In III 5, we find these words: "Whoso honoreth his father shall have joy of his children, and what time he prayeth he shall be heard."

This shows as does XXXVIII 9-14, XXXIX 5-6, the moral idea that God answers the prayer of the righteous, but of course this attitude of practical and ideal in religion, i. e., con-

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<sup>35</sup> Oesterley and Box in R. and W. of S., p. 184, Singer P. B., p. 96.

<sup>36</sup> Singer P. B., p. 290.

<sup>37</sup> *Religious Development*, p. 190.

<sup>38</sup> *Charles' Apoc.*, p. 280.

formity of Creed and Deed is almost universal in the Apocryphal Prayers.

Chapter VII 15 gives an admonition particularly applicable to the present situation, as follows: "Use not many words in a multitude of Elders, and make not much babbling when thou prayest."

Chapter XVII 25 tells us, "Return unto the Lord, forsake thy sins, make thy prayer before him."

In chapter XVIII 23 we find: "Before thou prayest, prepare thyself", which reminds us of the hour of meditation of some of the *Hasidim rishonim*.

Chapters XXI 5, and XXXV 13-20 show the characteristic democracy of Judaism, "A prayer out of a poor man's mouth reacheth to the ears of God, and his judgment cometh speedily." Of course we can not help but hope that the writer as a Sadducee believed in helping to bring the answer to prayers by applied righteousness as so many of the Pharisaic prayers in the Apocrypha counsel.

Chapter XXIII 1-6 is an excellent example of the Platonic tendency in the Apocryphal prayers: Ben Sirach prays to the Lord, the Father, the Master, κύριε, πᾶτερ καὶ δέσποτα. Here we have the three theological postulates, all-wise, all-just, all-powerful. In the course of the prayer, Sirach prays for the four virtues, ἀνδρεία or courage, σωφροσύνη or poise and moderation, σοφία wisdom and δικαιοσύνη or justice, all this to keep him from "greediness of the belly and lust of the flesh, and impudence", strongly reminiscent of the three emotions, or passions of Plato, namely, eating, drinking and lust.

In chapter XXXIV 24-26 Sirach asks, "When one prayeth and another curseth, whose voice will the Lord hear?" and again: "So is it with a man that fasteth for his sins, and goeth again and doeth the same; who will hear his prayer?"

Chapter XXXVI is a plea to God to save His own, and strike fear into the nations in order that all may know that He is God alone (vv. 1-5). God is urged to assert Himself by



gathering in the scattered nation, and by compassionating Sion (vv. 6-16). This prayer is remarkably like the *Shemonch 'Esreh* both in language, construction and content<sup>39</sup>, especially when taken with chapter LI (vv. 12 sq.), of the Hebrew. This is a Psalm modeled after Ps. CXXXVI with the refrain, *Hodu ladonai ki tobh ki le'olam hasdo*. At first this was even thought to be the source of the *'Amidah*, but now it is generally conceded that the writer imitated the *'Amidah* in writing it.<sup>40</sup>

The Book of Baruch is legendary, and is of composite character. The date of the book can not be set, authorities placing it anywhere from 320 B. C. E. to 70 C. E.

The noteworthy element in the prayers of Baruch is the marked similarity of chapter II, confessing the sins that brought on the exile, with the *Vidduy* prayers of *Yom Kippur*, e. g., verse 12, "O Lord, our God, we have sinned, we have transgressed, we have dealt unrighteously in all thine ordinances," *hata'nu, pasha'nu bagadnu*, etc. Then, too, verses 14 and 19, "Hear our prayers, O Lord, and our petitions and deliver us for thine own sake." . . . "We do not make our humble supplication before thee, O Lord our God, for the righteousness of our fathers, and of our kings" with *Tabho' lefanecha tefillathenu*. The character of the rest of the prayer partakes of the *Yom Kippur* service of calling to mind promises of forgiveness and redemption from the Bible.

The Additions to Daniel consist of the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Children, the History of Susannah, and the History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon.

The prayer of Azariah is the prayer of one of the Three Children in the midst of the Fiery Furnace. It starts with the liturgical formula as follows: "Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers." This suggests immediately the Hebrew *Baruch attah 'adonai elohe 'abhothenu* and the doxology refrain, *Baruch 'adonai ha-mebhorach le'olam wa'ed*. We find the very common

<sup>39</sup> Oesterley and Box in *Charles' Apoc.*, vol. I, p. 440.

<sup>40</sup> Singer P. B. VII (Marmorstein: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXIX 287).

characteristics of prayer throughout and there is nothing particularly noteworthy except the Psalm of Praise reminding one of the *ma'aribh 'arabhim* and the refrain, e. g., verses 67 and 68, *Hodu l'adonai ki tobh ki le'olam hasdo*.

The History of Susannah is really a Midrash based on the meaning of Daniel, namely, "God is my Judge". It was written to illustrate Daniel's judicial acumen. In verses 42 and 43, Susannah invokes God in these words: "O everlasting God, that knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be." The mention of *nistaroth* leads us to think of the close of the formula chapter of Deuteronomy, namely, *ha-nistaroth l'adonai weha-nigloth, etc.*

The Destruction of Bel and the Dragon is a polemical writing against idolatry. The one verse of prayer or thanksgiving, namely, 38, reads thus: "Thou hast remembered me, O God: neither hast thou forsaken them that seek thee and love thee." Here, too, we have only general theological conceptions, but throughout the Additions to Daniel, as Dr. Neumark well points out in his monumental work<sup>41</sup>, we have the constant appeal to the mystical "great name of God", and the Thirteen Attributes: Justice, tempered by mercy; Retribution; Uncompromising Truth, etc. In Susannah we have the additional Halachic tendency which emphasizes the necessity of *חקירה ובדיקה* in the investigation of capital offenses.<sup>42</sup> The Attribute motif and tendency of "Susannah" might well be summed up in Dr. Neumark's words: "Ohne Sophrosyne keine Dikaiosyne."

The Prayer of Manasses purports to be the actual prayer spoken of in 2 Chronicles XXXIII 1 sq., and may originally have been designed to stand in that context. It is a dignified and simple penitential prayer which was preserved in the Didascalia and later incorporated in the Apostolic Constitutions, whence it was copied into the LXX.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Geschichte der jüd. Philosophie des Mittelalters*, vol. II.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Mishna Synh.* v. 1. *Ma'asch ubhadak ben Zakk'ai be'okezot e'anim.*

<sup>43</sup> *Religious Development*, p. 214.



The Prayer consists of the following parts:<sup>44</sup>

Invocation .....	1- 8
Confession .....	9-11
Entreaty .....	11-13
Ascription .....	14
Doxology .....	15

The theology of the Prayer is typically Maccabean and may be summed up by the following four theological postulates:

1. Supernatural efficacy of "Great Name of God" (verse 3).
2. Repentance appointed especially for sinners and not for such just men as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (verse 8).
3. Representation of underworld with varying grades of light (verse 11)—a sort of forerunner of Christian purgatory.
4. Angels as hosts of heaven (ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν, v. 15).

In this prayer it is quite evident that the writer has a theological and philosophical ax to grind. He praises the God of the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that is therein, descanting on the cosmological attributes of God as do so many prayers in the liturgy, notably the *yozer ha-me'oroth* prayer. In verses 6, 7, 10, 11 and 14 we can find the calm philosophic consideration of the thirteen attributes of God in the *adonai adonai el rahum wehannun* formula. With all this intelligent attempt at rationalizing the God idea we have the fine emotional qualities of the liturgy in process of formation. The writer invokes the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the Creator of heaven and earth, who is of great compassion, long suffering and abundant in mercy, who has promised forgiveness that sinners may repent, and appointed repentance that men may be saved (verses 1-7); then comes a confession of sin by King Manasses (verses 8-10); then a supplication for forgiveness.<sup>45</sup>

In the 1st Book of Maccabees we have a Sadducean work

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<sup>44</sup> Ryle in *Charles' Apoc.*, vol. I, 615.

<sup>45</sup> *Religious Development*, p. 214.

written probably in Palestine some time between the years 137-105 B. C. E. The writer is zealous for the Law, the religious institutions of the nation, the Scriptures, the Priesthood and the Temple, no mention is made of Immortality of the soul or Resurrection of the dead. In fact, Theology is reduced to a minimum. The writer of the book showed in particular great hesitation in mentioning the name of God. It is, indeed, referred to in VII 37, and IV 33, but not in the mystical sense which was the tendency of the times, due to popular Pharisaic influence. In chapter IV, verse 24, we have the common quotation, "Good (is the Lord), for his mercy endureth forever."<sup>46</sup>

We find the ideas of retribution<sup>47</sup> and the merit and deeds of the Fathers appealed to throughout the few references to prayers, especially in II 50-68.

The Second Book of Maccabees is not a continuation of the First Book, and is an anonymous digest of a larger work of five books on Maccabean history. Here we find a decided contrast to the First Book. All fighting, as far as it was not done by angels, was done by prayer rather than with the usual weapons of warfare.

The only contribution of any value that this book has to offer is the Prayer for the dead in chapter XII 40-44. We find here a belief in Retribution and Resurrection. The writer tells how Judas sent money to Jerusalem as an offering for the dead and this is told in such a way as to show that objections to this might arise on the score of novelty.

This concludes the books usually recognized as the Apocrypha proper. We find in summarizing the results of our study that the Prayers of the Apocrypha, individually and collectively, partake of the characteristics of the liturgical prayers to a remarkable degree.

The Apocryphal prayers were written under the influence of the synagog.

1st. They are communal in character.

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Ps. CXVIII 1-4. Ps. CXXXVI.

<sup>47</sup> II 68; cf. Ps. CXXXVI 11. (LXX)



2d. They show a belief in Retribution and the ultimate triumph of Israel after repentance.

3d. They inculcate the practical and the ideal in teaching ritual and righteousness; study of the Law and application of its principles to life in order to show that repentance is the *sine qua non* of Israel's redemption and triumph.

In the Apocryphal Prayers we see the liturgy in the making. Mishnah *Sota*, Vol. VII 1, sanctioned the use of any language whatever in repeating the *Shema'* and *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, and grace at meals; and Schürer points out that the most important parts (if not all) of the liturgy were regularly recited in the Hellenistic synagog in the vernacular Greek and not in Hebrew at all.<sup>48</sup> All these prayers and expressions of piety of the Apocrypha show spontaneity and the new individual note in the Religion of Israel. The Priest and Sacrifice were no longer mediators between God and man; Study, Prayer and Individual Righteousness were now the requisites. The Temple and the national creed were moribund when these prayers were written. The synagog and the individual in his individual needs and problems were coming to the fore. Here we see the prayers of individual religious heroes, whether these prayers were historical or legendary, as spontaneous and original outbursts of free and untrammelled religious fervor. Later, in the liturgy we see the more or less atrophied and stereotyped form which resulted from their adoption and application to new yet similar conditions.

Just as the Hellenist Jewish philosophers synthesized Jewish and Greek thought in their philosophical works so the Hellenist theologian synthesized Jewish and Greek thought in his prayers, adopting the method and results of Greek thinkers, but only in so far as these were consistent with the ethical conceptions of Israel's God-idea. Many of the prayers of the Apocrypha have simplicity, sincerity and beauty, and are of great importance in the study of religious literature. Their originality, their clear and distinct picture of the philosophic and

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<sup>48</sup> *H. J. P.* IV, 283 ff., also III, p. 10.

religious conceptions of the age when world religions were in the making, their individuality and personal note form a valuable contribution to the study of liturgy.

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# ISRAEL

SAMUEL SCHULMAN



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*de Witt*



## ISRAEL

SAMUEL SCHULMAN

The time in which we are living is a challenge to Israel, such as it has more than once received from the world. We are entering, as I believe, upon a new chapter of its history. We Jews, especially in the Western world, are called upon once more to take stock of our spiritual assets and to become clear in our own minds as to what is the meaning of the wonderful persistence, the will to live of the Jewish people which very significantly we call, Israel.

The time is one of great sorrow and tribulation for Israel. We are standing, as it were, in a period of temporary disenchantment. All over the world there is a reaction against the ideas of liberty and democracy and humanity by the help of which Israel, after centuries of matchless suffering was enabled to enter the life of the Western world with the rights of the individual Israelite recognized as inalienable. We hear again the cry of a brutal aggressive and exclusive nationalism in the midst of a nation that was held as standing in the vanguard of Western culture. The effort is being made, and sad to say with disheartening success, to undo the achievement of Jewish emancipation and to force the Jew back into what was called the ghetto. The hopes that ran high in the beginning of the nineteenth century, seem to have been turned into delusion and the Western world recreant to its own ideals of human progress, is naturally making the Jew the conspicuous victim of its moral and spiritual retrogression. As always in the course of its history, rich in duty and in glory, Israel becomes the victim of the world's iniquity and is sacrificed for the world's sin. It was therefore natural for the Central Conference of American Rabbis to invite a discussion on the fundamental conception of Judaism, fifty years after the re-

markable proclamation was made of the fundamental principles of Reform Judaism as these had been formulated and most fruitfully developed in this, our beloved country. American Judaism, as we have been accustomed to call it, having an individuality of its own and having developed in the midst of a nation which by its constitution and character is most hospitable to Jewish aspiration should become conscious again of the aims and ideals of the great movement in Jewish history during the last one hundred years, of which we, with all that we stand for in this Conference, have been a determining factor.

This movement of Reform, or Liberal, or Progressive Judaism—by whatever name we wish to call it—can be described at large, as an expression of the new hopes which animated Israel as it faced a new world. For since the great Seer of the exile, who as we shall see, gave an abiding philosophy of Jewish life, on the eve of the return of the Jews from Babylonian exile, to rebuild a new commonwealth in Palestine, there never was such a quickening and inspiring event in our history as was the political emancipation of the Jew in the Western world. And even as all the hopes of that wonderful Prophet, who better than anyone else, portrayed the destiny of Israel, were by no means immediately fulfilled and yet, they became the imperishable consolation and inspiration of Israel on its martyred career, so the magnificent hopes with which the creators of the Reform movement of Judaism hailed the new era still remain, though for the time being they seem to be darkened by the brutal realities which confront the Jew.

The new hopes led to a new interpretation and application of the heritage of Israel to the new conditions of life. They led to the rediscovery of the essential ideas, the driving forces of Israel's history. In the process of adaptation to the new environment, there was a rediscovery of the difference between what is lasting and indestructible in the individuality of Israel as a divine power in history and what is temporary and changing, and therefore changeable, between the spirit of Israel—God's priest in the world—and the form in which the service of that priesthood is expressed. It was a veritable revolution if you will, in the attitude of the Jew which was expressed in the Reform movement. It meant a rejection of the idea



that Israel considered itself to be in exile and must therefore everlastingly mourn until it was returned to the land of the fathers in which, under the creative inspiration of the Prophets, it became equipped with the moral and spiritual ideas with which it was ever afterwards to live.

The movement of which we are part profoundly changed the prayers in which Israel expressed its interpretation of its destiny and its aspiration for the future. It eliminated every petition for a return to Palestine, for the rebuilding of the ancient Temple and the restoration of the sacrificial cult that went with it. It rejected the belief in a personal Messiah because it felt that the conception of the "Kingdom of God" was a more comprehensive idea than the peculiar form of the personal Messiah in which, by some of the Prophets, it was expressed. It felt that such a royal personage was part of the conception of a political nationalism of the Jew which it was ready to disavow. It harked back to that other aspect of Messianism expressed by many Prophets and especially by him who is called the second Isaiah. It rededicated itself to that which was always an undying idea: the hunger for union with the nations of the world. It committed itself to the universalism of Israel's message. In a free world where the Jew is accepted as free and equal, what more natural than that the Jew should become conscious again of his distinction as the servant of God, of his destiny to be a light to the nations. And if Israel is to be a light to the nations, it cannot for ever hide itself in a corner and conceal its light but must accept with a sense of enthusiastic consecration all the opportunities offered and live among the nations and be judged by the purity and power of the light it has to offer. The modern movement in Judaism hailed with joy the opportunity. It was stimulated by the era of science and liberal thought and political humanitarian progress. It gladly met the world half way; it sought to break down any unnecessary wall of separation between Israel as a spiritual force in history and the nations of which the Jew became part, and at the same time it became conscious of what Israel still had to offer to the modern world as its contribution. Reform Judaism wished to assimilate what was best in its new environment but not to be assimilated by it so that Israel perish from the earth. It felt that Israel's work

was by no means accomplished in history. Under the inspiration of the new liberty, the Jew felt coursing in his veins new youth and new power. Reform Judaism felt in a way that what the Seer said 2500 years ago was receiving a new opportunity for its application. Israel still had a mission amongst men and a new time carried new methods for the performance of that mission. A human movement is never perfect. Therefore this movement, of which we are part, has its strength and its weakness. Its great strength, however, is what gave it character and will enable it to write itself as a permanent influence in Israel.

What a contrast to the high hopes with which our Reform movement began do we find in the present facts which seem to discredit them. We hear on many sides the cry of pessimistic despair. We painfully feel the mocking taunt of those who tell us that the emancipation was a delusion and a snare. We are being bitterly laughed at for having permitted ourselves to live in a fool's paradise. As the great leader<sup>1</sup> of the new movement in Israel which arose in reaction to ours is said to have once put it: "The western nations emancipated us because of their hobby-riding of a principle." That is to say, they never meant to meet us with sympathy and to recognize our right to be part of them, and yet to remain ourselves in freedom of spirit. Carried away by their desire democratically to emancipate themselves, to establish the rights of man in the western nations, to build a democracy as against the inherited privilege of monarchy and aristocracy, the impetus of their self-emancipation made them include for the moment the Jew as also a human being, but they did not really mean it. That is the gist of Herzl's epigram. But it is a most unfortunate epigram and is not true, as most epigrams scintillate with a superficial truth, but are at bottom false. The principle of human rights by which the nations won liberty for themselves falls to the ground unless indeed the Jew, as a human being, can be recognized in the commonwealth to which he gives his labor and his sacrifice and his life, if necessary, as an equal. There is no freedom in any nation if it tolerates within itself the enslavement of any dweller within it. Such is the clamor of negation of the hopes and ideals of the great movement of readjustment of Israel

<sup>1</sup> Coudenhove, *Das Wesen des Anti-Semitismus*, p. 479.



to the world with which we of the Reform Movement are met. This clamor has, intellectually and spiritually, found itself an expression. It, too, is a modern movement; it, too, is a child of the age in which we live; it, too, has broken with tradition. It takes its position at the very opposite pole to that at which we stand. If our movement said that Israel was not a nation in any modern sense of the word or that it had long ago ceased to be one; that Israel was a religious community only, that recognizing its unbroken historic continuity, it nevertheless was and is to-day an entity whose essential characteristic is that of being a community that is to witness to God, the movement that came as a reaction to ours, said "no" to all our affirmations. It asserted that we were erroneously interpreting the significance of Israel in the world, that we were at best to repeat the thought of one of the philosophical leaders of the movement, emptying Jewish life of its contents by limiting<sup>2</sup> it to an ecclesiastical function. We were told that the real essence of Israel is to be a nation like other nations. True enough this modern movement of Jewish neo-nationalism broke with the traditional piety of the ages, it ceased to pray for a Messiah or to expect one, it no longer wept for the ruined Temple, it did not expect miracles. Thoroughly modern and a child of the Western world, it assimilated western thought and, as I dare to say, was assimilated by it. It declared that Israel is a nation and cannot live its normal life unless it has a land of its own where it can organize a State of its own and where alone it can truly live faithful to its individuality and productive of its own culture. As I once put it some nine years ago, when I was in Palestine, in a phrase whose truth was recognized by distinguished nationalists themselves: "whereas we, the Reform Jews or anti-nationalists, wish to be *ba-goyim* in the midst of the nations," they said: "we wish to be *ka-goyim*" (we wish to be like the nations). After 3500 years of Jewish history and the unique experience of Israel in the world, incomparable with that of any other people's history, they declare that our only salvation, our only possibility of survival, the only solution of the Jewish problem, will be found when we go back to the ancient soil and there become again a what? A

<sup>2</sup> Achad Haam, *Al Parashath Derachim*, Berlin, 3rd edition, 1904, p. 176, line 26.

Theocracy with God as the centre of our life? No. That we become something new. That we become a secular people like other peoples.

What shall we say to all this? The truth is that the cleavage to-day in the interpretation of Israel, its meaning and its life, is no longer between what we were accustomed to call Orthodoxy and Reform, Traditional Judaism and a Liberal expression of it. In many respects, such conflicts have been outgrown. As Dr. David Philipson, the historian of the Reform Movement in Judaism, points out it is now a question of "more or less."<sup>3</sup> All religious parties have been touched by the spirit of the times and as always, influenced by the environment. The real cleavage is between the party that represents nationalism and secular nationalism at that, and the party that represents religion. For the nationalists, Israel is primarily and essentially a nation self-sufficient; for the religionists, Israel is primarily and essentially a religious community or church, if you will, provided you do not carry into Israel the implication of the word "church" as it is used in the western world. For the religionists, Israel is not self-sufficient. Important as it is, it is over-shadowed by the God to whom it witnesses and whose providential hand in history is shaping it even as He shapes the universe. It is not surprising that sometimes as the French proverb has it: *Les extrêmes se touchent*. We find that the most radical reformers stand shoulder to shoulder with the most uncompromising orthodox Jews in their opposition to the new secularism which both recognize as the most dangerous and destructive heresy in the history of Israel.

It is therefore significant that I was not asked to discuss the "Jewish people" or the "Jewish nation," or the conditions of world Jewry. I am asked to give a presentation from the standpoint of Reform Judaism and from the standpoint of my own interpretation, of what Israel is; and I claim that the very word "Israel" is itself already a commitment to the thought that it is a religious group primarily and essentially. The term comes to us "trailing clouds of glory." As used by the sixteen million Jews all over the world when morning and evening they say: "Hear, oh Israel, the Lord

<sup>3</sup> David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, second edition, p. 381.



our God, the Lord is One," the word "Israel" is the culmination and crown of the whole development. It is the final mintage of the matured thought of Israel's mind upon what it considers itself to be. It is primarily and essentially called upon to witness to and proclaim the unity of God and to give the world the example of the love of Him and His ways in which we are to walk.

Now, I do not wish to give the impression that I think that I can perform the task assigned to me, or that I will attempt to do so by a contest in exegesis. Such questions as these which are stirring the Israel of to-day to its depths cannot be answered by philological controversies, they do not merely turn around verbal disputes. Words are the expressions of men's thought and above all of their wishes and deeds. Parties that use words with which to describe their differences simply use them as necessary symbols for what lies much deeper than questions of verbal interpretation.

In Israel there always were parties. Judaism was never lived, with the exception of periods, thank God, very few, of extreme intellectual stagnation, as a religion in which there was monotonous unanimity. There always were differences of opinion because Judaism, like every living organism, is never a finished thing. It is growing; it is making itself. It is not a thing come down for ever completed and contained in a book which demands correct expounding. It makes the book; the book does not make it; and it is being made by the grace of God's spirit which quickens the hearts and souls of men and women. It has always reacted to life, to the powerful present. At every important stage in its history, it shaped life and life shaped it. Therefore at critical periods in its history, the living parties within it voiced not their jealousy for the particular meaning of words, even if, on the surface, that seemed to be their preoccupation. What they were most concerned with was the expression of their individual and, as they believed, original interpretation of Judaism, of Israel's destiny and of their will to carry that interpretation into life. So we are dealing here with a vital difference of mental and spiritual reaction to the problem which life forces upon us. The religionists will to interpret the character and destiny of Israel in one way and to carry their interpretation into their lives. The nationalists will to interpret Israel in their way and to carry

the interpretation into their lives. Whichever philosophy of Jewish life prevails, it will have a tremendous influence upon the Judaism of the future. And I anticipate my conclusion by saying that, perhaps, we are beginning a new chapter in Jewish history and are ready for a new synthesis; that while we need above all clarity of thought, moral courage, freedom and fearlessness in uncompromisingly upholding our own idea, yet history may determine that the best of what we have given to the world as the modern anti-nationalist party in Israel and the good that may be indirectly contributed by the nationalist revival in Israel, may come to be harmonized. For both Herbert Spencer <sup>4</sup> and Hegel <sup>5</sup> tell us that that is the law of history.

What gets itself expressed in history is a resultant of spiritual forces, a new thing, a new concrete compromise without a destruction of the life of the pure creative idea as it continues to exist in the idealism of the individual soul. And to-day we need above all unity. We need above all cooperation of all parties in Israel wherever we can offer it. Zealous for our own idea we need not refuse to work with those who differ with us wherever we can help suffering Israel.

I said a moment ago that Judaism was being made in every generation by the parties within it as they were reacting to the problems which life forced upon them and that, therefore, parties were never fighting about words but about realities. My statement can therefore easily give the impression that I believe that parties in every generation are original and exclusive creators of Judaism, but that is not so. Parties do not live in a vacuum and they do not create *ex nihilo*. Such creation is the exclusive privilege of God and in Israel's life, as in everything else, God is the original creator. That is what we really mean when we say God reveals Himself through the human soul. Judaism has a character. It has from the beginning of its existence as a living organism a definite genius which distinguishes it from other religions; and to that character it really remains true all through its changes as shaped by the new environments with which it comes in contact and by the living parties which express the meaning of that contact. In other words,

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Spencer's Autobiography, Vol. 2, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Durant, *The Story of Philosophy*, p. 321, line 26.



Judaism has a rich past. To use the thought of Henri Bergson,<sup>6</sup> a French philosopher of Jewish origin, the past with its overwhelming power is enduring. It lives in us. Therefore properly to do the work assigned to me, I cannot altogether avoid taking a glance at what Israel meant in the past. While I do not think that the heaping up of quotations from Scripture or from our post-biblical literature in scholastic manner, can help us much, and what I am really aiming at is to be as practical as possible and to interpret the meaning of Israel for ourselves, men and women of to-day, yet it is indispensable for me to ask you to look at our literature, the expression of the spirit of Israel, and discover what, as a matter of fact, in the past which is still throbbing subconsciously in our soul, Israel did think and make of itself, by the guiding hand of God. And when we look at that past with simple candor and a desire to discover truth, uninfluenced for the moment by present controversies and problems, we cannot help saying that Israel was, to say the least, a very unique people.<sup>7</sup> That, to quote the heathen sage in Scripture: "It was a people that shall dwell alone and *shall not be reckoned among the nations.*"

It is my conviction that the creative power of religion is best illustrated by mystics. Our whole Reform movement, for example, betrays a weakness in so far as there does not seem to be any mystic passion in it. It is essentially a rationalistic, critical and cleansing movement. It did a tremendous good work. It did rediscover the essence of Judaism and represented it to the modern mind. But I say, with all respect to the memory of the great masters of the Reform movement, it is owing to this lack of mysticism which is even acknowledged in self-satisfied rationalistic pride, that it failed (and that is one of its weaknesses) to call forth a well-knit philosophy of its own new interpretation of Jewish life. I find in an old mystic<sup>8</sup> a fine intuition as to the meaning of "Israel." The mystic says the three ideas of Israel, the Torah and God—the Holy One, blessed be He—are indissolubly bound together. He uses the striking figure: Israel is the wick, the Torah or Law, is the oil, and God is the light, the flame, as I would say the illuminator of the world through Israel

<sup>6</sup> Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Numbers, 23:9.

<sup>8</sup> Tikkune Zohar, Tikkun, 25.

and its Torah. I cannot discuss Israel without in some measure touching the things which my colleagues are to deal with. And so I proceed to ask what was Israel in the past? What is it to-day and what ought it to be or will it be? For when a human being attempts to play the rôle of prophet and says of any phenomenon in history what it will be, he really means what it ought to become.

The name of "Israel" as it is used to-day is exclusively a religious term. It is extremely interesting that the modern Jewish nationalists do not wish a "home land in Palestine" for "Israel" but for "the Jewish people." There is quite a difference between the connotation of Israel and the connotation of the Jewish people.

The term "Israel" is, as I believe, the result of the whole process of development, the result of the religious education of the people, through the centuries prior to the Babylonian captivity. It is at the end of the Babylonian captivity that it at last appears in its full efflorescence and fruitage of the ages, as the expression of the transformation of an ordinary people into what it was by a mysterious Providence destined to be, a community consecrated to God, a *goy kadosh*, a holy Group. I say here "holy Group" because, as you will see later, it is not correct to translate this word *goy* by "nation," if with the word "nation," we import into the ancient Hebrew word the meaning of a nation in the modern sense of the word, as, for example, it is used in the phrase "League of Nations." This religious meaning of Israel is clearly expressed in the profound myth by which the name of Jacob is turned into Israel: "Thy name<sup>9</sup> shall no longer be called Jacob but Israel for thou hast contended with men and with God and hast prevailed." That is to say, thou hast wrestled with men, and a world in arms against thee, and also with the mysterious Providence which imposed upon thee a peculiar destiny and thou hast emerged victorious, so that at last thou knowest what thou art. I have always felt that it is in the myth of a people, even better than in its clear ideas and its official proclamations, that the true being or genius of a people is best voiced, and, when I use the word *myth*, I use it in the same sense that we speak of a myth of Plato, not to disparage the thought expressed by the myth, because myth is never a lie. On the contrary, it is the garb of a truth

<sup>9</sup> Gen. 32:29.



which cannot be adequately expressed in a formula. When the intellect of Plato reaches a truth that transcends the power of dialectic language, it takes refuge in the myth or allegory, and thus it is in the myth of Israel, this and a few others, that the genius of Israel is expressed.

Carleton Hayes,<sup>10</sup> in his simple, lucid, but I think also very profound, study of nationalism, makes the remark that: "Perhaps what any group thinks itself to be is quite as significant as what it really is," and, in another place, he makes clear beyond doubt what he thinks of the Jew. He says:<sup>11</sup> "Historically, both in ancient times and throughout the Middle Ages and even into modern times, the Jews have been not so much a nationality infused with nationalism, as adherents to a religion." This Christian scholar in my humble opinion thoroughly understands the essence of Israel. If asked what Israel did think of itself and say of itself, the answer can only be given in a rapid survey of the educational process which went on in Israel from the time of the ancestor of the group, Abraham, to the time when the Seer of the exile cries out with inspired eloquence to the Israel of his generation:<sup>12</sup> "Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord; look unto the rock whence you are hewn, unto the hole of the pit whence you are digged. Look unto Abraham your father and unto Sarah that bore you; for when he was but one, I called him, and I blessed him and I made him many." Thus he sums up the meaning of Israel's history up to his time.

Israel begins like any other people. Physically and naturally it is a group like any other group. It begins with a cluster of families; it runs all through the stages of consolidation into clans, into tribes, into a unified nation in the secular sense. It organizes itself as a State. It gets tired of being without a king and it wants to be like the other *goyim* "nations," and it clamors for a king.<sup>13</sup> It has its kings and its statesmen and its diplomats. It has its rich and poor, its classes and masses. It has seemingly an ineradicable tendency to forget its own God, to be like a harlot to go after strange deities

<sup>10</sup> Carleton Hayes, *Essays in Nationalism*, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Carleton Hayes, *Essays in Nationalism*, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Isaiah 51:1, 2.

<sup>13</sup> I Samuel 8:4-7.

that woo her. Israel in the flesh is not very much to be distinguished from the groups that surround her. In the end there is a collapse and ruin. The larger portion numerically of the original multitude that became the masters of Palestine and developed a political national life, the Kingdom of Israel of the north, is destroyed and its people disappears. The Kingdom of Judah from whose inhabitants the sons and daughters of Israel in the present, scattered all over the world, get their name, is also destroyed. The whole worldly glory is laid in the dust. All seems to be over. Speaking in the language of the Semitic world of 2500 years ago, it seemed that with the death of the people there was the death of its God. A defeated and ruined people, gone into exile, meant a defeated and discredited god. But such language was itself discredited because what was essential to Israel proved to be something that transcended the potentialities of Semitic blood. What was unique in it was not Semitic, but divine and therefore this dead people, because it was not essentially a Semitic people but God's people, celebrated a wonderful resurrection and, to use the striking phrase of the Prophet Ezekiel, who gave us the allegory of the resurrection as image of the rising from the tomb of what was believed to be the buried Israel; in that revival and restoration, God was "sanctified."<sup>14</sup> The people return to be henceforth no longer a group like others, no longer preoccupied with worldly ambitions, no longer having political independence except for a very short time and that on the whole, most disastrous, but with a new heart dedicated to what Prophets and lawgivers had taught it, to the knowledge of God and His Law of life, outwardly symbolizing the theocratic character of the new community by the office of the high-priests, recognized as its representatives, and inwardly growing more and more into a complete and whole-souled devotion to the Law which shapes the life of the people and makes of every home an altar unto God. Officially, as represented before the secular world, the priest is its head, spiritually and in its essential life, it is now led by the scholar who is at the same time the religious teacher who, as the Halachist, interprets the Law for the daily life, and, as the Haggadist, continues the tradition of the magnificent visions of the Prophets,

<sup>14</sup> Ezekiel 36:23.



bringing consolation to the people. The group which was first a *goy* like other *goyim* is at last transformed into a community, conscious of its sublime and tragic distinction, to be in the world to witness to God and His Law, to live for them and, if necessary, to die for them.

All through the ancient history of Israel, there is conflict between the secular Israel and the spiritual Israel which the people was to become. I may say that the secular Israel is as a rule indicated by the term "Children of Israel"—the *Bene Israel*—and the term for the spiritual Israel is on the whole always used solemnly. Sometimes it is referred to by the term "the Congregation of Israel"—the *Edah* (translated Congregation)—or the *Kahal* (translated Assembly), or by the word "Israel" itself. It is the Seer of the exile who is the crown of the whole development, who, with special predilection, always talks of Israel as the Servant of God. And when he talks of Jacob in the same sentence in accordance with the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, he brings out all the more vividly the contrast between "worm Jacob"<sup>15</sup> and Israel in whom God glories.<sup>16</sup> This conflict is voiced by the contrast between the conduct of Israel in the flesh and the ethico-religious ideal which its teachers wish to engrave upon its heart and to make that heart a new one. Always the dominant note in the record, as presented to us in Scripture, is the demand for righteousness because Israel is covenanted, pledged at its very birth through its first ancestors and at Sinai to walk in the ways of the Lord. The conflict is expressed in the continuous condemnation of the idolatry of the people, and intimately connected with this, in the continuous denunciation of the immorality, of the injustice of the wicked, of exploitation of the poor by the rich. This conflict is also voiced in the remarkable unanimity with which the Prophets from Amos to Jeremiah differ with the politics and diplomacy of the reigning powers in ancient Israel. They denounce alliances which seemed so natural and useful to shrewd worldly wisdom; they are constantly advising the people and the rulers not to trust in worldly power or be guided by worldly ambitions but to trust in the Lord, in Jehovah or as modern scholarship

<sup>15</sup> Isaiah 41:14.

<sup>16</sup> Isaiah 44:23.

likes to call the distinctive name of our Lord, Jahveh. They are, to use a phrase of the first Isaiah, always talking of the redemption that comes through justice.<sup>17</sup> In other words, the process of the education of Israel is that of a "transvaluation of values," to use a modern phrase. Jeremiah sums it all up by saying: "Let not the wise man boast of his wisdom etc., but let him, if boast he must, boast of understanding and knowing Me,<sup>18</sup> saith the Lord, who doeth lovingkindness, justice and righteousness, for in these do I delight." Ordinary ambitions of the people are completely overshadowed by the duty of loyalty to the things which are to be, the peculiar treasure which this people is to uphold before the world.

This passage from Jeremiah with its words "who knows Me" gives the key to the meaning of Israel's spiritual education. Whether we are traditionalists in our view of the Bible or whether we accept the biblical critical view, it comes to the same thing. What Israel was when it returned from Babylon to enter upon the second stage of its existence as a distinct group in the world, resulted from its whole development and is mirrored in the literature which is the record of that development. Now it is a striking thing that the choice of Abraham is described by this remarkable phrase, "for I have known<sup>19</sup> him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord to do righteousness and justice; to the end that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which He hath spoken of him." Singling out, choosing, is described by the word *Yada* (knowing). Make a jump with me from Genesis to Amos and you find exactly the same word with which the choice of Israel is described: "You only, says the Prophet, have I *known*<sup>20</sup> of all the families of the earth, therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities." God knows Israel, that is the technical expression and I could give other examples in Scripture. His knowledge which leads to the selection of Israel for the work in history, means that He has selected it for the definite work of giving the example of the ethical life as we call it to-day. The life of righteousness and justice and lovingkindness and mercy in

<sup>17</sup> Isaiah 1:28.

<sup>18</sup> Jeremiah 9:22, 23.

<sup>19</sup> Gen. 18:19.

<sup>20</sup> Amos 3:2.



the individual and in the group. And if the community of Israel is loyal, then it hallows God. God is exalted through the loyalty of His priest because it is only through human life after all that the Holy God can be worshiped and therefore the sanctity of the people, when it is real, as achieved by a life that walks in His ways, makes evident to the world the sanctity of God whom the group worships and therefore if you will, as the Rabbis audaciously say: "increases the sanctity<sup>21</sup> of God." Now if this choice, as expressed by the word "knowing," is not a caprice but a definite purpose for a definite object in the mind of the mysterious Providence as conceived by our Hebrew Prophets, then Israel's loyalty to God, Israel's real task and distinction of service to Him is also expressed most interestingly by the same word *Yada* (to know). Israel's loyalty is a knowledge of God, just as God's choice of Israel was a knowing of it. What is "knowledge of God"? Is it an exhaustive knowledge of His essence and attributes? Is it the dominating intellectual interest of discovering the ultimate being so as to be able to report the discovery in some Platonic, Scholastic or Spinozistic system? The knowledge of God is purely ethical. We know God according to the teaching of the Hebrew prophets from Moses to Malachi, by doing His will, by walking in His way. When the Prophet Hosea lets his vision play with the glorious future for Israel as do other Prophets in their pictures of what we call the Messianic future, he says: "I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness and in justice and in lovingkindness and in compassion; I will betroth thee unto Me in faithfulness and thou shalt *know*<sup>22</sup> the Lord," and the same Prophet contrasts, as do all the Prophets, the ceremonial cult with ethics and he says: "The knowledge of God is better than burnt-offerings."<sup>23</sup> And what is meant by the "knowledge of God" was certainly not a knowledge obtained by pre-Kantian philosophers as the result of their rationalistic metaphysical argumentation. That was not the way to find and to know God. As Kant was the philosopher who laid stress upon the moral imperative as the source of the "knowledge of God" and swept away the systems of the metaphysicians that were before him, so, I venture to say, he gave,

<sup>21</sup> Sifra, Emor IX, 184.

<sup>22</sup> Hosea 2:21, 22.

<sup>23</sup> Hosea 6:6.

whatever may have been his personal predilections, to modern thought the philosophy best suited, if a philosophy we must have, for the comprehension of the spirit of Judaism as a religion. "Knowledge of God" meant discovery of Him through practical ethical experience and ethical deed. Live the life of purity and morality and justice and love, in wrestling with your own temptations and in wrestling with the fellow-men in life's competitions and problems. Live but a life of highest ethics and that life will be—such is the mystery and compulsion and majestic authority of the moral voice within us, though our words may be ever so feeble with which to describe it—the realization of the presence of God in us. It is the only knowledge we can have of Him. And it is such a knowledge that Jeremiah in that wonderful passage describing the fulfilment of the destiny of Israel and the education of the world, says: "But this is the Covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord. I will put My Law in their inward parts and in their hearts will I write it; and I will be their God and they shall teach no more every man his neighbor and every man his brother saying: Know<sup>24</sup> the Lord; for they shall all know Me from the least of them to the greatest." A perfected humanity in whose heart the Law is written so that it lives instinctively with righteousness and loving kindness, even as the artist creates with all his instinctive power, will be overwhelmed with its knowledge of God because God will be a vivid reality in the heart of man in the only way it can be when man in faith and faithfulness, to avail myself of the double application of the Hebrew word *Emunah*, discovers the truth of the real deity that rules the Universe. Then it will be a time, as Isaiah said of the Messianic age, that the "earth will be full of the knowledge<sup>25</sup> of the Lord even as waters cover the sea." Here again "knowledge of God" is certainly no metaphysical knowledge, but purely ethical knowledge. No dogma or doctrine in the conventional sense of these words but recognition of God's Law. No creed as a comprehension of the mysteries of deity, but deeds as the obedience of the creature—the child-man who is best described in humility as the Servant of God, will be the

<sup>24</sup> Jeremiah 31:32, 33.

<sup>25</sup> Isaiah 11:9.



test of the loyalty. And I am convinced that the second Isaiah, Seer of the exile, when he, as all Prophets, foreshortening the historical perspective, feels that, with the redemption of Israel from Babylonian captivity, the new era of the Kingdom of God is revealing itself in its glory, already addresses Israel as the "people<sup>26</sup> in whose heart is My Law," was a good disciple in spirit of Jeremiah. Or better, both had the creative fructifying power in their souls of the revelation of the Eternal God.

It was to this "knowledge of God" that Israel was consecrated. It was to implant this knowledge in Israel that it was given its constitution as a community: "If ye<sup>27</sup> will hearken unto My voice and keep My covenant, ye shall be My own treasure from all the peoples, for Mine is all the earth and you shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation," according to the present translations. And, in accordance with the tradition we say, its priesthood was particularly emphasized in the covenant made with it and voiced in the Decalog, the foundation of morality and spiritual culture. To increase this knowledge of God was the object of the whole prophetic activity, and Israel as a people, as a group, was taught to find its business in the world to consist in promulgating that knowledge by obedience, by example in preachment and in practice. It was to be the people of the Torah. One cannot understand the significance of Israel and its relation to God without understanding what is meant by Torah and what is its relation to the mission of Israel. And so you will excuse me if, without trenching too much upon the sphere assigned to my colleagues, I briefly indicate what I understand by Torah, because such an understanding is indispensable to my understanding of Israel's mission and the justification of its life in the modern world as a distinctive religious community.

It is now a commonplace to emphasize the fact that Torah cannot always be translated by "law." Torah means on the whole "teaching," instruction, direction, guidance. Therefore, the word Torah is used as the comprehensive term for the whole teaching of God to Israel, and, as I claim, to the whole world. And so the word Torah comes to be applied in a technical sense first to the Pentateuch and

<sup>26</sup> Isaiah 51:7.

<sup>27</sup> Exodus 19:5, 6.

we say, this is the Torah. Then, as is well known, Torah comes to be applied to the whole Bible; that whole literature contains the teaching of God. Torah is not only the Bible, but, as is well known, the interpretation of the Bible and specifically of the Torah of Moses as we have it, in what is called the oral law or tradition, written at last in the form of Talmud and Midrash, etc. Lastly, Torah according to Jewish usage comes to be synonymous with the whole of the spiritual culture of the Jew, expressed in the whole of its literature, which was conceived in the last analysis based on the Torah, the Bible. The leaders of the Reform movement in Judaism show themselves particularly anxious to reject the translation *law* for Torah, partly because of their apologetic sensitiveness to the one-sided criticism of the Jewish religion by Christian theologians, as being a mere legalism, and partly because they correctly reject an excessive and luxuriant multiplication of laws which, because of their number, are always a danger of preventing the sufficient attention to the essence of Judaism as a religion, obedience to the supreme Law of justice and righteousness and love, as the revelation of God's ways to man. While appreciating this just zeal of all these leaders in emphasizing ethics as the essence of Judaism as contrasted with the ceremonial or any particular law or statutes of ancient Israel, a zeal which I share, I nevertheless say that the matter is not as simple as presented in such an attitude, if that is to be the only attitude we are to assume with respect to the word Torah.

As a matter of fact in all languages, Torah is translated by *law*. This translation is informed by a correct instinct with respect to the essential meaning of Torah in the life of Israel. Torah does mean *law*, for if the teaching is from God, if He gives the direction for our lives, that is no ordinary teaching. It is not like the teaching of a human master which we might accept or reject. God's teaching for man is a command. It is really a law which he is called upon to obey. It is as much a law, as is a law of nature. A law of nature is not a force of nature, it means strictly speaking an observed correspondence between cause and effect; but as science assumes that there is no break in this principle of connection between cause and effect in the whole universe, it comes to speak of a "law of nature." And, indeed, if we do not obey a law of nature,



we suffer the consequences, and if we understand a law of nature and by obeying it learn how to use it, we become masters of nature in a measure and help our lives. So the Creator of the Universe, or, as the pure scientists would say, the mysterious power has decreed laws. In the human world, in human relations, there is also a law of God and that is the law of righteousness, of justice, and of loving-kindness. That is the teaching of the Author of the Universe to us. Our knowledge of it is derived from a different source than our knowledge of the law in external nature. But it is a law demanding obedience and that is the meaning of the word *Torah* as the Prophets used it. And indeed that is the law that they reveal and that is the Law—not a code like the *Shulchan Aruch* or any code—which can be conceived as written in the heart. This fundamental Law is all through the Bible, in the Pentateuch as well as in the Prophets, contrasted with particular laws, whether these are called judgments or statutes, or testimonies, or even particular decisions in particular cases. When I use the word “decisions,” I come to my justification for the claim that *law* is a correct and adequate translation of the word *Torah* in the overwhelming majority of instances in which the word is used. For the word *Torah* etymologically comes from a root which means “to shoot” like an arrow, showing direction. Then it comes to mean a decision. Moses says that when there is any difference<sup>28</sup> between man and man, he will decide and he will make known the right way or, as we are told in Deuteronomy, that the people are to be guided by the law<sup>29</sup> which they—the priests—teach them, which means the decision that they shall make. This decision is made in a concrete case as the text tells us. And that is how law begins in any nation’s life. It is what we call to-day “case law.” Therefore it is an instinctively sound translation of *Torah*, to say it means “law.” In the Pentateuch itself, of course there are different words for the different kinds of laws. You will always find that “statute” חוק refers to something ceremonial, in a sense, something arbitrary, whose meaning is not clear. There is the particular law of judgment, *mishpat*, prescribing the particular conduct in a particular case. There is also the larger principle of the general teach-

<sup>28</sup> Exodus 18:16.

<sup>29</sup> Deut. 17:8–11.

ing of Torah, the Law of God. Now, of course, from the point of view of the Pentateuch and the traditional conception of a literal and verbal plenary inspiration, all of these different kinds of laws, were summed up in the one word, either מצוה "Commandment of God" or "Law of God." But it is quite evident that a difference between them was felt in ancient times. The Rabbis were quite conscious of the arbitrary element in the ceremonial laws, therefore they refer to some of them as a Gezerah,<sup>30</sup> a decree which must be obeyed and for which human reason can find no justification. Human reason thoroughly grasps the significance of the moral law, as the Jewish philosophers show, making the distinction between the commands that appeal to the human reason and those that are merely traditional.<sup>31</sup> The Rabbis feeling this arbitrariness also expressed themselves in a peculiar way with respect to the ceremonial laws; they said that in the time of the Messiah they would be abrogated. What God has forbidden<sup>32</sup> in the law, He will permit דוּא מְחִיר מֵה שְׂאֵסֶר in the time of the Messiah, in the end of days as it were, when His kingdom will be completely established on earth. For the present the virtue of obeying the ceremonial law consists in the fact that, by obedience, one accepts the authority<sup>33</sup> of God. It can be seen at a glance that, psychologically and ethically, law-abidingness as such, is here emphasized. They say a man must not declare that he will abstain from forbidden<sup>34</sup> food because he does not like it. He must say I would like and would enjoy bacon for my breakfast, but what can I do? I must do the will of my Father in Heaven and abstain. One may say they anticipate Kant's ethical rigorism. We should not obey the law from the motive of pleasure but we should only obey it from a sense of duty. To put it differently, and that is very important, I think they emphasize the *disciplinary* value of the ceremonial law and this aspect of it, as we shall see, we moderns have not yet fully evaluated. But when the divine law of righteousness, justice and love will come to be written in human hearts in the perfect triumph of the Kingdom of

<sup>30</sup> T. B. Yoma, 67b.

<sup>31</sup> More Nebuchim III, ch. 23, lines 19, 20.

<sup>32</sup> Midrash Tehillim, Buber, 146, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Midrash Tehillim, Buber, 146, 4.

<sup>34</sup> Sifra Kedoshim end.



God, the ceremonial laws will fall away. Man will instinctively live the divine life, duty will be transfigured, obedience will mean joyous expression. Now I hold that *law* as such, provided we understand by it the Law of God, the law of ethical living, is of the essence of Judaism, and Israel's function is to bear witness to the fact that the only way to win salvation is by obedience of this divine Law. There is no other way. As soon as any thinker breaks with this conception of Law, he is stepping out of Judaism. It was perfectly natural for Paul, who believed that the Messiah had already come to break with this conception of law and find the source of salvation somewhere else. But Judaism, that has not yet acknowledged that the Messianic hope has been fulfilled, can never break with that conception. Einhorn<sup>35</sup> with his clear and profound mind once said that the ceremonial law is intimately connected with the conception of the Messianic hope. He illustrates what he means by saying that we, to-day, do not believe in a personal Messiah, therefore we will not pray for his coming. We do not believe in the restoration of the Temple with the ancient animal sacrifices, therefore we will not pray for it, and I agree with Einhorn.

But there is another aspect of the connection of the ceremonial law with the interpretation of the Messianic hope, and that is that, to my mind, the ceremonial law is indispensable as the symbol of the moral law, of the idea of *law* as such. At the first Rabbinical<sup>36</sup> Convention in Brunswick, Germany, Rabbi Mendel Hess asked a question which has never been answered: What is the connection between the ceremonial law and the moral law? I venture to answer by saying that a religion that makes the moral law, as does the religion of Israel, the essence of God's revelation to man, and the only way in which to follow Him and the only means of our salvation (there being no need for us to be afraid lest we are incapable of obeying it perfectly, because God looks to the heart)<sup>37</sup> must have some symbol which will impinge upon life. All positive historic religions have symbols in addition to their fundamental truths and the ceremonial law, adapt it as we may in accordance

<sup>35</sup> David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 174.

<sup>36</sup> Philipson, p. 148.

<sup>37</sup> T. B. Sanhedrin, 106b.

with new circumstances, is still for us the symbol of our characteristic religion. And religions that do not emphasize *law* find other symbols. For some religions, *dogma* might be a symbol. For us, some law touching our life, which is not purely the moral law but has with it in common the element of discipline and duty, is the right symbol. Dr. Kohler,<sup>38</sup> the Reform theologian, in his masterly work on Jewish theology shows a proper understanding of the educational value of this law when he says: "If, in complete contrast with heathen immorality, the Jew in his life, his thinking and his will was governed by the strictest moral discipline; if, in spite of the most cruel persecution and the most insidious temptations, the Jewish people remained steadfast to its pure belief in God and its traditional standard of chastity, exhibiting a loyalty which amazed the nations and the religious sects about, but were never understood nor followed by them; this was mainly due to the hallowing influences of the priestly laws (holiness). They steeled the people for the fulfilment of their duty and shielded them against all hostile power both within and without. The very *burden* of the law so bitterly denounced by Christianity since the time of Paul, lent Judaism its dignity at all times, protecting it from the assaults of the tempter; and that which seemed to the outsider a heavy load, was to the Jew a source of pride in the consciousness of his divine election." And as to this "divine election," Kohler says: "The central<sup>39</sup> point of Jewish theology and the key to an understanding of the nature of Judaism is the doctrine—God chose Israel as His people." With both these statements I am in profound agreement, I am enthusiastic about them. But when Kohler says: "As soon as the modern<sup>40</sup> Jew, however, undertook to free himself from the tutelage of a blind acceptance of authority and inquired after the purpose of all the restrictions which the Law lays upon him, his ancient loyalty to the same collapsed and the pillar of Judaism seemed to be shaken," as to this latter statement much could be said. There are other motives than refusal blindly to obey authority, which brought about the "collapse" and Reform Judaism has still to come to a clear understanding as to

<sup>38</sup> Kaufman Kohler, *Jewish Theology*, p. 348.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.



the present importance of the ceremonial law. For me, at least, it is clear that we must have, in order to deepen our liberal Judaism, a renewal of conviction of the necessity of retaining, if we cannot create new forms, certain elements of ceremonial law as the indispensable symbol, and also, if we are not too proud and if we are not too sure of the superiority of "our mental and spiritual<sup>41</sup> state," to quote the phrase of the Pittsburgh platform, as a discipline, as a daily pedagog unto the higher law, the Torah of God, which we are to cultivate in our hearts.

Now I have made a long excursion and will return to my main theme. Israel was chosen to teach the world the necessity of law in the lives of individuals and of communities—the Law of God. The Law is the oil as the mystics intimate, which feeds the wick. Israel and the Law are bound together. Israel is still waiting for the Messianic reign, or better, for the Kingdom of God. It has never acknowledged any Messiah. That is the great antinomy of Jewish life. The Jew hopes for the Messianic Kingdom and he rejects any one who claims to be the realization of the hope, because the essence of the hope is the hope itself. All fulfilments slay the ideal. And so modern Judaism has correctly interpreted the so-called Messianic hope in a hope for the union of humanity. It has made of the Messianic hope the principle of the perfectibility of humanity, the principle of unlimited progress. In the work of building the Kingdom of God, Judaism recognizes the great rôles of Christianity and Mohammedanism, and I would add, the other great religions in the world. It was a wonderful spirit of liberalism for Maimonides<sup>42</sup> and Jehuda Halevy<sup>43</sup> to have voiced in the Middle Ages their appreciation of the providential work Christianity was doing to prepare the world for the Kingdom of God. But Israel has not given up its rôle. It still waits and while waiting it has a very definite task to perform and it has something very definite to give to the modern world.

For this definite task, Israel came back to Palestine from Babylonian captivity, fully equipped. At last the instruction of the

<sup>41</sup> Philipson, p. 356.

<sup>42</sup> *Yad-hilchoth Melachim*, 11–4, Amsterdam edition, uncensored.

<sup>43</sup> *Cuzari*, 4, 23, Warsaw edition, p. 235.

Prophets, at last the loyalty of the saving remnant which, beginning with Joshua<sup>44</sup> who said: "As for me and my house, we will serve God," continues as a thread all through Israel's history, achieved victory and the people was transformed into a religious community or congregation. It becomes under Ezra's leadership, the people of the Law, a law which a writer supplementing Ezra tells us Ruth,<sup>45</sup> though a Moabite, can come and accept and say, "thy people shall be my people and thy God shall be my God." For while Ezra is one pole of the spiritual leadership of Israel, the great Seer of the exile represents the opposite pole and both together build for the future. And so it is to the Great Anonymous that we come at last to tell us what Israel became, what it is to-day, what it ought always to be. "But thou, Israel,<sup>46</sup> My servant, Jacob, whom I have chosen; seed of Abraham, My friend." That is his description of Israel's nature, as it were. Chosen by whom? By the God who created the universe and is the One to whom none can be likened. The Eternal<sup>47</sup> "that is My name and My glory I will not give to another." "I have called thee in righteousness<sup>48</sup> in order to make thee a covenant of people, a light to the nations, to bring forth the right<sup>49</sup> to the nations." That is the method. And lest Israel should misunderstand and flatter itself that it is superior to other peoples and consider that the Prophet is feeding its racial pride, the Prophet immediately says: "who is blind<sup>50</sup> but My servant, who is deaf as the messenger whom I sent." The Prophet's mind magnificently separates and combines two aspects of Israel. Israel in the flesh may very often be a very blind servant and a very deaf messenger. There is no talk here of the glorification of Jewish race or Jewish civilization or Jewish culture, if you will. What is here given us is the key to the tragic history of our people. Out of this historic group sharing the wickedness of human nature with all human groups, out of this body of men and women of flesh and blood with vices and virtues, shall be made Israel of the spirit. And that is

<sup>44</sup> Joshua 24:15.

<sup>45</sup> Ruth 1:16.

<sup>46</sup> Isaiah 41:8.

<sup>47</sup> Isaiah 42:8.

<sup>48</sup> Isaiah 42:6.

<sup>49</sup> Isaiah 42:1.

<sup>50</sup> Isaiah 42:19.



our status to-day. The task of witnessing to Him who says: "Ye are My witnesses,<sup>51</sup> the Lord, the Holy One,<sup>52</sup> the Creator of Israel, your King." "The people<sup>53</sup> whom I, God, formed for Myself." To speak of Israel 2500 years after this messenger from God spoke to us, as if Israel is a people like others that must have a particular land—that must have a little state—that must go in the ways of the others, is to deny the whole significance of Jewish history. For Himself,<sup>54</sup> God says, and for no other purpose does Israel exist. This God of the whole Universe and of history, therefore, is the Providence in all events and He uses all men as instruments. And so, our Seer tells us, God called Cyrus, His anointed, though Cyrus may not know Him. And while Cyrus is a political instrument by God's grace, the Prophet tells us, emphasizing the difference between Judaism and the religion of Cyrus, that God is One. "I am the Lord and there is none else. I have guided thee, though thou hast not known Me. I am the Lord there is none else. I form<sup>55</sup> the light and create darkness. I make peace and create evil. I am the Lord that doeth all these things."

Yes, even what we humans call evil, because it is impossible for us to understand the mysterious harmony of the whole of God's work, even for that, according to our Prophet, our God assumes responsibility. Such a conception is after all a unique, sublime, and divine audacity of a Prophet. It is easy to divide the Universe and say some of it is good and some of it is evil; to say that a diabolical power is creating the evil and that the good comes from God. No doubt there is moral evil in the world for which man is responsible and no doubt there is suffering which is inexplicable, but the easiest way of explaining is not only never the best, it is not the truest. If there is a God at all, then He is One and nothing that exists is outside of His domain. Never in the history of human thought has the Unity of God, with all that it implies, been so fearlessly voiced. And suffering Israel, who certainly learned enough of the evil that there is in the world, has again and again with its

<sup>51</sup> Isaiah 43:10.

<sup>52</sup> Isaiah 43:15.

<sup>53</sup> Isaiah 43:21.

<sup>54</sup> Isaiah 43:1.

<sup>55</sup> Isaiah 45:4-7.

life testified by its fidelity—though it walked through the fires of hell on earth—to the One whose hand it feels is guiding it. And if this Israel does not exist for itself, it is intended to embrace human beings whose physical heritage has nothing to do with Jewish blood. “It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be My servant<sup>56</sup> to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the offspring of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the nations that My salvation may be unto the end of the earth.” Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, the Holy One, to him who is despised of men, to him who is abhorred of Nations.

I agree with the great French scholar, Alfred Loisy,<sup>57</sup> that all the passages in the second Isaiah that refer to the servant of God, refer to Israel and as Dr. Kohler well says, quoting Origen<sup>58</sup> contra Celsus, the Jewish scholars of that day all saw in this servant of the Lord only Israel, and so the most individualistically worded passages refer to Israel. This easily follows from the Prophet’s two-fold conception of the ideal Israel of the spirit, which is a reality as represented by the Prophets and the seekers after God, and the Israel of the flesh. So the Prophet tells us the Israel of the spirit is thus not merely to perfect Israel as a community, but in the end to do the work for the world for which it was chosen. And I add, with all the depth of my own faith, and because of which it was never rejected by God. The words “despised of men” lead us to the most original and terrifying, but transfiguring thought of the Prophet which, when all is said and done, is the only human explanation, the only philosophy of Jewish history which has any validity with respect to the Jew when you consider all that has happened to Israel, and all that is happening to him, even to-day in this glorious western civilized and progressive world, so glorified by our optimistic preachers of only half a century ago. The Prophet takes up his motif “despised of men” and gives us his idea of what the selection of Israel meant. It was not selected because God favored it in the sense that He was going to make it happier than other peoples. It was selected to bear the burdens of the world,

<sup>56</sup> Isaiah 49:6, 7.

<sup>57</sup> Alfred Loisy, *La Consolation d’Israel*, pp. 24, 25, ff.

<sup>58</sup> Kohler, *Jewish Theology*, p. 374.



to be in all literalness, the scape-goat, the atonement for the world, to suffer for its iniquities. "He was despised<sup>59</sup> and forsaken of men, a man of pains and acquainted with disease. He was despised (the nations are made to cry out) and we esteemed him not, whereas we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted. But he was wounded because of our transgressions. He was chastised because of our iniquities. The chastisement of our welfare was upon him and with his stripes we were healed. The Lord has made to light on him the iniquities of us all."

The servant of God suffers because the world is not yet perfect; and because of his unique position, I would say he suffers doubly. To my mind the doctrine of the suffering servant of God is completely given when we combine what Amos said with what the great anonymous Prophet says. Amos tells us that God knew Israel; therefore God will visit<sup>60</sup> upon Israel all his iniquities. Amos' conception of the election of Israel inheres in the idea of the strict accountability of Israel. God will judge Israel more strictly just because He chose him. We sometimes complain, and complain justly from the human point of view, that the world is unjust to us when it condemns the whole Jewish people for the sin of the few. We call that, rightly so, prejudice. Why should not Israel in the flesh have the right to have bad people as well as good people just as any other human group is mixed. Justice requires that the individual alone be judged by his conduct and not the group be condemned because of his failing. While this, our view, is right, there is another aspect and that is that when a people like Israel makes the claim to be chosen of God, and the whole of history confirms the claim, then it should prove its claim by being better than others. That is the meaning of Amos' monition. But the world hypocritically takes Amos at his word and treats Israel cruelly. And if the world through its own injustice, through its own lack of sufficient freedom, makes it hard for the servant of God to live, then the idea of the anonymous Prophet shines forth in all its splendor. A better world would make it easier for the Jew to live in it and Israel suffers, therefore, for the iniquities of the world

<sup>59</sup> Isaiah 53:3, 4, 5.

<sup>60</sup> Amos 3:2.

because when the world will be full of the true knowledge of God, then Israel's mission will be fulfilled and its suffering will end and the nations will hail it and, in the words of the Prophet Zechariah,<sup>61</sup> "Ten men will take hold of the garment of the Jew and say: we will walk with you because God is with you."

Thus we have reached the climax of the wonderful Seer's description of what Israel came to be. This Israel is the one from whom "instruction" shall go forth to the world. Now in this passage, the word Torah is translated by "instruction."<sup>62</sup> Just three verses later the word Torah is translated by "law" in the passage "the people in whose heart is my Law." You can see how in the translation used in the American synagog there is a wavering, and indeed there must have been. As for myself, I would translate by "law" in all places, because what the Prophet had in mind was that that Torah of which he speaks, as written in the heart, is, coming from God, both instruction and law, the law of our lives. And this law was to be open to the whole world. Whether it was the Anonymous one himself or one of the disciples who carried on his thought, we hear the phrase: all those from the gentile world who come to Israel, to seek shelter—to use a later phrase—under the wings of the Shekinah, who come to accept Israel's faith, the Prophet says of them "happy<sup>63</sup> is the man that doeth this and the son of him that holdeth fast by it, that keepeth the Sabbath from profaning it, and keepeth his hand from doing any evil. Neither let the alien that hath joined himself to the Lord speak, saying: the Lord will surely separate me from His people, also the aliens that join themselves to the Lord to minister unto Him and to love the name of the Lord, even them will I bring to the holy mountain and make them joyful in My house of prayer, for My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples." And later he says: "And of them also will I take for the priests<sup>64</sup> and for the Levites." The thought is completed as to what Israel is. It is a community to which every one irrespective of the blood in his veins is welcome. And note also how the Prophet presents something that is not the moral law,

<sup>61</sup> Zech. 8:23.

<sup>62</sup> Isaiah 51:4.

<sup>63</sup> Isaiah 56:1-7.

<sup>64</sup> Isaiah 65:21.



but the ceremonial law or an institution, if you will, the Sabbath, as the test of loyalty to the covenant. Not blood, but acceptance of the law of God is the test. And indeed the new life that begins for Israel after the Babylonian exile is a life under God's law. It is a community without a human king. It is a community whose main concern is not worldly ambition. It is a community in which the attachment to God's law, in the heart of the people purified from all idolatry, is being fostered. And when the Maccabeans rise to defend Israel's liberty, it is for liberty of conscience that they fight, for God and His Law as Mattathias<sup>65</sup> tells them. Had the persecutor not touched the sanctities of Israel, there would have been no revolt. True, the spiritual liberty acquired leads historically to a period of political independence, leads even to the restoration of kingship in Israel and, in some respects, disastrous kingship. But this is really only an episode. What is dominant in Israel is the influence of the teachers of the Torah, the religious leaders and scholars.

In the fulness of time there even came to be coined a new term, with which to describe the new character of the community. The transformation of Israel as an historic group from an ordinary people, with ordinary ambition that could be expressed politically, into a community that feels the essence of its being in fidelity to a particular kind of religion, was expressed in the new name given to the community. Of course, as in the history of all peoples, old designations continue as survivals accompanying the new nomenclature. And so we still hear of the words *Am*, "people," and *Goy*, "nation," and *Umma*, but there is something new that appears. Most difficult it is, and no scholar has as yet done it, to discover the time of its origin. Suddenly it appears in our literature as if it had come like a bolt from the sky. Suddenly the Midrashim are full of the phrase *Keneseth Israel*. Now what is the *Keneseth Israel*? Some twenty-five years ago in the course of my discussions of Jewish nationalism, I called attention to this term. I believe I was the first to lay emphasis on it. The *Keneseth Israel* is the congregation of Israel, the Synagog, written with a capital S. It is the exact counterpart to the word *Ecclesia*. In short, the man who coined

<sup>65</sup> I Maccabees 2:27.

this term, I claim, was conscious of the change that had taken place in Israel. And he deliberately differentiated Israel by this term from the new Church that had arisen. Now if you read the Midrashim on the Song of Songs, you find the beautiful dialog between the *Keneseth Israel* as a bride, and her friend, her lover or her bridegroom, God. This is an exact analogy to the mystic conception of the Christian Church, whereby the Church is the bride and Christ is her bridegroom. Zeitlin<sup>66</sup> has given a discussion of the origin of the synagog, of the meaning of the word, which helps me very much in my claim. The name *Keneseth* philologically goes back to the time when the actual synagog arose, when, in Babylonian exile, Jews were accustomed to gather in meeting places for the purpose of prayer and reading of the Law and the Prophets, and interpretation thereof. To assemble in such a synagog came also to be described by a new verb. The word for "assemble" or "gather" in the Bible is as a rule **קָהַל** or **אָסַף**. Very late in the Bible, in the book of Esther we get for the first time this new verb *Kenos*. Esther says, "gather all the Jews and let them fast for me." In other words, she says, "Let them come together, fast and pray." So you see that the gathering place has a new technical term and in the end the word "synagog" comes to be the word for the whole group, for the whole people. Israel is the Synagog. That there is no artificiality about my interpretation is proven by another term. The term *Keneseth Hagedolah*<sup>67</sup> is a term applied to a group of people, some of whom even living at different times. Therefore I hold that when we meet such a particular collocation of words as *Keneseth Israel* and we find again and again the phrase "*Keneseth Israel said*," then it is clear beyond any doubt that Israel, in the minds of those who used this term, had ceased to be an ordinary people or nation and had become what we would call to-day, a "Church." But to avoid all misunderstandings, it is sufficient to say, a religious community. It is the Congregation Israel witnessing to God. Henceforth, Israel could live without nationhood, without a particular country of its own, without a center in Jeru-

<sup>66</sup> Solomon Zeitlin, *The Origin of the Synagog*, Proceedings American Academy Jewish Research 1930-1931, Page 81; S. Schulman, *Professor Moore's Judaism*, in Jewish Quarterly, 1928.

<sup>67</sup> T. B. Baba Bathra, 15a; Megillah, 17b; Mishna Aboth, I 2.



salem, without Temple, without the ancient cult. It could live because the *Keneseth Israel* felt that it had the Torah, symbolized in the two tablets, which an American painter, Sargent, represents as shattered and Israel crushed, bowed in grief because it has lost its leadership and has been superseded. He, in un-American fashion, let himself be influenced by the mediaeval idea of the rejection of Israel. We say the *Keneseth Israel* holds up the tablets as the symbol of the Law by which humanity is called upon to live. It was not the zealots, admire as we do their wonderful heroism, their death-defying valor in fighting against the Romans, who understood wherein the strength of Israel consisted. Their zeal led in the end to the destruction of the national Temple. They passed away. We live to-day in great measure as Israelites, by the wisdom and understanding of the great teacher of the Torah, Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, who felt that our kingdom was not political. Our kingdom was spiritual. The perpetuation of the Torah meant the perpetuation of Israel, as witness to God. What was Israel? Israel was, after the work of Moses and Isaiah and Amos and the great Anonymous and all the other Prophets, a group in the world who chose God, to speak humanly, and whom, to speak divinely, God chose.

It was necessary, to give a full account of the physical and spiritual history of Israel from the beginning until the hour when it came to be what God destined it to become. This history made its character which cannot be changed. If that character should be radically changed, it would cease to be Israel. Therefore this review was the indispensable light that had to be shed upon the question, what is Israel to-day? We are in the midst of a controversy between the nationalists amongst the Jews and the religionists. This controversy is hot with the passions and ambitions and aspirations of different Jews to-day, and the solution of the problem which the controversy demands, will be given finally by the determining will of Israel, guided as we hope by the grace of God.

Now Israel, it is acknowledged on all sides, is a distinct group in the world. What is the character of this group to-day? What differentiates it? It is not a race, although Jews and non-Jews equally use this word *race* loosely. I am not quibbling about words.

If anyone wishes to refer to Israel of to-day as being a race, he is welcome to do so, but as a matter of fact if the word *race* is to be used with some conciseness as meaning a group of people of absolutely pure blood as descended from one ancestor, there is, as far as I can gather from the welter of voices, no such thing as a pure race. Every group of people that exists to-day is mixed. It is an historical fact that Israel after the exile received many converts, not to speak of the mixed origin of Israel in the flesh. These converts came from many nations. And there has been all through the course of Jewish history, a mixture, an admission of non-Jew to the Jewish faith. There has even been a whole kingdom of the Chazars<sup>68</sup> who accepted the Jewish religion. And Israel to-day despite popular conception is by no means a physical unity. There is no such thing as a Jewish type always recognizable. Environments play a tremendous rôle as scientists have pointed out. Of course, I cannot go at length into this.

Israel is not a nation in the modern sense of the word. By nation we understand to-day a people with a common language, with common traditions, which expresses its nationalism in the form of a political organization, the "State."<sup>69</sup> A nation in the accepted sense of the word to-day, is practically synonymous with the State. The smallest State in the world is called a nation from the point of view of the "League of Nations." And that is absolutely correct. There is no such thing as a "nation" without an organization of the body of people that lives in the land, into a State. Of course as Carleton Hayes points out, there is a sense in which the word "nation" is used in archaic English, by which it means any kind of a group. In old English, a "nation of birds" is spoken of. Sometimes professions like the profession of lawyers are described by the word "nation." Sometimes in the mediaeval time, groups at a university coming from the different lands, were described as nations. That explains why the Hebrew word *goy* is translated in our English by "nation." But "nation" in the modern age has one distinct connotation. It is a people having a country of its own,

<sup>68</sup> Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Jewish Publication Society, Vol. 3, pp. 138-141.

<sup>69</sup> Bluntschli, quoted by Bernard Lazare, *L'Antisemitisme*.



a common history and language and has become a recognized State. Modern nations have room for many Churches within them, although they cannot have room for many nations within them.

Is Israel a nationality? Nationality is sometimes defined as a group of people who have a common religion, an historic tradition, common customs and nevertheless have no State of their own. Every nationality, however, is considered *in spe*<sup>70</sup> a nation. Its tendency is to try to become a nation and to organize itself as such. Now Israel certainly has a common religion. I have been trying to prove that this is the only thing that makes Israel to be what it is and certainly there is an unbroken historic continuity of Israel in the world. But it is begging the question to call such a group as is Israel, a "nationality" which would imply that it is a candidate for nationhood. As a matter of fact the particular character of Israel as a community is to reject ordinary nationality and to be what it is, a religious community. What it wants is freedom to be such a community in any part of the world. The home of a group whose essence is loyalty to the universal God is and ought to be all over the world. It can and does participate with joy and self-sacrifice in the life of all nations. Different sections of Israel belong to-day to different nations and where freedom reigns, they feel themselves quite at home there. They love their country. The reason people cannot cease calling Israel a nationality or a nation, comes from the fact that in the Bible, Israel is referred to by words that are translated "people" and "nation" but to insist upon this is again to beg the question. Herbert Loewe<sup>71</sup> well points out that these words did not have in the Hebrew language, did not possess in Semitic thought, that connotation which the current translation imports into them. In the Semitic world, human beings were not grouped according to physical origin or blood. They were grouped around their god. There was no such thing as nation in the modern sense of the word. There were communities whose existence centered in their god. A stranger could come from one country to another and if he adopted the god of the new community, he became a member of it. Therefore Israel to-day, if we are to translate cor-

<sup>70</sup> Laveleye, *Le Gouvernement dans la Democratie*, Paris, 1891.

<sup>71</sup> Hastings, *Encyclopedia*, Vol. 7, p. 584.

rectly what was intended in the words in Exodus is a "Kingdom of Priests and a Holy Group," that is to say a consecrated people. And if some nationalists tell us that Jeremiah said that: "If these ordinances<sup>72</sup> depart from before Me," (referring to the ordinance of the moon and of the stars) "saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel shall cease from being a nation before Me for ever," we answer Jeremiah did not talk of "nation" in the modern secular sense and Jeremiah if I may be permitted to say without irreverence, would certainly be astonished if he came back to earth and heard the language of our secular nationalists to-day. What Jeremiah meant was what I believe, and it is simply this. He was so convinced of the indestructibility of Israel, a conviction I share, that he says, can you imagine the laws of nature to pass away, so can you imagine this Israel ceasing to be a group before God and witnessing to Him. Israel is deathless. Now, that is exactly what Israel is to-day: a religious group witnessing to a particular kind of faith in God and an interpretation of that faith, and nothing else. If we ask ourselves, in all frankness, just what is it that all who belong to Israel to-day have in common, the Falasha Jew of Abyssinia and ourselves; here is Israel, scattered all over the world, made up of people that speak different languages, made up of people observant of different customs, made up of people who are of different physical types, even differing in color—just what have all these people in common? There is only one correct and honest answer. What they have in common is the fact that mornings and evenings they say, or ought to say: Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One. There is nothing else that binds them. And if in love and sincerity any human being to-day comes to us, no matter what his tribal origin, and says: "I accept the Jewish faith," we receive him cordially although we do not do missionary work in the conventional sense, because we do not believe that anyone can only find salvation by joining us. We receive such a proselyte cordially and he becomes, as Maimonides<sup>73</sup> tells a proselyte of his time, son or daughter of Israel, and is considered as of the seed of Abraham who is called in the Bible, God's friend.

<sup>72</sup> Jer. 31:35.

<sup>73</sup> *Iggereth*.



But what of the individual who no longer does say: Hear, O Israel, etc.? Is he to be read out of the community? Is my theology of Israel a theology of exclusion? Even those who assume a purely negative attitude to religion or are aggressively opposed to it, may nevertheless, and that is one of the doctrines of Israel, be considered as potential Jews, as by their birth consecrated to God. The election of Israel, as I said above, is one of the fundamental teachings of Judaism. Israel is a family religion. The presumption is that the child will continue the faith of the fathers. In this connection it occurs to me that when Amos refers to the election of Israel, he uses the suggestive phrase "families<sup>74</sup> of the earth." He does not say "only you I knew of all the *Goyim*, of all nations." Historically Judaism begins in the family of Abraham and Judaism has been preserved through the fidelity of child to the heritage of the fathers. And very lovingly accepted converts became grafted on the family tree. Therefore one born a Jew, belonging to Israel of the flesh, is always counted as a Jew and considered as potentially a son or daughter of spiritual Israel. Only if he deliberately leaves Israel and joins another religious communion is he considered as excluding himself. The Talmud says that "Israel<sup>75</sup> even when it sins, still remains Israel." To which Rashi makes a profound comment. He says the Scripture does not use the word Am but uses the word "Israel" because קדושתו עליהם the sanctity, the consecration still remains. And when the Marshaa in his comment of the same passage says that: even the person who transgresses every law of the Torah, the Mumar, and presumably even leaves the religious communion, is still to be considered an Israelite according to all its juridical law, he is not as profound in his insight into the meaning of the Talmud as is Rashi. No doubt juridically for purposes of inheritance or whatever other questions that might arise, he would be judged according to Jewish law. But what we are interested in is not jurisprudence but the spiritual significance of belonging to Israel. Therefore Rashi gets at the spirit of the talmudic saying. Once an Israelite, always an Israelite, provided one is in profound sympathy with the "consecration" involved in the very term Israel.

<sup>74</sup> Amos 3:2.

<sup>75</sup> T. B. Sanhedrin 44a.

And though it may make uncomfortable many born Jews who sit in high places, political, literary or scientific, in the modern nations of which we, as Jews in free lands, are part, to be told that they cannot be of Israel if they reject what Israel stands for, it nonetheless remains a fact that the character of Israel as a group is given in nothing else than in its unbroken sense of service unto God which has endured from Abraham unto our time. Israel to-day is what it always was: God's witness on earth. It is the *Keneseth Israel*.

From the nationalistic side, naturally inspired by its belief in the fundamental secular character of Israel as a nation like other nations in the world, has come a suggestion that what is characteristic of Israel is not its "religion" but "its civilization." Religion may be an incident of that civilization and no doubt will continue to be, but it is not the dominant thing since we are all modern and free in our thoughts. A man can be a good national Jew and not have any particular religion. The test is no longer loyalty to the religion in some form, whether it be orthodox, conservative or reform as we conventionally use these terms of division, the test is loyalty to the Jewish nation and the characteristic thing about this "Jewish nation" is its "civilization." And so we hear, now-a-days, talk of "Judaism as a civilization." In the first place it is good to become clear as to what the word "civilization" means. The word "civilization" as used in the circles which talk of a "Jewish civilization" is really a translation of the German word *Kultur*, and this German word as used in Germany denotes two things: civilization and culture. But some German<sup>70</sup> writers very correctly make a distinction between the two terms, between "civilization" and "Kultur" which latter they regard as the equivalent of our English word culture; and they say that civilization refers to things, external achievements and culture refers to spiritual creations or values. I accept this distinction. Now, civilization for me has to do with things external. A civilized person is so to speak a civilized person. A civilized person is a person who uses a fork when eating, who is inclined to use a tractor instead of a plough, who enjoys the comfort of the telephone and the telegraph, who, when in New York, sitting and listening to the music

<sup>70</sup> Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 4 Auflage, Erste Haelfte, pp. 62, 63.



played by an orchestra in Australia, does not feel afraid because he does not believe that some supernatural inexplicable Gin is performing the marvel. A civilized person is a person who lives according to the rules of comfort and opportunities of action which have been given by the inventions of science. In short he has the manners and advantages and the sophistications of the city dweller or country dweller if you will. He is no longer a child of nature. If civilization has to do with things, culture is the spiritual aspect of civilization. All cultured people are civilized, but all civilized people are not necessarily cultured. Civilization has to do with the mastery of the environment. Culture is the expression of the spirit and has to do with the interpretation of civilization and what it means for the inner life of the human spirit. I like the word "culture" in the good sense of Matthew Arnold who, I think, defines culture<sup>77</sup> as the "knowledge of the best that has been thought and written" and I would add, an assimilation of it, so that it has become the asset of one's soul. Culture has to do with religion, with philosophy, with ethics, with literature, with theoretical sciences, with art, etc. In short with ideas. Culture is a judgment, an interpretation and creative transformation of civilization through religion, ethical and social ideals. Man begins his progress with civilization and civilization on the whole, amongst all peoples, is a common reaction to environment. The differentiating things with respect to peoples are their culture, less so their civilization which they can easily borrow one from the other. The distinctive things are always of the spirit. Human groups begin with the use of fire, tools, simple forms of machinery and, on the whole, wherever there is any civilization, these early instrumentalities are about the same. Human groups differ in their gods and in their moralities.

Now, as to civilization, the Jewish people or community was always like a little island floating on the larger ocean of the civilization to which it belonged. Israel was sometimes a part of Egyptian civilization, of Canaanite civilization, Philistine civilization, Babylonian civilization, Greek civilization, Roman civilization and jumping to our day, modern civilization, European or American. In

<sup>77</sup> Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*.

biblical times when the Jews need arms to fight, they go to the Philistines to get them, and when they need an architect for a temple, they import Hiram from Tyre. A hint is enough to the wise, so that you will understand what I mean.

The distinctive genius or contribution of Israel is not in inventions or things, although of course individual Jews have proven themselves magnificent inventors and creators of things that we value in civilization, when they came in contact with the larger world. But the record of the classic creative Israel in antiquity, makes it very clear that its originality as a community consisted in what it produced of religion, of the ethical ideals of purity, morality, social justice, as the triumph of human righteousness and love. Their originality produced the conception of a God who is One, who created the universe, who is moral in character and was conceived as hating iniquity so terribly that the whole drama of history is understood as a bloody tragedy of the life and death of nations in order to vindicate righteousness. Even the phenomena of nature were naively conceived as connected with the iniquities and the moral excellencies of humanity. This God whom Israel revealed to the world or who revealed glimpses of Himself to Israel, cares for man. The individual is precious in His eyes whether he be a native Israelite or a stranger. This God hears the cry of the poor and the oppressed and defends them. He loves people and not merely Israelites, also those that come to dwell in Israel and sojourn with him. He is a God very jealous for His own uniqueness which is truth. He is the "I am"<sup>78</sup> that I am," that is His name; and He refuses to share His glory<sup>79</sup> with any other being whom He created. He is a God who is jealous for the Law of righteousness so that He will not compromise and He will not accept bribes in the form of material offerings on the altar or ceremonial lip-service. What He wants is lovingkindness<sup>80</sup> in human beings and not their gifts of lambs or beautiful temples. And He is a God who, to speak with Lincoln, likes the masses because He made many of them and therefore we are told that He looks to the "poor"<sup>81</sup> and to "the broken

<sup>78</sup> Exodus 3:14.

<sup>79</sup> Isaiah 42:8.

<sup>80</sup> Hosea 6:6.

<sup>81</sup> Isaiah 66:2.



in spirit” and cares and concerns Himself about them most. Now, with such a God Israel identified itself. It saw its own essence as a people and a historic community in the expression of His essence as a God, and loyalty to Him. Never in the history of the world was there such a union between people and God. This is all that is meant, humanly speaking, by the phrase “Chosen People.” Subjectively the phrase means that Israel, to use the words of Deuteronomy,<sup>82</sup> felt that it “avouched God” before the world. Objectively it meant that God “avouched Israel” in so far as in His mysterious providence He revealed Himself to Israel through its chosen spirits. The human fact is, in the last analysis, the revelation of the divine Will. All peoples found in their gods a sanction of their morality. This is a commonplace of history and proves the natural inevitableness of the connection of religion with the growing and purifying ethical life, but no people felt like Israel that its whole life was bound up with God. And therefore no people produced a literature so uniquely saturated with God. This people could survive loss of land and nationality, so that now it carries the Bible, its only “center” with it, all over the world. The great paradox of Israel’s history is that there was in this people a hunger for universalism, for union with humanity that transcends race or nationality. And on the other hand there was the mysterious tenacity of will, in self-conscious persistence in living, in remaining itself—an intense particularism because of the conviction that Israel as a community has something to do in the world but also a readiness to receive, those who came, within its folds. This universalism in Israel writes large the fact that religion in its essence flees race and nationality, because it is human and is individualistic, and is communion of the soul with God, and is therefore the possible experience and achievement of any human soul. Now if a whole community or people, using the word “people” in its original connotation, as a group, without any commitment on modern political theories, one way or another, makes itself one with God, lives for religion, it ceases to be an ordinary people and reaches out to a vision of the union of humanity. In the end, after running through all the stages of human organization, Israel became a Congregation of God and this is what Israel is

<sup>82</sup> Deut. 26:17, 18.

to-day, a religious community and nothing else. Its Messianic vision is the expression of its two-fold character. It hopes for the glorious future; it has never recognized any realization of its hopes. It is interesting to observe that every Messianic movement in Jewish history which attempted to see the fulfillment of the hope in any particular person, invariably led out of Judaism as a religion. Israel says the Kingdom is still to come. Ten thousand years after to-day, Israel, if still alive, and I believe it will be, will still say the perfection is not yet here. God is still not completely established in human hearts, because, with the realization of every ideal, Israel will demand more. *A people that stakes its existence upon the inexhaustible God is an immortal people.*

Judaism, the expression of Israel, as a religion, is made up of God, His Law, the hope of the future and the conception of Israel as God's messenger, the Messiah of the nations (if the word "Messiah" is to be used at all), which lives as an unbroken historic community and to which all are welcome. Now if you want to call this religion the distinctive "culture" of the Jew and give it a new name, and speak of "Jewish culture," I have no quarrel with words. If anyone finds comfort in this word, like the lady who got comfort out of the word "Mesopotamia" in the Bible, I would not rob him of it. I prefer the old word "religion" as a designation of Judaism and of the character of Israel, because after all as our ancient wisdom has it "the beginning of wisdom is the reverence for God." Reverence for God is the beginning and the end of the life of this historic community called Israel. And it is the beginning and end of its peculiar culture. Religion always creates culture. In Israel it is the exclusive inspiration to culture. Religion is an indispensable thing when you talk of Israel. The religion of Israel is many-sided, it produces a full life. Let us come back to the word *Torah*. We said that Torah came to have a very comprehensive meaning, synonymous with Jewish culture, and indeed the whole Bible is called Torah. Now in that Torah there are four elements: there is in it "Law," in its narrower or more limited sense, what we would call to-day customs, statutes, mores, regulating life. There is in it Prophecy which is a two-fold thing made up of the Revelation of Law in its highest sense, the moral law of God, the ethical ideal and



Vision which means the hope for the future and the belief that the best is yet to be. The Prophetic vision and the Prophetic moral law are intimately connected. A sensitive conscience and a belief in the ideal become the source of human progress and perfection. There is in the Torah, human Wisdom. While Prophecy is, in great measure, Divine revelation, human Wisdom is the result of thinking. There is pragmatic thinking in our Book of Proverbs. There is idealistic thinking in our Book of Job, and purely rationalistic thinking, the play of the intellect, in our book of Ecclesiastes. So Judaism came to love thinking for its own sake and so study as such was encouraged, and the study of the Torah as a means of culture became a religious obligation. And we became in a sense the "people of the book." Lastly there is in the Torah what there must be in every religion, the Mystic element, the expression of pure faith, the intimate union of the soul with God. No book in the world's literature can excel the Psalms. Thus the religion of Israel is very rich and many sided and has produced culture. But I like to emphasize the word "religion" more than "culture," because all this, I conceive, resulted from the intimate union of Israel with God. Our specific Jewish culture is in the deepest sense, obedience of the Law of God in our heart, in our soul, in our mind, so that we will love Him with every faculty of our nature, and thus, and only thus, can we *know* Him.

Now, while I am very liberal about letting other people use what words they like, I find that the trouble with the use of a word like "civilization" to describe what Judaism is, as a substitute for the ordinary word "religion," is that there peeps through it—very ill-concealed for a discerning eye—a tremendous heresy which destroys the whole tradition of Israel. This word is a desperate attempt to grab at the rag of racialism with which to cover the spiritual nakedness of a timid atheism or, at best, old-fashioned agnosticism. What it really is, is a flirtation with what we call to-day Humanism. It emphasizes man and throws God into the background, if it thinks of Him at all. As I said some time ago, Jewish nationalism for the first time in Jewish history enthroned,<sup>83</sup> in the consciousness of the Jew, Israel in the place of God. It is a distinctive break with the

<sup>83</sup> *The Outlook*, January 5, 1916, p. 41, lines 35, 36.

whole of Jewish history. That is the real motive behind the use of the new word. It wants to emphasize the fact that what the Jew has to contribute is a so-called "civilization" which, as I intimated, is a wrong use of the word, or a so-called culture, Israel being a people like other peoples, only one of whose values is religion. For this reason I object to the use of the word. It is not justified by Jewish history and it is an insidious attack on the values of Israel in the present.

Moreover the conception of Judaism as a distinct civilization in our land, is shallow and superficial. It is after all a mere play of words. There is no reality behind it. For, what is the Jewish civilization to-day in America? Is it Jewish cooking? As far as I know Jew and Jewish life in America, they are steeped up to the neck in American civilization. I am sure that the young ladies who belong to the circles to which has been revealed the new name for our old and beloved Judaism, are quite the products of our American environment. They wear short hair and some of them shorter clothes. They are quite up-to-date in their appreciation of jazz. As this paper is so long I will not continue the painting of the picture.

I know nothing which can be called Jewish civilization. Why then deal so seriously with the term? My answer is that it is dangerous. We must assume that when a serious thinking man uses such a term with which to describe the heritage of Israel, he must be in earnest, therefore if there is not enough of Jewish civilization in America at present, he will try to create it. That is the only consistent thing to do. But Jewish "civilization" within the American life, means the creation of a new ghetto, and we do not wish a new ghetto. We share American civilization, we learn from it and we contribute to it, and the only difference which distinguishes us from the other elements of American civilization is our religion, and nothing else.

If we live our religion, we will prove ourselves to be very helpful Americans and we can influence the spiritual life of America.

America I consider the greatest opportunity offered to Israel. America, our beloved country, is the noble illustration of what a nation ought to be in the modern sense of the world. It is not



based on the conception of blood, it is based on moral ideas, on the conception of the inalienable rights of man. As such, it has organized itself in the broad daylight of history; it is as I like to call it, the clearly conceived humanitarian nation of the world. When I use such a term as "humanitarian" I do not mean self-righteously to claim for America superior charity or virtue as compared with any other nations. What I mean is that, as the genius of our American institutions is to give the right to the individual and to judge him purely as man or woman without any prejudicial concern because of his religious creed or physical origin, his so-called racial blood, America is the nation that rejects, by its very constitution, all that is evil in modern nationalism. It becomes the symbol of the possibility of union of men and women irrespective of the blood in their veins, into a Commonwealth. By "nationalism" I understand that political doctrine of a group, of an actual nation which says that the unity of the nation must rest on what it conceives to be, the unity and the purity of blood of the dwellers of the land which go to make the nation and the State, nation and State being synonymous. This evil is of course most disastrously exemplified in German nationalism which claims that only human beings of so-called Aryan blood (by the way, there is no such a thing as an Aryan race) can be members of the nation's body politic. Now, the very opposite of that kind of nationalism is our American nationalism. American nationality can be shared in by men and women, irrespective of the particular blood in their veins. Therefore, we of Israel whose so-called "nationality," to speak with Saadya, is our Torah, find in America our greatest opportunity and our greatest responsibility. American civilization is good enough for us. American culture has much of the spiritual heritage of Israel which came to it through Christianity directly, and indirectly through the absorption of the spirit of the ancient Hebrew literature. Far from pointedly, talking of any particular Jewish civilization that we have to create in the life of American people, we would say that here, if ever, we have to make ourselves felt a purely spiritual influence as a religious community that is allowed to live in perfect freedom. Of course, back of the use of this phrase "Jewish civilization" lies the conception of Jewish blood as the creative power

in achieving what is called Jewish culture. I deny the whole theory that it is blood that created the Jewish values. It was individual genius as inspired by God that transformed Israel and gave it, and through it, eternal values to western civilization and to the whole world. If it is bad to attempt to define and constitute a nation in the modern world, exclusively on the basis of assumed uniformity of tribal blood in Germany, it is wrong all over the world, in Palestine and anywhere else. We must think clearly and must think through on this subject. Human beings must learn that no corner of the earth is the exclusive monopolistic property of any so-called "race." Not blood, but ideas unite and distinguish human beings and Israel scattered all over the world is to be the living example of the duty of a modern commonwealth to recognize this truth. That is part of our mission; to be the goad unto humanitarianism, even if we become the victim in places where brutal nationalism is dominant and humanitarianism is trodden under foot. Claiming a home for Israel all over the world, we rejoice in our beloved land and we are happy in the thought that many men and women of liberal spirit are with us. Nay more, we are glad to see that not only secularist liberals, but Christians, Protestants and Catholics, are feeling that resurgent, brutal nationalism in the Western world is a denial of the great Judeo-Christian tradition which has taught that world all that is best in its moral and spiritual culture.

Religion is being threatened and it is no accident that those who would excommunicate Israel from the life of a modern nation, feel compelled to deny their Christian heritage, and to revert to pagan gods. For while, if the Jew is to be regarded as free and equal in the Western world, he must be permitted to speak freely what is in his heart with respect to his distinctive religious individuality and not to be merely tolerated in so far as he consents to be only an echo of the creed of the majority, yet we must say that, important as are the differences which divide us religiously from the majority concerning doctrine, they are overshadowed by the threat which pagan nationalism is making to destroy the whole spiritual heritage that came from Sinai and from Jerusalem for the whole world. Therefore, when great representatives of Christianity fight bravely in Germany and outside of Germany for the rights of conscience,



they are fighting our battle. And we should not impair the vigor of their contest; we should not as Israel, weaken our position in the world by ourselves bending the knee before the idols of racialism and nationalism, which have been erected anew in the world, as if no instruction or law had ever gone out of Zion. We cannot have it both ways. If we want to revert to outgrown notions of Israel in the flesh, and emphasize race or nationality as our distinguishing feature, we run great danger lest we be taken at our word and be called upon to pay for it and to suffer for the new heresy. And to use a phrase of Ezekiel, the secular nationalists might learn again that sometimes the Eternal says in our history: "I will reign over you with outpoured fury."<sup>84</sup> So we dispose of this secular conception of Israel. And now we ask how is the individuality of Israel to be maintained to-day? What will Israel be in the future? What ought Israel to be? To answer that question means an attempted definition of the mission of Israel in the world to-day. You know that the nationalists and the secularists have poked fun at the whole idea of "mission." They say: What have we to teach the world? Monotheism has been accepted, what are we fighting for?

Well, I think we have something to teach the world. We can still give something worthwhile to the modern men and women, many of whom seem to have lost their God. Is this too bold a claim? Does there linger in this assertion the old Adam of national vanity? Well, Israel is not an ordinary community. It is a community that produced a Moses, a Jeremiah, the great Anonymous and a whole brilliant galaxy of Hebrew prophets. It is a community in which arose Jesus,<sup>85</sup> who claimed to be the realization of all Israel's hopes as the longed-for Messiah, and Paul<sup>86</sup> who broke with the conception of law as the means of salvation. Thus the one by his claim and the other by his interpretation, became respectively the corner-stone and the builder of a new religion, a religion which, as already emphasized, had a wonderful work to do in the world, and which has carried much of Israel's teaching to the ends of the earth and made it a part of the life of nations. We speak of this with the profoundest

<sup>84</sup> Ezekiel 20:32, 33.

<sup>85</sup> Matthew 16:13-20; Mark 8:27-33.

<sup>86</sup> Romans 3:20, 21, 22.

reverence. Israel is a community in which arose a man like Spinoza who, a mystic at heart, though a mathematical rationalist in thought, attempted to find God as the inner side of the mechanism of the Universe which modern science has envisaged as an unbroken realm of natural law and thus made possible the sentimental religiosity by which the souls of hundreds of thousands of human beings in the Western world live though they are unchurched, for his influence has been profound on modern poetry and he is the father of modern Pantheism. This born Jew was more in sympathy with Christian values because he never forgot the smart of his experience, and great spirit as he was, was still unjust to Judaism and above all to persecuted Israel. Paradoxical as it may sound, but nevertheless following logically from the intercourse of Israel with the world, taking and giving culture, I think the philosopher Kant, born a Christian, is more sympathetic to me as a Jewish theologian than Spinoza, born a Jew. Little Israel has thus far done very much in ancient and in modern times for the spiritual education of the world. It has been a central sun throwing off planets. I think we ought not to take such a pessimistic view of the dormant spiritual power of Israel. Let us only be true to ourselves and we will create spiritual values in the Western world, and if secular nationalism ceases to be in our midst, perhaps something new may be created in the new spiritual centre that is building in Palestine.

The modern world is hungering for God; but many in it think that the food offered is unappetizing, that it is poisonous to the scientific mentality upon which the modern man prides himself, by means of which he has obtained great power in providing himself with material things, which things, alas! nevertheless, do not seem to satisfy his spiritual hunger. Is it not possible that Israel's uncompromising conception of a spiritual unimaged God may in the end be discovered by the modern man, if he envisages it without prejudice as the God he is hungering for, the idea of whom will satisfy his intellect, and the moral nature of whom, as righteous God and loving Father, will stimulate the conscience and warm the heart? Such a God is unimaged not merely in the sense that He must not plastically be represented, but in the sense that no mortal that walked the earth can be said to have completely and exhaustively



represented Him. It is an unimaged God who is not tied to any supernatural event of the past, who is not completely expressed in any historic achievement, whose absoluteness as Perfect Truth transcends not only every formulation in words or dogma, but every historic myth which tries to portray Him to man. Might not such a conception of God, who is constantly to be explored, for whose complete triumph in human life humanity is constantly to yearn while it does not look backward saying "The best was" but rather, that the ideal can only be realized through mankind's progress in the far off event in the "end of days"—might not such a conception of God appeal to the modern man? Such a conception of God means that His teaching cannot be conceived as for ever completed in the promulgation of any book but whose instruction is fructifying the advancing mind and the growing conscience and the opening heart of mankind. And does not Israel whose faith was always turned to the future, who remained upon the scene of history as a living commentary upon its Holy book, and yet looked always beyond it to the Redemption that was still to come, does not Israel with its martyrdom lend itself as a symbol for the unending work which all communities must spiritually perform with themselves until every group in the world is animated by faith in the God of truth and by a social righteousness which will be the visible proof of God's Kingdom on earth? I think in all humility and reverence that this might happen.

The modern man thinks he can find a substitute for the God as Israel taught the world, in humanity itself. Modern humanism is logically the outcome of Western religion, because after all in the consciousness of Christendom, the central fact was a type of manhood which, we say it with reverence, Christian faith regarded as more than man, as both man and God. But man was, in the deeper sense, worshiped and not the Invisible who transcends man though he does speak in every heart. Only modern humanism strips Christianity altogether of its Jewish heritage, namely, of the objective Eternal God. Humanism speaks of a growing God, of a God who is becoming a power in the world through man. In a book by a brilliant Norwegian writer, Bojer, called "The Great Hunger," we find a passage which sums up the whole Humanist theory. He makes his hero say, "I will go out in my enemy's field and sow seeds and

thus make God." For the modern Humanist, God is not an objective reality, a Power, not ourselves, before and after man, and transcending man, but is being made by man. Such a conception can only be temporary, it cannot feed the starving heart of humanity. Man advances in culture by looking beyond himself; he cannot lift himself by his own boot-straps. The voice of God within him has only overwhelming validity, if it is recognized as the voice of God. Judaism says man in his supremest virtue does not make God, he does not create Him, he only discovers Him and knows that he is in the presence of an Eternal Power, who is creating righteousness. And if the modern man is to become religious again, might he not be won by the thought that the ethical life is sufficient for salvation, that the obedience of the law of justice and love to the utmost of our powers, brings bliss to us here on earth and has its own eternal value.

Just what was considered the weakness of Israel's religion, that it did not emphasize too much and concentrate the attention of human beings too much upon celestial regions, might that not be the very thing which would in the end win the modern mind? Do we not need something, on the one hand, of Hebraic immediacy so that the purified heart hears God's presence right here and does not need any postponement to supernatural worlds, of the joy of meeting Divinity, and, on the other hand, do we not need that urge to transform *this world* by social justice and make it a Heaven on earth, an urge not to be impaired by weakening the will through promises of happiness for the oppressed in a celestial world? Judaism, too, as a minor note in its symphony, makes the promise but the dominant note of Judaism is "the kingdom of God is built in this world." In the process of right living and in the process of right dreaming of humanity's future, might not the modern man find, as Judaism gives it, a sufficient ethical and social program as the content of religion? And above all, must not the daily duty, the civic virtue, the sanctity of the process of life itself, at last come to be seen as the wherewithal to serve God? Does not the education of the Western world show a deficiency in so far as the Decalog, not to speak of the crowning commandment of "Love thy neighbor as thyself," has not as yet entered into the life blood of the masses?



I think Israel has much to teach the world, but Israel must first teach itself. If we have a mission we also have a method of our own, and our method has been the method of example. As Law, the Moral Law is the essence of Judaism, we cannot and Israel never did, make salvation for a human being dependent upon joining the community of Israel. All human beings according to our teaching will be saved if they obey the law of righteousness and live according to the best light of their conscience. "The righteous<sup>87</sup> of all nations will inherit the everlasting life." Our method has been to draw by the virtue of the Jewish hearth, by the sanctification of our lives. At least history tells us that is the way converts came to us and they were very welcome. We always recognized that humanity has been well provided for by its Creator and Father so that our ambition has not been to make of humanity one church. And if we go our own way and seek to perform our mission as a spiritual influence in the world, we must so live our religion, that, to use the old precious phrase "It will prove itself to be our wisdom<sup>88</sup> and understanding in the eyes of the peoples." I think the time for reforming Judaism is over for the present. Our main work is to reform the Jew, to make again Israel of the flesh to be an Israel of the spirit. And therefore, we who have emphasized the mission idea must ask, whether in our justified approach to the world, we have not, swung by the impetus of our movement, been carried too far from Jewish individuality. And I revert to the idea that we must rediscover and apply to our lives the fruitful power of the ceremonial law as a discipline and a hallowing and purifying influence in our lives. Living in the midst of the nations, loving the countries of the peoples of which we are part, we shall, while being an influence for social righteousness and for peace, take pains to restore the conception of holiness in the personal experience of the individual son and daughter of Israel.

Israel is a spiritual power because, if true to its tradition and prophetic vision, it must be an influence in the life of any nation of which any section of Israel is a part, on behalf of more justice and more lovingkindness. But it is a great fallacy to attempt to

<sup>87</sup> T. B., Sanhedrin, 105a.

<sup>88</sup> Deut. 4:6.

commit Israel to any particular "ism." Individual Jews may in freedom of spirit and urged by conscience be in the vanguard of this or that party in the political and social life of any nation. But Israel is above all temporary "isms" which come and go—for Israel knows that salvation is not found in any political or social program but rather in the moralization of the individual and through him, in the transformation of society. The Prophets were very concrete indeed, but we know of no political or social program that they had. I do not feel that Israel will not have too much to do in the world. On the contrary the task is great. Let us not lose heart. The sun will shine again. Western culture will be destroyed if the Western world should, God forbid, destroy what it has achieved, all the rights of man, all humanitarian idealism. I think that the Jew will see better times in the Western world. Let him prepare himself well.

And now I come to what I call the new synthesis. The nationalists and the religionists, in so far as we, the party of Reform Judaism in Israel represent the latter, are above all thoroughly modern. The future belongs to them and not to any kind of petrified worship of the letter of the past. Both these modern movements have their strength and their weakness.

The strength of our movement has been the rediscovery of the universal element in Judaism, the emphasis of the ethical life as the content of the prophetic Torah, the Divine revelation. The strength of our movement has been to prove to the modern mind that forms may change because forms must change in the course of life's demands. The spirit is indestructible. If we are not to become a sect like Karaism, then what will happen is, that like all great movements in Israel's history, we will pour our spirit into (to use the great phrase of Solomon Schechter) "Catholic Israel." We have already influenced Israel, we will influence it more. Our weakness has been that because, as the Midrash says, the same messenger<sup>89</sup> cannot perform two different errands, we, by the very work of our universalism, may not have kept a sufficiently strong hold on the thought of Israel as a distinct community.

The strength of the nationalist party consists in the fact that it has emphasized the importance of Israel. It called it a nation. In-

<sup>89</sup> Ber. Rabbah, 50, 2.



directly thus it strengthened the backbone of Jewish consciousness although it braced it artificially. It too borrowed too much from the Western environment. It talks like a Western nationalist. The great man who founded this Conference, Isaac Mayer Wise, who was the "unifier<sup>90</sup> and organizer" of American Judaism, was so absorbed in the building of the edifice we love, that he said, referring to the Zionist movement, that "it was an unpleasant<sup>91</sup> episode in our history." He felt disturbed by it and naturally so. But this movement has proved to be a tremendous power. Its weakness is just this very thing that, while it wants to strengthen the backbone of Jewish consciousness, it has assimilated away the Jewish soul by making Israel a *goy* like other *goyim*, a nation like other nations.

This is a time for union and not for bitter controversy amongst Jews. Let us recognize that good is to be found in every earnest soul that feels the woe of Jacob. And so let us work together, we the religionists and those who differ with us. Palestine will lead to the new synthesis. Reform Judaism has the grandest opportunity in its history; it has the opportunity of martyrdom. Let it send half a dozen young men or more to Palestine to bring the message of Progressive Judaism. That name is the best and avoids controversy. What Palestine needs to-day, in my humble opinion, is a message that will teach the rising generation the religious and ethical content of the heritage of Israel. What exists to-day in Palestine is, on the one hand, an immovable orthodoxy which has very little appeal to the young, and, on the other hand, there exists a bare secular nationalism which is not good for the mentality of the growing youth. We have already pledged ourselves in this Conference to help build up a Jewish Palestine. We are cooperating with our brethren who differ with us in their philosophy of Jewish life. Let us also feel that Palestine is a field for us. Perhaps just as the Babylonian Hillel taught something worthwhile to the Palestinians of his time, so we may have something worthwhile to teach to the self-sufficient nationalists in Palestine of our time. Not to stand aloof is our aim, but recognizing the value of Palestine for hundreds of thousands of our brethren in Israel, let us help increase the settlement and, at the

<sup>90</sup> Philipson, p. 342.

<sup>91</sup> Philipson, p. 361.

same time, let us bravely uphold the truth that Israel is not a *Goy* like other *Goyim*, but it always was, it is now, and if it is to live at all, will always be, a witness to God.

In nationalistic circles, there is a song now being sung by many young people, whose refrain is עם ישראל חי the People of Israel lives. I do not see why I cannot join in this song, provided I am allowed to interpret for myself what "the People of Israel" means. I certainly am happy that in spite of all that has happened to it, and despite what its malicious foes want to do to it, it is still alive. But I would suggest to our youth that they sing a song with a somewhat different wording. I would say to my coreligionists, to my Jewish brethren all over the world, and nothing Jewish is alien to me—  
שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו אבינו בשמים חי. והכנסת ישראל שאומרת  
אני לדודי ודודי לי על הארץ הרום רגליו תחיה:

"Hear Oh Israel, the Lord our God, Our Father in Heaven, lives, and the Keneseth Israel that says I belong to my Beloved and my Beloved belongs to me, will continue to live on earth, the footstool of God."









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**JEWISH TRACTS**

ISSUED BY

**THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS  
AND  
THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS**

**No. 4**

**JEWISH ETHICS**

BY

**SAMUEL SCHULMAN, D. D.**

**RABBI OF TEMPLE BETH EL  
NEW YORK CITY**



**CINCINNATI**

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**T**HIS is one of a series of tracts published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. These tracts are prepared by the Tract Commission appointed jointly by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. They are designed to convey information on the Jewish religion and Jewish history, and intended for general distribution among both Jews and non-Jews. It is hoped that these tracts may help to spread knowledge of Judaism and to bring about a better appreciation of the Jew.

The first three tracts of the series were issued originally by the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

No. 1—What do Jews Believe?.....*Rabbi H. G. Enlow, D. D.*

No. 2—The Jew in America.....*Rabbi David Philipson, D. D.*

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## JEWISH ETHICS

**A** DISTINCT people presented to the world a distinct ideal of life. As the center of the Jewish religion is not dogma, but commandment, not creed, but deed, and as the loyalty to God, in accordance with the striking paradox of the Talmud, consisted not so much in belief as in obedience: "Would that they had forsaken Me, but observed My commandments," the distinction of Judaism as a religion must be found in the principles and conduct of life which it prescribes.

The purpose of this essay is to give as general and condensed a review as possible of the ethical content of Judaism. To the scholar, there will be nothing new in this presentation. He will recognize at a glance, from the statements made, the sources whence they are drawn. He will see that the spirit and the ideas of Jewish ethics and their practical application, as here described, are based on the Bible and the Rabbinical literature. To the man of the people, for whom this is intended, it would only be burdensome to interrupt his reading by notes and references which he could not verify for himself. The text will contain whatever quotations seem indispensable. It is necessary to add that only Jewish sources have been consulted. And the writer, having read also many modern Jewish authors, and especially "The Ethics of Judaism," by Prof. Moritz Lazarus, is very much indebted to them. All he can claim for this difficult task of an attempt to present Jewish ethics is the selection, for the purpose in view, and the arrangement of material, so as to give a comprehensive picture of the Jewish ethical life.

In Judaism, ethics and religion are indissolubly bound together. The ethical life may be likened to a tree. The root of this tree is the belief in a holy God: "Ye shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy." The trunk of the tree is Israel, a priest-people, consecrated to witness to and to serve this holy God. The branches and the shade of the tree are destined to embrace mankind. The fruit is revealed in justice and loving-kindness, in truth and in peace, which will be

established in the relations of men, in governments and in human societies. The flower is a pure heart, rejoicing in the consciousness of serving God, and in the intimate union with its Father in heaven.

The Jewish conception of God is that of the One, Creator of the universe and Father of mankind. One God implies the unity of the world with the unbroken laws of nature and with the moral law, to be realized by men. One God also implies the unity of humanity. Man is created in the image of God. He is dowered with the powers of mind and heart which make him like God. He is a morally free agent. And because of his two-fold nature, the natural and animal man, and the moral and spiritual man, he is called upon to strive to unfold and to realize the divine element within him. His task is to establish God's law in his own life and in the life of the human society of which he is a member. God's law is not arbitrary. The Israelite is not called upon to obey it merely because the Almighty commanded it. God's law is the expression of His own being. As Exodus has it, "He is the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, abundant in loving-kindness and in truth." Or, as Jeremiah puts it, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in riches, but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth, and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord, Who exercises mercy, justice and righteousness in the earth, for in these things I delight, saith the Lord." The Rabbis point out that the life of man is to be an imitation of God. As He is merciful, so be thou merciful; as He is gracious, so be thou gracious. The Midrash delights in interpreting the acts ascribed to God in the Scriptural story as models for human kindness. As God clothed the naked, referring to Adam and Eve, so shouldst thou give garments to the naked; as God visited the sick, referring to Abraham, so do thou visit the sick; as God buried Moses, so do thou perform the duty of burying the dead. And as another Midrash puts it, the Torah, or the Mosaic Law, begins and ends with an act of love. God's law, commanding men to do the right, to be faithful in truth, to be just, to deal in love with one another, is not something which He imposes upon man as an arbitrary decree of a master to slaves, for the observance of which He will reward them. It is the expression of His own essence. The fact is that, as the quotation from the Prophet Jeremiah indicates, we know God through the discovery of His moral work in the world, His revelation in the human conscience, and His manifestation by His providence in history.



His being our intellect is incapable of completely grasping; His moral qualities, as they become manifest in the world and in human history, are what we understand. The God Whom Israel worships is a moral being. He is not only Creator, but He is above all, the "Kadosh," the Holy One. Holiness means moral perfection.

And as God's law is the expression of His character, so man's understanding of God's law results from man's own nature. As man is the image of God, the law conceived as coming from God is not something foreign to man. He recognizes it as the deepest law of his own being. The Scripture says, "For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not too hard for thee. Neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldst say: 'Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us hear it, that we may do it?' Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say: 'Who shall go over the sea for us and bring it unto us and make us hear it, that we may do it?' But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it." The law of God is conceived as very near to man; man discovers it within himself, and, at the same time, he recognizes it as the commandment of God. There is, therefore, according to Jewish thought, an intimate relation between the Lord of the universe and the human soul. Man holds of God. By holding of God, he had God's moral character within him; but he has it as a possibility, as an ideal, as a goal. His business is to make it a reality and to achieve the goal of life by serving God and moralizing and sanctifying human existence. Man is conceived as in possible bondage to his natural passions, instincts and desires, which he has in common with the animal creation. He is also conceived as winning freedom from this bondage by becoming master of his nature, by governing himself. This mastery, this freedom, he obtains from God's law. The Rabbis as is often their wont, express a profound truth in the form of a play on words. In speaking of the commandments "engraven" on the tablets, they say the word should not read "Haruth," "engraven," but should be read "Heruth," "freedom." When man obeys the law engraven upon the tablets, which is the law of righteousness, he becomes truly free. God is not only conceived as the perfect moral Being, the All-holy One, but His relation to mankind is also described by the intimate and affectionate term of Father. "Have we not all one Father?" says the Prophet, 'hath not one God created us; why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?'



The root of the Jewish ethical life is, therefore, the belief in God, the moral Creator of the world, the Lord of the spirits of all flesh, and the Father of mankind. Jewish ethics is profoundly *religious*. It is not based on a theory of pleasure for man. It is not founded on a conception of utility for human society. It is not derived from any speculation of philosophy. It is based on the belief assumed or, speaking religiously and theologically, on the truth revealed, that this world has a purpose, that it is the work of a perfectly moral being. The purpose of the world is to produce the kingdom of God on earth, a humanity serving God and realizing God's moral character. Israel conceives itself as the power in history revealing these truths and exemplifying them.

The ethical ideas of Judaism are *universal*. They are intended to appeal to all human beings. And in their practical application they are to embrace all human beings. The Jewish consciousness produced them. But in their scope and in their practical realization they are not limited to Jews. Huxley said the best definition ever given of religion was that provided by the Prophet Micah, in the famous passage, "It hath been told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee: only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." This passage is a climax to a controversy which the Prophet describes as dramatically taking place between God and Israel. In the course of it Israel asks, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord?" And we should expect as an answer, "It hath been told thee, O Israel, what is good." It is very significant that the Prophet does not say this. He uses the word "Adam," "man." He thus indicates clearly that what Israel stood for in history is not limited to the Jew, but is intended for all men. Isaiah tells us that the justice and righteousness which were to be observed are intended for all men. "Happy is the *man* that doeth this, and the son of man that holdeth fast by it." It is interesting to observe that some of the noblest characters in Scripture are not presented as Jewish in race. The type of perfect womanhood, realizing the ideal of love and self-sacrificing loyalty, is given in Ruth, a Moabite and not an Israelite woman. The hero of the great drama of Job, the perfectly righteous man who is wrestling with destiny, and out of the depths of his matchless suffering argues with God, and with it all maintains his immovable faith in a Redeemer that liveth, is not presented as a Hebrew. Job thinks and talks like a Hebrew. The book is Jewish from beginning to end. But the hero is purposely made to represent man without any tribal or national



limitation. The Rabbinical literature, including the Talmud, Midrashim, and later literature, fairly teems with statements emphasizing the universal character of the Jewish law and its aim to appeal to and to reach man. We are told that the Torah, or the Law, was given in the desert, in no-man's-land, so that he who would could come and accept it. It was not intended to be limited to any country or to any nation. If a non-Jew obeys the law he is equal to the High Priest. If a stranger accepts the law of his own free will, he stands higher in the eyes of God than the hosts of the children of Israel who surrounded Mount Sinai. This law is, in its essence, ethical. For the Rabbis developed the idea of the "commandments of Noah." This meant that there were certain commandments which were applicable for all sons of men, technically called "the sons of Noah." Noah was conceived as the ancestor of the human race after the flood. Humanity, in order to lead the right life and to earn salvation, need not become Jewish. All it has to do is to obey the fundamental laws of righteousness. This is in accordance with the conception of Judaism that man is not saved by creed, but by deed. Therefore, the ethics of Judaism is an ethics for all men, though all men need not observe the Jewish ceremonial law or accept the historic obligation imposed upon Israel to witness as a distinct religious community to God. The righteous amongst the Gentiles is their "sin-offering." That is to say, it is as valuable in the eyes of God as any particular ceremonial service of the Jew. It is not only as valuable, but it is quite sufficient. The law, we are told, is given not to Priest, not to Levite, not to Israelite, but to man.

Analogous to the impressive biographical facts of Scripture which make the noblest types of manhood and womanhood to be non-Jewish in race is the tendency in Rabbinical literature to trace the origin of some of the greatest Jewish teachers to non-Jewish ancestry, to make them descendants of proselytes. Indeed, the institution of proselytism is the best proof that the law, according to Jewish teaching, was intended for all men. Judaism, to be sure, did not develop such a zeal for making proselytes as did the daughter religion that sprang from it because, according to Jewish thought, there was lacking the motive of seeking to save human souls. If a man or woman walk by the light of conscience and do the best to observe the laws of justice and love, that man or woman need not accept the Jewish religion in order to win salvation. But Judaism always gave a hospitable welcome to those who were attracted by it and made them feel at home. One view in the Talmud has it that the very purpose of



Israel's being scattered amongst the nations is to increase the number of proselytes. The law of life which the Jew was to realize, personally, by observing God's commandments, and socially, by embodying the moral ideals in communities, is a universal human law. There is absolutely nothing tribal or national about Jewish ethics. This truth is summed up in the favorite saying of the Rabbis, that the whole Torah, or Law, is given for the sake of promoting the ways of peace amongst men. Peace is constantly praised in Rabbinical literature as the most precious treasure. And as is well known, it is the goal of the Prophetic vision. This peace will be the result and effort of righteousness. The purpose of the Jewish law of righteousness, therefore, was to be a unifying force amongst men and to make for peace.

Not only theoretically is the character of Jewish ethics universally human, but in an eminently practical sense is it so. The Mosaic legislation, upon the spirit of which the later, more amplified, purified, and deepened Jewish ethics was built up, is the noblest code of antiquity in its treatment of the stranger. Again and again is the Israelite reminded that there is one law for the stranger and the native. In the great institution, the Sabbath, which perhaps more than anything else made for the dignity and equality of man, the stranger is included, so that he, though he might be bondman, should have his day of rest. Every time the Israelite is enjoined to deal lovingly and helpfully with his poor, the stranger is included: "To the poor and to the stranger shalt thou leave them." When the Israelite is commanded to rejoice on his festival, he is to include in his joy the widow and the orphan, and the poor and the stranger. When he is commanded to "love thy neighbor as thyself," he is immediately also commanded to love the stranger, thus implying that neighbor included stranger. That the law not only was addressed to all men but that it embraced all men in its operation is made clear once for all by a striking saying of the Rabbis. In the course of a discussion the question is asked as to which is the most important sentence in the Bible. One Rabbi answers by saying, "And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," quoting from the 19th chapter of Leviticus. Another Rabbi replies that there is a sentence that reaches even deeper than this. He quotes from the fifth chapter of Genesis: "This is the book of the generations of man." For this sentence tells us who is our neighbor. Our neighbor is any human being.

This ethical life, which was intended to be led by all men and to embrace all men in its benign influence, is to flow from perfect purity



of motive. The Jew is to obey God's law of righteousness, purely from the love of that law and the love of God. There is to be no ulterior motive. This may strike one, at first blush, as a very bold statement. Every one knows of the prosperity which, in the Mosaic legislation, is attached to obedience, and of the punishment and suffering which are held out as threats for disobedience. These promises and threats, however, are addressed to the nation as a whole. The Prophets, the clearest and most courageous and most uncompromising vindicators of the ethical content of the religion of Israel, also point out how national disaster is the result of national sin, and how national happiness and welfare are the result of obedience to God's law. This connection between the law of God and its consequences in a nation's life is not intended to be addressed to the personal fears and hopes of the individual. What it means is that God, being just and hating evil, being the Father of the fatherless, the Defender of the widow, the Friend of the poor, and the Lover of the stranger, He can not let iniquity go unpunished in a nation's life. And conversely, if the fundamental moral laws of life are obeyed, prosperity and happiness must necessarily follow. This connection between the law and the consequences of obedience or disobedience is the expression of God's methods and providence. But already in Scripture the appeal is made to the individual conscience: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." Man is to serve God with every faculty and power of his nature: "What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul."

And when the Jewish law comes to be developed and deepened in Rabbinical literature, the purity of Jewish ethics shines out resplendently, and there are more passages than we could possibly quote to prove this. The ethical life is to be absolutely independent of the hope of reward, or the fear of punishment. Says the famous passage in the book, "The Ethics of the Fathers," "Be ye not like servants, who serve the master in order to receive reward, but let the reverence for God be upon you." Says another Rabbi in the Talmud: "As for him who does the good for reasons other than the good itself, it were better he had never been born." "Whatever you do do only from the motive of love." "What is the reward for the observance of a commandment?" asks another teacher in the "Ethics of the Fathers," the most popular book amongst the Jews. And the answer is, "the opportunity to observe another." "And what is the punishment of a



transgression?" The answer is, "the ease with which we are prone to commit another." The reward of a good deed, in other words, is the facility with which we get the habit of doing another. And the punishment of evil is the ease with which evil-doing is increased. In another way, the Rabbis make clear the separation of the moral law from considerations of reward and punishment. Natural laws and moral laws are conceived as disparate. Seeds sprout, whether they were stolen or whether they were honestly secured. This means that God does not interfere with the laws of nature in order immediately to reward the good or to punish the evil. It is man's business to build up a new kind of life on the basis of nature, to construct the world of the moral law. He must do the good because it is good, since such is his sacred mission in the world. The Rabbis, of course, do not overlook the pedagogic value of training human beings in good habits by first appealing to lower motives. And so, they say, often a man does the right not for its own sake; yet, through doing it because of an ulterior motive, he will eventually, by force of habit, come to like the deed and will do it for its own sake. The terms that occur again and again in Rabbinical literature with respect to the perfect observance of the law of righteousness are: "lishmah," "for its own sake," and "leshem Shemaim," "for the sake of God." A good life is to be lived for its own sake and for the sake of God, who is always called the Good. Jewish ethics is, therefore, *purely idealistic*. The Jew, if he understands the teaching of the Torah, does not lead the ethical life merely because it gives him pleasure and makes him happy, or because it produces the best results in human society, making for the national weal; nor does he obey the law because of the reward or punishment in a future life. God being just and the moral Governor of the universe, and the Jew believing in a future life, there will, of course, be revealed a connection here on earth, as in the hereafter, between virtue and happiness, between vice and misery. The Jew, however, is called upon to obey the law of right living, single-mindedly and whole-souledly, for its own sake.

Not only is the idealism of Jewish ethics proved by the single-mindedness of the pursuit of the good for its own sake which it inculcates, but also by the purity of purpose which it demands, the strict conscientiousness which it implies. The aim must be the moral good itself and nothing else. A favorite saying of the Rabbis is, "God desires the heart." The important thing is not how much a man does, or how much he gives. That is dependent upon position or opportunity. The righteousness of life is determined entirely by the



direction of the heart. "A man's inner disposition is always to be like his outer appearance." This phrase, too, has become a winged word in Rabbinical literature. Just as the Ark of the covenant was covered with gold on the outside and on the inside, so, our sages taught, there is to be a perfect harmony between seeming and being, between the appearance of virtue and the genuine love of it. There was to be no mere satisfaction in observing the law externally, because Jewish ethics was never, from the earliest times of Jewish life, a merely external legalism. It always had to do with the heart, with the motive, with the genuine love of goodness. There is a fine phrase which has become classical and which expresses the spirit of Rabbinical ethics. We are told that there are "things which are delivered over to the heart." This means that there are certain acts of a human being, certain mental dispositions, which the law can not reach, but which are matters between God and man. Especially is this phrase applied by the Rabbis to perfect integrity, perfect honesty, which refuses to take advantage of a neighbor, which puts not a stumbling block before the blind, which curses not the deaf, which oppresses not the fellowman in any way, nor treats him in any way unkindly. In a word, wherever the commandment deals with that subtle relation of soul to soul which, as we moderns would say, is the sphere for the ethical par-excellence, that is just the relation in which man is enjoined to remember that "I am the Lord," and that, therefore, the Lord, who searches hearts and knows the innermost thoughts, will know whether there was the genuine desire to do the right or not. The Psalmist prays for a clean heart, which God is to create in him, and for a firm spirit, which He is to renew within him. The clean heart, as it is interpreted in the popular ethical literature prevalent amongst the Jews, is a strict conscience, a heart cleansed from every possible evil motive, from the least trace of self-seeking, and dedicated with rapturous joy to the service of God and to the service of the good. The Hebrew word "lebh," translated by "heart," means not merely the seat of the emotions, but often also the seat of thought and judgment. To serve God with our whole heart means to serve Him by clinging to Him with the strictest self-searching and conscientiousness. This inwardness, this purity and single-mindedness with which the Israelite is to lead the ethical life is brought out clearly in that famous passage in the Talmud which tells us that various Biblical characters attempted to reduce the whole law, with its numerous commandments, some to eleven, some to six, some to three, and some to two commandments. Lastly, we are told, the Prophet Habakkuk said, "The righteous shall live by his faith." This passage teaches that the proper



observance of all commandments is, in the last analysis, dependent upon the perfect faith in God and in goodness, which is the very root and foundation of righteousness. The spirit of Jewish ethics can be summed up in the phrase of the Psalmist: "Who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart." Deed and motive, act and intention, the external conduct and the perfect inner love of the good, make up the ideal character of the holy man.

The individual soul, with its interests, is not made the center in Jewish ethics. The individual is always regarded as bound up with the community to which he belongs. The dominating characteristic of Jewish ethics is that it is *social* ethics. A man wins his salvation together with and through the salvation of his own people. The law is given, from the start, to a community. It is an axiom in Jewish ethical thought that "all Israelites are responsible one for another." While individual responsibility is always emphasized, the morality of the individual is always determined by his feeling of social solidarity. Responsibility is always conceived as social as well as individual. Men can become holy only as a community. That a man might live the life of a hermit and be holy because he might, by his purity, assure his salvation, is a thought foreign to Jewish ethics. The Lord did not create the world "as a waste, but to be inhabited." Men are to live together in communities and their character is to be developed through the relations of the family, the State, the Church, any larger organic whole of which they are the elements. "Ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation," are the words with which Israel is consecrated at Sinai. The Rabbis say that, "if men are united in one covenant, they behold the presence of God." God was conceived as revealing Himself through a group. From the earliest beginnings of a loose confederation of tribes unto Israel's development into a Congregation of Israel, a purely religious community in which every person is welcome no matter what his racial origin or national descent may be, this social character of Jewish ethics has been emphasized. It is expressed in the special insistence of the law upon the social virtues. Specially commended to the Israelite are always the poor, the widow, the orphan, the stranger. The attitude of the Prophets, universally known, is that of the pleader for the masses of the people. Every one of the Prophets is constantly inveighing against injustice, against oppression, against grinding the faces of the poor, against exploitation. The burden of their teaching, on the whole, is the emphasis of ethics as over against the worship of God by offering a prayer or by any ceremonial service. The morality of the Prophets is pre-



dominantly social. So much so is this a fact that the present movement of social reform all over the world, insofar as it is tinged with spiritual conceptions and roots in a religious view of the world and life, likes to go back to the Hebrew Prophets. The religion of the Hebrew Prophets was pre-eminently this-worldly. They interpreted the Kingdom of God in terms of the establishment of righteousness amongst men. An ideal human society was for them a reflection of the real acknowledgment and worship of God as King of men.

Jewish ethics has therefore always acknowledged the importance of the State. It looked upon the communal legislation as the expression of triumphant moral principle. The law of justice and love was, as much as possible, to be embodied in statute. The good man seeking righteousness could not be indifferent to what the actual law of the State might be; and conversely, the law of the State became a moral educator of the citizen. Consideration for the poor and needy was not left to the sentiment of the individual alone. The individual was to do as much and more than the law prescribed. But the law, in all times of Jewish life and in all stages of its development, sought to prescribe the duties of the prosperous to the unfortunate. The solidarity of the community resulted from the thought, powerfully expressed in the Proverbs: "Rich and poor meet together, the Lord is the Maker of them all." The social character of Jewish ethics is most eloquently proved by the words put into the mouth of Job when he pleads his innocence and points to his realization of the ideal of life. He says of himself, "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness unto me; because I delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless also that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness and it clothed itself with me; my justice was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the needy; and the cause of him that I knew not I searched out. And I broke the jaws of the unrighteous, and I plucked the prey out of his teeth." And again he says, "If I did despise the cause of my man-servant or of my maid-servant when they contended with me—what then shall I do when God riseth up? When He remembereth, what shall I answer Him? Did not He That made me in the womb make him?" In these passages we have the complete ideal of social ethics as realized by an ideal man. The perfection of his morality is found in the performance of his duties to the weak, to the needy, to the poor. Nay, more, he is militantly



active on behalf of righteousness. He breaks the jaw of the oppressor and exploiter. He gives for his social service the only ground which a Hebrew could give, the thought that there is one universal Maker and Father for the strong and the weak, for the rich and the poor, for the most powerful and the lowliest member of the nation.

It is interesting to observe how the duties and obligations to humanity develop naturally from small circles to the largest possible ones. The social consciousness is deep as well as large. A man was to give charity to relatives before he gave it to a stranger. He was not to hide himself from his own flesh in secret, and win a reputation for philanthropy in public. The claims of the poor of his own city came before those of another city. We have seen that Jewish ethics embraced every human being who was considered a neighbor, irrespective of race or creed. But the social conscience was to be trained, stimulated, and developed along the natural feelings of family solidarity, communal and mutual responsibility. The universal human brotherhood was the highest out-flowering of Jewish ethics.

As the dominating character of Jewish ethics was social, the two great social virtues, justice and love, or righteousness and loving-kindness, became the central virtues in the Jewish ethical system. Strictly speaking, there never was a Jewish ethical system. Jewish ethics was more a practical life based upon the belief in God as the morally perfect. There never was as a native product of original Jewish genius, an impulse to produce a complete theory and philosophical system of ethics. When, therefore, we say, "system of Jewish ethics," we use the words loosely and call attention to those moral forces which, above all, shaped ethical thought and dominated the life of the community. As the Prophet teaches, justice comes first. "It hath been told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee: Only to do justice, and to love loving-kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God." In this trilogy justice takes the lead. This is perfectly natural when we remember that the impelling force which created the ethical life amongst the Hebrews, the Israelites, and later, the Jews, was the thought of the community. There are two ways for the realization of the ethical ideal. In a perfect human society, justice will be established in the social relations of men, and at the same time love will be in the heart of man as the impelling motive and the binding tie. Justice is a more difficult virtue to realize than love, because love is more natural to the human soul



than justice. Justice depends upon an understanding of the relations of man, upon the conscientious measuring of what is due to each according to his service. It may be said that the ethical education of the human race consists in its being trained in justice. Therefore the refrain in the Scriptures and in the Talmudic literature is always to pursue only justice. The first Hebrew, Abraham, is introduced as having been singled out by God in order that he might command his children that they observe the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice. In the Talmudic tradition it becomes an axiom to say: "Let right, or justice, even pierce the mountains." Before a man has a right to be generous he must be sure that he is just. It is suggestive that the word for alms-giving, or charity, is the old Hebrew word *Zedakah*, which literally means righteousness or justice. The intimation is that when we give a poor man charity, help him in any way, we are not to consider ourselves as merely generous. We really pay to the poor what we owe them. Our duties to the poor flow from the thought of our social solidarity. And as everything we have and are capable of giving comes from "Thy Hand," we, strictly speaking, owe to God what we can repay only to our fellowman. Charity is subsumed under the conception of social justice. And some of the forms of relief of the poor, as prescribed in the Pentateuch, which are usually considered charity laws—for example, permitting the poor to glean after the reapers, to take for themselves the produce of the corners of the field—are not laws of charity, but laws of justice, because they recognize the right of the poor to a living, which implies the right to work. Certainly, gleaning after the reapers by no means gave something for nothing to a man spending the day in the field. This spirit of ancient Mosaic legislation is adhered to all through the development of Jewish ethical teaching. The highest form of charity, we are taught, is that which helps a man to stand on his own feet, or gives him a loan without interest, which enables him to obtain an occupation, which deliberately throws business in his way, which, in a word, makes him self-reliant and self-supporting. And conversely, no man was to consider himself too proud for any kind of work. According to the teaching of the Talmud a man must do the most unpleasant kind of labor and not say it is beneath him; rather than be dependent upon others. Much as Jewish ethics emphasizes duties to the poor, it always brings home to men's minds the thought of social justice as a superior thing to mere beneficence. Says a Midrash: "If a man steals with one hand, and gives charity with the other, he will not be acquitted in the hereafter." It hardly needs many words to prove that in such a statement we have the whole ethical philosophy which



discourages a man from thinking that he can atone for unjust acquisition by liberal donation to charity. In Jewish ethics there never was any question as to the primacy of the principle of justice. Because the ethical ideal always envisages the community, the State, the nation, as the organ for the expression of a life lived according to the commandments of a just and loving God. It is true that occasionally, in the development of Jewish life and Jewish literature, alms-giving, or mere charity, came to be looked upon as the means of obtaining salvation in the hereafter. This, however, was only a temporary aberration. The dominant tone, the classical attitude of Jewish ethics, is to emphasize the duties and obligations of man to his fellowman, to be just to him, and to help build up a society based upon a just distribution of possessions as resulting from service.

It is well to note the negative character of ethical commandments according to the teaching of Judaism. In the Decalogue we have seven negative commandments to three positive ones. In accordance with the ancient enumerators of the commandments supposed to be contained in the law of Moses, there are three hundred and sixty-five negative ones and two hundred and forty-eight positive ones. It is not important here to dwell on the correctness or incorrectness of this enumeration. But note the fact that the prohibitions outnumber the positive commandments. Finally, the sage Hillel, one of the gentlest, most loving, and lovable of men, celebrated for his kindness, patience, and love of humanity, whose motto was "love all creatures," when he was asked by a heathen to give a summary of the Jewish law, formulated the teaching thus: "What thou wouldst not have done unto thee, do not unto thy neighbor." This is the negative form of what is called the golden rule. It is no accident that Hillel thus summarizes the ethical teaching of Israel. More stress is laid in this teaching upon what one is not to do than upon what one is to do. We shall not lie. We shall not steal. We shall not deal unfaithfully one with another. We shall not withhold the wages of him that is hired. We shall not oppress the poor and the stranger. Then comes the climax of the chapter in which these "do nots" are enumerated, the commandment: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." The Jewish conception was that if a man only learned what not to do, he would naturally come to do what is right of his own accord. The temptations of life consist in letting our selfishness so rule us that we do injustice to someone else. Our strength, our masterfulness, easily lead us into violating the rights of others. Jewish ethics, therefore, approaches man with prohibitions, thus inculcating the ideal of strict conscientiousness and just dealing with our fellowmen, so that we do not hurt them. If we are careful not to injure them, we will have less scope for



being generous to them. The generosity, the sympathy, the love will naturally follow from our nature. What a man would not want to have done to himself is quite universal. Therefore, we are told that this is what we should not do to our neighbor. What a man would like to have done to himself, in order that he may be happy and contented, is something individual and personal. I can not make my fellowman happy by applying to him the rules of my own happiness. I can help him to be happy, if I do not violate the laws of right living with him. Justice, from this point of view, is a negative virtue, but from another point of view it is the most positive thing in the world. For the ethical discipline of man, it is best that he be warned to be on the *qui vive*, lest through following his own inclinations he unjustly exploit others. This justice was to be obligatory upon all members of the community, rich and poor. Again and again it is enjoined upon us not to respect the person of the rich in judgment, but also not to favor the poor in his suit. Justice, according to Jewish teaching, meant the aspiration to and the realization, in individual conduct and social institutions, of righteousness between man and man, between employer and employee, between rich and poor. There is something greater than position, comfort, even the weal and happiness of the individual, and that is the establishment of righteousness and justice in society.

This justice, however, was not a fleshless abstraction. It was the majestic, uncompromising social ideal. It was the heart-searching standard for all human beings. But it always went hand in hand with love, with the deed of kindness. As Jewish ethics is, above all, practical more than theoretical, justice and love constantly inter-penetrate and play into each other's hands. Loving-kindness is constantly insisted upon. It is differentiated, let it be noted, from mere charity or alms-giving. As the sages teach, loving-kindness can be shown to the rich as well as to the poor, to the dead as well as to the living. The ideal for men was, as one of the moralists of the Middle Ages says, "to love one another, for that is all that God, our Father in heaven, requires of us." When the Prophet Micah comes to the second element in his trilogy he says that God requires of men to love loving-kindness. That is a very characteristic phrase of the Prophet. We should not only do deeds of loving-kindness, we should not only love men, but love, so to speak, is to become the cult of our hearts. We should love "love" itself. This did not remain merely an ideal; it became a real power in Jewish life. Rich as is Jewish literature in the criticism and condemnation of the sins of Jews, unsparing as were



Prophets and Rabbis, yet there arose a formula with which to describe Jews. They were called "tender-hearted, shamefaced, and doers of deeds of loving-kindness." Jewish works of mercy and charity became universally famous. That the Jew takes care of his own poor became a commonplace. That the Jew recognizes in his fellow-Jew a brother for whom he is especially responsible is a truism. One community in the world did actually show the perfect solidarity resulting from a common faith, a common past, and a common brotherhood based on the thought of the God of the fathers. This loving-kindness which the Jew was to show to his brother was, as already indicated, also to be shown to the stranger, to the man and woman of an alien creed or race. The law of life is given to produce peace in the world. And peace is the result of righteousness and love.

The world is maintained, says a teacher in the Ethics of the Fathers, by truth, by right or justice, and by peace. Here we have three great social virtues conceived as the foundation of the moral universe. Truth can well be taken as a subdivision of righteousness or justice. Truth, in thought, in word, and in deed is constantly inculcated. And Jewish ethics goes to the very roots of the matter. Not even the conventional lie is allowed. All these so-called conventional lies of society are un-Jewish because they violate the Rabbinical ethical prohibition, well known as *Genevath Daath*, which means, deception of the neighbor by any kind of pretense. Truth is regarded, according to Jewish teaching, as the "seal of God." That is to say, God stamps His creation with truth. If our life is to be an *Imitatio Dei*, an imitation of God, if we are to aspire to His holiness, then we must be inwardly and outwardly truthful. Truth being the first pillar, righteousness or justice the second pillar of the moral world—peace, the seeking and pursuing of it, the doing deeds of love to one another, which increases its growth, is the third and last pillar of the moral world. Put in modern phrase, we would say the fruitage of Jewish ethics resulting from the root, God, is strict honesty and integrity of the individual, perfect social justice and a wealth of love, which is the condition for the ultimate triumph of peace between man and man, between nation and nation. When the discipline of man shall have been completed and his life shall have been perfected, then the negative commandments will find their full realization in the triumph of the greatest positive commandments. Then will justice be capped and crowned with a perfect love of man, and will realize the great commandment of Jewish ethics: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."



There is such a thing as the *flower of Jewish ethics*. This consists in the culture of the soul in the spiritual beauties of a life which is the type produced by the ethics. The Prophet Micah gives the third element in his trilogy in the words: "to walk in humility with thy God." The ethical life, according to Judaism, was not perfect, even when justice was done and love was practiced. There had to be something more. There had to be that reverence of mind for the mysterious Author of our existence, that ever-present consciousness of the contrast between what we have achieved and the ideal we ought to strive to realize, that perfect subordination of self which can be summed up only in one word, "humility," or, as the Hebrew word can be better translated "modesty." This was necessary to perfect the moral life. The grace and beauty of holiness were to be shown in the quality of the soul. Just as there run through the Rabbinical literature such statements as the one quoted, that the world rests on three things, namely, that the moral world is objectively and externally exemplified in a moral society, so it is a favorite dictum with our ethical teachers to say that, "the Holy One, blessed be He, causes His presence to dwell only with the strong, with the wise, with the rich, and with the humble." There are variations of this sentence in the extensive Rabbinical literature but they all express the same thing. They all inculcate certain personal qualities, certain characteristics of the spirit. By "strong" is meant one who, as a Rabbi teaches, is strong enough to master his "evil nature." A hero is, above all, a moral hero who masters himself and thoroughly roots out the *yetzer* or the "evil inclination" in himself. This *yetzer* is most often, in Rabbinical literature, identified with the impulse to sexual immorality. Therefore the ethical man, according to Jewish teaching, is the person who has achieved self-mastery in this particular, who is a morally pure man. *Yetzer*, however, as we shall see, means in addition, something else. By a "wise man" the Rabbis understood one who is ready to learn from all men. The student of the law, the lover of knowledge, the scholar, is another form of the moral hero.

By the "Rich" they do not, of course, understand the rich man in the ordinary sense of the word. As the Rabbi in the Ethics of the Fathers has it: "Who is rich? He who rejoices in his lot." Note that he says "rejoices," not "contented" with his lot. For Jewish ethics did not forbid the ambition of improving one's condition of life. What it did inculcate is the rejoicing in the lot which happens to be ours. Be a hero and take life cheerfully and with joy. Lastly, by the "humble" is meant the modest, the reserved, the self-disparaging



man, the one who, to speak with our sages, would rather be the oppressed than the oppressor, the persecuted rather than the persecutor, who accepts with resignation what comes to him, from God, in the course of his life's destiny, because his soul is full of the supreme bliss expressed in the words of the Psalmist: "As for me, the nearness of God is my good." Judaism did not discuss, as did the ancient systems of philosophy, the *Summum Bonum*, "the highest good." The good for a Jew was found in selecting the right way and walking in it; in obeying and realizing God's law and in feeling the supreme bliss of God's nearness. Thus, we may call the flower of Jewish ethics, the qualities of a beautiful soul. "The disciples of the wise," the disciples of God, are pure. They love knowledge, they seek truth, they study and they learn from all men. They rejoice in their portion in life, because they realize again and again that which has become a technical phrase in Rabbinical teachings, the joy of performing the commandments of God. They are humble and reverent in spirit. They have the wealth of the soul which none can take away. And they strive to establish justice and loving kindness in the world, even as the Creator, in the words of Jeremiah, is working on behalf of them.

From the point of view of the personal qualities generated by Jewish ethics, a few words may be said upon what we would call the *temper* of Jewish ethics. The distinction of an ethical mode of life is, amongst other things, to be found in the kind of temperament which it helps to create. Jewish life was never ascetic. To be sure, in the course of two thousand years of the life of Israel, scattered all over the world and influenced by various cultures and environments, it could not but be that alien notions should penetrate it and find a place in Jewish literature, so that in some Jewish ethical writings the trace of an ascetic tendency may be discovered. But the dominant classical attitude of Jewish ethics is not to make asceticism a virtue. Self-castigation for the sake of killing bodily desires and thus living the life of the spirit, because the body is looked upon as in itself something vile, was never encouraged. A human being was to enjoy the gifts of God. He was not to deprive himself of anything; he was not to deaden any natural instinct. Celibacy, for instance, was never considered by the Jew as a counsel of perfection. It was the duty of priest, as well as layman, to marry and to establish a family, because through the family relation one portion of the Godly life was to be exemplified: reverence of children for parents and the love and self-sacrifice of parent for children. What the Jew is commanded is to take his natural instincts and to moralize and sanctify them. The natural is inferior



to the moral and to the spiritual because it is still non-moral. A human being is sent into the world to solve his problem by moralizing his nature and sanctifying his life. One element in his problem is the natural. And it is as indispensable as is the moral and the spiritual, which is the voice of God within him. Therefore a man, we are told by the Rabbis, will have to give an account on the day of judgment for having refused to enjoy something in the world when he had the opportunity. This is strikingly illustrated by the statement that the Nazarite will be considered a sinner because he deprived himself of the joy of drinking wine which, according to the Scripture, gladdens the heart of man. Morality was not to be attained by destroying life. The world is not a vale of tears, nor is it sin-stained. The world is the natural place in which man is to work out his destiny. He must take his human nature and educate it, govern it, and finally, exalt it. He must make it holy.

Holiness always means perfection. It is the separation from everything evil, and it is the exaltation to the highest potency of everything good. It was said above that *yetzer* is the evil principle in man, especially as it refers to sexual immorality and impurity. But in other places of the Rabbinical literature *yetzer* is taken to denote a much larger field. It is conceived as synonymous with all the natural impulses of self-assertion and ambition. It is the active, practical principle which civilizes the world, which builds up life, which creates wealth and comforts, which to use a very modern phrase, is synonymous with living our life, following our instincts. Now, according to the Jewish ethical teaching, *yetzer* thus understood would mean the whole of our human nature, when insubordinated to a higher moral law, when undisciplined. In itself it is not an evil. It is necessary and indispensable for the right kind of life. And so the Rabbis teach that God did not create the *yetzer* as an accident, but when He created it, He called it "very good." It is the driving principle of human life on earth, which makes civilization and increases the power of man over nature. Therefore *yetzer* in this sense is not to be utterly condemned. It is not to be destroyed. Salvation is not to be sought in denying the value of civilization. Morality is not to destroy the natural world, but to purify it, make it more just, make it more humane, make it more full of love, in a word, make it a holy mirror of God, the Creator of the world and life. The human problem, according to Jewish ethics, is now to work out our salvation amidst the circumstances and conditions in which God placed us here on earth, with our human instincts and desires and ambitions. God's kingdom is to be



established, so that the natural man be made also the moral and the spiritual man. The temper of Jewish ethics is this-worldly. It is appreciative of the good and the happiness which life offers, and it encourages the acceptance of them as God's blessing. The value of life is to be discovered in the moral experience and spiritual bliss which we can already realize on earth. A sage said, in a seeming paradox and contradiction, giving the philosophy of Jewish ethics, that "better is one hour of repentance and good deeds in this world than the whole life in the world to come. But also, better is one hour of the future bliss than the whole life here on earth." At first blush this is a contradictory statement. Nevertheless, what the sage said is thoroughly characteristic of Jewish ethics. Its outlook is not other-worldly. The belief in the future life, for which we prepare ourselves here by obtaining the character required, is a fundamental article of the Jewish religion. But while we are here, we should not unduly think of the mysterious future. One hour here, amidst the struggles of life, that realizes a perfect consecration of the heart to the good, is worth more than an eternity of quiescence in the life to come. And yet, after all, the spiritual content of the life in this world, as symbolized by the perfect bliss of the "future world," is what is most important.

The world, we said, was to be moralized and sanctified. Man co-operates with God in building this ideal world. Our sages say that when he performs a good deed he becomes a partner unto the Deity. God lays down the materials for the human problem in His laws of nature, in the conditions of life amidst which man is placed. Man has free will. He has the power to choose. He can follow his *yetzer* unreservedly or he can mould the *yetzer* according to the laws of right living. When he subordinates his *yetzer*, that is, the natural man, or transforms it, by doing a good deed, by performing a moral commandment, by realizing an ethical ideal, he helps, as it were, the Creator. For God does not force man to be good. According to the teaching of our sages, "He who starts on the road to cleanness is helped, but he who starts on the road to uncleanness, opportunity is made for him." Wherever a man wishes to walk, he is aided. If a man wishes to walk on the righteous and clean path, God will help him. But man, because of his freedom, must take the first step. The ethical life, according to Judaism, is partly the result of man's efforts and partly the result of God's grace. And man must reach out for God. God and man together are building the divine kingdom upon earth. This thought has even been boldly applied by Jewish mystics in this way: that they taught that, owing to man's sin, the Divine Presence



is, as it were, in exile. By his virtue man helps to release the Divine influence. Bold as this is, it expresses what is essentially true, that God and man work together to create the moral world.

In order to understand the ethical growth and development under the inspiration of Judaism, attention must be called to the conservative and progressive elements in Jewish ethics, if such terms may be used. In Jewish ethical teaching, in ancient times, two factors were dominant—the Priest and the Prophet. The written law and the new revelation, as it came from the conscience of the Prophetic, creative, moral genius. The Priest represented the conservative element, the external form, the outer law, the statute. The Prophet represented the growing conscience, the progressive spirit, pleading for the pure heart, demanding a deeper and larger justice and loving-kindness in life. These two factors are later represented in Rabbinical literature by its two elements: the Halachah, or the law, the accepted rule, as written down, the positive attitude; and the Hagadda, which literally means that which is told, and which covers a number of things, one of the most important of which is ethics. The Halachah is naturally conservative. The Hagadda helps, out of the dictates of the moral sense, to deepen, to purify, to amplify, and even to change the written traditional law. It is in the Hagadda that we find the most beautiful saying about Jewish ethics. The Hagadda must not be understood as a separate book. It is a name with which we designate a certain subject-matter, an element in the Talmud and in the Rabbinical teaching. That insistence which we find already in the Pentateuch upon the motive, upon the purity of the heart, is taken up very early by Rabbinical tradition, and Jewish ethics and Jewish law are perfected. These two elements, conservative and progressive, the tradition and the new insight, the inherited moral ideal and the constant re-interpretation, have been the uninterrupted accompaniments of the development of Jewish ethical life. Jewish ethics is a living thing, not a fixed theory. It is never completely stereotyped or formalized. It is a living growth of the Jewish soul.

We have thus far tried to make clear the *root* of Jewish ethics, Israel's conception of God, the *universality* of Jewish ethics, the *pure idealism*, the *social character*, the predominant virtues, as the *fruits*, and the spiritual culture as the *flower* of Jewish ethics. We have tried to show that it is universally human, intended for mankind; that Jewish law is given in order that man, and not merely the Israelite,



may live by it. That its temper makes man value human nature, the world, and life's interests, but seeks to moralize and to sanctify all of them. We have now to say a few words about what we called the *trunk* of the tree of the Jewish ethical life. The tree roots in God, bears fruit for the human race, and flowers out in the beauties of the soul. What relation is there between Israel, the Jewish people and all this? It is the tree itself. Israel considers itself as the Priest-people, as the witness to and servant of the ideas which it holds for the world. When it was a political nation in ancient Palestine, it sought to embody its ethical ideals in the laws of its own community life. And after it ceased to be such a political nation, it became the Keneseth Yisroel, or the Congregation of Israel—a religious community, bearing witness to God and His law of life all over the world, being influenced by the world's culture, and seeking to influence that culture with its own ideals. From Israel's tree of ethical life two religions have branched off. But Israel has not deemed itself outlived. The old tree still stands and feels the sap vigorously coursing through it. Jewish ethics, because of the consciousness of Israel as the servant of God gets in addition to its universally human content a peculiar coloring and individuality, and therefore, a subtle motive which has influenced Jews for centuries. A Jew, by his character and conduct, may either, so we are taught, cause Hillul Ha-Shem, desecration of the name that is, of God, or he may cause Kiddush Ha-Shem, or sanctification of the Name, that is of God. To the Jewish consciousness the desecration or the sanctification of God's Name is wrapped up with the peculiar characteristics of Israel's life, of the Jew's loyalty or treachery to his ideals. The conception in Scripture is that the all-holy God is sanctified in the midst of Israel. Therefore, if a Jew does anything base ignoble, especially in his relations to non-Jews, he is considered as desecrating the Name of God, bringing discredit upon his religion and upon his people. He is betraying his priesthood. If, on the other hand, he does something strikingly noble, self-sacrificing, making himself a martyr to truth and right, he sanctifies the Name of God, he brings credit upon his religion and upon his people. The Jew is thus made to feel that there is a sort of "noblesse oblige" imposed upon him. He must judge himself, in dealing with his fellowman, more strictly than he judges others. To avoid Hillul Ha-Shem and to create Kiddush Ha-Shem has been the most powerful motive to which Jewish ethics has appealed and by means of which it has reached what is best in the Jewish heart. Now, such a motive is not to be considered merely as racial or tribal, or even narrowly ecclesiastical. In a sense, it is the highest possible motive for humanity that is striving to realize an



ethical ideal in the world. What such a motive aims at is to inculcate the universal truth: that the altar is defiled by the renegade priest, that the theory is discredited by the conduct which contradicts it, that a man must justify the faith that is in him, be it a philosophical ideal or a religious creed. By his own character and deed man can discredit such a theory or creed, but he can also justify it. It depends upon him. Man is the priest of the ideal in the world. His conduct is the only test of his conviction; and his conduct is sufficient.

Jewish ethics, lastly, is inspired with a great optimism. It is not optimistic in the sense that it proclaims that everything that is good; but in the sense that Browning makes Rabbi ben Ezra say: "Grow old along with me, the best is yet to be." The Jew's vision embraced a glorious future for the whole human race. Jewish ethics is pure idealism, not only in motive, but in hope. That is what is meant by the Jew's Messianic hope. The Jew has never admitted that his ideals have as yet been completely realized by any man or by any society. He is in the world to witness to his own high ethical and spiritual ideals. The refrain of Jewish history and Jewish aspiration is that the Messianic age is still to come. Revere, as the Jew does, the past, he does not glorify it. He roots in it, but he spreads out, as a good, old, strong, and beautiful tree must do, towards the sky. He looks to the rising sun of the future and beholds it, with healing on its wings, shining for all humanity. When man shall have completely learned the law of life, in justice and love, that was to come out of Zion, and shall have realized the ideal of the word as it was revealed in Jerusalem, indeed, when men and nations shall come to be taught of the Eternal so as to learn of His ways, then will be made manifest the effect of perfect righteousness. Then will swords be beaten into plough-shares and spears into pruning hooks, men will learn war no more, there will be peace. According to Jewish teaching, the culture of humanity will only then be complete and perfect, when the law of righteousness, to use the words of Jeremiah, comes to be written in human hearts, when men follow it instinctively, when as do the creative artists in their work, they carry out in their lives, with joy, what in thought they recognize as law and duty. Then will God's Kingdom be established. He will be acknowledged as One, with one united humanity worshipping Him and realizing the perfect ethical life, in the name of Him who said, "For I am the Lord, Who doth exercise mercy, justice and righteousness in the earth, for in these things I delight."





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## THE SABBATH COMMISSION.

REPORTED BY THE CHAIRMAN. (DR. VOORSANGER).

*To the Central Conference of American Rabbis at Detroit.*

BRETHREN.—On behalf of the Sabbath Commission appointed at the New Orleans' Conference (1902) to submit an expert answer or Gutachten to the seven questions attached to my paper on "The Sabbath Question," I beg leave to present the following report, which, though wholly incomplete, indicates the delicate character of the work intrusted to the commission. At the outset it is necessary to call attention to the widespread misunderstanding that seems to exist in regard to the scope and purport of the commission's activity. It should be immediately emphasized that the Conference at no time made any move whatever toward changing the historical Sabbath; that therefore the commission had no call to consider the expediency of changing the Sabbath to any other day, but simply to report upon the seven points submitted last year for the consideration of the Conference. Despite this simple fact, false impressions have been created, partly through inadequate and incomplete press reports, partly through the biased misinterpretations of persons who can see no good whatever in the reform synagogue, to the effect that the National Conference of American Rabbis had instructed the Sabbath Commission to prepare a report upon the advisability of changing the Sabbath. The unjust character of this charge will become at once apparent when, by your leave, I submit the introductory communication addressed by me, on December 19, 1902, to the members of the commission. Leave is also asked to make this document a part of the present report.

Substantially the points submitted to the commission were as follows:

First. A definition of the religious authority under which American Judaism is proceeding.

Second. A definition of the ethical and economic principles underlying the Sabbath.

Third. An inquiry whether a change from Sabbath to Sunday would constitute a schismatic act which might convert Reform Jews into a separate sect and create a rupture in the confraternity of Israel throughout the world.

Fourth. An inquiry into the spiritual and educational means by which Sabbath observance could be fostered and promoted.

Below follows the introductory communication:

SAN FRANCISCO, *December 19, 1902.*

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR AND BROTHER.—The Year-Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis for 1902, on page 99, contains the following resolution: *6. Resolved, That the Executive Committee appoint as soon as possible a commission to present to the next Conference an expert answer (Gutachten) to the seven questions proposed in the end of Rabbi Veersaenger's paper. The committee according to the same reference, is composed of the following members of the Conference:*

Veersaenger, San Francisco, Chairman;  
 Fine, St. Louis;  
 Licht, New Orleans;  
 Brotsch, Cincinnati;  
 S. G. Solomon, Des Moines;  
 Hirsch, St. Louis;  
 Emanuel, Louisville.

Assuming that you were concerned to serve on this commission, I venture to address this introductory circular to you, believing it advisable to first explain the intended scope of the commission's activity, to explain the same to you and trusting to receive from you and the other members of the Conference in return suggestions which will aid the Conference in arriving at some definite conclusions regarding its position on the question we have been appointed to consider. Permit me to add that only at this time, after much anxious consideration, have I been able to present my suggestions in a concrete and consecutive form, and this may account for the comparative lateness of the beginning of our correspondence.



But as there will be just six months left us before the convocation of the next Conference we may hope to achieve some results, and, if possible, present a unanimous conclusion upon the questions submitted to the commission.

At the New Orleans Conference I had the honor of submitting a paper on "The Sabbath Question," which you will find in pp. 103-122 of the Year-Book, and which concluded with seven suggestions, which are to constitute the topic and basis of our deliberations. Before assigning you to one of these suggestions for specific study and consideration, it may be wise to keep in view the responsibility of the Conference as regards the entire Sabbath problem. The fundamental question might well be put in these words: Is there really a Sabbath problem? There are surely some problems connected with the Sabbath. There is the problem of its violation by thousands of our people, for reasons more or less adequately stated in my paper; there is the problem of the effeminization of the synagogue, resultant from the neglect of our men to attend the services; there is the problem of revitalizing the domestic character of the Sabbath; there may be, and undoubtedly are, other problems; but is there, or can there be, any problem regarding the day itself? Even if unhappily we are forced to admit that our people rest on the day they decline to recognize as the Sabbath, and labor on the day they still recognize as Sabbath, thereby rendering themselves censurable in the extreme for an inconsistency which begins to assume the magnitude of a moral problem,—is even this a proper ground for considering that the day itself is, or can be, subject to the exigencies of rabbinical legislation, or to speak bluntly, that it can be changed to another day by the dictum of a Conference?

It seems to me, we must feel our ground very carefully before answering so far-reaching a question in the negative. My paper gave my own point of view as plainly and distinctly as possible, though I regret that it has given rise to many misconceptions. It gave the reasons why the Sabbath is violated; but it presented at the same time a statement that these reasons were not sufficiently valid to justify our breaking away from our historical foundations: Incongruous as the whole matter seems to appear at the present time, the fact remains, that our Conference cannot change the Sabbath; that no other body of teachers would or can make so radical an

innovation until the logical facts and conditions become so strong, so inexorable, that the complete decay of the Sabbath, the consequent popular acceptance of the Sunday would justify—no legislation—but the rabbinical precedent of fixing the conditions that have converted usage into law and practice. At this point, what appears to be the most important consideration, injects itself. The Sabbath problem, in so far as it is a problem, is, from the aspects we are called to consider, of a purely American character. We deal largely with American conditions, and our authority, as undefined a quantity as it may be, reaches no further than the shores of our country. Now, the Sabbath itself is nowhere else subject to interrogation. The German Conferences, quoted in my paper, discuss the means of preserving the Sabbath, not of changing it. There was considerable resentment, if I recollect well, against the Berlin congregation, ministered by Holdheim, for having instituted a Sunday Sabbath. Geiger's position, endorsed by nearly all the leaders of the German-Jewish thought, was, that there could be but one Sabbath, and that the means must be found to maintain it. A concerted movement on the part of the American Jewish Reformed Congregations, if such were possible, in favor of displacing the Sabbath, would still further apostrophize the radical differences of faith, practice and discipline, known to exist between us and our brethren, both in this country and abroad, and, from their standpoint, must necessarily be construed as a schismatic movement, which, as I stated in my paper, would tend to our estrangement from the fraternity of our people. For, whatever recognition we may yield to environment, where ritual and discipline are considered, the admission that our American environments have completely undone the Sabbath of Israel would be, in the popular mind, a warrant and excuse for still greater innovations, which, all together, would ultimately so change the character of our religion, that its modifications might be construed either as a concession to Christianity or as an independent movement, sectarian in that the historical elements of Judaism are eliminated; that is to say, a monotheistic-ethicultural movement, which, in due course of time, would be liberal enough to admit proselytes, and as regards its organization, would become a duplicate of the Paulinian movement of the first century. That might appear very fascinating to any one who does not think even liberalism has its bounds; to us such a



development should present many sources of apprehension. I write with the utmost respect and consideration towards any of our reverend colleagues, who hold different opinions, or who have expressed more radical tendencies in their congregational policy; but I cannot bring myself to view the incongruities here presented with any degree of equanimity, because I feel that we are teachers of Judaism, leaders of the Jewish people, and charged with the preservation of our faith, so far as its historical elements are concerned, as well as with preserving, as far as possible, the spiritual unity of the Jewish people. If I am mistaken in this assumption, let us speak the truth candidly. My own position in the matter is, that the Conference has not, and could not have, under its present constitution, any powers to legislate the Sabbath out of existence. I wish to engage in no specious reasoning why "a" Sabbath is better than "the" Sabbath. I wish to enter into no argument as to whether the Sabbath is of Divine origin or a mere expression of the social order. Our standpoint as teachers of Judaism, without the least dogmatic attitude, justifies the declaration that the Sabbath of the Decalogue is still the Sabbath, and that, as in the historical instance of declaring Sunday to be the day of rest for Christianity, it could only be changed as an authoritative expression of social conditions that existed long before. In passing, I may call your attention to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church, sixteen centuries after the Nicæan Council, still retains the Sabbath of the decalogue on its calendar, denominating Sunday as the Lord's day, and still calling the seventh day "Sabbath." This historical consistency and the ethnological and metaphysical considerations centering in Sunday, should imbue us with the virtuous desire of maintaining our historical ground.

If, then, I am of the opinion that the Conference has not, and from the nature of its organization cannot have, jurisdiction to declare one or more of the historical institutions identified with the religion of Israel, as no longer existing, I do not, on the other hand, wish to convey the idea that we are utterly helpless, and can find no means of reaching our people with a view of ameliorating their spiritual conditions. On the contrary, I believe that the Conference can do much in that direction, particularly so if it will sturdily insist upon the maintenance of historical positions and conditions.

In that case the attachment and sympathy of the more conservative elements will be won, and many prejudices conquered, that now unhappily are sources of friction and unkindness. It has occurred to me, that no serious question affecting the spiritual future of our people in America will ever be solved if we remain on the low plane of organization we have hitherto occupied. Judaism, as you know full well, is above every dogmatic consideration, a discipline, designed to introduce the highest ethical standards into the activities of daily life. But a discipline in order to be effective, in order to insure recognition of its efficacy and integrity, needs the sanction and fostering hand of authority. A religious organization without a spiritual authority is inconceivable. I recognize that, whatever the discipline of the reformed synagogue may be, suffers from a want of definition of both its character and authority, and to this I am inclined to attribute much of the carelessness which has become such a notable characteristic of our religious policy. The Conference has no authority, even if its prayer-book has been received with general approbation. The hopeful side of the latter fact is, or was, that our people were anxious for religious, or rather ritual unity, and this hopeful sign still remains. But, despite this fact, the so-called autonomy of the congregations includes an unwarranted disposition to interfere with and circumscribe or curtail rabbinical functions. The Conference is by the congregations understood to be a body of individuals, who may meet, confer, decide and recommend, but who cannot legislate; and whose acts have no force whatever, except in so far as each congregation selects at will to abide by them. This may be a splendid demonstration of congregational autonomy, but it leads to confusion; it prevents unity, it encourages diversity of practice, and paralyzes the element so essential in the practice of Judaism—discipline. Now, I realize the dangers of religious authority. Like any of you, I have no stomach for the Popeship of any individual, nor for the fettering of private judgment, nor even for obstructing the justification for private conduct. The days of Shulchan Arukh discipline are past; but you must admit that there is many a stage between a concerted, unwieldy and unyielding authority, and religious anarchy. I am more afraid of the latter than of the former. I conceive the possibility of an authority that must be acceptable to our people. I have sketched it,



and find it by no means impractical or idealistic. It is, in effect, a scheme to identify the Conference of American Rabbis with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and by the co-ordinate action of both bodies strengthen the position of both. The details I cannot now give you. But I am unalterably convinced that even the Sabbath difficulties would yield to treatment were it once understood that there is a spiritual authority in American Israel, whose suggestions, because sanctified by the laity, would meet with general respect and recognition. This is the basis of No. 3 of my suggestions on page 121 of the Year-Book, which, with your permission, I will retain for myself for more specific and detailed consideration.

If there is any merit in the foregoing considerations, you will readily perceive that my suggestions, which are to be the basis of our present considerations, are one and all calculated to arouse the consciousness of the people regarding the Sabbath. For, even in my closest scrutiny of the problems in hand, I have not dared to hide from myself the fact that there are some factors of unrest with which we can deal and for the non-treatment of which, we are, to a great degree, responsible. Admitting the spiritual, economic and social problems that hedge around our Sabbath, there are issues which we can present and even force upon the consideration of the people. If the Sabbath is to remain, we can at least study how much of it can be vitalized. If Sabbath breaking is to be construed—as it really ought—as an act of the individual, then it is still possible for us to present the general view, and to insist upon the preservation of certain elements. Our duty is to find the correct ethical interpretations, as these prove economic difficulties. Can we find them? Then, again, Sabbath breaking in the stores does by no means imply its death at home. I believe that strong and unanimous suggestions on our part, as to authority, as to definition as to our position on the Sabbath, as to encouragement of services to be held when men can attend, as to the revitalization of the domestic practices of the Sabbath,—that these will do much towards restoring a moiety of the Sabbath, so long as it is our duty to stand on historical ground, so long as we admit that, as a Conference, we have no rights in the matter, and that a declaration of substitution is utterly inconsistent with both our functions and constitution.

I submit these considerations to you with great respect, with the

assurance that they are merely personal, and that your opinions will have the weight they deserve. I am anxious for a full and free discussion of the subject, out of which, so may it please God, we will be able to present to the Conference, some ideas which may assist our beloved people in the present grave difficulties. If we can accomplish more, it will indeed be a signal blessing on our labors.

As chairman of the commission, it is now my privilege to segregate the suggestions on pp. 120 and 121 of the Year-Book, with a view of their assignment to the respective members of the commission as follows:

Voorsanger .....	No. 3
Sale .....	No. 2
Heller .....	No. 6
Deutsch .....	No. 5
Sonneschein .....	No. 1
Harrison .....	No. 4
Enelow .....	No. 7

Trusting that I may hear from you at the earliest possible moment, and with the assurances of personal regards, believe me always,

Respectfully and fraternally yours,

JACOB VOORSANGER.

As a result of this communication an interesting and voluminous correspondence developed bearing upon an interpretation of the commission's activity and to what extent its opinions and recommendations might constitute a basis for ritual action. With one exception, that of Dr. Enelow, such members of the commission as participated in the correspondence agreed that every suggestion affecting the main question should rest upon an affirmative basis, that the Sabbath itself was not to be discussed, but only the problems which had been pointed out in Dr. Voorsanger's paper of last year. The methods of treatment suggested by several of the correspondents did not commend them for incorporation in an official report, and it is to be regretted, in addition, that several members of the commission entirely ignored the mandate of the Conference and did not even deign to reply to the chairman's communication.



With reference to Dr. Enelow, it is submitted that the learned Louisville Rabbi consented to contribute to the commission's report upon the express condition that he might review the entire question from his own point of view, and though the majority of the commission did not agree with Dr. Enelow's conclusions, the study he presented is so thoroughly meritorious that unanimous consent was given to its incorporation in this report. But as a result of this incorporation, the various parts of this report represent the opinion of the various authors rather than the consensus of the commission as a whole. In fact, it may well be questioned whether at the present time any unanimous opinion could be entertained upon any of the subjects the commission was instructed to study. Practically, this commission is not ready to report in full upon all the questions submitted for its consideration, partly because several of its members passively ignored their appointment, partly also because the questions under consideration are too far-reaching to be disposed of in so short a time; wherefore the commission has no recommendations to offer, but confines itself to a presentation of the studies of Rabbis Sonneschein, Voorsanger and Enelow as they are arranged below:

S. H. SONNESCHEIN.

Opinion rendered on Suggestion No. 1 in the schedule for the report of the Sabbath-Question Committee:

(Sec. 1.) *"This Conference should authorize an official statement regarding its position in the matter of the Sabbath."*

A. Our Conference is a deliberative, academic body endowed with that qualitative and quantitative confidence of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which by all means gives us the authority to render a decision in all matters pertaining to a reconstruction of even the most fundamental religious ceremonial. There is no הלכה למעשה which we may not approach with a view of a *modern* interpretation, wherever and whenever the Talmudic and Rabbinic decisions fundamentally clash with the VITAL demands of our all-absorbing 20th century American conditions of industrial, commercial and social life and public interest! (Confront Maimuni's Code הלכות מומרים)

„רישות ככל בית דין בכל דור ודור לדון לפי מקומם וזמנם „

B. Even the שבות-idea, by all means a *Mosaic* inhibition, has already, as far back as the 16th century, received a correction by no less an authority than Moses Isserles (see הלכות שבת רמח"ד כל מקום שאדם הולך לסחורה או לראות פני הבירו חשוב הכל דבר מצוה וע"כ נהגו בקצת מקומות להקל במסורה from my father זצ"ל (author of צהר לבנין), a leading rabbi in Upper Hungary, 1826-1872, that in all such emergencies, where a הפסד גדול or some pressing public interests are at stake, any מקח ומכר transaction may be, under certain cautionary rules, attended to on the Sabbath Day.

C. That הפסד גדול License of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries in those more or less primitive commercial days is certainly holding good for our 20th century life. Our Central Conference surely! if, after due and reverential weighing of all points in controversy, they come to the conclusion to abolish the rabbinical inhibition of mere "business" transaction on the Sabbath (not involving an organic law, viz.: the, קדושת היום) can go on and establish SUCH a license-system as is wanted in this era of the sharpest competition in the market of labor and capital, where the wireless sparks of rapid intelligence are concentrating and minimizing the vastest distances of time and space to a point where a continent becomes a mere speck of an island and a month's lapse is superseded by a small hour's rush . . .

D. That maxim „כח דהתירא עריך" is incontrovertible! And in these our days, and in this country, where not alone "slavery," but even the idea of "the man servant and maid servant" is only a "doomed alien possibility, the Day of Rest stands for a higher ethical purpose than ever, and as long as the Conference will stand by the "SEVENTH Day," and not cast its lines to fish exclusively in the Sunday pond, we have not only the authority, but the DUTY to lighten the burden of the "Ghetto"-Sabbath, and to free the American Jew from the thralldom of a superannuated casuistry.

ויהי נעם ה' עלינו, אמן

NO. 3 BY VOORSANGER.

This Conference should define, if possible, the spiritual authority that guides and directs the religious practice of our people. The presentation of this question of definition of authority on the part



of last year's essayist (see page 121 of the Year-Book for 1902) indicates a presumably logical connection between the Sabbath problem and the necessity for defining the character of spiritual authority, and the latter's relation to the people. There has been resting in the proponent's mind a question whether Sabbath observance would not derive more strength from the peoples' better acquaintance with the sources whence religious practice receives its sanction and the authorities appointed to expound and direct it. This question, therefore, has a broader scope and involves important consideration of the subject of religious discipline, its definition, and also whether at the present time there exists or is needed any authority to give such discipline the requisite force and sanction that will enjoin observance on all who are willing to place themselves in the care of authority; hence, looking to a unity as well as uniformity of ritual practice to the extent that the latter may be needed.

Theoretically, the status of the rabbinate in its relations to the people has not changed. The rabbi's principal mission is, and has been, that of a popular guide, who by reason of his own intimate knowledge of the sources of authority interprets the moral and religious questions that affect the people, and, aided by precedent, tradition preserves the historical continuity of faith and transmits it to his disciples. The historical characteristics of this great rabbinical mission need not be considered here, except to say that the latter originated in a sage design to preserve the religious as well as the physical unity of the Jewish people at a time when all the elements of its sovereignty had become dissipated and the gravest danger existed of its ultimate absorption among the dominant nations of the period. The success and vindication of that mission constitutes the religious and literary history of the Jewish people from the time of the great masters of Jamnia until the present day. The rabbi has been the exponent of tradition, the interpreter of law, the ethical guide, the guardian of knowledge, teacher, author, judge, jurist, ritualist, an authority recognized by the people because of the same attributes that anciently distinguished the prophet whose worth, personal purity and wealth of spirit commended him to the people rather than his capacity to engage in the external signs of prophecy. Rabbinical authority, at the time of Judaism's greatest peril, was of needs self-constituted, having at the first but the sanction of those

who engaged in its creation; yet so absolutely necessary has it proved to be, because of the popular conscience that recognized its salutary and helpful functions, that, except in the single historical instance of sectarian revolt furnished by Qaraism, there seems to have been no disposition to dispute the spiritual authority that undertook the great mission of guarding and preserving the faith.

These general statements, of course, do not include a study of the forms under which the rabbinate appeared from time to time, nor of the relations of individual rabbis or colleges of rabbis to each other. These subjects, greatly as they need discussion, would lead us too far away from the main discussion. Suffice it at the present, that much as the people of Israel have always respected and venerated the sources of their religious practices and unity, they have not always been patient under the rule of individuals or colleges who would give authority either an hierarchical or an autocratic form. Such forms do not commend themselves to democratic organizations, and we believe to be within the truth when we venture the general statement that already before the diaspora Jewish congregations were essentially democratic. We might notice, therefore, historical conflict which would have the tendency of teaching and advising us of the paramount necessity of maintaining forms of authority in consonance with the popular interpretation thereof, so that there be at no time, so far as possible, any confusion in the minds of the people between authority itself and the men who from generation to generation represent and expounded.

This, then, would lead to another important consideration, namely, that whilst theoretically the status of the rabbinate in its relation to the people has not changed, concretely, it has become very much modified. With particular reference to our American life and conditions, both social and legal, it may be submitted that many of the ancient historical functions of the rabbinate have entirely fallen away. We have not abolished them; they have abolished themselves. That the American rabbi has no jurisdiction whatever in every function appropriated by political government since the gradual development of national, state and communal life is too self-evident to require explanation; and it is only necessary to here once more punctuate the utter foolishness of giving rabbinical sanction to all legal proceedings, notably such as divorces, the finality of



which is determined by the operation and procedure of state law alone; in fact, the functions of the ecclesiastical lawyer, whether in *דיני ממונות* or *דיני נפשות* as well, therefore, as the functions of ecclesiastical tribunals in all matters pertaining to civil and criminal law, have completely and, as far as we can see, permanently passed away; and whilst it is indisputably true that rabbinical authority or advice may have its due influence in the amicable settlement of actions at law by an appeal to rabbinical experience or a reverent investigation of precedents that can help to avoid litigation, it is nevertheless absolutely true that the rabbi's official connection with and authority in the law that determines political and civic relationship and responsibility is abrogated, we believe, for all time to come.

Another thing, however, is the rabbi's connection with all matters pertaining to education, ritual practice, discipline, religion and ethics. Whilst here too modifications could be noted, the general subject still remains the burden of rabbinical care. The modifications, let it be said at once, are important enough. All ritual practice and discipline must tend to fix and determine, not merely a general and common standard of religious interpretation, but primarily the ethical relationship of the individual towards the community of which he is a component part. To make that relationship as complete and effective as possible, it is essential to admit the expediency of harmonizing the standards of religious conduct as expounded by ritual practice with the spirit that speaks through the culture of the times. The American Jew has undertaken to appropriate unto himself a certain freedom of action in the matter of religious practice, for which our brethren who believe in the possibility of maintaining concrete and immutable rules of life and practice must find an explanation, and, if possible, justification in the freer and fuller life of the American communities from which, not for the fraction of a moment, the Jew thinks of dissociating himself, and in the remarkable application of the truths, the facts, and practical results of modern science to all the exigencies of social life. The American Jew, without dictation, direction or instruction, believes his private life, in so far as it is affected by no question of great moral principles, cannot be regulated by a law that stopped growing a long time ago, and therefore represents conditions that are distinctly out of harmony with his own time. We need not emphasize that this

freedom of action, purely a question of social evolution, is foolishly often maliciously attributed to the initiative of Reform Judaism; and, again, without attempting to interpret such preposterous nonsense, we need not advance any argument or facts to prove that reform Judaism derives its greatest efficacy from breasting the waves of evolution, when on the rise, and enable our people to pass on safely unto their future destiny. But whatever the reason, it remains true that in many issues of public, personal and domestic life, in sanitation, in diet, in the details of Sabbath observance, the American Jew has broken through the fetters of tradition, not because he is an enemy of tradition, nor because he covets the luxury of practically ignoring tradition, as do so many who frantically proclaim its efficacy from the housetops, but because, and only because, he lives his life in conformity with American ideas; because he realizes that Jewish life must progress with the widening of the environments in which he lives; and because he at least has the courage to publicly deny the efficacy or the concrete character of a traditional discipline that no longer harmonizes with the issues of his social life.

The question then presents itself: what remains of religion, what of ritual practice, what of discipline and what of the authority that maintains and transmits them? It is unfortunate indeed that no one at the present time is or can be competent to answer so grave and momentous a question in any definite manner. To be sure, we might answer in a general way that we entertain the greatest loyalty towards the truths and tenets of our faith; that we maintain their abiding strength; and that the greatest virtue of our religious organization lies in the ethical character of our teachings, whereby we aspire to lead our people to conform to those high moral standards which make Judaism the synonym of every constitutional effort to vindicate the inherent virtue of mankind. But the answer is not specific. It lacks definition and does not bring to the foreground with sufficient prominence either the distinct aims of Reform Judaism or an important interrogation whether Reform Judaism can live, thrive and grow without definite suggestions of religious discipline such as seal the historical constitution of Rabbinical Judaism. This interrogation seems most important, because it is most likely that this want of definition causes an almost widespread confusion



regarding the true functions of the rabbi. In most American congregations he is relegated to the mere subordinate position of a Levite; neither his character nor his attainments seem to make him worthy of a voice even in such matters where his opinion and judgment should determine the facts. This, too, may be due to an excess of democratic sentiment, but it emphasizes the necessity of defining, not merely the essential conditions of American Judaism, but the status of the authority that is supposed to govern and direct it. It is very possible, nay almost certain, that uniformity of religious practice sanctioned and authorized will never be popular in the American congregations, for uniformity is one of the foster-mothers of religious stagnation; but so much more in view of all that has been said must the spirit of unity among our people be fostered and promoted. We have, perhaps, in years past, put too much stress on the popularity of the public rituals in so far as they represented diversity of opinion and the individuality of their authors; and perhaps we have put too little stress on the great fact that Judaism, in whatever historical form it presents itself, must be more a discipline than an official system; more of a factor in character-building than a theology. The great need of our people at the present time is that of a strong and correct definition in what, aside from official service, charity and the natural manifestations of virtuous conduct, Judaism really consists. To punctuate the necessity for such a definition we need not travel beyond the environments of this great Sabbath question. Our people generally are adversely inclined to an official change of the day. Assuming for a moment that such a change, which is not and cannot be contemplated, would conduce to their spiritual contentment and the strengthening of religious ties, under what authority could each Jew sanction for himself so grave and radical a departure? To what precedent may he appeal? By what dicta will his proceeding be justified and protected? No individual rabbi can sanction the change. No Jewish congregation can presume to invest its Sunday service with the character of a Sabbath celebration. The question at issue eminently demonstrates the great need of our American congregations, namely, an authority to which all questions of discipline and religious practice may be deferred; an authority, democratic enough to be considered representative of the people and yet strong enough to be able to popularize and insure acceptance of its decrees and decisions. It is respect-

fully submitted that the chaotic state of our ritual practice and discipline will not materially change until such an authority has been properly defined. No religious organization, if we consult the experience of history, can permanently flourish without presenting its constitutional principles in a permanent and concrete form. American Judaism has no such permanent form at the present time; and until it has, the freedom with which many questions are interpreted, because it lacks the protecting voice of a collective authority, naturally appears as unwarranted and unsanctified. Under present conditions no rabbi has individually any authority. No congregation can legislate upon any question affecting the vital principles of Judaism as they are manifested in the life of individuals or communal bodies. And yet, here are questions which affect us collectively; and even this Conference, composed of the exponents of Jewish principles and the learned guardians of the tradition, has no power to legislate upon problems upon which much of the future of American Judaism seems to depend, or actually does depend. Is it then possible to create an authority that could competently treat every question by the successful solution of which the spiritual unity of American Judaism can be promoted?

In answer to this last question the following scheme of organization is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the commission and the Conference:

1. State Conferences to be organized, to be composed of the rabbi and president of each congregation within the State and three delegates at large from each congregation. Such State Conference will have opportunity for treating and discussing all matters pertaining to local and communal administration.

2. At a certain time during each year each State Conference shall elect five delegates, composed of two rabbis and three laymen, to a National Conference which, according to the present number of States and Territories, would at the present time count two hundred and twenty-five delegates, composed of three-fifths laity and two-fifths clergy. This National Conference, or whatever its designation may be hereafter, shall immediately upon its convocation and organization divide into two bodies, one to be known as the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the other representing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The first body shall discuss and



pass upon all matters pertaining to religion and discipline, the second shall concern itself with all matters pertaining to education and administration; but both bodies shall submit their conclusions to a ratifying discussion and vote of the joint organization.

3. This National Conference shall elect an Executive Council of fifteen, composed of nine laymen and six rabbis, which shall represent it during adjournment and constitute the actual center of all religious and administrative unity of American Jewish Congregations.

4. The National Conference, when organized, shall invite all national Jewish organizations of whatever description to affiliate and meet concurrently with it, so that, without disturbing the autonomy of any one of them, they may all report to one central agency, and so promote the national unity of Jewish communal life.

5. The appointment of a committee of five to carry this plan into effect is herewith requested.

RABBI H. G. ENELow.

I.

The student of the history of Reform Judaism can find no better illustration of how fast we have moved away from the older phases of our religion than is offered by the treatment of the Sabbath question. In 1846, the year of the Breslau Conference, this question was already grave enough to engage the best part of the attention of the assembled rabbis. At that time, it may be said, the Jews were still tyros in Western civilization; but two or three decades had passed since they had been admitted to a full and unhampered participation in the industrial and intellectual life of their respective countries; the generation was still living that had been cradled in ghettos; yet, even then the conflict between the Sabbath and the life of the people was felt deeply, and doctors were summoned and implored to heal the breach. The discussions of the Breslau Conference, attended by some of the foremost leaders of the new movement, are ample testimony to the anxiety of that age concerning the Sabbath. The trouble was clear: the popular consciousness and conscience craved for a retention of the old feast, but the new life—

come so suddenly and so heartily embraced—said nay, said it was impossible. It was a crossing of roads. It was an unmistakable disagreement. Good people felt that something must be done to effect a harmony, to pick the road or make a new one. They must satisfy conscience, but also cling to the new treasures: "It is good that thou shouldst take hold of this, yea, also from that withdraw not thine hand."

Interesting, not to say curious, seem to us the Breslau arguments. As for the majority, the only service they may render the student to-day is by showing how strong at the time the hold of the old rabbinic religion was still upon the people and its leaders. Conservatism was in the bones of all and the very weapon used against conservatism was conservatism. Every speaker well-nigh sought in all earnestness for means of reconciling the talmudic ordinances with the feasibilities of modern life, and there was a flow of speech on the various species of labor—in good pilpulistic fashion—and on the delicate shadings of Biblical expression in regard to the Sabbath, and as to what constituted toil, and in how far the Sabbath might be broken by proxy, and such like. To the reader of to-day it all looks like an attempt to get rid of an old friend without open offence. The true nature of the malady and the ultimate, if not immediate, necessity of a surgical operation may have been apparent to some, but none save Holdheim had the courage to declare it. Geiger, however, whose radicalism was ever tempered and cautioned by his noble scholarship, was bold and honest enough to rend the cobweb of futile casuistry with which the problem had been veiled throughout the session, and to intimate that so vital a question could not be disposed of by thimble-rigging. Finally, commenting, in the capacity of president, upon the work of the Conference anent the Sabbath, he said: "We all know that we have effected no perfect reconciliation (between the Sabbath and the new life), that we are but preparing the way for the future and must leave it to the power of pure and re-invigorated Judaism and of history, which also is a revelation of Divine Providence, to bring about a complete adjustment. Yet, by the very opening of the path, by emphasizing the eternal and essential and discarding the effete and useless, the fermentative process is accelerated, and the maladies of the age are put in the way of a speedy healing."



## II.

Over half a century has gone by since those words were spoken. What to Geiger was the future has not succeeded in solving the Sabbath problem. American Judaism as it is to-day, if Geiger had foreseen it, he might have called the distant future. In this free country the development of the old religion has gone on at gigantic strides. The reason is plain: none of the forces of resistance in the new world have been as hard as in Europe. American orthodoxy is radicalism from the European standpoint. Meanwhile, those circumstances of life which in 1846 had made the Sabbath question the leading Jewish problem, have become much more numerous and complex. The American Jew, to state the case in a word, has entered into the life of the American nation with his whole heart and soul, and has become a participant and factor in all economic and spiritual movements; moreover, he has no ideal save that of continuing to occupy such a position in our national life, and to strengthen it according to his powers. This fact has become altogether undebatable, except on the part of Zionists, who, however, may hardly be called adherents of Reform Judaism as we understand it. Equally certain is the fact that the breach between the old Sabbath and modern American life is even sharper than that which existed between the Sabbath and the life of the Jews of Germany fifty years ago. Without exaggeration may it be stated that observance of the Saturday-Sabbath cannot possibly be coupled with a complete participation in the economic and intellectual life of the American nation. And without anticipating my argument, I may add, that from the talmudic standpoint, which extended the prohibition of work on the Sabbath even to "the contemplation of work," there is to-day but a handful of Jews in this country, if any, that are not Sabbath breakers.

Moreover—and in this we have another sign of the quick mobility of our religious life—the feeling of the sanctity of the day has all but vanished from the consciousness of the masses. The violation of the Sabbath among us is not accompanied by the old qualms of conscience, and the rabbis are not asked for ointment to soothe the wounds of the Jewish heart. We are no longer implored to determine the nature of the forms of labor permissible on the sacred day,

as were the rabbis of 1846. All of us know that in spite of all the suggestions and measures and methods adopted since that year, the observance of the Sabbath amidst Western civilization has grown ever worse and worse. Neither Sabbath Unions, nor Friday night services, nor Saturday afternoon addresses, nor family reunions, any more than the several other expedients, have succeeded in making the Sabbath victor in its battle with the life of the Western world. As far as the solution of the problem is concerned, we stand to-day at exactly the same point occupied by the men convened at Breslau. If honest and wide-awake, we must admit that the Sabbath cannot be genuinely observed under modern conditions by men eager to take part in the worlds' work. Therefore, in order to avoid hollow ceremonialism and the imputations of indifference or hypocrisy, we must define our position in this matter, seeking to ascertain the real purpose of the Sabbath and the possibility of its preservation in the modern environment as an integral part of progressive Judaism.

### III.

As for myself, I feel that Geiger and Holdheim have given utterance to the principles that should guide us in the formation of our judgment on this question, and though I had thought out the subject long before the records of the Breslau Conference came into my possession, which happened but recently, I shall henceforth in this paper take the privilege of referring to them, particularly to Holdheim, as occasion may serve, not only because of my reverence for them as pioneers and prophets of Reformed Judaism, but more especially because their views seem the only ones truly conducive to a permanent solution of the problem. Moreover, as I believe in the evolutionary character of Judaism, it is my custom, in the study of Jewish problems, to attach at least as much weight to the opinions of our eminent rabbis of recent times as to those of our remote predecessors in obscure and far-off lands. Now, I do not know whether Geiger ever agreed with Holdheim in the open advocacy of the postponement of the Sabbath to Sunday; in his résumé of the proceedings, otherwise a model of comprehensiveness, he strangely overlooks Holdheim's address, but they concurred in the interpretation of the principles underlying the ancient institution, and in



such a question the correct understanding of basic principles is all-important, and the best and only legitimate preparation for its proper solution. Withal, for Reform Jews to seek to solve a vital religious problem by mere reference to the sentiments and tradition of centuries or of the masses, without a deeper consideration of the ultimate principles and historic values involved—a mode of procedure many have followed in relation to the Sabbath question—to me seems utterly anomalous and a belying of the very cardinal doctrines of Reform Judaism.

## IV.

Quite natural it is that we should try to study the origin and the history of the Sabbath, as we are asked to cure its diseases. A religious institution in this respect resembles an organ of the body: as long as it enjoys normal health and fulfills its functions, none worries particularly about its beginnings and growth, and its relation to the rest of the organism. But when distemper has settled upon it and has begun to jeopardize not only its own preservation, but also the life of the whole constitution, minute study of the history and the purpose of the organ in question becomes necessary. Thus, our verdict upon the present uses and needs and treatment of the Sabbath rightly should be preceded by a thorough comprehension of its nature in earlier times and its gradual development in the history of Israel.

In this place I have no room for a full consideration of the subject; but a brief sketch of it is essential to an understanding of my position.

Concerning the earliest character of the Sabbath in Israel, unfortunately, we have but the vaguest records. Our knowledge thereof is purely illative. Without entering into a discussion, I must say, that I accept the view of those students of Israel's antiquities who look upon the Sabbath as originally one of the regular religious feasts, akin to the new moon and the great agricultural feasts. Periodic days of worship and rejoicing before God were natural to a society such as Israel constituted in early times. Those conversant with the results of historic criticisms have a picture of the manner in which those regular feasts were celebrated, and an idea of the motives of spontaneous religiousness that prompted them. Joy and

worship, according to the conception of those times, gave the keynote to the observance. Those were the days on which the Word of God particularly was sought. That the Sabbath originally belonged to that species of feasts is one of the deductions of historic criticism, but we have diverse intimations of it in the Bible, notably *Exodus*, xxxiv, 18 ff.; *II Kings*, iv, 23; *Amos*, viii, 5; *Hosea*, ii, 13; *Isaiah*, i, 13. During the period of the earlier prophets, as all these citations convince us, the Sabbath played a rôle in Israelitish society similar to the other periodic feasts, and the religious purpose of all was identical. The celebrations, as we know, took place at home, although as a special mark of religiousness, or under unusual circumstances, one may have undertaken a pilgrimage to the man of God living in the vicinity (*II Kings*, iv, 23). As long as the Sabbath belonged to that class of spontaneous periodic religious feasts, its place in the economy of an agricultural state was natural, and required no explanation.

The first authentic attempt at an *explanation of the origin* of the Sabbath that we find in the Bible, is contained in the Deuteronomic Decalogue (*Dt.* v). There we find the Sabbath represented as a day of rest from all labor, to be observed by every man and his entire household, man and beast alike, while the observance itself also was to serve, after the characteristic Deuteronomic fashion, as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt. When we recall the entire nature of the reform movement under Josiah, of which *Deuteronomy* was both the manual and the mirror, we shall see how perfectly natural, from the contemporary standpoint, such an interpretation of the Sabbath was. The purpose of the Deuteronomic reform, in brief, was this: to centralize the worship at Jerusalem and as a consequence to secularize all those local observances that formerly partook of a religious character. To pause upon the beneficial and also the injurious sides of that memorable movement is neither here nor there; we know that this is what occurred at that particular juncture of Israel's history, and that from that standpoint the feasts, the sacrifices, the sanctuaries, the courts of justice, and every other social institution were re-shaped. The Sabbath did not escape the common fate, and henceforth—since weekly pilgrimages to the central place of worship were impossible—it



assumed principally a secular aspect, namely, cessation from all forms of labor, the very act of resting being regarded as the fulfilment of its observance in its capacity as a memorial of an olden Divine miracle, the deliverance from Egypt. Such a recasting of the Sabbath comported entirely with the Deuteronomic tendency, which was, as I have said, and for certain well-known reasons, to minimize as far as possible local worship, to have all religious services performed at the central sanctuary, and to establish all surviving local institutions upon an historic and humanitarian basis.

In the development of Israel's history it was quite logical that those institutions which the reform movement of the seventh century had not taken from the individual Israelite should become the most precious and paramount marks of the people's distinction. Particularly, when the Temple fell, and with it all those ceremonies and observances which had grown interwoven with it, and Israel went into exile, was it natural that those institutions not involved in the ruin of the central sanctuary should gain an especial pre-eminence, and become the distinguishing marks of a community bent upon the preservation of the national integrity. Thus, we find that during the Babylonian captivity the Sabbath, along with other ceremonies, became an emblem in the eyes of Israel, a sign of God's covenant with the people for all generations, a leading symbol of the Israelitish community (*Isaiah* vi, lviii). But the effect of the Deuteronomic reform was plainly discernible in the manner of its observance. The main requirement still was cessation from ordinary work (*Jer.* xvii, 19-27; *Ezek.* xx, 12; xxii, 8; xxiii, 38; *Is. ibid.*). Yet, it need not surprise us if we find the philosophy of the old institution altered according to the demands of the new environment. Judaism again and again has read into its old institutions messages for new times. And thus in Babylon the Sabbath was made the symbol of one of those leading ideas by which the Israelites differed radically from their captors, namely, the idea of the creation. Just as in Deuteronomic times it had served the humanitarian and historic purposes of the religious leaders, so now it became a weapon in the hands of those prophets and thinkers of Israel whose great end was to combat the Chaldean cosmogony. Naught is clearer than the continual effort of the

Second Isaiah along this line, and similarly indubitable is it that from that day the idea of the Sabbath as a memorial of the six-day creation was introduced into Judaism. But, as at the same time the Sabbath had likewise begun to serve as one of the symbols of Israel's covenant with God, and as the prophetic doctrine of the creation became part and parcel of Israel's religious system, it is easy to realize why thenceforth a combination of the two motives should be frequent in Biblical literature; the Sabbath as an emblem both of the creation and the covenant with Israel (cp. *Is. loc. cit.*: *Gen. ii, 2-3*; *Ex. xx. 8-11*; xxxi, 17).

If anything, however, profited by this new philosophy, it was the idea of rest as constituting the leading feature in the observance of the Sabbath. The development of this idea is very interesting: in the early unsophisticated days, no doubt, as much cessation from labor entered into the keeping of the day as suggested itself naturally on an agricultural religious feast; in Deuteronomic times, however, cessation from toil was enjoined as a humanitarian industrial measure; at length, in the Babylonian age, as the Sabbath became a symbol *par excellence*, particularly a symbol of Divine rest at the completion of creation, the idea of rest in itself became the ruling idea of the day. Under the sway of that idea it was that the disposition toward the Sabbath continued to develop as a day on which the least, even the most trivial, forms of labor must be absolutely forbidden. Nehemiah's attitude is an illustration, and many an injunction in the Pentateuch an expression, of that ever-strengthening spirit. Rest, as absolute as possible, became the concept of Sabbath observance, reflected in *Exodus xvi, 29*; "See, for the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore He giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day."

Holdheim properly reminds us that talmudic and philosophic Judaism, on the whole, continued to develop this symbolic side of the Sabbath idea, making rest in itself a matter of gravest significance, and its strict observance a self-sufficient fulfilment of maybe the foremost Jewish duty. In consonance with the thought emphasized, not to say inaugurated, in Babylon, resting on the Sabbath



became the symbol of a belief in *Hiddush ha'Olam*, the creation of the world by the eternal God, and both talmudic and later masters did not hesitate to declare that the non-observance of the Sabbath was tantamount to apostasy from Judaism, as it implied a denial of the Divine creation of the world. This gave rise to the dictum: *Ha-Shabbath shequla keneged kol ha-Mitzwoth shebbator* (cp. *Mekhilta*, Ex. xx. 16; *T. B. Hullin*, 5a; *Kuzari*, ii, 50; Nahmanides on the Decalogue; etc.).

That such emphasis upon rest as a chief requisite of Sabbath observance could not but be baneful to the religious import of the day, must be apparent. Whatever high and grave spiritual connotation this idea may have possessed originally, it was natural that the ages should obscure and the multitude forget. Cessation from labor in itself, religiously considered, is at best but a negative merit. If the Sabbath is to have any positive religious value, such as we believe it possessed originally among the Israelites, the discontinuance of labor must be attended by some actual religious exercise. The Bible contains no specific injunctions relating to such, unless it be the special Sabbath sacrifice at the Temple. And yet we have good cause to surmise that even in prophetic times the Sabbath, as well as other feasts, was utilized by the religious leaders as an occasion for the delivery of God's word before the men assembled in the sanctuary. Moreover, in Babylon the attachment to the ancient writings, which grew up simultaneously with the new ideas of the Sabbath, cannot but have employed the day of rest for its own ends, devoting the time taken from ordinary labor to the study and contemplation of the people's spiritual heritage. We do know that in Talmudic times, though abstaining from labor on the Sabbath was looked upon as the basic principle of the day, the consciousness that some actual religious act must complement the observance of the day, grew sufficiently strong to inspire the following utterance: "The Sabbaths and feasts were given to Israel to no other end save the study of Torah" (*T. B. Betza*, 15; cp. *T. Y. Meg.* 4, 1). In other words, active engagement in some work of religious merit must fill out the industrial emptiness of the day. Idling away the Sabbath meant not to keep it truly, meant to lose it. It may be seen at once that such an interpretation of the

holy day was a radical departure from the conception of the all-sufficiency of rest as a symbol; that it really signalized a reversion to the original meaning of the day as a time of worship and ethical upliftment. But, though this rejuvenated idea tended to accentuate ever more and more the need of true religious employment, such as prayer and study, on the Sabbath, rendering the act of resting a mere preparation to its observance, it still remained a habit among Jewish teachers to assert that the very violation of the principle of resting on the Sabbath was like the breaking of all the tenets of Judaism.

## v.

Now, the question suggesting itself most legitimately at this juncture, I think, is: Where do we stand? What is our theoretic, our philosophic attitude toward the Sabbath? Such a question, I submit, would be unnecessary under other circumstances; if the Sabbath were suffering from no ailment, it would be needless to philosophize about it. But as its health is altogether too precarious and we are seeking to prescribe for it, the imperativeness of defining our attitude toward it is obvious; upon that attitude must depend our decision as to whether we shall continue to fool about with homeopathic capsules, or whether the surgeon's knife shall be requisitioned, or whether we shall simply permit our patient slowly but surely to die away. The question leads us back to the old discussion, dwelt upon at length at the Breslau Conference, as to whether the Sabbath is a symbol or an institution. As for myself, I believe it no injustice to the spirit of modern Judaism to assert that it looks upon the Sabbath primarily not as a symbol, but as a religious institution. Primarily, for personally I am not averse to the symbolic impregnation of our religious institutions; I can perceive a world of beauty in the Deuteronomic symbolization of the Sabbath, as well as in the spiritual embellishment it received in Babylon, or at the hands of the Midrashic rabbis, or of the later mystics, or even from Dr. Holdheim. But we must bear in mind that such symbolic construction of the Sabbath has varied throughout the history of Judaism, and according to the dispositions of the diverse ages; to the Deuteronomist it was an emblem of redemption and the Divine pattern of mercy; to the disciples of the Baby-



lonian masters a symbol of the Creation and the Covenant; to the mystics of Cordovero's stamp it was the root of the week, as the new moon is the root of the month, and so forth; and even Holdheim, when constrained to elucidate the Biblical statement that the Sabbath was the day on which God rested from His labors, sees in it the beautiful symbol of the difference between the moving, transient, fluctuating world and the eternally steadfast Creator. No doubt, our age also has in store a host of spiritual thoughts with which it might enrich the Sabbath, as it has enriched all other Jewish feasts still observed. But, surely, ere we can call a thing the symbol of our inward soul, we must have the thing. And the present age, I believe, will not be content with subscribing to the Sabbath as a merely anonymous symbol, having no actual connection with the religious consciousness of the subscriber—a sort of impersonal idea afloat in the atmosphere, detached from the world of realities. This may be good mysticism, or idealism, but it cannot form part of a working religion. Reform Judaism, I take it, believes in the Sabbath primarily as a religious institution, an institution, that is, by which the moral and spiritual nature of its devotees might be strengthened, purified, and exalted. Naught save this conception of the Sabbath can I detect in our modern religious literature, in our prayer-book, and in the popular consciousness as far as I can decipher it. We may infuse into the character of the day as large a multitude of symbols and lessons as is at our command, we may spiritualize the institution to our heart's content, provided we possess it. If, however, for some reason or other, we do not, or have ceased to, possess the institution, it were idle to continue to talk about its religious value and symbolism. Then it becomes incumbent upon us either to seek a way of again possessing ourselves of it, in a true and unmistakable sense, or to look out for other methods of fortifying our religious life; in a word, either the Sabbath must be regained in its genuine strength, or it must be declared unessential to the continuance of Judaism.

## VI.

None will ask me to retread the old ground, and to show how altogether impossible it has grown for the Jews living amidst West-

ern civilization to observe the Saturday Sabbath. In order to observe the Sabbath according to the comprehension of Reform Judaism, that is, by worship in its best sense, by devotion to the higher interests of life, we must have rest, cessation from the daily routine of commerce and industry. The impossibility of this under modern circumstances has been not only described in learned papers and eloquent discourses, but also demonstrated by the life of the people. All the arguments thinkable have failed, and will fail, to lure the Jews of the Western countries away from their industries on Saturday and to cause them to consecrate the day to religion. I regard it as altogether beneath the level of my argument to speak here of the possibility of having large congregations, or audiences, on Saturday. Even if such a thing were possible, large audiences in any one synagogue would not constitute a Sabbath-observing Israel. To those that treat the Sabbath as a sentimental or mystic symbol, that might suffice; but those to whom it is nought save an institution for the hallowing of Jewish life, it can mean nothing as long as well-nigh the entire working, productive, creative part of Israel are by the very most sacred necessities of life prevented from keeping it. Weep and mourn and quibble as we may, the old Sabbath is gone; Saturday, for the Jew as for the rest of our citizens, is a work-day. It were idle to try to prove this; the burden of proof rests upon those denying it. Not wilfully has the Jew sacrificed the ancient holiday; it has not been, as in our pessimistic moments we are apt to imagine, the immolation of an ideal upon the altar of Mammon; it has been the natural result of changed circumstances and a new mode of life. As long as Israel lived in ghettos, isolated, it was possible for him to hallow any day of his choice; as long as the rabbinic dictum held good that the people of Israel might find a livelihood among themselves—*Amkha Yisrael tzerikhim parnasa, lekhu we-hispanesu ze mizze* (T. B. *Berak.* 3). But the destruction of the ghetto walls brought with it a great change, and the end of industrial and political (and to some extent, social) isolation, has made it impossible for the Jew to continue to isolate himself in the observance of the weekly day of rest. And the transition, in this regard, has been unattended by any excessive violence to the popular conscience, simply because it presented itself as a vital neces-



sity. Participation in the full life of Western civilization rendered the yielding of Saturday to industry and commerce, one might say, compulsory. In order to become industrially independent, the modern Jew has been obliged to sacrifice the old Sabbath, and I can see no way in which, things remaining equal, the present or the future might possibly save or revive it, without detriment to the life of the people.

On the other hand, none will deny that we need the Sabbath as a religious institution for the furtherance and the fortifying of our religious consciousness. More than ever the Jew to-day, amid the strenuous conditions and secular influences of life, requires a day consecrated to those higher purposes which form the mission of Judaism. Without worship and instruction and continual buoying, the Jew is doomed to spiritual decay, to say nothing of the damage to the cause of Judaism itself, resulting from its habitual neglect on the part of its professors. This perception of the unescapable need of the Sabbath it is that these many years has caused the leaders of Israel to occupy themselves with the question as to how the old Sabbath might be—well, might be preserved. But the unbiased observer will admit that all the tireless efforts of our good physicians have not availed to restore the health of the invalid; the numerous drugs have done no good, though they have varied all the way from the simple old domestic weeds to the most sensational concoctions of the modern quack. There is no balm in Gilead. So, unless, as physicians will do in extremes, we conspire to stand tacitly by while our patient is giving up the ghost, we must use that only method which holds forth the promise of improvement, and maybe of complete restoration to health; namely, surgery, transfer of the Sabbath to a day on which at least those causes which stand in the way of the Saturday observance, that is, the economic hindrances, would not exist.

#### VII.

This is the only solution of the problem, it seems to me, if, indeed, we decide that a Sabbath is essential to our purpose, and that the Sabbath must serve, as it did in the beginning, as a day of worship and religious edification, and that it must be adjusted to the life

of the modern Jews, especially of those that never again expect to live in a ghetto or a separate Jewish state. I am aware that the suggestion of such a radical measure is received with ejaculations of awe and derision by a great many, particularly by the untrained masses, and the amateur journalists, and the host of *batlanim* (to use a talmudic word) who deem themselves the pre-ordained moulders of Judaism, though they may never have turned the leaf of a Jewish book, or inquired into the meaning of a Jewish institution. But the proposal must be entertained very seriously, though cautiously, by all such as have a more intimate acquaintance with Judaism and its development. Such men know that Judaism is greater than all the ceremonies and observances and institutions it has ever sheltered, including the Sabbath. Such men must agree with Geiger that "the Sabbath to us is of high significance, yet it is none the less but one, albeit a very important institution of Judaism, while Judaism itself, its spiritual development and the elevation of its devotees, we look upon as even higher."

Judaism above all is founded upon spiritual ideas. It has had to express itself among men now by doctrine, and now in the guise of ceremony, and now through institutions. But at all times the idea was superior to the form of its expression. The student knows this to be the position the prophets took: how many ceremonies and institutions did not the Hebrews borrow from the Canaanites, whose whole mode of life and the greater part of whose mode of worship we have good cause to believe they adopted! Yet, the prophets minded not the existence of any form or ceremony, if only the idea underlying it were consecrated to the God of Israel, and not to the Baalim; not how or when or where the people fasted or feasted or sacrificed concerned the prophets, but in whose honor, Yahve's or Baal's. In other words, the purpose of a religious institution, not the institution itself, from the prophetic viewpoint, is paramount. As the old sage has it: "Not the Sabbath shalt thou fear, but Him in whose honor the Sabbath was instituted." (*Lo min ha-shabbath ata mithyare ella minmi shepokad 'al ha-shabbath.*—*Siphra, Lev. xix, 30.*)

The history of Judaism reveals the fact that many an institution erstwhile deemed inviolable, has been dead for thousands of years, owing to the stress of conditions, and yet Judaism lives. The Sab-



batic year, for example, enjoined in the Bible in the same breath with the Sabbath (*E.r.* xxiii, 10), our forefathers abolished when changed environment made its observance impractical. Similarly, many another institution Judaism has again and again adopted or abandoned or reshaped in harmony with the needs of ever-changing times; but itself has survived. Why, then, should not we be entitled to treat our religious institutions as former generations did, necessity constraining us? Or must we forever remain slaves to the customs of the past, even where they unmistakably serve to undermine our religious constitution, without, however, enjoying that initiative and that spirit of adjustment which have distinguished and vitalized Judaism at all times? What is the whole history of our religion if not an infinite series of adjustments to new circumstances and new forms for the sake of the triumph of the cardinal ideas? The feast of Passover, Holdheim reminds us, in the religion of ancient Israel held as sacred a place as the Sabbath, its non-observance entailing the same severe punishment as the desecration of the Sabbath. Its celebration was strictly enjoined on the fourteenth day of the first month. Yet, in *Numbers* ix we read that all such as were unclean or away from home on the appointed day were permitted to observe the feast a month later. Here we have a clear case of postponement even in the early days of Judaism. "That the obstacle in the case of the Passover lay in ritual uncleanness or absence from the community," Holdheim adds justly, "while in the case of our Sabbath it lies in the unadjustable conflict with the circumstances of civil life, makes no difference as far as the principle and the spirit are concerned. The point is that the religious end of the Passover could be reached, in the case of those prevented from keeping the original day, by means of the postponed observance, just as the religious end of the Sabbath may be reached on another day. It is a delusion to imagine or to fear that the preservation of Judaism is conditioned on ceremonial outwardness. We want to save the Sabbath for Judaism, and Judaism through the Sabbath, even though the old symbolic veil must be yielded to the past."

## VIII.

This, to conclude, is my attitude toward our complex problem. I cannot dismiss the conviction that the Sabbath question ought to

be considered by us not from a petty, parochial standpoint, but from the point of view of the unbiased historian and reformer, of the honest healer of religious evils. We should not hesitate to express the demands of our religious consciousness. We have as good a right, I hold, to be heard on our spiritual needs and institutions, as our forefathers. Better to speak our mind on this theme, though it bring us into some conflict with former times or present multitudes, than to gloze difficulties with indifference or hypocrisy. Candor in such matters is a sacred duty. Here the rabbinic word applies: "Whoever knows a thing and will not speak it, the ban shall fall upon him and consume him and his beams and stones" (*Kol mi sheyodea dabhar we-eno maggido ha-herem ba olaw u-mekhale otho we-eth etzaw we-abhanaw*). Our entire religious structure may be imperiled by the policy of silence and concealment. We need a Sabbath as a religious institution, not as a symbol of this or that; the old Saturday Sabbath, good in its own time and place, has come to the end of its rôle among us; however, the Sabbath idea still has a hold upon our minds. Let us fasten that hold ere it is too late, ere not only the old institution but also the idea has passed away. And the only way we seem to have to strengthen and perpetuate the *idea* is by infusing it into a modern institution, into our civil day of rest, by making the latter the bearer of our message, the occasion of our public worship and instruction.

Some appear to think that the integrity of the Jewish community would be impaired if some of us transferred the Sabbath to a day on which observance is possible; while others continue to adhere to the old day. As for myself, I believe there is greater cohesive power in genuine fidelity to an idea than in the worse than half-hearted maintenance of an obsolete institution. Even if the Sabbath were to serve above all as a symbol of Israel's unity, I should feel more closely related to a number of Jews, wherever they dwelt, observing a true Sabbath any day of the week, than to such as cling to the Saturday Sabbath in no way save by word of mouth.

Let me close with Holdheim's words: "I regard those reasons only which spring from an interest in the continuation and the development of Judaism as a religion of inwardness and morality, as fit to be mentioned in this vital question; and I scorn to speak of



any others, as all such must either harmonize with the former or die away soundless. These reasons, however, to a degree are of an altogether subjective nature and must be uttered as such. If that portion of Jewry that observe the old Sabbath protest against a transfer, they are in the right, for to them their religion is not in any peril, seeing that the Sabbath among them has proven itself victor in the battle of life. Wherever religion is not jeopardized any interference would be a sin, like the abuse of weapons. But if those Jews by their protest mean also to prevent the postponement of the Sabbath on the part of the large portion of Jewry who, as a matter of fact, no longer observe the Sabbath, and among whom therefore it has suffered defeat in the struggle with daily life, they are in the wrong. For here we have war and danger indeed, and, for the sake of the preservation of the religion, energetic measures are necessary. These latter Jews thus far have but the negative side of the transfer: the non-observance of the historic Sabbath. We must give them the positive side also, if we would not have them grow estranged entirely from their religion."

The commission, confident that a further study of the questions involved in this report will conduce to the spiritual advancement of our people, now relegates the subject to the wise consideration of the Conference.

Fraternally submitted,

JACOB VOORSANGER, *Chairman.*





# WHAT IS A JEW?

AND

WHO ARE THOSE ENTITLED TO CONSIDER THEMSELVES  
MEMBERS OF THE HEBREW NATIONALITY?

ST. PAUL found it necessary to remind his Jewish converts that "he is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God" (see Romans ii. 17-29).

Now, I venture to ask, with all respect and deference to those who profess to be, and are, so very strict in all outward ceremonial and bodily observances, whether there is one individual Jew in a thousand who really and truly, as in God's sight, can presume to say that St. Paul's injunction would have no reference to his case, or that he scrupulously observed all the laws, and intelligently acquiesced in all the teaching of the Mosaic records? Are there not thousands of Jews who only bear the outward or bodily mark of their nationality, but inwardly despise and decry any adherence to, or agreement with, the particular teaching of their inspired historian? They are Jews so far, outwardly in the flesh, by the rite of circumcision; and, to a very partial extent, recognise the observance of the Hebrew Sabbath. But, with very rare exceptions, they are as much slaves to Gentile errors in social economy, philosophy, and science, as if no sort of reference to these subjects was made in the Mosaic writings. They mutilate their bodies, but their principles are regulated by Gentile fashions. They learn the Hebrew language, but they read and adopt the teachings of modern infidels. They possess the most infallible system of natural philosophy that God Himself ever gave to man; but their Rabbis and schoolmasters teach and enforce the Godless and baseless superstitions of the grossest heathenism. In a word, "they seek the praise of men," not "the honour that cometh from God." They consider that the outward and, in their case, the most unmeaning rite of circumcision will give them a claim to all the glorious promises made to the true Israelite, and entitles them to reject the still more glorious offers of the Christian dispensation; but they as persistently ignore the teachings of Moses as they do of Matthew or the other apostles. Moses is as much gone out of fashion with the modern Jew as he is with any Gentile professor. They howl over the shameful indignities which their fellow members are exposed to in Russia and Roumania, but they dare not appeal for protection to that Almighty arm which has so often shielded them from a thousand woes, and only withheld when their unprovoked rebellion, ingratitude, and unfaithfulness, have led them to despise His providential care. Let them take warning from the lessons of the past, not only to save their nation from additional calamities, but place themselves as they may do, and ought to do, among the leading authorities of the most advanced age, and proclaim to all the world that they only are commissioned to guide and control the learning of all the philosophers and all the educational professors in the universe. And let Jewish teachers above all, ignore and despise the mock systems of cosmogony taught in the "Christian" class-rooms and churches, and strictly adhere to the inspired and demonstrably true teaching of the Mosaic records.



Whether it is the outward ceremonial of baptism, or of circumcision, it is as utterly worthless in God's sight as would be a patch of red ocre on a sheep's back, unless it is accompanied in both cases with that inward obedience and hearty and intelligent acquiescence with the scriptural principles and devout obedience these outward rites are intended severally to represent.

Whether the Christian nations like to admit it or no, they are not left any choice in the matter, but sooner or later they will, one and all, be compelled to adhere to the teachings conveyed to mankind through the medium of Jewish writers ; since the *only* sound philosophy the world has *ever* known, or *can* know, is to be found in the sacred cosmogony of the Hebrew Scriptures. And the most learned authorities the world delights to honour and applaud will have to acknowledge their highest wisdom to be the wildest folly compared with the unpretentious records of the Book of Genesis, given directly to the Jewish nation, held and guarded by them for 5,000 years, and, through these same channels, to be conveyed to all mankind up to the end of time, when these records shall have ceased to exist. The Jew himself may deny, or be unwilling to acknowledge, the singular importance of the trust committed to him, and he may himself aspire to a more modern and fashionable system of elementary instruction. But the laws of God admit of no such evasion of responsibility. We, as Christians, are as much tied and bound by the physical facts recorded in Genesis as we are to the conditions laid down in the Gospel. Ignore the one, and the other must cease to have any claims on our acceptance or regard. If the first Adam was a myth, the second may be as fictitious as the former. If Moses erred in the narration of physical facts, his records of our first parents may have been equally hypothetical and illusory. Nay, if Moses did not record the very teachings of Jehovah Himself, our Saviour was partner in the fraud every time He appealed to the authority of the Jewish historian. We are not left to accept or reject the testimony of Moses according to the *imprimatur* or sanction of the modern Israelite. Unless we wish to change places with the ox and the ass, we may easily determine, apart from its divine authority, whether the cosmogony of Moses and all his other teaching is or is not worthy of our acceptance, and far more of that of the Jewish nation. The Almighty never expects us to rely on the evidence of positively known fallacies. That the sun shines by day, and the moon by night, is not more easily determined than the truth or falsehood of the Hebrew cosmogony. The Jew may, in his pride and conceit, ignore its claims and deny its facts ; but there it stands, and nothing but the final destruction of the heavens and the earth can cancel their and our obligation to yield to its infallible testimony. But the unfaithfulness of the Jew will provide no excuse for the neglect of the Christian teacher to instil these sacred truths into the minds of their pupils. We cannot, however, without the grossest hypocrisy, pretend to evangelise the Jews till we can convince them of our own faith in *all* that the Bible contains. To require their acceptance of a Gospel based *entirely* on the infallible records of the Old Testament Scriptures, which we say we do not believe in ourselves, is to treat them as credulous dupes, and can only expose us to their derision and contempt.

So, whether it is Jew or Christian, all religious observance, all outward rites are hypocrisy and sin in the sight of God until we have honestly and fearlessly decided whether the inspired records of Moses, taken in their literal sense and meaning, or the fanciful conjectures of the heathen astrologers, are the more worthy of our regard.



Lastly, let Jew and Christian, Protestant and Papist, all remember that a religion without the Bible (the whole Bible, with its philosophy as well as its divinity), or a Bible in the hand instead of in the heart and the head, is a snare of Satan which is deluding the soul, retarding all intellectual progress, and will inevitably end in confusion and dismay, both here and hereafter.

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## THE MOSAIC COSMOGONY PROVED TO BE A FACT—

*MODERN ASTRONOMY SHOWN TO BE A FABLE.*

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**I**T may seem very late in the day to inquire whether the respective claims of these two confessedly antagonistic systems are as well understood as they ought to be. The unaccountable silence and reserve of the few approvers of the Scriptural cosmogonies, and the persistent and universal adoption of the modern theories, have resulted in the too generally received opinion, that the former are no longer defensible against the overwhelming multitudes who advocate and endorse the doctrines of the more modern astronomers.

It can be hardly necessary, however, to show that in the inspired records, the distinction between them is wide and fundamental, and irreconcilable. In the very first verse of the Bible, and in innumerable other instances, the two systems are severally referred to as having no connection whatever, in kind, or in degree. The "Heaven and the Earth" are invariably associated together, while the planetary system, consisting of the sun, moon and stars, is, from the outset, spoken of by itself, and treated as wholly subservient, secondary, and inferior in every respect to the earth and its belongings. This very striking diversity between the two systems is not expressed occasionally or inferentially; it is unmistakably and prominently insisted on from the very first line, through every page of the Sacred Volume; nor does there occur one solitary exception to which our opponents can lay claim! Is this strongly pronounced and oft repeated distinction the result of accident or ignorance? Did the Almighty Himself not know whether the earth or the sun ought to be the more intimately associated with the Heaven of His presence? But it is useless insisting on what our most bigoted opponents do not deny—that the Bible furnishes them with no support whatever; and they can only fall back upon the hackneyed plea that "the Bible makes no pretension to speak with scientific accuracy." Certainly not, if modern theories are at all worthy of the name of science, and professional phraseology is descriptive of facts and indisputable truths! But the object of this Paper is to show that these modern pretenders have yet to make good their claim to be considered the only reliable authority upon these subjects. They certainly have no lack of the most specious arguments; and if their foregone conclusions can be regarded as logically conclusive, where no premises are referred to, and where first principles are purposely ignored, then it may be useless to inquire further on the subject. But Copernicus and Kepler, and Newton, made the vague and baseless surmises of Pythagoras, and one or two of his Pagan contemporaries, the sole groundwork of their vaunted solar system! If these heathen philosophers had clearly proved, and left on record the nature of their proofs, or the ground



of their surmises, that the earth on which they lived was really spherical, or had any possible analogy to the planetary orbs, and that it had no material support from above or beneath, but, nevertheless, had not possessed the skill or sufficient inventive genius to proceed any further, there would then certainly have been a very great field for the display of the superior ingenuity and mathematical talents of such minds as those of Kepler and Newton. But these grand intellects were all of them building, without any extravagance of language, a castle, a series of castles, in the air! They set out with and build up their whole system on the assumed correctness of the Pagan suggestion or datum, that the earth was a planet or spherical body, floating unsupported in space; though not one of them ever troubled himself to determine, from that day to the present, whether this curious conception was a fact or a fable, or have they ever endeavoured to ascertain or to establish the soundness of their fundamental principles! If solid bodies will, under any known conditions, float unsupported in space; if, by the aid of the spectroscope, or any other curious contrivance, it can reasonably and rationally be inferred that such an immaterial and luminous body as the sun is capable, at a distance of nearly one hundred million miles, of exerting such an extraordinary sustaining or attractive power over solid matter of indescribable ponderosity, as to keep it floating in an horizontal direction, while at the same time it is being hurled round by centrifugal force, in a circular orbit, at the inconceivable velocity of three or four times quicker than a flash of lightning, then we will admit that Newton would have had some grounds for his reckless adoption and clever arrangement of the various accessories essential to the completion of his mathematical system. But his conclusions were too hastily arrived at, his premises were not examined or asked for, and his conditions were never tested for an instant, neither were any of the coincidences attending it ever been understood or sought to be explained! And, what is the most crushing deficiency of all, that every single practical test, that ingenuity could devise or the agony of despair suggest, has, most unmistakably, proved the very reverse of what the theory required! Fiery or luminous gases have never, hitherto, been shown to possess any magnetic or attractive power; solid bodies have never been known to float or revolve unsupported in space; and the curve, which is absolutely essential to the formation of a globe, seems to be, most unaccountably, the one only shape that the Almighty never has created, even on land, much less on water; and, in every aspect in which it may be viewed, it is found to be at once contrary to the explicit and unmistakable language of Scripture, the dictates of reason and common sense, as well as to every fact that the most prejudiced advocate of the system could devise or employ.

Now, on what plea can such an equivocal and hitherto unproved system of cosmogony be adhered to? Are we justified in such a practical and prosaic age as the present in retaining what we dare not defend, what we cannot explain, and, whilst it is making us a nation of infidels and scoffers at inspiration, is a disgrace to our civilization and a slur upon our very humanity itself? The one fact that there is not a single scientific professor that would venture openly to discuss, or attempt to elucidate the grounds on which it was originally founded or sought to be established, ought to convince us that such an indefensible system ought no longer to be tolerated, much less made compulsory in our educational establishments. Nothing can long uphold a theory which exhibits such a dread of inquiry, or serve to prop up a system, the ultimate overthrow of which, its own inherent rottenness and absurdity, have rendered inevitable.



# Usury and the Jews.

## A LECTURE

BY

HON. ALEXANDER DEL MAR

(FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS, UNITED STATES TREASURY),

DELIVERED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

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