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THE

CELEBRITIES OF THE JEWS:

A GLANCE AT THE HISTORICAL
CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE
FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM
TO THE PRESENT DAY.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I. (70—1290).

BY

AVIGDOR CHAIKIN,

Rabbi of the Sheffield Hebrew Congregation.

Author of the "Apologie des Juifs," Paris, 1887.

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1899.

(Copy of Letter from the REV. DR. ADLER.)

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF RABBI,

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DEAR MR. CHAIKIN,

I thank you for kindly sending me a copy of your work on *The Celebrities of the Jews*. The volume evinces most praiseworthy diligence and remarkable familiarity with the bibliography of the various themes you touch upon.

I shall gladly welcome further fruits of your scholarship and of your wide knowledge of our ancient and precious literature.

With best wishes,

I remain, dear Mr. Chaikin,

Yours very truly,

H. ADLER.

REV. A. CHAIKIN.

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Very truly yours,
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PREFACE.

THE History of the Jews is a wonderful story, the very uniqueness of which makes it stand apart from, and above, the history of every other nation. The Egyptians, who in the old time were the men of wisdom and held in their hands the circle of the sciences—where are they? Once the Jews were their bond-slaves, and the monuments of Egyptian intelligence and of Jewish industry still remain—gigantic dials of time upon the sandy wastes of the great desert—but what is the Egyptian now? A mere instrument of taxation for foreign bond-holders.

Of the Assyrians, once so mighty and powerful, whose colossal works are to be seen in the national museums, we know still less than we do of the Egyptians. Edom and Philistia—great in their day—what know we of them now? Greece is not the Greece of that mighty monarch who grudged his father's glory, and whilst yet in the spring of manhood wept for the want of other worlds to conquer. The Greeks are not the Greeks who fought at Thermopylæ; and all powerful Rome, the mistress of the world, succumbed to the onslaught of savage hordes. Nations have risen and decayed; peoples have become great and have diminished; races have mingled with races, as the rivers run into the sea; but the Jews are the exception.

Prof. James K. Hosmer gives a comprehensive glance at the career of the Jews:—"It is the marvel of history that this little people, beset and despised by all the earth for ages, maintains its solidarity unimpaired. Unique among all the peoples of the earth, it has come undoubtedly to the present day from the most distant antiquity. Forty centuries rest upon this venerable contemporary of Egypt, Chaldea, and Troy. The Hebrew defied the Pharaohs; with the sword of Gideon he smote the Midianite; in Jephthah, the children of Ammon. The purple chariot-bands of Assyria went back

from his gates humbled and diminished. Babylon, indeed, tore him from his ancient seats and led him captive by strange waters, but not long. He has fastened his love upon the heights of Zion, and, like an elastic cord, that love broke not, but only drew with the more force as the distance became great. When the grasp of the captor weakened, that cord, uninjured from its long tension, drew back the Hebrew to his former home. He saw the Hellenic flower bud, bloom, and wither upon the soil of Greece. He saw the wolf of Rome suckled on the banks of the Tiber, then prowl ravenously for dominion to the ends of the earth, until paralysis and death laid hold upon its savage sinews. At last Israel was scattered over the length and breadth of the earth. In every kingdom of the modern world there has been a Jewish element. There are Hebrew clans in China, on the steppes of Central Asia, in the desert heart of Africa. The most powerful races have not been able to assimilate them, the bitterest persecution, so far from exterminating them, has not eradicated a single characteristic. In mental and moral traits, in form and feature even, the Jew to-day is the same as when Jerusalem was the peer of Tyre and Babylon. Abraham and Mordecai stand out upon the sculptures of Nineveh, marked by the same eye and beard, the same nose and jaw by which we just now recognized their descendents. Language, literature, customs, traditions, traits of character—these, too, have all survived.”¹

In the sketch of Jewish history presented in these pages, I have endeavoured to notice especially the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Hebrew learning, and the time and circumstances of the men by whom they were created.

“While those around them were grovelling in the darkness of besotted ignorance; while juggling miracles and lying relics were themes on which almost all Europe was expatiating; while the intellect of Christendom, enthralled by countless persecutions, had sunk into a deadly torpor, in which all love of inquiry and all search for truth were abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge, amassing learning, and stimulating progress with the

¹ The Jews, London, 1887, p. 4—5.

same unflinching constancy that they manifested in their faith. They were the most skilful physicians, the ablest financiers, and among the most profound philosophers. While they were only second to the moderns in the cultivation of natural science, they were also the chief interpreters to Western Europe of Arabian learning."¹

"To the Jews," says Professor Andrew White in his recent *Warfare of Science with Theology* (ii. 33), "is largely due the building up of the School of Salerno, which we find flourishing in the tenth century Still more important is the rise of the School of Montpellier; this was due almost entirely to Jewish physicians, and it developed medical studies to a yet higher point, doing much to create a medical profession worthy of the name throughout Southern Europe."²

"The Jews," says Renan, "ought to have played a great part in the work of the Renaissance. One of the reasons why France was slow in gaining by the great transformation is that, about 1500, France was quite destitute of a Jewish element. The Jews, to whom Francis I. was forced to have recourse for the foundation of his college, le Canosse, Guidacier, were Italian Jews."³

In referring to the time when the Jews were without the pale of the law, we must remember with gratitude the few great minds who in the dark ages endangered their popularity, lives, and fortune, to defend them. I have taken care, to give notices, more or less extended, of the defenders of the Jews. Glory to those who have struggled in favour of justice, and respect to their memory!

I hope that this book may be especially useful to my younger brethren, in presenting a brief and comprehensive survey of the conditions and relations of our ancestors in the Dispersion, and in serving as an introduction to a more complete and exhaustive investigation of the subject.

¹ Lecky, *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii., p. 281; quoted by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. H. Adler, in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1878, p. 642—643.

² Quoted by I. Abrahams in the introduction to his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. xix, London, 1896.

³ Renan, *Les Ecrivains Juifs français du xiv^e Siècle*, p. 393; cf. the *Jewish Life*, p. 372, note 1.

In conclusion it may be of interest to quote a paragraph relative to Jewish history from a letter the world-renowned savant Adolphe Franck kindly addressed to me on the publication of my "Apologie des Juifs" in 1887:—"C'est avec raison que vous avez donné à votre travail le nom d'*Apologie*; car le plus sûr moyen de justifier les Juifs des accusations dont on les a si longtemps poursuivis et dont ils souffrent encore aujourd'hui dans plusieurs pays, c'est de raconter leur histoire."

CHAPTER I.

THE EPOCH OF THE TANAIM.

THE year of the destruction of Jerusalem was an extremely severe one for the Jews. After having fought most heroically but fruitlessly against the formidable armies of Vespasian and Titus to uphold their liberty and national independence, they had at last to submit to an unavoidable fate. The holy Temple of Jerusalem, in which their religious, political and civil life was centred, was reduced to a heap of ashes, and from that time forth their nationality ceased to exist. Any other nation would, under similar circumstances, have long ago disappeared from the face of the earth. Not so the Jews.¹ The school and the synagogue were now to be their impregnable citadel, and the law their palladium.

It is related² that Rabbi Jochanan ben Zaccai, last of Hillel's scholars, enjoyed the favour of the Roman general, who, on that account, promised to grant any request the Rabbi might make. Rabbi Jochanan then petitioned, first for permission to keep open his school at Jabne, and next for the safety of the family of Rabban Gamaliel. Having obtained these favours, he returned much cheered to his disciples, feeling convinced that the power of the schools would eventually prove of greater effect for preserving, than the power of the legions for destroying, the institutions of the Israelite people,—and he judged aright.

Rabbi Jochanan settled with his disciples in Jamnia (Jabne), a city not far from the Mediterranean Sea, and situated between the port Joppa and the former city of the Philistines, Ashdod. Rabbi Zadok, a contemporary of

¹ Dr. Chotzner, *Zichronoth*, viii., London, 1885.

² Gittin, 56b.

Rabbi Jochanan (of whom it is related that he, in anticipation of the destruction of the Temple, fasted for forty successive years), then removed to Jabne, where he, as well as his son, Rabbi Eliezer, belonged to the circle of the distinguished teachers. Rabbi Dosa ben Harchinas belonged also to the school of Hillel, and removed with Rabbi Jochanan from Jerusalem to Jabne, where he reached a very old age. He stood in such high esteem that his most distinguished colleagues appealed to his opinion in doubtful cases.¹

Of other authorities belonging to this generation of Tanaim, mention must be made of Rabbi Juda ben Bathyra, who had a school in Nisibis (in Assyria) already at the time when the Temple of Jerusalem was still in existence;² of Rabbi Nechunia ben Hakana, who was the teacher of Rabbi Ishmael³ and Nachum of Gimzo, who introduced the hermeneutic rule of *Ribbui umiut* (extension and limitation),⁴ which was later further developed by his great disciple Rabbi Akiba; and of Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob, who was head of a school and in possession of traditions concerning the structure and interior arrangements of the Temple. He is also mentioned with commendation as to his method of instruction, which was "concise and clear."⁵

Rabbi Jochanan ben Zaccai endeavoured to illuminate the ordinances of the law in a clear and simple manner. It is related⁶ that Rabbi Jochanan in urging the necessity of immediate repentance used the following parable:—A certain king invited his servants to a feast, but appointed them no time. The wise amongst them dressed themselves in their best apparel, and immediately sat at the king's door, saying to themselves, "Is there anything impossible to a king?"

¹ See Dr. M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, p. 26; cf. Z. Frankel's *Darkei ha-Mishne*, p. 71—73.

² Pesachim, 3b.

³ Shebuoth, 26a.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Gittin, 67a.

⁶ Sabbath, 153a.

A Biography of Rabbi Jochanan ben Zaccai, written by J. Spitz, Berlin, 1883; see also I. H. Schwarz, *Bar-Cochbaische Aufstand*, p. 13—15.

But the foolish ones went to their work saying, "Can there be a feast without preparation?" Suddenly the king summoned his guests. The wise amongst them entered into his presence in their best attire, but the foolish ones had to enter in their soiled garments. The king rejoiced with the wise, but he was angry with the foolish, and said, "Those that have properly dressed themselves shall go in and partake of the feast, but the others that are not properly dressed must stand by and look on."

Five of his best pupils became renowned, but only three of their names have reached us—Rabbi Eliezer, and Rabbi Joshua, and also Rabbi Eleazar ben Arach. The latter was the most eminent and important amongst them, and of him it was said,¹ "If weighed in the scale, he would outweigh all his fellow-scholars." Rabbi Jochanan loved to incite them to independent thought by deep-reaching questions. Thus he gave them as a theme for thought,—What should man endeavour most eagerly to obtain? One answered, "A genial manner," another "a noble friend," a third "a noble neighbour," the fourth "the gift of knowing in advance the result of his actions." Rabbi Eleazar answered that "man's best possession is a noble heart." This remark won the approval of his master; it was an answer after his own mind, for in it all else was included.

The dying benediction of Rabbi Jochanan to his disciples was: "I pray for you that the fear of Heaven may be as strong upon you as the fear of man. You avoid sin before the face of the latter; avoid it before the face of the All-seeing."²

Immediately after the death of their master, his chief disciples held council as to the place where they might continue the work of teaching the law. Most of them thought of remaining in Jabne, where there lived a circle of men acquainted with the traditions of the past. Rabbi Eleazar ben Arach, the favourite pupil of Rabbi Jochanan, however, insisted on removing the school to Emmaus, a healthy and pleasant town, three geographical miles distant from Jabne.

¹ Aboth ii, 12—14; Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, ch. 14.

² Berachoth, 28b.

It was first necessary to give a chief to the community, which, though small, was yet respected by the Jews of all countries. Rabban Gamaliel was chosen; he was a descendant of Hillel, and his ancestors had presided over the Sanhedrin throughout four generations. Rabban Gamaliel took the title Nasi.¹ He had his seat in Jabne, and was also sufficiently versed in traditions to preside in the school. Although the town of Jabne was of first importance, the members of the new college established some schools outside that town, but in its neighbourhood. Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus taught at Lydda, Rabbi Joshua ben Chananya at Bekiin, on the plains between Jabne and Lydda; other pupils of Rabbi Jochanan also opened schools; and each attracted a circle of disciples, and was called by the title Rabbi (Master). The Patriarch was called Rabban (General Master) to distinguish him from the other teachers.

A disciple of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Rabbi Mathia ben Charash, founded a school in the city of Rome, and thus was the first teacher who transplanted the knowledge of the rabbinical law from Asia to Europe.

When Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus became seriously ill, his disciples went to visit him, and said, "Rabbenu, teach us the way of life, that we may inherit the future world." The Rabbi answered, "Give honour to your comrades. Know to whom you pray. Restrain your children from frivolous conversation, and place them among the learned men, in order that they may acquire wisdom. So may you merit life in the future world."²

Rabbi Joshua ben Chananya taught his pupils at Bekiin, and carried on the humble handicraft of making needles, by which he maintained his family. Through his twofold occupation Rabbi Joshua was brought into communication both with scholars and with the common people; and he endeavoured to unite the two, and was the only man who possessed power over the minds and will of the masses. Besides an acquaintance with tradition, he seems to have

¹ Graetz, *History of the Jews*, ii, p. 337. 338 (E. T.)

² Berachoth, 28b. Concerning his life and works, cf. Rabbi David Luria in his *Introduction to the Pirkei di Rabbi Eliezer*, Warsaw, 1852; Z. Frankel, *Darkei ha-Mishna*, p. 75—83.

possessed some astronomical knowledge, which enabled him to calculate the irregular course of the comets. This knowledge was once of great use to him when he was on a journey. He had started on a voyage with Rabban Gamaliel, and had laid in more provisions than were usually necessary for the journey. The ship took an erratic course for some time, because its captain, deceived by the sight of a certain star, had steered in a wrong direction. Rabban Gamaliel's provisions having been consumed, he was astonished that this was not the case with his companion, but that, in fact, he could even spare some for him. Thereupon Rabbi Joshua informed him that he had calculated on the return of a star (a comet), which re-appeared every seventy years, and which would have misled the ignorant sailor, and that therefore he had provided himself with extra food for this emergency.¹

As Rabbi Joshua, on several occasions,² was humiliated by the Patriarch Rabban Gamaliel, with whom he differed on some questions, the members of the Sanhedrin resented this insult of their esteemed colleague by deposing the offender from his dignity, and electing Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah for president. The latter was descended from a noble family whose pedigree was traced up to Ezra the scribe. Rabban Gamaliel, having apologised to Rabbi Joshua, was in consequence reinstated, and Rabbi Elazar then became vice-president. On account of the noble virtue which he combined with his great learning, he was compared to "a vessel filled with aromatic spices,"³ and Rabbi Joshua said of him: "A generation having a man like Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah, is not orphaned."⁴

A great sensation was at that time created in Rome by the conversion to Judaism of Flavius Clemens and his wife Flavia Domitilla.⁵ Flavius was a cousin of the Emperor

¹ Horiot, 10a.

² See Berachoth, 27b; Rosh Hashana, 25a; Bechoroth, 36a.

³ Gittin, 67a.

⁴ Chagiga, 3b. Concerning the life of Rabbi Joshua, see A. Levysohn, in the periodical journal *Bikkurim*, I. p. 26—35, Vienna, 1864; see also L. Mandelstamm, *Rabbi Joshua ben Hanania*, Berlin, 1862; *Hamazkir*, iv., p. 139.

⁵ Graetz, *ibid*, p. 390.

Domitian; he was also a member of the Senate, and Consul. His wife was also a near relative of the Emperor. Their two sons had been named as Cæsars by Domitian, therefore one of them would have become Emperor. Although Clemens probably kept his adhesion to Judaism secret, yet it was known to the Jews in Rome, and to the leaders in Palestine. On receipt of the news the four chiefs, the Patriarch Rabban Gamaliel and his coadjutor Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah, Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Akiba, set out on the journey to Rome. In Rome they were treated with great reverence both by the Jews and proselytes, and they had an opportunity of answering many religious questions. But they had arrived at an unfavourable moment. Domitian was at the height of his bloodthirsty tyranny. The period of favour towards the Jews on the part of the Flavian house was at an end. At this time (95), Flavius Clemens was condemned to death, Domitian having heard of his leaning towards Judaism. The four teachers of the law from Palestine, who had come to Rome on his account, and who expected a brighter future from him, were witnesses of his death. His wife Domitilla, who was exiled to the island of Pandataria, is said to have declared to the teachers of the law that Clemens had been circumcised before his death.¹

A complete contrast to the character of Domitian was presented by his successor Nerva. The Jews and the proselytes immediately felt the effect of the change of ruler. During the short period of his reign—which only lasted sixteen months, from September 96 to January 98—Nerva, who had to put an end to various perversions and abuses in the constitution, yet found time to occupy himself with the Jews. He permitted every man to acknowledge his faith as a Jew, without thereby incurring the punishment of an atheist.

The Jews' tax also, if not quite set aside, was levied with kindness and forethought, and accusations against those who avoided this tax were not listened to. This act of toleration

¹ Cf. I. H. Schwarz, *Bar-Cochbaische Aufstand*, p. 26, 27, Gablonz, 1885; Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 334; *Revue Israélite*, 1870, Nos. 17, 18.

on Nerva's part appears to have been of so great importance that a coin was struck in order to commemorate it. It is probable that the four Tanaites, who were still in Rome at the time of the death of Domitian and the accession of Nerva, had furthered this favourable turn of events by opposing the complaints against Judaism, and by inducing those in power to form a better opinion of it. This reign, which was of but too short duration, terminated the period of favour shown towards the Jews, and with Trajan, Nerva's successor, there began afresh the old hatred between the Romans and the Jews, and soon both nations again stood arrayed against each other with their weapons in their hands.

The fiscal extortions of the Romans, the persecutions decreed under Domitian, who aimed at the destruction of every remnant of the royal family of David, as politically dangerous, goaded the Jews, within short intervals of time, into three formidable but fruitless insurrections, from Babylonia to the African Syrtis, against Trajan and Hadrian.¹

The balanced and calm character of Rabbi Joshua rendered him especially fitted for the part of intermediary between the Jewish nation and Roman intolerance. He was the only teacher who sought and enjoyed the confidence of the Roman rulers. The death of Rabban Gamaliel, and the hostile attitude of the Jews towards the Romans during the last years of the Emperor Trajan and the early years of Hadrian's reign, seem to have roused Rabbi Joshua from his petty trade, and to have given the public leadership into his hands.

On one occasion the Emperor Hadrian said to Rabbi Joshua, "I am better than your master Moses, for I am living and he is dead; as it is said, 'a living dog is better than a dead lion.'" Rabbi Joshua asked him, "Can you compel the inhabitants of the surrounding villages not to kindle fires for the space of three days?" He told him he could, and immediately decreed it under severe punishments. The first night he led him to the terrace of the palace;

¹ Theodores, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 357, London, 1874.

they perceived smoke arising from one of the houses; he then observed to him the little obedience paid to his orders. He replied, "It must be some sick person, whom a doctor has recommended to take something warm." He then answered, "Emperor, even during your lifetime you are not obeyed; and Moses commanded, 'Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the Sabbath day,' and he is yet obeyed, so long after his death. How then are you better than he?"¹

The Roman Emperor said one day to Rabbi Joshua ben Chananya,² "Show me your God!" "Raise your eyes to the sky," replied the Rabbi, "God is there." The Emperor directed his eyes to the firmament; but at this moment the sun poured his rays upon the earth. Their dazzling lustre very soon caused the Emperor to cast his eyes downwards, whereupon Rabbi Joshua said to him:—"What! Wouldst thou see the Master, when thou hast not the power to look his satellites in the face?"

We are told that,³ on the hinderance to the rebuilding of our Temple in the days of Hadrian, on account of the representations of the Samaritans,—who were jealous lest the object of their aversion, the Temple of Jerusalem, should again rise from the dust—the Samaritans endeavoured to represent to the Emperor the danger of such a restoration; and on that occasion Rabbi Joshua was immediately sent for to tranquillize, by his influence and eloquence, the excited populace, who were bent upon rebellion. Rabbi Joshua addressed the people in a manner which has always appealed to the masses. He related a fable, and drew a moral which applied to the existing circumstances: "A lion had once regaled himself on his prey, but a bone remained sticking in his throat. In terror he promised a great reward to anyone who would extract the bone. A crane with a long neck presented himself, performed the operation and claimed his

¹ Midrash Kohelet, ix., 3.

² Chulin, 59b, 60a.

³ Midrash Bereshith Rabba, lxiv., at the end. Rabbi Joshua declared that the works of charity are equal to the value of the Temple; cf. Jalkut Hosea, 522.

reward. The lion, however, said, 'Rejoice that thou hast withdrawn thy head unharmed from the lion's jaws.' " "In like manner," satirically said Rabbi Joshua, "let us be glad if we come away from the Roman with a whole skin, without insisting on the fulfilment of his promise."

But the nation was filled with the idea of rebellion, and as long as Hadrian remained in Syria (130, 131) the malcontents did not commence the revolt. Rabbi Akiba seems to have developed a silent but effective activity in his preparation for a revolt.

Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph studied for several years under Nachum of Gimso and under Rabbi Eliezer, and founded a college of his own at Bene Berak. The position of this spot, which through him became so celebrated, is supposed by some to be south-east of Joppa. Others place it yet more to the south, near Ashdod. Rabbi Akiba was a member of the Sanhedrin in Jabne, and it was but seldom that any measure was determined without him. His colleagues, with whom he frequently differed on questions of the law, were Rabbi Tarphon of Lydda, Rabbi Jochanan ben Nuri, Rabbi Jose the Galilean, and Rabbi Simon ben Nanos.

Rabbi Tarphon, on account of his great learning, was called "the teacher of Israel,"¹ besides being praised for his great charitable works. Rabbi Jochanan ben Nuri presided over a college in Beth Shearim, a place near Sepphoris in Galilee. Rabbi Jose the Galilean was an authority especially in the laws concerning the sacrifices and the Temple service. Of his domestic life it is related² that he had the bad fortune to have an illtempered wife, who treated him so meanly that he was compelled to divorce her, but learning that she in her second marriage lived in great misery, he generously provided her and her husband with all the necessaries of life. One of his sons, Rabbi Eleazar ben Rabbi Jose the Galilean, became a distinguished teacher in the following generation, and established the thirty-two hermeneutic rules of the Agada. Rabbi Simon ben Nanos, also called simply Ben Nanos, was a great authority, especially in the civil law, so

¹ Jerushalmi Megilla, ch. I., 12.

² Bereshit Rabba, ch. 17.

that Rabbi Ishmael recommended all law students to attend the lectures of this profound teacher.¹

Rabbi Tarphon used to say:—"I wonder whether there is in this generation anyone who could [with propriety] reprove [others]? If he were [to say to any person], 'Take out the mote from thine eyes'; [the other] would say to him, 'Take thou out the beam from thine eyes'"²

Rabbi Akiba arranged the accumulated material of the traditional law into a proper system, placing it in methodical order, and enriching its substance with many valuable deductions of his own. Rabbi Tarphon said of him, "He who departs from thee, departs from life eternal; for what has been forgotten in the handing down, that dost thou give afresh in thy explanation."³ It was acknowledged that the law would have been forgotten or neglected had not Rabbi Akiba given it his support.

The Talmud tells how one day Rabbi Akiba, walking with his companions in the vicinity of the site of the Temple, saw a fox stealing forth from the ruins. The Rabbis break out into exclamations of woe; but Rabbi Akiba laughs. "Why dost thou laugh?" his astonished companions inquire. "And you, why do you lament?" he asks them in turn. "How can we do anything but lament," they cry, "when we see the Temple destroyed, and its ruins become the den of wild beasts?" "It is just on that account that I rejoice," Rabbi Akiba replies; "if the disasters threatened by the prophets have lighted on us, surely the salvation predicted by them will also be vouchsafed in God's good time."⁴

That fiery patriot left the hall of the school to become shield-bearer to Bar Cochba,⁵ when the latter unfurled the banner of the holy war, to win back freedom for his people and to restore the tarnished glory of the Jewish state. That

¹ Baba Batra, 175b. The thirty-two hermeneutic rules of Rabbi Eleazar are incorporated in the editions of the *Talmud*, but the best edition is of H. Katzinelnbogen, with a valuable introduction and notes, under the title of *Netivot Olam*, Vilna, 1859.

² Erechin, 16b.

³ Kedushin, 66b. Zebachim, 13a.

⁴ Makkoth, 24b.

⁵ Maimonides, *Hilchot Melachim*, ch. xi. 3,

the Jewish people survived that war, which culminated in the carnage at Bether (on the 9th of Ab, 135) is one of the marvels of history. According to Dio Cassius (lxix. 13) 580,000 were put to the sword by the Romans, exasperated at their own losses. The captives were sold in the Roman slave markets at the price of beasts of burden. The most illustrious men of the country suffered death as sainted martyrs, among them being Rabbi Akiba.

The first to be executed was Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha, who formulated the Thirteen Rules.¹ When still a boy, he was made a captive and brought to Rome, where Rabbi Joshua,² who happened to come there on a mission, redeemed him at a high ransom, and brought him back to Palestine. Rabbi Nechunia ben Hakana is mentioned as one of his principal teachers. When grown to manhood, he became a member of the Sanhedrin, and was highly revered by his colleagues. He is named among those who emigrated with the Sanhedrin from Jabne to Usha. His residence was in South Judea, in a place called Kefar-Aziz. A separate school which he founded was continued after his death by his disciples, and was known by the name of "Be Rabbi Ishmael."

It was soon the turn of Rabbi Akiba to suffer martyrdom for publicly teaching the law, contrary to the edict of the Emperor Hadrian.

Rabbi Akiba was once asked by Pappos ben Judah,³ one of those who advised submission at any price, why he continued to expound the law publicly at the peril of his life; he gave him an answer wrapped in the following parable:—"Once upon a time a fox was walking along the river side, and saw the fishes swimming to and fro in the greatest consternation. Having asked them what was the matter, and what they were afraid of, they pointed to the nets which were spread out to catch them. Thereupon the fox advised them to come to live with him on dry land, and to be safe. But the

¹ Cf. The Canon of Talmudic Logic in the *Hebrew Review*, iii., p. 171—174, 189—192, 203—205; Petuchowski, *Der Tana Rabbi Ismael*, Frankfort, 1894; and Mielziner's Introduction, p. 130—176.

² Gittin, 58a.

³ Berachot, 61b; see also Pesachim, 112a.

fishes replied, 'Thou wilt never persuade us to follow thy advice, for, if in our element, the water, we have reason to fear for our life, surely when we depart from it, the danger must be even greater.' "So it is with us," said Rabbi Akiba; "if our life is imperilled during all the time our mind remains fixed upon the study of the law, which is the soul of our existence, how much greater must our danger be when we leave our element and cease to study." On the third day of Tishri he was thrown into prison, where chance brought him and this very Pappos together. Pappos lamented that he was only condemned for a worldly matter, and that he could not comfort himself with the idea that he was suffering for a great cause.

Rufus, the governor and executioner, acted towards Rabbi Akiba, whom he considered as the head and leader, with even greater severity than towards the others. He kept him for a long time in the prison, which was so securely guarded that no one could gain admission. The remaining teachers of the law, who felt utterly deserted and helpless without Rabbi Akiba, took all possible pains to obtain his advice in doubtful cases. Once they gave 400 denars to a messenger, who could only with great difficulty obtain access to Rabbi Akiba.¹

At last, however, the hour of his execution came. Rufus inflicted the cruellest tortures on him, and caused his skin to be torn off with irons. The great martyr, whilst under torture, recited the Shema with a peaceful smile on his face. Rufus, astonished at his extraordinary courage, asked him² if he was a sorcerer, that he could so easily overcome the pain he was suffering; to which Rabbi Akiba replied, "I am no sorcerer, but I rejoice that I am permitted to love God with my life." Rabbi Akiba breathed forth his soul with the last words of the prayer which contains the whole idea of Judaism—God is One.³

¹ Jebamoth, 103b.

² Jerushalmi, Sotah, v. 7.

³ Berachot, 61b. Concerning the revolt of Bar Cochba, see J. H. Schwarz, *der Bar Cochbaische Aufstand*, 1885. Concerning the life of Rabbi Akiba, see J. Gastfreund, *Lemberg*, 1871; and A. M. Vitkind, *Vilna*, 1877.

Rabbi Chananya ben Tradyon bore also his death heroically. He was wrapped up in a scroll of the law and burnt on a stake of fresh rushes.¹ Rabbi Chananya's wife was also sentenced to death, and his daughter condemned to degradation.

The martyrdom of Rabbi Chuzpit, the Speaker (Meturgeman) of the Sanhedrin of Jabne, and Isebab, the secretary of the Sanhedrin, are merely noted without details. Rabbi Judah ben-Baba is said to have been the last of the martyrs. Before his death he resolved to invest the seven remaining pupils of Rabbi Akiba with the necessary authority to continue the propagation of the traditional law. He selected for the function the valley between Usha and Shefaram, but despite this secrecy he was surprised by the Romans. His disciples refused to leave him, and it was only after repeated entreaties that they fled. The enemy found the old man alone, and he gave himself up to death without opposition.² He was pierced by lances.

The seven disciples of Rabbi Akiba, with broken hearts, had sought refuge in Nisibis and Nahardea. Hadrian's death, which occurred three years after the fall of Bether, and the succession of Titus Aurelius Antoninus, who received the name of Pius, brought about a favourable turn. On the 28th Adar, 139 or 140, the joyous news came that the decrees of Hadrian were revoked, and this day was commemorated in the calendar. This unexpected end of the persecution recalled the fugitives to their native land. The seven disciples of Rabbi Akiba—the only heirs to the spiritual heritage of former times—who, for the most part, had emigrated to Babylon, now returned. These were Rabbi Meir, Rabbi Judah ben Ilai, Rabbi Jose ben Chalafta, Rabbi Jochanan of Alexandria, Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, Rabbi Elazar ben Shamua and Rabbi Nehemiah. They reassembled in Usha, the native place of Rabbi Judah, who, even previous to the revolution of Bar-Cochba, had occupied the presidency in the college, and they invited all the remaining teachers of the law in Galilee to meet there.

¹ Aboda Zara, 17b.

² Aboda Zara, 8b.

The members of the Tanaite circle pursued the work of their predecessors with great self-sacrifice, in order to restore the broken chain of tradition. The chief of those who took part in affairs were Rabbi Simon, son of the Patriarch Rabbi Gamaliel, Rabbi Nathan of Babylon, Rabbi Meir and Rabbi Simon ben Jochai.

The most original personage of this period was unquestionably Rabbi Meir, whose great intellect, thoroughness of purpose and knowledge remind us of his teacher Rabbi Akiba. Rabbi Meir was fond of illustrating his doctrine by apologue and parable, and is reported to have invented no less than three hundred fables about foxes.¹ His wife Beruria, the learned daughter of Rabbi Chananya ben Tradyon, is also celebrated for her knowledge² and acumen, of which there are several well-known anecdotes. The submission to God of Rabbi Meir and his wife on the occasion of the death of their two children has become known through a poetical account of the event.³ It is related that his two sons, having died suddenly on the Sabbath during their father's absence at the school, his tender-hearted wife did not tell him of the deaths in order that he might not be grieved by sad tidings on the holy day. When the Sabbath was over, she asked him whether that which was lent must necessarily be returned to the lender, and on receiving an affirmative answer, she led him to where their two children lay dead, and consoled him with what he had said, that they had only been confided to their care, and were now reclaimed by the owner.

Rabbi Meir, one Sabbath, having prolonged his sermon beyond the customary time, a female on returning home found her husband furious at the delay of his dinner. "Whence comest thou?" said he, his eyes glistening with rage. "From the sermon." "Ah! well, thou canst return thither, for I will not permit thee to enter my house until

¹ Sanhedrin, 38b.

² Tosifta Keilim, viii. See H. Zirndorf, *Some Women in Israel*, Philadelphia, 1892.

³ Ialkut Shimeoni, Mishlei, xxxi. Beruria declared that God takes no delight in the death of an impenitent sinner, but mercifully desires that the wrongdoer should repent and preserve his soul, Berachot, 10a

thou hast offended the rabbi, who has spoiled my repast." The poor woman ran away in alarm, for her husband was passionate and brutal. She went and recounted her troubles to her neighbours, saying she would die rather than insult a holy man like Rabbi Meir. The preacher, to whom this was soon reported, sent for her immediately, and told her he was blameable for the grief she suffered, and so ingeniously made it appear so, that the good woman abused him, not doubting his earnestness. This was told to the husband, whose weak resentment was satisfied, and he thereupon received his wife, and lived in peace with her.¹

The pupils of Rabbi Meir remarked to him, that in permitting himself to be insulted, he compromised the character with which he was invested. The worthy pastor observed, "We must answer passion by moderation, and insult by calmness. As for me, my children, I do not consider any sacrifice dishonorable when it tends to produce peace and union in our community."²

Rabbi Meir was a native of Asia Minor, and gained a subsistence as a skilful copyist of Sacred Scripture. At first, he entered the academy of Rabbi Akiba, but finding himself not sufficiently prepared to grasp the lectures of this great teacher, he attended, for some time, the school of Rabbi Ishmael, where he acquired an extensive knowledge of the law. Returning then to Rabbi Akiba, and becoming his constant and favoured disciple, he developed great dialectical powers. His academy was in Emmaus, near Tiberias, and for a time also in Ardiscus, near Damascus, where a large circle of disciples gathered around him. Under the patriarch, Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel, he occupied the dignity of a Chacham (advising sage), in which office he was charged with the duty of preparing the subjects to be discussed in the Sanhedrin.³

¹ Midrash Vayikra Rabba, ix. 9; Debarim Rabba, v. 15; and Jerushalmi Sota, 1.

² A. Abraham, *Moral and Religious Tales for the Young*, London, 1846, p. 165, 166. Concerning the life and work of Rabbi Meir, see Raphael Lévy, *Un Tanah, Rabbi Meir*, Paris, 1883; A. Blumenthal, *Rabbi Meir, Sein Leben und Wirken*, Frankfort, 1889.

³ Horiath, 13b.

Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel appointed Rabbi Nathan the Babylonian to the dignity of Ab-Beth-Din (chief justice or vice-president), in the Sanhedrin of Usha. He had to retire from this office because of his and Rabbi Meir's dissension with the patriarch, but was soon reinstated and became reconciled with the Sanhedrial president, who held him in high esteem. Also the succeeding patriarch Rabbi Jehuda, with whom he had many discussions on questions of the law, speaks of him with great respect. Rabbi Nathan was not only an authority in the rabbinical law, especially in jurisprudence, but appears also to have been well versed in mathematics, astronomy and other sciences. To him is ascribed the authorship of Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, which is a kind of Tosephta to Pirke Aboth.¹

Another important name was that of Rabbi Judah ben Ilai of Usha, whose character bore a similarity to that of Rabbi Joshua. Modest, wise, diplomatic and eloquent, he knew how to bridge over the breach which existed between the Roman and the Jewish nature. He was therefore especially designated "the wise," or "the first speaker."

A conversation was once reported which took place between Rabbi Judah, Rabbi José and Rabbi Simon ben Jochai at Usha, where it appears a discussion was held with regard to the Roman policy. Rabbi Judah, who like Rabbi Joshua endeavoured to calm those who stood around, had been praising Rome for her actions.² "How useful this nation has been; everywhere it has erected towns with market-places; it has put bridges over rivers, and built bath-houses for the preservation of health." Rabbi José kept silent, neither giving praise nor blame. Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, on the other hand, could not repress his displeasure. "What the Romans do," he said, "they only do for the sake of selfishness and gain. They keep houses of bad repute in the cities, misuse the bathing-places, and levy toll for the bridges." A proselyte, Judah, having repeated this, perhaps without desiring to make mischief, it finally

¹ See the Preface of S. Shechter to his edition of Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, p. vi.—xxi., Vienna, 1887.

² Sabbath, 33b. Concerning Rabbi Judah ben Ilai, see I. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*, p. 153—157, t. iv., Vienna, 1876.

reached the ears of the Romans. Whereupon Rabbi Judah was loaded with honours, Rabbi José was banished to Sepphoris, and Rabbi Simon was condemned to death.¹

Rabbi Simon, accompanied by his son Rabbi Eliezer, had taken refuge in a cave. He is said to have spent many years in this cave, supporting himself on carob beans and spring water, in consequence of which his skin became full of boils. When he learnt that affairs had taken a favourable turn, probably through the death of the Emperor Verus (169), he left his concealment, and reappeared as the founder of a school at Tekoa.²

After his return Rabbi Simon ben Jochai was asked to repair to Rome, and to intercede with the Emperor Marcus Aurelius for the abolition of the laws against the Jews. As his companion on this journey he had Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Rabbi José. When they arrived in Rome, assisted by various influential Roman Jews, they probably succeeded in obtaining from Marcus Aurelius the concession sought.³ Rabbi Eleazar ben José boasted that he had seen in Rome the vessels of the Temple,⁴ the frontal of the high priest, and the curtain of the Holy of Holies, which Titus had carried off as trophies, and which could only be seen by those especially favoured.

Rabbi José ben Chalafta devoted himself to the collection of Jewish history, and left behind him an account from the creation of the world to the war of Bar-Cochba, under the name of Seder Olam, or Order of the World.⁵ This is the first chronicle composed after the destruction of the Second Temple. He endeavoured to fix the various dates correctly from the historical records of the Bible, to render clear the doubtful passages, and to fill up the gaps in traditions.

¹ See Moses Konitz, *Sepher Ben Jochai*, Vienna, 1815, which treats especially on the life and work of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, and Dr. A. Kaminka, *Studien Zur Geschichte Galiläas*, Berlin, 1896, p. 38—59.

² Menachot, 72a.

³ Meilah, 17a—b.

⁴ Yoma, 57a.

⁵ Printed several times, ed. princeps, Constantinople, 1517; with a Latin translation by Genebrard, Paris, 1577; but the best edition is of B. Ratner with an Introduction published Vilna, 1895; and the text itself with notes, Vilna, 1897.

Rabbi Jochanan of Alexandria, born in Alexandria in Egypt, came to Palestine to attend the lectures of Rabbi Akiba, and was so faithful a disciple that he visited this teacher even in prison, in order to receive instruction from him.¹ His legal opinions are occasionally recorded in the Mishna, as well as in the Tosephta and Baraitha.

Rabbi Elazar ben Shamua was among those of Rabbi Akiba's disciples who, in consequence of the Hadrian edicts, went to the South, whence he departed to Nisibis. He is regarded as a great authority in the law. The place of his academy is not known, but it is stated that his school was always overcrowded by disciples eager to hear his learned lectures. Among his disciples was also the patriarch Rabbi Judah.² On a journey, he visited his former colleague Rabbi Meir, at Ardiscus,³ and with him had discussions on important questions of the law, which are recorded in the Mishna and Baraitha.

Rabbi Nehemiah belonged to the last disciples of Rabbi Akiba, and was an authority especially in the sacrificial law and in the laws concerning Levitical purification. His controversies are mostly with Rabbi Judah ben Ilai. Of other authorities belonging to this generation we have to mention, Abba Saul, Rabbi Eliezer ben Zadok, and especially Rabbi Ishmael, the son of Rabbi Jochanan ben Broka.

The patriarch Rabbi Simon was succeeded by his son Rabbi Judah I., a man whose sanctity of character, immense erudition, and practical wisdom in administering the discipline and rule of Judaism over its entire domain, have won for him the praise of his people in all generations. He is said to have been on terms of friendly intimacy with the Emperor Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.⁴

This period of tranquility was utilized by those who were employed in constructing another kind of edifice, instead of a building of wood and stone. This was the Mishna, and

¹ Jerushalmi Jebamot, ch. xii.

² Jebamot, 84a.

³ Tosephta Nazir, ch. v.

⁴ See S. L. Rapaport's *Erech Millin*, p. 123, Prague, 1852; and Bodek's *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, Leipzig, 1868; more probably *Lucius Verus Antoninus*, cf. Mielziner's *Introduction*, p. 38.

eventually the Talmud—the so-called Oral Law, arranged, commented upon and explained—which became in the course of a few centuries a complete digest, or a wonderful storehouse of practical lessons, of the law, the religion and the nationality of the Jews.

The anxious consideration of the impending dangers induced the patriarch Rabbi Judah, disciple of Rabbi Simon ben Joehai and of Rabbi Elazar ben Šamua, among whose ancestors were Hillel and Rabban Gamaliel, to collect and classify all the traditions handed down to his time, about the end of the second century, in the town of Sepphoris. Thus he enabled the teachers, who were to be solemnly ordained in the patriarch's court, to diffuse the doctrine uniformly throughout the countries of the dispersion. By this means the bonds of religious and national unity were to be preserved, despite political difficulties; and indeed, the experience of seventeen centuries has justified that far-sighted hope. Thus was formed the Mishna or "diligent teaching," in which the author embodied all *collectanea*, of the same character made by several of his predecessors, from Hillel the Elder downwards.¹ The commandments and the prohibitions of the law are distributed under six heads named orders, subdivided into treatises, composed of chapters, each of which contains a number of sections called rules. We shall briefly describe their contents:—

The First order, *Seeds*: of Agrarian Laws, commencing with a treatise on Prayers. In this order the various tithes and donations due to the priests, the Levites, and the poor, from the products of the soil, and further, the sabbatical year, and the prohibited mixtures in plants, animals, and garments, are treated of.

The Second, *Feasts*: of Sabbaths, Feast and Fast days; the work prohibited, the ceremonies ordained, the sacrifices to be offered on them. Special treatises are devoted to the Feast of the Exodus from Egypt, to the New Year's Day, to the Day of Atonement, to the Feast of Tabernacles, and to that of Haman.

¹ Theodores, *ibid*, p. 358-9; see also M. Braunschweiger, *Die Lehrer der Mishnah*.

The Third, *Women* : of Betrothal, Marriage, Divorce, etc. ; also of Vows.

The Fourth, *Damages* : including a great part of the civil and criminal law.¹ It treats of the law of *trover*, of buying and selling, and the ordinary monetary transactions. Further, of the greatest crime known to the law, viz., Idolatry. Next of Witnesses, of Oaths, of Legal Punishments, and of the Sanhedrin itself. This order concludes with the so-called "Sentences of the Fathers," containing some of the sublimest ethical dicta known in the history of religious philosophy.

The Fifth, *Sacred Things* : of Sacrifices, the First-born, etc. ; also of the Measurements of the Temple (Middoth).

The Sixth, *Purifications* : of the various Levitical and other hygienic laws of impure things and persons, their purification, etc.

The Mishna, in its original form, became the text book at the Palestinian schools, where it ranked before the several epitomes of the traditional laws previously known and henceforward described as external Mishnas (*Boraitha*), which were afterwards accounted to hold about the same relation to the authoritative Mishna. Nearly coeval with the Mishna are three commentaries still extant (*Mechilta*, *Sifra*, *Sifri*), on part of the second and on three further books of the Pentateuch. In these works, not the discussions of the doctors, as in the Mishna, but the elucidation of the Biblical word and phrase is the immediate object of the authors. This latter process is called *Midrash* (enquiry, search); it is applicable to a number of writings produced from the early commencement of exegetical studies down to the eighth and ninth centuries, which offer a vast homiletic *thesaurus* to the orator and the moralist.¹

The Mishna and its above-mentioned auxiliary works are composed in Hebrew, rarely interspersed with Aramaic—that is, the dialect then vernacular in Syria and the adjoin-

¹ See Dr. Shiller-Szinessy's art. "Midrash," in the "Encyc. Brit." 9th ed.; Dr. A. Jellinek, *Beth-ha-Midrash*, i.—iv., Leipzig, 1853—57; v., vi., Vienna, 1873—78. Dr. Aug. Wünsche translated the *Midrash Rabba* into German, Leipzig, 1880-86; cf. *Kitto's Cyclopædia*, iii. p. 165—174, Edinburgh, 1865.

ing district between the Euphrates and Tigris. But the Mishnic style exhibits many Hebrew new formations and numerous terms referring to science, commerce, trades, jurisprudence, agriculture, and domestic economy, altogether unknown to Biblical Hebrew.¹

¹ See L. Dukes, *die Sprache der Mishna*, Esslingen, 1846. The first edition of the Mishna, with the commentary of Maimonides, was at Naples, 1492. Surenhuys translated it into Latin, Amsterdam, 1668—1703; into German, by Jost, Berlin, 1832; into English, only eighteen treatises, by De Sola and Raphall, 1843; an English translation and notes on the *Pirke Aboth*, or *Sentences of the Fathers*, was made by Dr. C. Taylor, Cambridge, 1877. See Z. Frankel's *Darkei ha-Mishna*, Leipzig, 1859. Concerning the *Tosephta*, see *Darkei ha-Mishna*, p. 304—307; I. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*, Vienna, 1876, p. 217—225, t. II.; and Schwarz's work on the *Tosephta*. Concerning the *Mechilta*, *Sifra* and *Sifri*, see *Darkei ha-Mishna*, p. 307—313; I. H. Weiss' Introduction to his edition of the *Mechilta*, p. i.—xxxv., Vienna, 1865; his Introduction to his edition of the *Sifra*, p. iii.—viii., Vienna, 1862; and his *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*, II., p. 225—239; M. Friedmann's Introduction to his edition of the *Sifri*, Vienna, 1864; and S. Z. Halberstam, *Kebed ha-Lebanon*, x. p. 7.



CHAPTER II.

THE EPOCH OF THE AMORAIM.

IN common with his friend Antoninus, Rabbi Judah used to explain very quaintly the doctrines of Judaism in the form of discourses.

Rabbi Judah was once asked by the Emperor Antoninus, whether, in the future world, it may not be possible for the wicked to plead that their sins were done by their bodies, and that since they are now souls without bodies, they are no longer to be held guilty. The Rabbi in answer,¹ tells the following story. A king once had a garden of very fine fig-trees, and wishing to secure that the figs should not be stolen, he put them under the charge of two men, of whom one was blind and the other was lame. But when they were in the orchard, the lame man said to the blind man, "I see some luscious figs. Take me on your back, and I will pluck them, and we shall both enjoy them." The king, on visiting the orchard, noticed at once that his finest figs had been stolen, and summoned the custodians of the garden to ask which of them was the thief. "Not I," said the blind man. "I could not have stolen them, for I could not see them, being blind." "Not I," said the lame man. "I could not get to the trees at all, being lame." Then the king put the lame man on the back of the blind man, and punished them both. So shall it be with us. The world is the orchard; the soul and the body act as one man; both are alike guilty, and neither can the soul throw the blame on the body nor the body on the soul. Hence it is written, "He shall call from the heaven above and to the earth to judge his people"—where the heaven above represents the soul, and the earth below the body, which is commingling with its native dust.

How great was the veneration in which Rabbi Judah was held for his wisdom and integrity, may be judged from the

¹ Sanhedrin, 91a—b.

fact, that the foreign communities, as well as those of Judaea, were obliged to put themselves in direct communication with the Patriarch, in order to obtain their officials, judges, and teachers. The community of Simonias, which lay to the South of Sepphoris, begged the Patriarch to send them a man who should give public lectures, decide questions of law, superintend the Synagogue, prepare copies of authentic writings, teach their sons, and generally supply all the wants of the community. He recommended to them for this purpose his best pupil, Rabbi Levi bar Sissi.¹

Another disciple of Rabbi Judah, Rabba bar Chana by name, a native of Cafri in Babylon, was obliged to obtain the authorisation of the former for questions of religion and law in his native land.² In the same manner, a third disciple of his, Rabbi Abba Areka, also a native of Babylon, who later on became a great authority with the Babylonian communities, obtained his influence solely by Rabbi Judah's nomination.³

One dignity alone, that of the Prince of the Captivity in Babylon, was on an equal footing with the Patriarchate.

Among the numerous Babylonians who crowded to the Academy at Sepphoris, was a distinguished disciple, by name Rabbi Chiya, whom his contemporaries could hardly praise enough, on account of his natural gifts, his pious conduct, and his untiring endeavours to spread the teachings of religion among the people. "Will you rival me?" says Rabbi Chiya to Rabbi Chanina;⁴ "I took care that the law should not be forgotten; I sowed flax, knitted nets, caught stags, and gave the flesh to the orphans, and of the skins I made rolls for Scripture, and where no schoolmaster was, I taught the five books of Moses to five children, and the six books of the Mishna to six boys, and also taught them to teach each other the books they had themselves learnt,"—upon which Rabbi said: "How great are the deeds of Rabbi Chiya!"

¹ Jerushalmi Jebamot, ch. xii. at the end. His biography has been written by M. Padua in Chut ha-Meshulash, Vilna, 1877.

² Sanhedrin, 5a.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Baba Metsia, 85b.

With Rabbi Chiya lived and laboured Rabbi Oshaiya Rabba, and Bar-Kappara, renowned for the pungency of his wit and his aptitude in illustrating moral lessons by the machinery of fable.¹

One of the most celebrated of the Babylonian disciples, was Samuel, by whose medical treatment Rabbi Judah had been cured of his long illness. To him is due the legal principle that "the law of the civil government is the law," *i.e.*, that except in religious matters the Jew must submit to the laws of his country.²

With great equanimity Rabbi Judah prepared to die, awaiting his dissolution with tranquility. He summoned his sons and learned comrades before him, and informed them of his last wishes. He conferred the dignity of Patriarch on Rabbi Gamaliel, his elder son, and appointed Rabbi Simon, the younger, to the office of Chacham. He particularly enjoined on Rabbi Gamaliel the obligation of conferring the dignity of teacher, first and foremost on Rabbi Chanina bar Chama, to whom he believed himself indebted. He besought the Sanhedrin to bury him without any great pomp, to allow no mourning ceremonies to be performed for him in the towns, and to re-open the Assembly of Teachers after the short interval of thirty days. The intelligence of the Patriarch's death was indirectly communicated to the people by Bar-Kappara. With his head veiled and his garments torn, he spoke the following words:—"Angels and mortals contended for the ark of the covenant; the angels have conquered, and the ark has vanished."³

As the Mishna is composed with the greatest precision, and cannot be understood without a commentary, it was natural that in course of time doubts and disputes should arise regarding the exposition of the Mishna itself, as well as the mode of its application to cases which it does not sufficiently determine. All these doubts and their manifold solutions, all these controversies and the decisions thereon, were finally

¹ Nedarim, 50b, 51a, Jerushalmi, Moed Katan, iii. 1.

² Baba Batra, 54b.

³ Ketubot, 103a—104a. On the life and work of Rabbi Judah, see M. Konitz, *Bet Rabbi*, Vienna, 1805; S. Gelbhaus, *Rabbi Jehuda Hanasi und die Redaction der Mischna*, Vienna, 1876.

collected in the Talmud Jerushalmi and in the Talmud Babli. The principals of the schools applied themselves, in the first place, to the elucidation of the terse text of the Mishna. From this aspect of their labours they received the name of Amoraim (amorai, expounder). The Mishna having been communicated by two of Rabbi Judah's immediate disciples (Rab and Samuel) to the schools in Babylonia, the same system of study in the two countries produced two Talmuds—one of Jerusalem or Palestine, the other of Babylon.

As the most celebrated Amoraim in Palestine, we may mention Rabbi Chanina, of Sepphoris (180—260); Rabbi Jochanan ben Naphcha (199—279); Rabbi Simon ben Lakish (200—275); and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi bar Sissi.

Rabbi Chanina and Rabbi Jochanan were very severe against those who attacked the honour of their fellow-men. Rabbi Chanina said: "All who descend into hell rise again, except three, who descend and rise no more. They are: adulterers, those who whiten (shame) the faces of their neighbours in public, and those who give their neighbours an evil name."¹ Rabbi Jochanan, in the name of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, declared thus:—"Rather let a man throw himself into a furnace than publicly offend his fellow-man."²

Through the influence of Rabbi Jochanan, Tiberias, with its mild air, its fertility and its curative waters, became the meeting place of a numerous body of disciples who flocked to him from far and wide. Celebrated not less for his personal beauty than for his incomparable virtue, he has acquired a mythical grandeur of character. The Talmud describes his beauty as follows:—"Let him who desires to form an idea of Rabbi Jochanan's beauty take a newly-wrought silver goblet, fill it with ruddy garnets, crown its brim with a wreath of red roses, and place it between light and shadow; its peculiar reflection of light would represent the glory of Rabbi Jochanan's dazzling beauty."³ To him

¹ Baba Metsia, 58b.

² Ibid. 59a. Rabbi Jochanan, in the name of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, proceeds as follows:—"A man inflated with pride is equal to an idolator." Sota p. 4b.

³ Baba Metsia, 84a. His biography is given by C. N. Vitkind, incorporated in the book "Chut ha-Meshulash," p. 105—142, Vilna, 1877.

is attributed the commencement and groundwork of the Talmud Jerushalmi. Rabbi Simon ben-Lakish, Rabbi Jochanan's contemporary, friend, brother-in-law and opponent, was altogether a peculiar personage, in whom were united the most opposite qualities; rough physical strength was coupled with tenderness of sentiment and acuteness of mind. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, formed with Rabbi Jochanan and Ben-Lakish, the triumvirate of the Palestinian Amoraim. The son of Rabbi Levi ben Sissi conducted a school at Lydda, in the South of Judaea.

Rabbi Joshua ben Levi on one occasion visited Rome in the capacity of collector of revenues for the Patriarch. He had there an opportunity of observing a fact which exhibited in strong relief the contrasts existing in the capital of the world. He saw a statue enveloped in drapery, in order to protect it against heat and cold, while near by sat a beggar, who had hardly a rag to cover his nakedness.¹

Contemporary with the patriarchs Rabbi Gamaliel III., Rabbi Judah II, Rabbi Gamaliel IV., and Rabbi Judah III., were the following distinguished Amoraim:—Rabbi Ami, Rabbi Assi, Rabbi Eleazar ben Pedat, Rabbi Chiya, and Rabbi Abbahu.

The patriarch Rabbi Judah III. (280—320) commissioned the three principal Amoraim, Rabbi Ami, Rabbi Assi, and Rabbi Chiya, to undertake a journey through the cities of Judaea, in order to inspect the various institutions of a religious or educational character, and to restore them in those places where they were falling into decay. In one town, where the envoys found neither teachers of the people nor of the young, they summoned the elders to bring before them the guardians of the city. On the armed guard of the town being brought into their presence the envoys of the Nasi exclaimed: "These are in no wise the guardians of the city, but its destroyers; the true guards are the teachers of the young and of the people. If God protect not the house, in vain watcheth the warder."²

¹ Midrash Bereshit-Rabba, xxxiii, 1.

² Jerushalmi Chagiga, I. 7.

Rabbi Abbahu of Caesarea on the Sea was held in great esteem by the Roman Proconsul, and probably also by the Emperor Diocletian, on account of his profound learning, which was heightened by the charm of a dignified figure and a generous character. When it was proposed to ordain him as Rabbi, he withdrew in favour of Rabbi Abba of Acco, desiring first to see the distinction conferred upon the latter, who by this promotion would have been able to free himself from the burden of debt with which he was oppressed.¹

Another event brings out yet more strongly evidence² of his unassuming disposition. He was once delivering discourses, concurrently with Rabbi Chiya bar Abba, in a strange town, the subject being treated by the latter according to the Halachic method, while he adopted the more edifying style of the Agada. As was only natural, the popular discourses of Rabbi Abbahu, being intelligible to all, were better attended than Rabbi Chiya's lectures, which were more difficult of comprehension. The latter having manifested some irritation at the neglect which fell to the lot of his discourses, Rabbi Abbahu attempted to console him in the following words:—"Thy teaching resembles the most precious stones, of which there are but few good judges; mine, on the contrary, is like tinsel, which delights everyone."

Of the labours of those great men, we have the monumental result in the Palestinian Gemara, commonly called the Talmud Jerushalmi, or the Western Talmud. Rabbi José Bun, contemporaneous with the Emperors Julian, Jovian, and Valentinian³ (361—375), was the last of the great Amoraim of the Talmud Jerushalmi.

The patriarch Rabbi Judah III. was succeeded by his son Rabbi Hillel II. (320—360). Rabbi Hillel published the astronomical rules on the calendar.⁴ The method of calculating the calendar introduced by him is so simple and certain that up to the present day it has required neither

¹ Sotah, 40a.

² Ibid.

³ See I. H. Weiss *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*, t. iii., p. 114.

⁴ See L. M. Lewisohn, *Geschichte und System des jüdischen Kalenderwesens*, Leipzig, 1856.

amendation nor amplification, and for this reason is acknowledged to be perfect by all who are competent to express an opinion on the subject, whether Jews or non-Jews. The system is based upon a cycle of nineteen years, in which seven leap years occur. Ten months in every year are invariable, and consist alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days, the two autumn months only which follow Tishri (the most important of all the months) are left variable, as being dependent on certain circumstances in astronomy and Jewish law. This and other computations rest, however, on rules so simple, and are so plain and easy, that the veriest tyro is thereby enabled to draw up a calendar for a hundred, or even a thousand years.¹

The last three Patriarchs are Rabbi Gamaliel V., successor of Rabbi Hillel II.; his son Rabbi Judah IV.; and Rabbi Gamaliel the last (370—425).

The much more copious Talmud Babli contains the record of the transactions of the Babylonian schools.

The Jewish province in Babylonia was divided into several smaller districts, each of which was known by the name of its capital. Thus there existed the districts of Nares, Sora, Pumbeditha, Nahardea, Nahar-Pacod, Machuza, and some others, all of them possessed of some characteristic, such as a peculiar dialect, or particular customs or manners, or even distinct weights and measures.

In the year 188, Abba-Areka (Rab) introduced the Mishna at Nahardea, where at that time Rab Shila officiated. At Rab Shila's death (219) Samuel Yarchinai, the great physician and astronomer, became the rector of that school, and Rab was elected to the similar post at Sora. Their fame attracted numerous students. Artabanus IV. (211—226), the last Parthian monarch of the house of Arsaces, esteemed Rab so highly that he once sent him a present of some valuable pearls. Between the last Parthian king and the first Babylonian Amora there existed the same friendly

¹ Graetz, II., p. 580—1. Concerning the Jewish Calendar see E. H. Lindo, *A Jewish Calendar*, p. 1—12, London, 1838; J. Jacobs, *Jewish Year Book*, p. 15—19. A useful summary of the Jewish Writers on the Calendar has been published by I. Loeb, *Tables du Calendrier Juif*, Paris, 1886. See also the valuable work on the Calendar, published by M. A. Günzburg, under the title of *Ittim Labina*, Warsaw, 1889.

relations as between the Jewish Patriarch and the Roman Emperor of his time. Artabanus was afterwards deposed by Ardashir, and with him ended the dynasty of Arsaces. When Rab heard of the fall of Artabanus, he exclaimed sorrowfully, "The bond is broken."¹

Mar-Samuel also was in exceedingly good repute at the Persian court, and lived on confidential terms with Shabur I.²

Most of Rab's decisions, especially in ritual questions, obtained legal sanction, but in the civil law his friend Mar Samuel in Nahardea was his superior. After Rab's death (247), his disciples recognized Mar Samuel as the highest religious authority of Babylonia. A distinguished contemporary of Mar Samuel was Mar Ukba, at first head of the court in Kafri,³ and later Exilarch in Nahardea.⁴

Babylonia had become a regular Jewish state, whose constitution was the Mishna, and whose public props were the Prince of the Captivity and the school assembly. Mar-Nehemiah and Mar Ukban, Rab's grandchildren, and Nathan their father, were appointed Resh-Galutas in this generation; by reason of their intimate knowledge of the Halacha, they received the title of honour of Rabbana. The Halacha was furthered to the utmost of their power by the successors of Rab and Samuel, of whom the most prominent were: Rab Huna (212—297), who was the chief teacher of the Sora academy, and at the same time was regarded as religious head both in Babylon and abroad; Rab Judah ben Ezekiel (229—290), who founded a new school in Pumbeditha, and introduced a new method of studying the Halacha; Rab Nachman ben Jacob⁵ (235—324), who transferred his academy to Shekan-Zib, on the Tigris, after the destruction of Nahardea (259); Rab Chasda of Kafri

¹ Aboda Zarah, 10b. See M. I. Mühlfelder, *Rabh. Ein Lebensbild zur Geschichte des Talmud*, Leipzig, 1871. I. H. Weiss, *Kochbei Isaac*, Heft, 8—10.

² Concerning the life and work of Mar Samuel see Dr. Hoffman's *Mar-Samuel*, Leipzig, 1874; S. Fessler, *Mar Samuel*, Breslau, 1879; and Dr. R. Landau, *Geschichte der jüdischen Aerzte*, Breslau, 1895.

³ Kedushin, 44b.

⁴ Moed Katan, 16b. Sanhedrin, 31b.

⁵ On the life and work of Rab Nachman ben Jacob see Nachman Ibn Israel's *Rythmical Poem*, in Hebrew, Varsaw, 1883.

(217—309); Rab Sheshet, who founded a school at Silhi, on the Tigris; Rabba bar Abbahu; Rabba bar Nachmani (270—333); and Rab Joseph ben Chiya (270—335).

Rab Joseph ben Chiya was a disciple of Rabbi Judah ben Ezekiel and succeeded his colleague Rabba bar Nachmani in the dignity of president of the academy in Pumbeditha, after having once before been elected for this office, which he had declined in favour of Rabba.¹ His learning was so extensive and his knowledge of the traditional lore was so profound that he obtained the appellation of Sinai, that is one who is acquainted with all the traditions in succession since the giving of the law on Sinai. Besides being a great authority in the rabbinical law, he devoted himself to the Targum of the Bible, especially of the prophetic books.²

After his death, Abaye, surnamed Nachmani, was selected as head of the academy in Pumbeditha, but under his administration, which lasted about five years, the number of hearers in that academy decreased considerably, as his famous colleague Raba bar Joseph bar Chama, disciple of Rab Joseph, had founded a new academy in Mechuza, which attracted greater crowds of pupils.³ Under these two Amoraim, the dialectical method of the Babylonian teachers reached the highest developments. Their discussions, which mostly concern some very nice distinctions in the interpretation of the Mishna, in order to reconcile conflicting passages, fill the pages of the Talmud. In their differences concerning more practical questions the opinion of Raba generally prevails, so that later authorities pointed out only six cases in which the decision of Abaye was to be adopted against that of his rival.

In the year 258, Nahardea was sacked by the robber-king Papa ben Nazar, a *condottiere*, under the auspices of Odenatus, the consort of the famous Zenobia, then at war with the Persian king Shapur.

¹ Berachot, 64.

² See J. Fürst, *Kultur und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien*, p. 144—155.

³ On the life and work of Raba bar Chama, see M. S. Antokolski in the Periodical Journal "*Haasiph*," p. 194—201, Warsaw, 1885; and A. Jafa, *Kneset Israel, I.*, p. 889—898, Warsaw, 1887. On Abaye, see the Journal "*Ha-Eshkol*," p. 95.

The school at Nahardea never regained its former rank; the teachers sought or founded new seats of study, and thus Pumbeditha, Machuza, and some minor places rose into importance of more or less duration. The Jewish colony at Nahardea revived, however, after the fall of Palmyra.

Rab Ashi ben Simai (352—427), rector of Sora, in the year 374 set about collecting materials for publishing the Transactions of the Babylonian High Schools.¹ After his death, his son, Mar bar Ashi, continued his father's work, and included the latter's decisions therein. After Mar's death, the Jews of the Persian empire were the victims of a fresh persecution under Fizur (Pheroces, 457—484), which was far more terrible than that which had occurred under his father, Jezdijird. Huna-Mari, the son of Mar-Zutra, Prince of the Captivity, and two teachers of the law, Armemar bar Mar-Ianka and Meshershya bar Pacod, were thrown into prison and afterwards executed (469-70). They were the first martyrs on Babylonian soil.

A few years later, persecution was carried to a still greater extent; the schools were closed, assemblies for the purpose of teaching prohibited, the jurisdiction of the Jews abolished, and their children compelled to embrace the religion of the Magi (474).

As soon as the terrors of persecution had ceased with Fizur's death, the ancient organisation was again restored in Jewish Babylonia; the academies were re-opened, principals appointed, and Sora and Pumbeditha received their last Amoraic leaders—the former in the person of Rabina, the latter in Rab Jose. These two principals and their assessors had but one end in view, the completion and termination of the work of compiling the Talmud begun by Rab Ashi. The continual increase of affliction and the uncertainty of the future, impelled to the completion of the Talmud. Rabina, who held office from 488 to 499, and Rab Jose, who discharged the duties of principal from 471 to about 520, are expressly mentioned in the old chronicles as living at “the close of the period of the Amoraim.”²

¹ A useful summary of Rab Ashi's Decisions has been published by S. Z. Socher in the Periodical Journal, “*Mitspah*,” iii. p. 1—4, St. Petersburg, 1885.

² Graetz, *ibid.* p. 637—639; Mielziner's Introduction, p. 51—55.

Rabina and Rab Jose accomplished the completion of the Talmud, that is to say, they sanctioned as a complete whole the collection of all previous transactions and decisions which they had caused to be compiled, and to which no additions or amplifications were henceforward to be made. The definite completion of the Babylonian Talmud (called also the Gemara) occurred in the year of Rabina's death, just at the close of the fifth century (13th Kislev, 499).

There were teachers after the compilation, but they were no longer Amoraim, whose decisions were binding; the Epigones of those latter days were styled Seboraim. They did not assume the authority to contradict the decisions established by the Amoraim, but merely ventured to express an opinion and to fix the final decision in cases where their predecessors, the Amoraim, disagreed. They gave the Talmud a finishing touch by adding these final decisions, as well as numerous, especially Agadic, passages.

The texts of the Talmud are composed of two elements, which it is essential not to confound. First, the legal decision, Halacha, which is considered binding on all who recognise the authority of the tradition. It contains those rules, institutions, precepts, and interpretations by which the Jewish people profess to be guided, in addition to the Scriptures. The comments on the law dated from its giving on Sinai. Take, as an instance, the command, "Ye shall dwell in booths." It looks at first simple enough. But questions would soon arise. Did the "ye" mean men, women, and children? did the "dwell" include sleeping and eating? Of what sort and material were the booths to be? All such points were for a long period transmitted orally from generation to generation, and were practically settled by the Tanaim.¹

Analogy with ancient and modern legislations proves that contemporaneously with the *Lex Scripta* the *Lex Non-Scripta* must have developed.² Early Roman law was preserved in the Pontifical College by means of oral traditions, which the Twelve Tables only codified. The bulk of the English

¹ Cf. Rabbi David Nieto in his *Matteh Dan*, p. 8—19, ed. Metz, 1780.

² Cf. J. W. Peppercorne, *Life and Writings of Maimonides*, p. xxiii.—iv., London, 1840.

common law consists of customs and judges' oral decisions—"Precedents broadening down in the process of the suns." Even the precise force and application of a new statute depends ultimately on its interpretation by the Courts. The necessity of tradition to elucidate, develop, and apply to the needs of practical life, the brief notes, pithy statements, and leading cases of which the Pentateuchal legislation mainly consists, is an obvious truism. The definition of "work" forbidden on the Sabbath, the selection of plants "with which to rejoice on the Feast of Tabernacles," the precise connotation of the "affliction of the soul," enjoined for the Day of Atonement, are all fixed by tradition.¹

Secondly, the Agada,² "the Saying," or the element of the most boundless intellectual activity. All that did not belong to the law, it assumed as its province; the conceptions of God, of angels and spirits; notions of the being and destiny of man in this world and the next; the moral law in all its bearing; the treatment of the historical events in the Jewish annals; the possible meaning of every expression in the Holy Scriptures; the reconciliation of seemingly contradictory characters of Biblical persons; popular traditions and proverbs; even particular observances of the law, as far as they could be brought into relation with such inquiries,—in short, an endless world of actual life is contained in the Agada or Midrash, discourses which were given in the synagogues.

Manual labour was held in such honour by the Tanaim, that some of the most prominent sages of the Talmud are known to have made their living by various kinds of handicraft. This custom is exemplified in the case of Hillel, who was a hewer of wood;³ Rabbi Joshua ben Chananya, who was a needle-maker;⁴ Rabbi Judah ben Ilai, who supported him-

¹ Rev. M. Hyamson, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ix. p. 308-309.

² See W. Bacher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, iv. p. 406-429; and J. Dessauer, *Lexicon der Kernsprüche oder Perlenschatz rabbinischer Weisheit*, Buda-Pest, 1876.

³ Chobat ha-Lebaboth, ix. 5; Maimonides' Commentary on Aboth, iv. 5. Concerning his Life and Works see I. Trenel, *Vie de Hillel l'Antique*, Paris, 1867.

⁴ Jerushalmi Berachot, iv. 1.

self by an occupation of which he was not ashamed. He often used the expression—"The work honours the labourer."¹ "He who does not teach his son a handicraft designs him to be a robber."² Rabbi Jose ben Chalafta, of Sepphoris, was a tanner;³ and numerous examples may be found among the other Rabbis who were distinguished by their occupation.

The Jews originally had no special turn for trading. In the earlier days of their life we have seen them to be herdsmen, tillers of the soil, and handicraftsmen of the simplest sort. Their traffic was insignificant even after their return from the exile; and continued so until the Macedonian days, when mercantile intercourse with other nations became among them a more frequent pursuit. Even then commerce was far from absorbing them. But in the countless lands into which they were at length carried by the dispersion, they were often forced to follow quite other paths than the old. The prejudice of the races among which they came, frequently forbade to them the ownership of land and the following of their handicrafts. Commerce became to them the easiest and most natural resource; as they practised it, their dexterity increased. The success they reached aroused a disposition which their ancestors did not possess.⁴ Theology, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, medicine, botany, geography, arithmetic and architecture, were all themes which alternately occupied the attention of the masters and the disciples in the Talmud.

Dr. Noel Guéneau de Mussy says that⁵:—"The hygienic rules which the Torah and Talmud contain are said to

¹ Nedarim, 49b.

² Kedushin, 29a.

³ Sabbath, 49b. See Dr. Seligman Meyer, *Arbeit und Handwerk im Talmud*, Berlin, 1878.

⁴ Herzfeld, *Handelgeschichte der Juden*. p. 271. Renan in *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme*, p. 22, asserts that "Until the beginning of the thirteenth century, though they were much hampered by distinctive legislation, the Jews pursued the same handicrafts as the rest of the world:" quoted in I. Abraham's *Jewish Life*, p. 218; cf. *Handwerk unter den Juden*, in Wertheimer's *Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, Vienna, 1856.

⁵ *Hygienic Laws of Moses*, Medical Abstract, March, 1885, New York. See also Steinschneider's Preface to Dr. Waldenburg's *Lehre von der Tuberculose*, Berlin, 1869.

possess great wisdom. The idea of parasitical and infectious maladies, of which we now hear so much, occupied also the mind of Moses. He indicates with great wisdom the animals to be used as food, excluding those liable to parasites, as swine, rabbits, and hares. He prescribes the thorough bleeding of animals to be eaten, and the burning of the fat; it has been established that it is precisely the blood and the fat which are most liable to retain parasitic germs and carry infection. The Talmud, moreover, directs that the liver, lungs, and spleen shall be carefully scrutinized. Precisely those organs are especially liable to disease. With reference to dwellings and clothing and the satisfying of natural wants, the rules of Torah and Talmud are excellent; in point of health, the advantage of a careful observance of the Sabbath is very great; even circumcision¹ can be defended as an excellent sanitary expedient. In several respects the Mosaic Law is declared to have anticipated modern science by several thousand years. Throughout the entire history of Israel, the wisdom of the ancient lawgivers in these, is remarkably shown: in times of pestilence, the Hebrews have suffered far less than others; as regards longevity and general health, they have in every age been noteworthy."

"Under their primitive forms," concludes Dr. de Mussy, "these laws still subsist, and those who adhere to them, dispersed, according to the prediction of their great legislator, to the four winds of heaven, derive from them a force and a vitality which carry them in triumph over the obstacles they encounter and the persecution they have suffered, and from whatsoever point of view it be regarded, in considering the immense rôle played by Israel's great lawgiver, and the indirect influence which he still exercises over the civilised world, it is difficult not to recognise in him one of those providential men placed by the Creator on the path of humanity to guide it to the end which He has ordained."²

¹ See Dr. P. C. Remondino's *History of Circumcision*, p. 171, 173, 191, 306, Philadelphia, 1891.

² Quoted by Dr. H. Behrend, the *Nineteenth Century*, 1889, p. 418. For fuller particulars concerning this branch of literature see Dr. H. Behrend, *Jewish Chronicle*, 12th November, 1880, and 24th October,

J. Buxtorf says, on the merits of the Talmud, in the preface to his great Chaldaic and Talmudical Lexicon:—"The Talmud," that Christian Divine states, "is a learned work, or a large corpus of erudition; it contains manifold learning in all sciences; it teaches the most explicit and most complete civil and canonical law of the Jews, so that the whole nation, as well as their synagogue, might live thereby in a state of happiness,—in the most desirable way. It is the most luminous commentary of the Scriptural law as well as its supplement and support."

"It contains much excellent teaching on jurisprudence, medicine, natural philosophy, ethics, politics, astronomy, and other branches of science, which make one think highly of the history of that nation and of the time in which the work was written."¹

The Talmudical standard of ethics is high.² Truthfulness, purity, humility, temperance without asceticism—these are the heads under which the numerous attractive sayings may be registered that have secured a celebrity to the Talmud among learned men of all confessions.

The largest philanthropy is recommended in the Talmud, towards all classes of human beings. "Feed the hungry among the heathen," says the Talmud, "visit their sick, mourn with the bereaved, and bury their dead, to the end that peace and goodwill may prevail among all the families of man."³

The Talmud proclaims:—"The pious and virtuous of all nations participate in the eternal bliss."⁴

1890; Mr. Marcus Adler's instructive paper on the Health Laws of the Bible, and their influence upon the life condition of the Jews; Dr. Dembo's elaborated Jewish Method of Slaughter, London, 1894; and Rev. M. Hyamson's valuable article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ix. 294—310.

¹ Translated by Dr. L. Loewe in the Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, vol. 1., p. 331, London, 1890; see also Dr. Mielziner's Introduction, 103—114. For fuller particulars concerning the statements of the Christian scholars on the Talmud, see Solomon Plesner, *Wort zu seiner Zeit, oder die Autorität der jüdischen Traditionslehre*, Breslau, 1850, pp. 12—34; and in Karl Fischer's *Gutmeinung über den Talmud der Hebräer*, Vienna, 1885.

² Theodores, *ibid*, p. 377; cf. M. Mielziner's Introduction, p. 267—280.

³ Gittin, 61a.

⁴ Tosephta Sanhedrin, ch. xiii.

And a noteworthy utterance on the subject is to be found in the Talmud¹:—"When the Egyptian host lay dead on the sands of the Red Sea, the heavenly choir chanted hymns before the throne of the Almighty. But the Lord forbade them, saying, "The Egyptians are the work of my hand no less than the Israelites."

Abundance of parables, riddles, and stories are dispersed throughout the Talmud and Midrashim.²

The most remarkable treatises of the Talmud are those on jurisprudence. The judgment of such a man as Professor E. Gans, the great German jurist, who knew the Talmud well, cannot be disregarded. He says³ that no *corpus juris* known to him gives evidence of so much critical labour and penetration as the Talmudical law on inheritance and succession. The procedure in criminal cases prescribed in the Talmud,⁴ is marked with the stamp of humanity in almost every particular. A specimen of the very advanced ideas entertained by some leading teachers of the tradition on the subject of capital punishment is supplied by the Mishna.⁵ "A court that passes a sentence of death once in a week of years is indeed a pernicious tribunal." Rabbi Eleazer added, "I hold it to be such, if it does so once in 70 years." Rabbi Tarphon and Rabbi Akiba declared, "If we sat in judgment, we should on no account vote for the execution of any criminal."

¹ Sanhedrin, 39b.

² See Dr. Aug. Wünsche, *Die Räthselweisheit bei den Hebräern*, Leipzig, 1883; and S. Back, *Die Fabel im Talmud*, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft*, 1875, 76, 80, 84.

³ *Erbrecht* 1., p. 151, quoted by Theodores, p. 377. See *Quarterly Review*, 1869, vol. 127, p. 343.

⁴ See S. Mendelssohn, *The Criminal Jurisprudence of the ancient Hebrews*, compiled from the Talmud and other Rabbinical writings, Baltimore, 1891; and P. B. Benniy, *The Criminal Code of the Jews*, London, 1880.

⁵ *Makkot*, 7a. See also I. Tonisen, *La peine de mort dans le Talmud*, in the bulletin de l'Academie royale des sciences de Belgique, 25^e année, 2^{me} série, t. 22, N^o 11, 1866, p. 349—423. He says, "tous ceux qui dans la seconde moitié du dix—huitième siècle, contribuèrent si puissamment à la naissance de la philosophie du droit pénal, auraient eu pour précurseurs, seize siècles plus tôt, les rabbins de Lydda, de Madalen et de Tibériade!"

The Talmud was, in the midst of all the sufferings of the Jews, their supreme consolation, the safeguard of their morality, and the bond of their religious unity.¹

¹ As early as 553, the Emperor Justinian interdicted it, and for over a thousand years, with only one honourable exception, that of Pope Clement V., both the secular and the spiritual powers, kings and emperors, popes and anti-popes, vied with each other in hurling anathemas and bulls and edicts of wholesale confiscation and conflagration against the Talmud. Ignorance, as in most cases, was at the bottom of unreasoning persecution; they did not understand the book, and so their ignorance begat a superstitious fear, and they took passages here and there, and garbled them and mistranslated them. At last things came to a crisis. In Germany, when Maximilian reigned, a wretched convert named Pfefferkorn, begged the Emperor to decree a public burning of all the copies of the book that could be found, and Maximilian, not knowing or caring much about it, agreed. But a learned and brave man, named Johann von Reichlin, professor at Ingoldstadt, the principal promoter of the study of Hebrew in his day, stood up in its defence; the end of it was the Talmud won, and its first complete edition was printed in the year 1520—6, Venice. On the whole subject, see E. Deutsch's article, "The Talmud" in *Quarterly Review*, October, 1867, p. 421—424; R. N. Rabbinowitsch, *Kritische Uebersicht der Gesammt-und Einzelausgaben des babylonischen Talmuds seit 1484*, München, 1877. M. Schwab, *l'Introduction du Traité des Berakhoth*, Paris, 1871, and Dr. H. Goitein, *Ankläger und Vertheidiger des Talmud*, Frankfort, 1897.

A. W. Streane translated into English the Treatise Chagiga, Cambridge, 1891.

J. J. Rabe published a German translation of the Treatise Berachot, Halle, 1777; with an introduction by M. Pinner, Berlin, 1842. Into French by M. Schwab, Paris, 1871. Treatise Megilla into German by M. Rawicz, 1883; Treatise Rosh ha-Shana into German, by the same, Frankfort, 1886; D. O. Straschun translated the Treatise Taanith into German, Halle, 1883. A. Sammter published a German translation of the Treatise Baba Metsia, Berlin, 1876. M. Rawicz translated into German the Treatise Sanhedrin, Frankfort, 1892. E. C. Ewald published, Nürenberg, 1856 and 1868, a German translation of the Treatise Aboda Zarah. The Agada of the Babylonian Talmud has been translated into German by Dr. Aug. Wünsche, 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1886—1888.

The Talmud Jerushalmi was first published by D. Bombergo, Venice, 1520—1522; again in Cracow, 1609; appeared in French by M. Schwab, 10 volumes, Paris, 1871—90. An English translation of the Treatise Berachot, has been published, London, 1886. The Agada of the Talmud Jerushalmi has been translated by Aug. Wünsche, Zurich, 1880. Cf. N. Brüll "Ueber die Entstehung des Talmud," in his *Jahrbücher, zur jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur*, II. 1876, Frankfort. Shiller-Szinessy, Art. "Talmud," in the *Encyc. Brit.* 9th ed., and Schechter "On the Study of the Talmud," in the *Westminster Review*, January and April, 1885.

The study of the Talmudical writings is now coming into great cultivation: J. P. Stehlin, *The Traditions of the Jews contained in the Talmud*, 1748. A. H. Israel's *Collectanea Gynaecologica ex Talmude Babylónico*, Gröningen, 1845. R. I. Wunderbar, *Biblish—talmudische*

Medicin, 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1850—60. Joach. Halpern, Beiträge zur Geschichte der talm. Chirurgie, Breslau, 1869. Joseph Bergel, Die Medizin der Talmudisten, Leipzig, 1885. Dr. L. Katzenelson, Die Osteologie der Talmudisten, in Hebrew, St. Petersburg, 1888. Ueber die Anatomie der Talmudisten, in Russian, by the same; and J. M. Rabbinowitz, Paris, 1869,—all these cultivated the Medicine of the Talmud.

B. Zuckermann, Das Mathematische im Talmud, Breslau, 1878, cultivated the Mathematics; L. Lewysohn, Die Zoologie des Talmuds, Frankfurt, 1858,—the Zoology; M. Duschak, Zur Botanik des Talmud, Pesth, 1871,—the Botany. The following authors cultivated the Legislation of the Talmud: Z. Frankel, Der Gerichtliche Beweis nach mosaisch—talmudischem Rechte, Berlin, 1846; H. B. Fassel, Das mosaisch—rabbinische Civilrecht, Gr. Kanischa, 1852—54; M. Bloch, Die Civilprocess—Ordnung, Pesth, 1882; Das mosaisch—talmudische Polizeirecht, by the same author, Pesth, 1878; translated into English and published in the Hebrew Review I., Cincinnati, 1881; M. Duschak, Das mosaisch—talmudische Strafrecht, Vienna, 1869; Das mosaisch—talmudische Eherecht, Vienna, 1864, by the same; and J. M. Rabbinowitz, Paris, 1873—80.

A. Nager, Die Religionsphilosophie des Talmud, Leipzig, 1864, wrote on the Religious Philosophy. M. Bloch, Die Ethik der Halacha, Pesth, 1886; H. Cohen, Die Nächstenliebe im Talmud, Marburg, 1886, and L. Lazarus, Zur Charakteristik, der talmudischen Ethik, Breslau, 1877—these wrote on the Ethics. S. Sekles illustrated poetry in his book, The Poetry of the Talmud, New York, 1880. Blach-Gudensberg, Das Pedagogische im Talmud, Halberstadt, 1880; Sam. Marcus, Zur Schul-Pedagogik des Talmud, Berlin, 1866; Strassburger, Geschichte der Erziehung bei den Israeliten, Stuttgart, 1885; and Rev. B. Spiers, in his School System of the Talmud, London, 1881, treats of the Pedagogy of the Talmud. I. Brill, Vienna, 1864, wrote on the Mnemonic; A. Stein, Prague, 1869, on the Terminology; M. Jacobson, on the Psychology of the Talmud, Hamburg, 1878, J. R. Fürstenthal, Rabbinische Anthologie, Breslau, 1834; L. Dukes, Rabbinische Blumenlese, Leipzig, 1844; Rabbinische Sprachkunde, by the same, Vienna, 1851; Löwenstein, Sentenzen, Berlin, 1887; A. Weill, Sagesse des Rabbins, Paris, 1885, and Rev. Isidore Myers, Gems from the Talmud, London, 1894—all these cultivated the Proverbs, the Maxims, and the Parables of the Talmud. Gr. Rab. Zadok-Kahn, in his book L'Esclavage selon la Bible et le Talmud, Paris, 1867, wrote on the laws concerning Slavery in the Talmud. Dr. Ad. Neubauer published, La Géographie du Talmud, Paris, 1868, Dr. A. Berliner, Beiträge zur Géographie und Ethnographic Babylo niens im Talmud und Midrash, Berlin, 1884, and Dr. H. Hildesheimer, Beiträge zur Géographie Palaestinas, Berlin, 1886. A. Hahn wrote on Dialectics in The Rabbinical Dialectics, Cincinnati, 1879; and B. Zuckerman, in his work Ueber Talmudische Münzen und Gewichte, Breslau, 1862, treated on the Coinage and Weights of the Talmud.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENTS OF THE JEWS BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

WITH the history of the dispersion and fate of Israel in the East and in the West, in Asia, and in Europe, are connected the annals of the wandering and suffering Jews in all parts of the world.

The first settlement of the Jews in the Roman empire was at the time of Pompey. Under the more indulgent emperors who followed: Julius Cæsar, Marcus Coccejus Nerva, Antoninus Pius (138—161), Marcus Aurelius (161—180), Septimus Severus (193—211), Caracalla (211—17), Marcrinus (217-18), Bassianus Elagabalus (218—22), Alexander Severus (222—35), and Julian Apostate (361—63), the Jews in the empire were restored to many of their ancient privileges. New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire. Julian the Apostate, immediately on his accession, declared all the persecuting laws to be a dead letter; he reduced taxes, abolished disabilities, and finally gave permission to the Jews to rebuild their temple. But after a brief reign, he fell in battle against the Parthians. The Jews were favoured under Valentinian and Valens (364). Their equity to the Jews and respect for their patriarchs are clearly shown by a law of Arcadius, in which their authority is appealed to.¹

Maximus (383) ordered a synagogue at Rome, that had been wantonly burnt, to be rebuilt at the expense of the Roman community. Under the government of Honorius, (395—423), the Jews enjoyed the full exercise of their religion. In the year 418, however, Flavius Honorius disqualified them from all state employment except pleading in the law courts, and in 439 even this privilege was denied them by Theodosius II. The Jews, however, still occupied

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 13.

honourable positions everywhere, and, as men of science, were highly esteemed. Schleiden tells us that they were the only physicians trusted by the public.¹

Upon the overthrow of the Roman empire by the Vandals in 476, it might have been expected that the Jews would have been worse treated than others of the people, by that fierce and barbarous nation. But they enjoyed the same privileges and only participated in the common miseries which are the usual attendants of great revolutions. They were allowed the unrestricted exercise of their religion, and on the payment of a tribute they were permitted the freedom of commerce. Theodoric (496—526) in particular protected them against the Christian zealots, and would permit no compulsory means for their conversion. Theodot (534—36) protected them against Christian zealots in Milan, Genoa and Rome.

When Justinian became emperor at Constantinople (527—65), he found their condition to be that of an oppressed and miserable people.

About this time a war occurred in Italy. The Jews joined with the Goths against Justinian and his general, Belisarius, and, in conjunction with the Gothic forces, they defended the city of Naples with such obstinacy that the Roman soldiers became exceedingly exasperated against them.² The Visigoths also, at the commencement of the same century (518), received assistance from the Jews in their defence of Arles, in Provence, against the Franks under Clovis.³ Pope Gregory I. (590—604) conscientiously maintained the rights of citizenship of the Jews, which had been recognised as belonging to them as Romans by various emperors. In the territory which was subject to the Papal sway in Rome, Lower Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, he steadfastly persisted in this course, in the face of the fanatical bishops, who regarded the oppression of the Jews as a pious work. His pastoral letters are full of earnest exhortations, such as the following:—“We forbid you to molest the Jews or to restrict

¹ L. Wolf in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1881, p. 349.

² *Procop. de Bello Gothico*, I. 10, p. 53, edit. Bonn.

³ Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, Würzburg, 1871, t. vi. p. 420.

them in opposition to the established laws ; we further permit them to live as Romans and to dispose of their property without prejudice." Gregory reproves the Bishop of Terracina for having driven the Jews from certain places where they were accustomed to hold their festivities.¹

The arrival of the Jews and the establishment of their colonies in the Peninsula is carried back, both by Jews and Christians, to a period of great antiquity.² Certain Jewish families, the Ibn-Dauds and the Abarbanel, boasted of being descended from the royal house of David, and maintained that their ancestors had been settled since time immemorial, partly in the district of Lucena, and partly in the environs of Toledo and Seville. The family of the Ibn-Albalias dated their immigration from the destruction of the Second Temple. A family tradition runs to the effect that the Roman governor of Spain begged the conqueror of Jerusalem to send him some noble families from the capital of Judaea, and that Titus complied with his request. Among those who were thus transported was a man of the name of Baruch, who excelled in the art of weaving curtains for the temple. This Baruch, who settled in Merida, was the ancestor of the Ibn-Albalias,³ Hadrian, who was a native of Spain, transported to it a large number of prisoners from Judaea, some authors say as many as 80,000 families, thus greatly increasing the Hebrew population of those Roman provinces. The sympathy of their free brethren undoubtedly spurred on the latter to ransom them, and thus to fulfil the most important of the duties prescribed by Talmudical Judaism to its adherents.

How numerous the Jews had settled in many parts of Spain, is proved by the names which they conferred upon these localities. The city of Granada was called Jews'-town in former times, on account of its being entirely inhabited by Jews.

¹ Epist. lib. I. 34. Concerning the Jews of Rome see Dr. H. Vogelstein, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*; Dr. A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 1894; Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*; E. H. Hudson, *A History of the Jews in Rome*, London, 1882; and W. D. Morrison, *The Jews under the Roman Rule*, New York, 1890.

² E. H. Lindo, *The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, p. 6.

³ Graetz, *History*, (E. T.), p. 44-45, t. iii.

In Cordova there existed a Jewish gateway of ancient date, and near Saragossa there was a fortress which at the time of the Arabs was called Ruta al Jahud. In the neighbourhood of Tortosa, a gravestone was found with both a Hebrew name and also a national patronymic. This memorial was inscribed in three languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The Jews must therefore have emigrated from a Grecian district to the north of Spain at an early period. They had also acquired the Latin language, without forgetting that of the Holy Writings.

In the Council of Elvira, assembled in the year 305, we find decrees made concerning the relations between Jews and Christians, which throw considerable light upon their position in the country, and their customs at that period.¹

The anonymous author of the *Memorias* of Majorca, considers the Jewish settling in the Balearic Islands to have taken place in the time of the second temple.²

The dominion of the Franks was in early times not less merciful to the exiles of Palestine than that of the Goths. The Gaulish Jews, whose first settlement was in the district of Arles, enjoyed the full rights of Roman citizenship; they were likewise treated as Romans by the Frankish and Burgundian conquerors. They were soon to be found in every department of work, from state employments to tilling the soil.

In the Frankish kingdom, founded by Clovis, the Jews dwelt in Auvergne, in Carcassone, Arles, Orleans, and as far north as Paris and Belgium. Numbers of them resided in the old Greek port of Marseilles, and in Béziers, and so many dwelt in the province of Narbonne that a mountain near the city of that name was called after them (Mons

¹ See Lindo, *History*, p. 9-10. Concerning the early history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal, see Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, p. 1-7, London, 1848; Amador de los Rios, *Historia social, politica y religiosa de los Judios de España y Portugal*, ch. 1-11, t. 1., Madrid, 1875; Dr. M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867.

² See Kayserling, *Die Juden in Mallorca in Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden*, 1860; *Revue des études juives*, 7., p. 31; and Don Juan de la Puerta Vizcaino, *Historia de los judios de Malorca*, Valence, 1857.

Judaicus). The Jews of the Frankish and Burgundian kingdoms were allowed to carry on agriculture, trade and commerce without restraint, and to navigate the seas and rivers in their own ships. They also practised medicine, and the advice of the Jewish physicians was even sought by the clergy. They were also acquainted with the art of war, and took an active part in the battles between Clovis and Theodoric's generals before Arles.¹ The Jews lived on the best of terms with the population of the country. Some traits of friendly feeling and of amicable correspondence with respectable Jews occur in the elegant works of Sidonius Apollinarius.²

The good Hilary in his diocese of Poitiers in Gaul constantly protected the Jews from all ill-treatment, so that at his funeral the Israelites were heard chanting in Hebrew their mournful psalms of lamentation for the Christian Bishop. They mourned also over another Bishop, Gallus of Clermont.³

The Jews of Gaul lived in strict accordance with the precepts of their religion. Wherever they settled they built their synagogues and constituted their communities in exact agreement with the directions of the Talmud. A spirit of hostility to the Jews spread from Burgundy, after King Sigismund had embraced the Catholic faith (516), over the Frankish countries. Already at the third and fourth councils at Orleans (538 and 545), which sat at short intervals, severe enactments were passed against them. The Merovingian line at least threatened them with peculiar rigour. As early as the year 540, King Childebert I. forbade the Jews to appear in the streets of Paris during the whole of Easter Week.⁴ A little later, Clotaire II. deprived them of the power of holding any dignity or office of State, whether civil or military. The more the authority of the Merovingian drones, as they have been called, declined, and the more the power of the politic and cautious stewards,

¹ Graetz, *ibid.*, p. 36-37.

² See Dom Vaissète, I. 243, Sidoine Appolinaire, III. epist. 4. IV. epist. 5.

³ Boissi, *Diss. sur les Juifs*, t. II., p. 2, quoted by Milman, *History of the Jews*, 1866, p. 37, 45.

⁴ Léon Kahn, *Les Juifs à Paris*, 1889, p. 2.

Pepin's descendants, rose, the greater was the exemption from persecution and torture enjoyed by the Jews. The predecessors of Charlemagne seem to have had a presentiment that the Jews were a serviceable class of men, whose activity and intellectual capabilities could not but be advantageous to the State.¹

The first settlement of the Jews in England is buried in dim obscurity. Whether the Jews visited Britain with the Phœnicians or not, it is certain that many of them were living here after, and even before, the arrival of the Romans. At one time a cordial alliance existed between the Hebrew and the Roman, and many Jews served as soldiers in the Roman army. It is therefore probable that when the hosts of Cæsar landed upon our coast, the Jews were among the invaders, and many, finding the country to their liking, remained behind and took up their abode here.²

Leaving on one side legendary times, we find the presence of Jews in England under the Saxon kings fully attested. The first mention made of the Jews in any document connected with English history, is found in the canons of Ecbright, Archbishop of York, which contain an ordinance that no Christian shall presume to eat with a Jew, or shall *judaise*, whatever that may have meant. These canons were issued in the year 740 or 750, for the government of the province of York. We see therefrom that not only were there Jews in England at that period, but that they were deemed of sufficient importance for the ruling powers to warn the guileless Christians against their seductions. It is related in the history of Croyland Abbey that in 833, Whitglaff, King of the Mercians, having been defeated by Egbert, took refuge in that Abbey, and in return for the

¹ Graetz, *ibid.* p. 42. For references relating to the earlier history of the Jews in Gaul, see Port, *Histoire du commerce maritime de Narbonne*, p. 12, 13, 15, 168; M. E. Ouverleau, *Notes et documents sur les Juifs de Belgique sous l'ancien Régime*, *Revue des études juives*, vii., 117; Vaissette, *Histoire du Languedoc*, t. i., liv. vi.; G. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 5—7, Paris, 1881; M. de Maulde, *Les Juifs dans les États français du Saint-Siège*, p. 3, note, Paris, 1886; Lelivre des routes et des provinces d'Ibn Khordadieh, published by Barbier de Meynard; Léon Kahn, *Les Juifs à Paris, depuis le VI^e Siècle*, Paris, 1889.

² A. C. Ewald: *Studies re-studied*, London, 1885, p. 5-6.

protection and assistance received, he granted a charter to the monks of Croyland, confirming to them all lands, tenements and gifts bestowed upon them by his predecessors and their nobles, by Christians and by Jews.¹

Tradition assigns a very early date to the establishment of the Jews in Germany. It is certain that a Jewish congregation existed in the Roman colony of the city of Cologne,² long before Christianity had been raised to power by Constantine. The heads of the community and its most respected members had obtained from the heathen emperors the privilege of exemption from the onerous municipal offices. The first Christian emperor, however, narrowed the limits of this immunity, and only exempted two or three families. The Jews of Cologne also enjoyed the privilege of exercising their own jurisdiction, which they were allowed to retain until the Middle Ages. A non-Jewish plaintiff, even though he were a priest, was obliged to bring his suit against a Jew before the Jewish judge.³

¹ J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 1, London, 1875. The only evidence from a Hebrew source, for the existence of Jews in England in the ninth century, we find in Emek Habacha, p. 12, Vienna, 1852, by R. Joseph Cohen, quoted in J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 4, London, 1894.

Concerning the early history of the Jews in England, see Tovey D'Blossiers, *Anglia-Judaica*, Oxford, 1738; John E. Blunt, *History of the Jews in England*, p. 1-3, London, 1830; M. Margolioth, *History of the Jews in Great Britain*, p. 1-79, London, 1846. J. Jacobs in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, I, 286-8.

² See Cod. Theodos. xvi. 8, c. 3; *Das Judenschreibbuch der Laurenzpf zu Köln*; C. Brisch, *Geschichte, der Juden in Cöln*, 1882.

³ Graetz, *ibid.* p. 43. For references relating to the history of the Jews in Germany in the Middle Ages, see Elie Scheid, *Histoire des Juifs d'Alsace*, Paris, 1887; Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, Brunswick, 1866; Wiener, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 1862; Hegel, *Chroniken der Stadt Nürnberg*, Leipzig, 1862; G. L. Kriegk, *Geschichte und Lage der Frankfurter Juden im Mittelalter*, in *Buchner's Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 49 seq; M. Manheimer, *Die Juden in Worms*, Frankfurt, 1842, and in *Halebannon*, iv. 7; M. Wiener, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in der Residenzstadt Hannover*, incorporated in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden*, I. B., p. 169-216, Leipzig, 1860; J. C. Ulrich, *Histoire des Juifs de Suisse*, 1769. G. Wolff, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 1876; and Dr. J. Perles, *Geschichte der Juden in Posen*, Breslau, 1865. Concerning the Jews of Bohemia, see Dr. M. Grünwald, *Geschichte der Juden in Böhmen*, Pisek, 1885. J. Wertheimer, *Die Juden in Oesterreich*, Leipzig, 1842. On the Jews of Saxony and Bavaria, see Sidori, *Geschichte der Juden in Sachsen*, 1840, Leipzig; Aretin, *Geschichte der Juden in Baiern*, Landshut, 1803.

They seem to have come to Bohemia and Moravia, as emigrants from France and Italy. They were already to be found at Prague before the end of the tenth century. Boleslaus II. (967—999), granted them permission to build a synagogue, in recompense for the assistance they gave him in his wars with the Pagan inhabitants.

In the time of Leo the Isaurian, Emperor of Bysantium (726), a large number of the Jews, whose ancestors had established themselves in the land long before Christianity, fled further afield to seek an asylum among the more tolerant Pagans. Thus it came about that Jewish settlements were formed in the Cimmeric Peninsula of Tauris (the modern Crimea), and Hebrew communities were founded at Theodosia (now Kaffa), Kareonpolis (Eski Krim), Phanegoria (Taman), and Bosphorus (Kertsch). From the Crimea these Graeco-Jewish communities spread to the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and the mouth of the Volga. These are the first authentic appearances of the Jews on Russian soil. The inhabitants of the region thus invaded were the Khozars, or Togarmi (as they subsequently called themselves), a Finnish tribe, who, after the break-up of the Empire of the Huns, had established themselves in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, whence they had gradually extended a powerful dominion. Successful in a war with the Persians, they disputed the sovereignty of the East with the Byzantine emperors, and both the Bulgars and Russins paid them tribute. Upon this semi-barbarous people the Jews exercised the happiest influence, and ultimately one of their sages, Rabbi Isaac Sangori, converted their king, Bulan, and a large portion of the nation, to Judaism. In a subsequent reign, that of a king named Obadiah, Judaism was formally acknowledged as the religion of the State. Learned Jews crowded the court; synagogues were built, and public colleges established for the study of the Bible and Talmud. While the west and south were distracted by the anarchy of sectarian wrangling, and the north and east were shrouded in an impenetrable shadow of barbarism, the shores of the Caspian and the Euxine flourished in the benignant light of a Jewish civilisation.¹

¹ L. Wolf in *Sir Moses Montefiore*, p. 128, London, 1884.

The Jews persuaded the Khozars to abolish slavery, to tolerate all races and religions, to acknowledge the sanctity of family ties, and to cultivate literature and the sciences. One of their kings, Joseph, corresponded with Rabbi Chasdai Ibn-Shaprut, the famous Jewish Vizier of the Caliph Abderrahman III., of Cordova. Even the Byzantine emperors paid tribute to them, and there was at one time a chance of Khozar-Judaism spreading all over Russia.

The country was, however, converted to Christianity by Sviatoslav of Kiev, who in 965, on the field of Sarkel, inflicted a severe check on the power of the Togarmi. From this date the importance of the Khozars gradually declined. Under the influence of Judaism, they had become a peaceful people, and they were no longer able to withstand the inroads of martial Slavs and Russins by whom they were surrounded. The kingdom shrunk until it became confined to the Crimea. In the reign of a king named David, they made a last effort to re-establish Judaism in the provinces they had lost, by sending Jewish Rabbis to convert the Russin Prince, Vladimir the Great, but he, under the influence of his wife, a sister of the Emperor of Constantinople, preferred the doctrines of the Greek Church, and was baptised therein. David was the last of the Khozar kings.

In 1016, the Crimea was seized by the Russins, and the Jewish State was suppressed. The Khozar princes and nobles fled to Spain, where many of their descendants became distinguished for Talmudic learning.¹

Poland received at the end of the ninth century its Jewish population from Germany. The German Jews sent a deputation to the Pagan Leszek, Prince of Poland, in the year

¹ Concerning the Khozars, see E. Carmoly, *Des Khozars au x^e siècle*, Bruxelles, 1833; A. Levy, *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden*, 1861, p. 273; *Journal Asiatique*, t. II. p. 416, viii. 266, 272; xii. 536; *Bulletin de l'Académie de St Pétersbourg*, I. 1866, p. 244. *Mémoires de l'Académie de St Pétersbourg*, vii série, t. ix. 1866, N^o 7. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, t. v. p. 119—164; *Magyarische Alterthümer*, p. 208 seq. Dr. Harkavy, *Russische Revue*, 1875; Graetz, *History (E.T.)*, t. iii. p. 140—144. Concerning the early history of the Bulgarian Jews, see Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, ix. 1869, p. 57, 58. References on the earlier history of the Roumanian Jews, see M. J. Psantir, *Lamberg*, 1873, and I. Loeb, *Situation des Israélites en Turquie, en Serbie et en Roumanie*, p. 142.

893, asking to be permitted to take refuge in his dominions. The names and condition of the members of this embassy throw an interesting light on the degree of culture attained by the Jews of Central Europe at this early epoch. They were Rabbi Hezekiah Sephardi, Rabbi Akiba Estramaduri the mathematician, Emanuel Ascaloni the rhetorician, Rabbi Levi Baccari, and Rabbi Nathaniel Barceloni. At Gnesen, in the year 893, they interviewed the Polish prince. Rabbi Levi was the spokesman of the party, and delivered a short address in Latin, describing the persecutions to which his brethren were subjected in Germany. He prayed that they might be allowed to find an asylum in Poland; and, anticipating some anti-Jewish prejudice among the subjects of Leszek, suggested that a remote and unpopulated district might be assigned to them to inhabit and cultivate in peace. Leszek enquired what were the tenets of Judaism, and then promised to take counsel with the national priesthood on the petition. Three days later, Rabbi Levi and his companions were summoned into the presence of the Polish potentate to hear his decision. Not only did he open his dominions freely to the persecuted Hebrews, but he declined to accept their humble suggestion to limit their rights of residence. He permitted them to settle freely all over Poland, and to follow agricultural, industrial, commercial, or any useful avocations without let or hindrance. In the following year, 894, a great concourse of Jews settled in Poland.¹

The most important and best known of all the foreign cities in which the Jews were dispersed, was undoubtedly Alexandria in Egypt.² It was Alexander the Great who

¹ L. Wolf, *ibid.*, p. 130, 131; Sternberg, *Geschichte der Juden in Polen*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 7—9, note 3; A. Kraushar, *Historia Żydów w Polsce*, p. 51—54, Warszawa, 1865; Lelewel, *Pol. Wiek Sredn.*, t. ii., p. 417—419; L. Lubliner, *Des Juifs en Pologne*, Bruxelles, 1839; Zunz, *Itinerary of Benjamin*, t. ii., p. 226. See also *die Völkerwanderung und ihre Folgen für die Juden Europa's insbesondere Deutschland in Jahresbericht der Samsonschule zu Wolfenbüttel für 1877—78*. Concerning the Jews of Lithuania, see S. Berschadski, *The Lithuanian Jews*, 1883, in Russian; *Materials for the History of the Jews in Lithuania*, Petersburg, 1892, in Russian, two vols. On the Jews of the Caucasus, see *The Travels of Joseph Tscharni*, Petersburg, 1884. On the earliest settlement of the Jews in Georgia, see Klaproth, *Journal Asiatique*, 1834, p. 47.

² See M. Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, Breslau, 1880—1883, ii., Anhang ii.

settled large numbers of Jews in the new capital, and granted them equal civil rights with the Hellenistic colonists. When, after Alexander's death, the storms of war gathered over Palestine, thousands of Jews were forcibly removed to Egypt by Ptolemy I.; and many others migrated there of their own accord, attracted by the goodness of the soil and the liberality of Ptolemy. The position of the Jews in Egypt was a very favourable one; they were able to make large gains in trade, handicrafts, and skilled labour, and also to carry on agricultural industries. They formed a separate community among themselves with an ethnarch at their head, with whom, at a later period, was associated a council of Elders. Their ancient national organization and customs were preserved; they had many synagogues, of which the principal one in Alexandria is said to have been magnificent¹; and at Leontopolis, in the district of Heliopolis, they were even permitted to erect a temple of their own. More than two centuries before the destruction of Jerusalem, Onias, the son of the high priest, being rejected from the succession to the office,² fled from Jerusalem to Alexandria, and was favourably received by Ptolemy Philometor. The king gave over to him an almost ruined temple at Leontopolis, which he rebuilt on the model of that at Jerusalem, but on a smaller and more simple scale. It had similar altars for sacrifice and incense, and was furnished with similar vessels. Onias himself was established as the high priest of it, and the same religious services were performed in it as at Jerusalem, until two years after the destruction of that city.

The sun of prosperity was not to shine always on the Jewish community in Egypt. Under the Emperor Caligula they began to be oppressed, and when in the reign of Vespasian the Egyptian Jews took part in the insurrection against Rome, the celebrated colony came to an end. When Benjamin of Tudela visited the place,³ the number of Jews was not more than 3,000.

¹ *Succa*, 51b. Separate portions of the building were assigned to the silversmiths, weavers, and other trades, and when a foreign operative came to that city, he seated himself next to the members of his own craft, and was supported by them until he had obtained employment.

² *Menachot*, 109b.

³ *Itinerary*, i., 158, ed. Asher. For details regarding Alexandrian learning and philosophy, see *Däne geschichtliche Darstellung d. Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religion und Philosophie*, Halle, 1834; *Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, i., p. 107—110, Edinburgh, 1862.

In the regions of Abyssinia, a Jewish population has long existed, who emigrated to that country long before the Babylonish captivity. It is conjectured that the Falashas and the Agows were at one time the principal inhabitants of the south-eastern parts of Abyssinia. In the tenth century there flourished a powerful Jewish dynasty, founded by a woman named Judith; and even after the fall of this dynasty the Jews continued to exercise great power. The Falashas live under princes of their own, in the high ridge called the mountains of Samen, bearing Hebrew names, and paying tribute to the Negus. They all profess the Jewish religion. The Falashas are a people whose present condition suggests many curious inquiries, and the investigation of whose history may hereafter throw light upon that of the Abyssinians and of their literature.¹

From time immemorial they had been domiciled in large numbers in the towns of Arabia. Independent alike of the Palestinian and Babylonian régime, they existed as a distinct branch of the Israelitish nation, strong in their numerical force, wealth, and social influence. The death-defying zealots who, after the destruction of the second temple, fled in part to Egypt and Cyrene in order to continue there the despairing struggle against the thralldom of Rome, also passed in straggling bands to Arabia, where they were not required to surrender their spirit of freedom or to abandon their warlike bearing. From these fugitives sprang three Jewish-Arabic tribes—the Benu-Nadhir, the Benu-Kuraiza, and the Benu-Bachdal, the first two of which were descended from Aaron, and therefore called themselves Cohanim. Another Jewish family—the Benu-Kainukar—were established in North Arabia, and their mode of living was different from that of the Nadhir and Kuraiza. These tribes had their

¹ Concerning the Jews of Abyssinia, see Bruce, *Travels in Abyssinia*, ii., p. 184, 231, 232; Rùppel, *Reise nach Abyssinien*, Frankfort, 1838; Martin Flad, *Kurze Schilderung der Abessinischen Juden, Falascha*, Basel und Stuttgart, 1869. H. Zotenberg, *Journal Asiatique*, fevrier—mars, 1867. J. Halevy on his return from Africa, brought with him a ritual of the Falashas Jews in the Ethiopian language, which has been issued, accompanied by a Hebrew translation, Paris, 1877. Halevy's *Travels in Abyssinia* has been published in the *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, ii., p. 177—256, London, 1877; see also Dr. M. Gaster, *Jewish Chronicle*, January 22, p. 19, 1897.

centre in the city of Yathrib, which was situated in a fruitful district, planted with palms and rice, and watered by small streams. As the Jews were often molested by Beduins, they built castles on the elevated sites of the city and the surrounding country, whereby they guarded their independence. To the north of Yathrib was situated the district of Chaibar, which was entirely inhabited by Jews, who constituted a separate commonwealth. The Jews of Chaibar are supposed to have been descendants of the Rechabites, who, in accordance with the command of their progenitor Jonadab, the son of Rechab, led a nomadic and Nazarite life; after the destruction of the first temple they are said to have wandered as far as the district of Chaibar, attracted by its abundance of palms and grain. The Jews of Chaibar constructed a line of castles or fortresses, the strongest of which was Kamus, built upon a hill difficult of access. These castles protected them from the predatory incursions of the warlike Beduins, and enabled them to offer an asylum to many a persecuted fugitive. Wadil-Kora (the valley of the villages), a fertile plain, a day's journey from Chaibar, was also exclusively inhabited by Jews.¹

They were numerously represented in South Arabia (Yemen). Like the Himyarites, the Jews of South Arabia applied themselves more particularly to the world's trade between India, the Byzantine empire, and Persia. The Jews of northern Arabia, on the contrary, led the life of the Beduins; they occupied themselves with agriculture, cattle breeding, transport by caravan, and traffic in weapons. The Arabian Jews likewise possessed a patriarchal tribal constitution. Several families were united under one name, and led by a chieftain (Shaïch), who in times of peace settled controversies and pronounced sentence, and in war commanded all the men who were able to bear arms, and concluded alliances with neighbouring tribes.

The Arabian Jews strictly observed the dietary laws, and solemnized the festivals, and the fast of Yom Kippur, which they called Ashura. They celebrated the Sabbath with such rigour, that in spite of their desire for war and the opportu-

¹ Graetz, History, iii. p. 55—57.

nity of satisfying it, they would let the sword remain in its scabbard on that day. Although they had nothing to complain of in this hospitable country, which they were able to regard and love as their fatherland, they yearned nevertheless to return to the Holy Land of their fathers, and daily awaited the coming of the Messiah. Like all the Jews of the globe, therefore, they turned their face in prayer towards Jerusalem. They were in communication with the Jews of Palestine, and, even after the fall of the patriarchate, willingly subordinated themselves to the authorities in Tiberias, whence they received, as also probably from the Babylonian academies, religious instructions and interpretations of the Bible. The Arabian Jews made their neighbours acquainted with a calendar, without which the latter were unable to set themselves right; learned Jews from Yathrib taught the Arabs to insert another month in their lunar year, which was far in arrear of the solar year. The Arabs adopted the nineteen years' cycle from the Jews, about 420, and called the intercalary month Nasi, doubtless from the circumstance that the Jews were accustomed to receive their festival calendar from their Nasi. The Jews even succeeded in instructing the Arabs in regard to their historical origin, concerning which their memories were void, and the latter accepted this genealogy as the true one. An Arabian king of Yemen, Abu-Kariba, is said to have adopted Judaism, thereto persuaded by two Jewish sages—Kaab and Assad. His youngest son Dhu-Nowas (520—530) was a zealous disciple of Judaism, and for that reason gave himself the Hebrew name of Yussuf.

Like the Arabs, the Jews of the peninsula extended their hospitality to everyone who entered their tents, and held inviolable faith with their allies. The Arabs used the proverbial expression, "Faithful as Samuel." Samuel Ibn-Adiya (500—560) had lived at first in Yathrib (Medina), until he had built a castle in the neighbourhood of Taima. This he named Al-Ablak, because of its many colours; it has been immortalised in Arabian poetry. Ablak was a refuge for the persecuted and exiled. The owner of the castle defended those under his roof to the utmost extent of his power. Imrulkais Ibn Hojr, the then poet laureate of Arabia, and

an adventurous son of the Kendite prince, was watched both secretly and openly by his enemies. He was therefore restricted in his movements, and could not find shelter anywhere except in Samuel's safe retreat. Imrulkais took his daughter and what remained of his retinue to Ablak, and lived there for some time. As the Kendite prince had no prospect of obtaining the assistance of the Arabians to avenge the murder of his father and to regain his paternal inheritance, he endeavoured to win over Justinian, the Byzantine emperor. Before starting on his journey, he gave to his daughter, to his cousin, and to Samuel, five valuable coats of chain armour and other arms with which to protect themselves. Samuel promised to guard the persons and the goods entrusted to him as he would the apple of his eye. When the Ghassanid prince was in Hejas, he went to Ablak, Samuel's castle, and demanded the surrender of Imrulkais' arms. Samuel refused to surrender them according to his promise. Harith, the Ghassanid prince, then prepared to lay a regular siege to the castle. Finding it, however, impregnable, the tyrant had recourse to a barbarous expedient to compel Samuel to submit. One of Samuel's sons having been taken outside the citadel by his nurse, Harith captured him, and threatened to kill him if his father did not carry out his wishes. The unfortunate father only hesitated for a moment between duty to his guest and affection for his son; the former had the first place, and he said to the Ghassanid prince: "Do what you will; time always avenges treachery, and my son has brothers." Unmoved by such magnanimity, the despot slew the son before his father's eyes. Nevertheless, Harith had to withdraw from Ablak without accomplishing his object.¹

¹ On the poetry of Samuel Ibn-Adiya, see *Allg. Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1838, p. 112; *Silv. de Sacy, les Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. 50, p. 350—409. Concerning the early history of the first settlements of Jews in Arabia, see S. L. Rapoport, *Biccure-ha-Ittim*, 1823, p. 51—77, Vienna; *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1841, p. 273, 295; 1842, p. 784; 1843, p. 238; Graetz, *Jahrbuch für die jüdischen Gemeinden Preussens*, Berlin, 5619, pp. 143—158. More recently and even more extensive work, dealing with the history of the Jews in Arabia, has appeared in the *Revue des Études Juives*, vii., p. 167; x., p. 10, by Dr. H. Hirschfeld, and in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, iii., p. 604—622, on the "Literature of the Jews in Yemen." See also *Journal Asiatique*, vi., 354; the *Times*, 10th July, 1882; Graetz, *History*, iii., p. 55—71.

Beyond the boundaries of either the old Roman or the Byzantine Empire, Jews have in early times been met with, both in the most remote parts of the interior of Asia and upon the coast of Malabar. An otherwise unknown person, Joseph Rabban by name, who is recognisable as a Babylonian by reason of this title, arrived in the year 4250 of the Jewish era (490), with many Jewish families, at the rich and busy coast of Malabar. Airivi (Eravi), the Brahmin king of Cranganor, welcomed the Jewish strangers, offered them a home in his dominions, and suffered them to live according to their peculiar laws, and to be ruled by their own princes (Mardeliar). The first of these chiefs was their leader Joseph Rabban, upon whom the Indian monarch conferred special rights and princely honours, to be inherited by his descendants. He was allowed, like the Indian princes, to ride upon an elephant, to be preceded by a herald, accompanied by a musical escort of drums and cymbals, and to sit upon a carpet. Joseph Rabban is said to have been followed by a line of seventy-two successors who ruled over the Indo-Jewish colonists, until quarrels broke out among them.¹ Cranganor was destroyed, many of the Jews lost their lives, and the remainder settled in Mattachery, a league from Cochin, which acquired from this fact the name of Jews'-town.² The privileges accorded by Airivi to the Jewish immigrants were engraved in ancient Indian (Tamil), characters accompanied by an obscure Hebrew translation, on a copper table, which is said to be extant at the present day.³ Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Jews of Cochin held some correspondence with the Portuguese synagogue at

¹ See the Travels of Solomon Rinman in India, Haschachar, t. xii., and Hamagid, viii., p. 32—34. A treatise in MS. on the religious ceremonies, feast and fast-days of Malabar is preserved in the Bet Hamidrash of London, no. 53 of the catalogue.

² They are now settled to the number of 7,000 in Bombay and its neighbourhood. They are divided into two classes or castes that never intermarry, the white Jews and the black, who are descendants of former proselytes. Closely connected with them are the Jews of Cochin, who claim to have settled even earlier in India, and are likewise divided into two castes, white and black. Cat. of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, p. 44, 1887.

³ Graetz, ii., p. 637. A Hebrew translation and English version is given in Brit. Mus. Exhibits, No. 41; printed in Benjamin II.'s "Eight years in Asia and Africa," p. 187.

Amsterdam, and information was given of a series of Jewish kings who had successively reigned in the country.¹

In the far-distant regions of China, a Jewish population has long existed. Between the time of Ezra and the destruction of the second temple, Jews from Persia emigrated to China, and established themselves in five of the principal cities of that vast empire. Their Persian origin is attested by the mixture of Persian words in their language. The whole population of the Chinese Jews sprang from seven tribes or families, whose names seem to be derived from those of the different emperors under whom at successive periods these families established themselves in China. The synagogue at Kac-fung-foo possessed a beautiful manuscript copy of the Books of Moses; and by way of Haphtorah, a collection of passages selected from the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Prophets, the Books of Esther and Nehemiah, and some other historical books. It possessed also a book of commentaries, and numerous copies of their ritual. Among these Jews some learned men had risen to the rank of mandarins; one especially named Chao, was much praised for having rebuilt at his own expense a synagogue destroyed by fire.²

¹ Concerning the Indian Jews, see Archives Israélites, 1850, p. 29—35, 1856, p. 273—275. Moses Pereyra de Paiva, Amsterdam, 1768, published his celebrated book concerning the Jews of Cochin under the title, *Noticias de los Judios de Cochim*. On the collection of MSS. brought from India by Dr. Buchanan, see Thomas Yete's collation of an Indian copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch, Cambridge, 1812; see also *Jewish Intelligence*, July, 1842; and S. Rinman, *Massaot Salomo*, Vienna, 1887.

² Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentile*, p. 146. For references to the Jews in China, see De Sacy, *Traité de la Chronologie Chinoise par le P. Gaubil*, Paris, 1814; *Jewish Expositor*, pp. 101, 135, 414; Grosier, *Description de la Chine*, Paris, 1819, t. iv., p. 484; *Zeitschrift Jedidiah*, t. v. p. 100—104; Berlin, 1820-21; Sionnet, *Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine*, Paris, 1837; J. Finn, *the Jews in China*, London, 1843; Steinschneider's *Hamazkir*, t. i., 13; the *Jew. Chronicle*, 1860, No. 264, p. 7; J. Finn, *The Orphan Colony of Jews in China*, London, 1872; *American Jewish Record*, 14th November, 1862; *Jewish Record*, London, June 17, 1870; Dr. Neubauer, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. viii.; Cordier, *Les Juifs en Chine*, Paris, 1891.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EPOCH OF THE GAONIM.

IN the course of the sixth century the rule of Asia had changed hands, for, in the month of April, 571, Mohammed was born at Mecca, and in September, 622, he fled with Abu Bekr from Mecca to Medina.

The Jews in the ancient Babylon attained a great measure of freedom through the victories of the Mohammedans. During their campaigns against the last Persian kings, the Jews had rendered them much assistance, because they had been persecuted under the last Sassanian princes. Their assistance must have been opportune, as we find even the fanatical caliph Omar bestowing rewards and privileges upon them. It was doubtless, in consequence of the services which they had rendered that the Mohammedan generals recognised the descendants of the exilarch, viz., Bostenai, as of the house of David, and the chief of the Jews.¹ Omar respected Bostenai so highly that he gave him a daughter of the Persian king Chosru in marriage. The exilarch had both civil and political functions, and several Jews of the Babylonian district formed a peculiar community under him. Bostenai also obtained the exceptional permission to wear a signet ring (*gushpanka*). By this means he was able to give his documents and decrees an official character. Omar died at the hands of an assassin (644), and his successor, Othman, was killed in an insurrection (655). Ali, Mohammed's comrade and son-in-law, was nominated caliph by the conspirators, but had, however, to struggle against many bitter opponents. The kingdom of Islam was divided into two camps. The one declared for Ali, who resided in the newly-built town of Kufa; the other for Moawiyah, a relative of the murdered caliph Othman. The Babylonian Jews and

¹ Concerning Bostenai, see J. Ekrish, *Maase Rabbi Bostenai*, Constantinople, 1557; *Maase Beth David*, Basel, 1589; *Responsa Shaare Zedek*, 3a, Salonicha, 1792; Dr. M. Lehmann, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, t. ii., B. 1; Rapaport, *R. Hai*, note 1.

Nestorian Christians sided with Ali, and rendered him their assistance. A Jew, Abdalah Ibn-Saba, was a spirited partizan of Ali. It is said that at the census of the town of Firuz-Shabur or Anbar there were on the side of Ali 90,000 Jews. At the head of these was Mar Isaac, a head of a school. Their object was to do homage to the caliph, who was but indifferently supported by his own followers (658). The unhappy Ali valued this homage, and doubtless accorded privileges to the Jewish head of the school. With Bostenai and Mar Isaac, the Jewish officials recognized by the caliph, there begins a new period in Jewish history—the epoch of the Gaonim.¹

The Jewish community in Babylonia, which had the appearance of a state, had a peculiar constitution. The exilarch was at their head, and next to him stood the gaon. Both together, they united the community. The exilarch filled political functions. He represented the Babylonian-Persian Judaism under the caliphs. He collected the taxes from the various communities, and paid them into the treasury. The exilarchs, both in their outer appearance and mode of life, were like princes.² They drove about in a State carriage; they had outriders and a kind of body-guard, and received princely homage. The religious unity of Judaism, on the other hand, was represented in the two chief schools of Sora and Pumbeditha. They expounded the Talmud, giving it a practical application; they made new laws and institutions, and saw that they were carried out by allotting punishments to those who transgressed them. The exilarch shared the judicial power in common with the gaon of Sora and the head of the school of Pumbeditha.

Now that the exilarch enjoyed princely respect everywhere, his successors were installed with a certain festive ceremony. Although the office was hereditary in the house of Bostenai, the acquiescence of both schools was required

¹ Graetz, iii., 90—92.

² Cf. I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life*, p. 287. The information here given on the earlier history of the Gaonim, is taken from Graetz, *History*, iii., p. 94—99.

for the nomination of a new exilarch, and thus there came to be a fixed installation service. The officials of both the schools, together with their colleagues, and the most respected men in the land, betook themselves to the residence of the designated exilarch. In a large open place, which was lavishly adorned, seats were erected for him and the presidents of the schools. The Gaon of Sora delivered an address to the future Exilarch, in which he was reminded of the duties of his high office, and was warned against haughty conduct toward his brethren. The installation always took place in the synagogue, and on a Thursday. It consisted in both officials putting their hands upon his head, and declaring amidst the clang of trumpets, "Long live our Lord the Prince of the Exile." The people, who were always present in great numbers on the occasion, vociferously joined in. All present then accompanied the new exilarch home from the synagogue, and presents flowed in from all sides. On the following Saturday evening there was a special festive service for the new prince. A pulpit in the shape of a tower was erected for him in the synagogue. This was decked with costly ornaments, that he might appear like the kings of the house of David in the temple, on a raised seat, apart from the people. He was conducted to divine service by a numerous and honourable suite. The reader chanted the prayers, with the assistance of a well-appointed choir. Led to the pulpit, the Gaon of Sora approached the exilarch, bent his knee before him, and sat at his right hand. His colleague of Pumbeditha having made a similar obeisance, took his seat on the left. At the reading of the law they brought the scroll to the exilarch, which was otherwise considered to be the privilege of the king. He was also the first one called up to the reading of the law, which was only done on ordinary occasions to the descendants of the house of Aaron. In order to honour him the president of the school of Sora acted as interpreter, expounding the passage that had been read. After reading the law it was customary for the Prince of the Exile to deliver an address. But if the exilarch were not learned enough, this might be done by the Gaon of Sora.

In the final prayer for the glorification of God's name (Kadish, Gloria), the name of the exilarch was mentioned: "May this happen in the lifetime of the prince." Thereupon followed a special blessing for him (Yekum Purkan), for the heads of the school and its members, and for the names of the countries, places and persons, far and near, that had advanced the welfare of the high schools by their contributions. A festive procession from the synagogue to the house or palace of the exilarch, and a sumptuous repast to the officials and prominent personages, which often included State officers, formed the conclusion of this peculiar act of homage to the exilarch.¹

The president of the school of Sora was the second in rank in the Judæo-Babylonian community. He was the only one who held the title of gaon officially, and he had the precedence over his colleague of Pumbeditha on all occasions, even though the former were a young man and the latter an aged one. Next to the president came the chief judge, who discharged the judicial duties, and was, as a rule, the next in office. Below these were seven presidents of the Assembly of Teachers, and three others who bore the title of associate or scholar, and who seem to have composed the Inner Senate. Then came a college of a hundred members, which was divided into two unequal bodies, one of seventy members, representing the "Great Sanhedrin," the other of thirty forming the "Smaller Sanhedrin." The seventy were ordained, and consequently qualified for promotion; they bore the title of teacher. The thirty or "Smaller Sanhedrin," do not seem to have been entitled to a seat and vote, but were simply candidates for the higher dignity. The members of the college generally bequeathed their offices to their sons, but the office of president was not hereditary. Twice a year in March and September (Adar and Elul), the college held a general meeting, in accordance with ancient usage, and sat for a whole month. During this period the members occupied themselves with theoretical points, inasmuch as they discussed and explained some portion of the Talmud,

¹ See Shevet Jehuda, edition of Dr. Wiener, p. 84—86, Hanover, 1855. N. Z. Getsov in his valuable book, "By the Rivers of Babylon," Hebrew, p. 45—56, Warsaw, 1887.

which had been given out beforehand as the theme. But the principal attention of the meeting was directed to practical purposes. New laws and regulations were considered and decreed; and points which had formed the subject of inquiry by foreign communities, during the preceding months, were discussed and answered by a declaration of the sense of the meeting. Little by little the replies to the numerous inquiries addressed to them by foreign communities on points of religion, morals, and civil law, came to occupy the greater part of the session. At the end of the session, all opinions expressed by the meeting on the points submitted for their consideration were read over, signed by the principal in the name of the whole college, confirmed with the seal of the academy, and forwarded by messenger to each community, with a ceremonious form of greeting from the college.

The further the dominion of the caliphate of the house of Ommyyah was extended—to the north beyond the Oxus, to the east to India, in the west and the south to Africa and the Pyrenees—the more adherents were gained for the Babylonian Jewish chiefs. Every conquest of the Mahometan generals enlarged the boundaries of the dominion under the rule of the Prince of the Captivity and the Gaonim. Even Palestine, which was now robbed of its centre, subordinated itself to Babylonia. The hearts of all Jews turned towards the possessors of power on the Euphrates, and their presents flowed in freely to enable the house of David to make a worthy appearance, and the Talmudical academies to continue to exist in splendour. The pain arising out of their dispersion to all corners of the earth, was mitigated by the knowledge that by the rivers of Babylon, where the flower of the Jewish nation in its full vigour had settled, and where the great Amoraim had lived and worked, a Jewish commonwealth still existed.

After Mar-Isaac, the first Gaon of Sora, Rab Hunai held office contemporaneously with Mar-Raba in Pumbeditha (670—680); Mar Sheshna ben Tachlipha of Sora, with Mar Bussai or Bostenai of Pumbeditha (680—689). Mar Chaninai of Nehar Pakod in Sora (689—697), with Rab Hunai Mari ben Joseph in Pumbeditha (689—700); Rab Nahilai ha-

Levy of Nares in Sora (697—715), with Rab Chiya of Mesene (700—710) and Mar Rabya (710—719) in Pumbeditha.

The successor of Mar Rabya was Rab Natronai ben Nehemiah, surnamed Mar-Yanka (719—730), with the principal of Sora, Rab Jacob of Nehar Pakod (715—732). Mar bar Samuel was the principal of Sora (733—751), with Mar Judah (730—739) in Pumbeditha.

Rab Mari ha-Cohen (751—759), Rab Acha, the author of the *Sheiltoth*,¹ for a few months only, and Rab Jehudah, the Blind (759—762), were the principals of Sora, with Mar Joseph ben Chutanai, Mar Samuel ben Rab Mar, and Mar Natroi Kahana ben Emuna (739—761), in Pumbeditha. The successor of Mar-Kahana was Rab Dudai bar Nachman (761—764), the brother of Rab Jehudah the Blind.²

About the middle of the eighth century there originated a sect, which caused a division in Judaism lasting to the present day—namely, the sect of the Karaites. The exilarch Solomon had died (761, 762) without issue, and the office ought to have been conferred on his nephew, Anan ben David. But the two brothers, sons of Nachman, who held the gaonic office, united with their colleagues to prevent Anan from succeeding to the dignity of exilarch, and to choose in his stead his younger brother Chananya, or Achunai. Anan became hostile to the gaonate, and transferred all his animosity to the Talmud, the principal source of their importance. He considered everything in the Talmud reprehensible, and was desirous of returning to the Bible for the ordering of

¹ A question-and-answer exposition of the rites, ceremonies, and institutions of the Law, upon the basis of the weekly parashioth of the Pentateuch, editio princeps, Venice, 1546.

² The teachings of the Gaonim are incorporated in the following works:—(1) *Halachot Pesukot*, Constantinople, 1517. (2) *Shaalot u-Teshuboth*, Constantinople, 1575. (3) *Shaare Tsedek*, Salonicha, 1792. (4) *Shaalot u-Teshuboth ha-Gaonim*, edited by M. Meiyuchos, Salonicha, 1802, re-edited, Leipzig, 1858; and with a commentary by I. M. Chazan, Leghorn, 1868. (5) *Teshuboth Gaonim Kadmonim*, edited by D. Cassel, Berlin, 1848. (6) *Chemdah Genuzah*, Jerusalem, 1863. (7) *Responsa by Rabbi Jacob Musfaiya*, Lyck, 1864. (8) *Teshuboth Gaonim*, edited by N. Cornil, Vienna, 1871. (9) *Toratan shel Rishonim*, edited by C. M. Horwitz, Frankfort, 1882. (10) *Sikkaron Lerishonim*, collated by Dr. A. E. Harkavy, Berlin, 1887. (11) *Teshuboth Gaonei Mizrach u-Maarab*, edited by Dr. J. Müller, Berlin, 1888; see also his *Einleitung in die Responsen der Babylonischen Geonen*, Berlin, 1891.

religious life. On account of this return to the letter of the Bible (Mikra), the system of religion which Anan founded received the name of the religion of the Text, or Karaism.¹ In the strict observance of the Sabbath, Anan left the Talmud very far behind. He pronounced it unlawful to administer any medicines on the Sabbath, even in the case of dangerous illness, or to perform the operation of circumcision, or to leave the house in those cities where the Jews did not live separate from the non-Jewish population; he did not allow any warm food to be eaten, nor even a light or fire to be kindled on the eve of the Sabbath by the Jews themselves, or for their use on the Sabbath evening. Anan introduced the custom among the Karaites of spending the Sabbath eve in entire darkness.

Rab Jehudah, the blind, Gaon of Sora, who had done much to oppose Anan's claim, composed a Talmudical compendium under the title of, "Halachoth Pesukoth; short and Established Practice."²

On the death of Chananya or Achunai, and hardly ten years after Anan's defection from Rabbinism, a struggle for the exilarchate broke out afresh between two pretenders, Zaccai ben Achunai and Natronai ben Chabibai. The two heads of the schools at this period, Rab Malka bar Acha, of Pumbeditha (771—773), and Rab Chaninai Kahana ben Huna, of Sora (765—775), united to bring about the overthrow of Natronai, and succeeded in procuring his banishment from Babylonia. He emigrated to Maghreb (Kairuan), in which city there had existed even since its foundation a numerous Jewish population.

After Rab Chaninai Kahana, the names of the Gaonim of Sora are: Mari Halevi ben Mesharshaya (775—778); Rab

¹ Concerning the history and the literature of the Karaites, see S. Pinsker's *Likkutei Kadmonioth*, Vienna, 1860. J. Fürst, *History of the Karaites*, Leipzig, 1862—1865; Professor D. Chwolson, *Achtzehn Hebraische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1865; *Saturday Review*, May 5th, 1866; Neubauer's *Beiträge und Dokumente zur Geschichte des Karäerthums*, Leipzig, 1866; H. Strack, *A. Firkowitsch und seine Entdeckungen*, Leipzig, 1876; Dr. A. E. Harkavy, *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim*, 1876; Graetz, t. iii., p. 129—140; E. Deinard, *Massa Krim*, Warsaw, 1878; S. Sachs, *Hamelits*, t. i.

² Edited by Schlossberg, Versailles, 1886.

Bebai Halevi ben Abba (778—788); Rab Hilai ben Mari (788—797); Rab Jacob ben Mordecai (791—811); Rab Abumari ben Mordecai (811—819); Rab Zadoc or Rab Isaac ben Ashi (819—821); Rab Hilai ben Chaninai (821—824); Rab Kimai ben Ashi (824—827); Rab Moses ben Jacob (827—837); Mar Kohen Zedek I. ben Abima (839—859); and Mar Sar-Shalom ben Boas; contemporaneously with Rabba ben Dudai (773—782); Rab Shinui, for a few months only; Rab Chananai ben Abraham Kahana (782—786); Rab Huna Mar Halevi ben Isaac (786—788); Rab Manasseh ben Joseph (788—796); Rab Isaiah ben Abba (796—798); Rab Joseph ben Shila (798—804); Mar Kahana ben Chaninai (804—810); Rab Abumari ben Abraham (810—814); Rab Joseph ben Abba (814—816); Mar Abraham ben Sherira (816—828); Rab Joseph ben Chiya (828—833); Rab Joseph ben Rabbi (833—842); Rab Paltai ben Abayi (842—858); and Rab Menachem ben Joseph ben Chiya (858—860), Gaonim of Pumbeditha.

About the same time¹ Rab Simon Caro or Cayara compiled his *Halachoth Gedoloth*,² exhibiting a copious abstract of the principal decisions of the Talmud.

After Mar Sar Shalom ben Boas, the first Gaon of Sora, Rab Natronai II., son of Hillai (859—869), held office contemporaneously with Mar Mattathias (860—869), in Pumbeditha. Rab Netronai energetically opposed the Karaites just as the Gaonim had done at the time of the rise of this sect, "because they despised the words of the sages of the Talmud, and set up for themselves a peculiar, arbitrary Talmud of their own."³

His pupil and successor, Mar Amram ben Sheshna (869—881), and Rab Nachshon ben Zadok (881—889), held office at Sora contemporaneously with Rabba bar Ami (869—872), and Mar Zemach I. ben Paltai (872—890) at Pumbeditha. Mar Amram ben Sheshna was the compiler of the liturgical

¹ See Dr. Harkavy *Revue des études juives*, 14, p. 194, 195.

² Editio Princeps, Venice, 1548; the best edition is that which has been published by Dr. J. Hildesheimer, with his erudite introduction, Berlin, 1885—1886.

³ See Dr. J. Müller's *Einleitung*, p. 100, 101.

order of prayers in use amongst European Jews. At the request of a Spanish community, through the interposition of their religious leader, Rabbi Isaac ben Rabbi Simeon, he collected together everything that the Talmud and the custom of the schools had ratified concerning prayer and divine service, and arranged it in the order which the progress of time had perfected. This arrangement was considered permanent.¹

The gaon Zemach ben Paltoi of Pumbeditha arranged an alphabetical dictionary of difficult words in the Talmud under the title of "Aruch,"² in which he shows his acquaintance with the Persian language. This dictionary forms the first contribution to the ever-growing department of Talmudical lexicography. His contemporary, Rabbi Nachshon ben Zadok of Sora, wrote a book giving explanations of difficult words in the Talmud. Rabbi Nachshon made himself famous through his discovery of a key to the Jewish calendar, viz., that the order of the years and festivals repeats itself after a cycle of two hundred and forty-seven years, and that the form of the years could be arranged in fourteen tables. This key is named after him, and is known as the cycle of Rabbi Nachshon.³ He also composed a code of ordinances embracing the laws relating to the slaughter of animals for food, under the title of Reuma.⁴

About the same time Rabbi Judah Ibn-Koreish, of Tahurt in Morocco, skilled in languages, flourished in Fez. He composed:—(1) A Hebrew dictionary (Iggaron) in alphabetical order.⁵ (2) Risalet, or a letter to the congregation of the Jews at Fez, among whom he stood in high estimation.

¹ It has been published at the first time, Warsaw, 1865; see Müller's *Einleitung*, p. 121—129; I. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte*, iv., p. 123; Dr. Harkavy, *Teschubot ha-Geonim*, notes, p. 392.

² This Dictionary is known to us by quotations in the *Juchasin* of Rabbi A. Zaccuti; see Rapaport's *Rabbi Nathan*, note 11; *Zeitschrift der D.M.G.* xii., p. 144, xix., p. 320, note 2; Kohut in his Preface to the *Plenus Aruch*, xvii.—xxi., Vienna, 1878.

³ *Editio princeps*, Basle, 1527; see Rapaport's *Rabbi Nathan*, p. 82, note 30.

⁴ *Editio princeps*, Constantinople, 1566; concerning Rabbi Nachshon, see Müller's *Einleitung*, p. 129—137.

⁵ Quoted by Ibn Saruk, Ibn Labrat, Ibn Ganach, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi.

This Risalet, which the author himself wished to be regarded as the second part of the dictionary, exhorts the congregation not to banish the Aramaic Targum from the schools and synagogues, and to consider the great value which the Aramaen has for a knowledge of Hebrew. After the introduction follow three sections: (*a*) an explanation of difficult Hebrew words, from the Targum, in alphabetical order; (*b*) an explanation of Hebrew words from the Mishna and Talmud; and (*c*) a comparison of Hebrew with Arabic.¹

The traveller Eldad ha-Dani, a narrator of the history of the ten tribes, belonged to the list of interpreters of Hebrew words, and was recognised as an expositor by his contemporaries Ibn Koreish, as well as by others afterwards. Mar Zemach ben Chaim, the head of the school at Sora (889—896), communicated to the Keruanites (in his views respecting Eldad²) that a great difference prevailed between the scholars of Palestine and Babylonia with reference to the vowel signs and accents, and the Masora of the Scripture text.

After Mar Zemach, Rabbi Malchia held office only for a month.

At the end of the ninth century lived at Tiberias, Aaron ben Moses ben Asher, usually called Ben Asher. His most important writings were:—(1) *Sepher ben Asher*; the restoration of a standard text of Scripture, furnished with accents and vowels as well as the Masora. This Scripture copy of Ben Asher gradually procured for itself general acceptance for all times.³ (2) A Masora-book, called *Masoret ben Asher*, in which the Masora is noted both at the particular word of Scripture, and as a whole, at the conclusion of the original

¹ It was printed for the first time by B. Goldberg, Paris, 1857.

² The *Responsa* of Mar Zemach concerning Eldad ha-Dani has been published for the first time with the Narrations of Eldad, at Mantua, before 1480; a translation in French is given by E. Carmoly, Paris, 1838. See Rapaport's *Rabbi Saadiah*, note 6, and *Rabbi Nathan*, note 11; see also his *Introduction to Parchon's Aruch*, p. x.—xiii.; Munk, *Journal Asiatique*, juillet, 1850, p. 21; Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1873, p. 490; Dr. Harkavy, *Revue des études juives*, 14, p. 195, 196; Dr. D. H. Eldad, Vienna, 1892; and Müller's *Einleitung*, p. 141.

³ Maimonides (*Hil. Sepher Tora* viii. 4), found this original writing of Ben-Asher in Egypt, whither it had been carried from Jerusalem, and reckoned it of sufficient importance to correct the Bible manuscripts according to it.

text, in a summary manner.¹ (3) The Book of Accents; a representation of the accent-system for 21 books of Scripture, as well as the doctrine of accents concerning the three books of Scripture, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, all like his Masora-book, in hard, abstruse, Hebrew verses.² (4) A Treatise upon Consonants and Vowels, of which only a few fragments have come down to us, inserted in his small work upon accents.³

As an antagonist of Ben Asher, Moses ben David ben Naphtali appeared in Bagdad, He wrote a small work upon the Doctrine of Vowels and Accents, as well as upon Masoretic Variations belonging to Scripture, in strong opposition to Ben Asher.

In the ninth century the Masora-book, "*Achlah we Achlah*," was already known. It was a kind of lexical Masora, put together in alphabetical order, and began with "*Achlah*,"⁴ and "*We Achlah*,"⁵ which appear only once (hence the name), and contained grammatical remarks in addition to Masora. The grammarians Ibn Balam Kimchi, Rabbi Joseph Ibn Akin and Rabbi Isaac ben Judah,⁶ mentioned this work.⁷

¹ A short chapter from the Masora-book is found in Dukes' *Kontras ha-Masoret*, p. 36.

² *Editio princeps* appeared in the Rabbinical Bible of Venice, 1518, but only consisting of a few fragments. The subsequent copy of Dukes' after a manuscript of Luzzato's under the name "*Kontras ha-Masoret*," Tübingen, 1846, was not only a very divergent text, but also a piece of his grammar, and particularly that upon the poetical accents, which W. Heidenheim has correctly printed in his editions of the Psalms, Rödelheim, 1842; a commentary upon the first chapter of Ben Asher concerning the poetic accents was supplied by I. Baer in his *Torath Emeth*, Rödelheim, 1852.

³ Fürst's Introduction to his Hebrew Lexicon, p. xxiv.

⁴ Samuel i. 9.

⁵ Gen. xxvii. 19.

⁶ In his grammatical book under the title of *Sepher ha-Eishel*, MS. in Bodleian Library.

⁷ Has been published and furnished with explanatory remarks by Dr. S. Frensdorf, Hanover, 1864.

Fuller references on the Masora are to be found in the following works;—Rabbi Elias Levita, *Masoret ha-Masoret*, Venice, 1538; German translation by Semler, Halle, 1770. Jacob ben Chaim, Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible, English, by Dr. Ch. Ginsburg, London, 1865; Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, Basle, 1620; Eichorn, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, vol. i., sec. 140—158; De Wette *Einleitung*, sec. 90—92; Havernick, *Introd. to the O. T.*, p. 279; Bleek *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 803; Dr. Ch. Ginsburg, *The Masora compiled from MS. recently published*, Vienna, 1880—1887. Joseph Kalman, *Mebo ha-Masora*, Warsaw, 1862; Stern's

Famous amongst the Rabbanites, towards the end of the ninth century, was Rabbi Isaac ben Suleiman Israeli (840—940). He was physician, philosopher and Hebrew philologist. He was an Egyptian, and was called to Kairuan about the year 904 to be physician to the last Aghlabit prince, Ziadeth Allah. Rabbi Isaac Israeli entered his service and enjoyed his full favour until the founder of the Fatimidic dynasty, Ubaid-Allah, the messianic Imam Almadi conquered the Aghlabite prince, and founded a great kingdom in Africa (909—933).

Israeli had a great reputation as a physician, and had many pupils. At the request of the Caliph Ubaid-Allah, he wrote eight medical works, the best of which is said to be that on fever. His medical writings were translated into Hebrew, Latin, and part of them into Spanish, and were zealously studied by many doctors. A Christian physician, the founder of the Salernian School of Medicine, plagiarised and took credit for Israeli's works.¹ Israeli was an important contributor to the development of medical science. His lectures must have made a greater impression upon his hearers than his writings. He instructed two disciples, a Mahometan Abu-Jafar Ibn-Aljezzar, who is recognised as an authority in medicine; and a Jew, Dunash ben Tamim,² who worked in the spirit of his master. Israeli lived to be more than 100 years old, and survived his patron the Caliph Ubaid-Allah, who accelerated his death through neglecting the advice of his Jewish physician.³

Preface to the *Liber Responsionum*, p. 1—40, Vienna, 1870; S. Baer, *Dikduke ha-Taamim*, of Aaron ben Moses, Leipzig, 1879; Samuel Rosenfeld's *Mishpachat Sopherim*, Vilna, 1883; and I. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte*, iv. ch. 23 and 24.

¹ Graetz, iii., p. 184.

² Born about 900, and died about 960. He came from Irak and lived in Kairuan. Like his teacher Israeli, he applied himself to the Hebrew language as well as to other sciences, and wrote a special Hebrew Grammar, containing a comparison of the linguistic phenomena characteristic of the Hebrew and Arabic languages; see Ibn Ezra in his Preface to the *Sepher Mosnaim*; he wrote also a commentary on *Sepher Jecira*, see Dukes, *Shire Shelomo*, i., p. 4.

³ Israeli wrote:—(1) Description of Fever, of which a Latin translation is given in the "*Isaaci Opera Omnia, latine*," Leyden, 1505-16. (2) Description of Medicament, a Latin version, in the *Isaaci Opera*. (3) Treatise on the Health, Latin, in the *Isaaci Opera*. (4) *Sepher ha-*

Meanwhile the institution to which the reminiscence of the former political independence of Judaism had attached itself was soon to be dissolved. The Exilarchate fell into disregard through the rivalry of the school of Pumbeditha, and also lost the revenue which served as its mainstay. Even though questions from abroad continued to be directed to the Gaonim of Sora, the sister academy was considered even in Babylonia to be the chief authority and to have the most influence. This influence was increased still more through the choice as Gaon of Pumbeditha of Rab Hai ben David (890—897), who had hitherto held the post of rabbi and judge in the capital of the caliphate. It was just at this time, at the end of the 9th century, that the Jews again enjoyed a high position in the caliphate, under the Caliph Al-Mutadhid (892—902). His vizier and regent Ubaid-Allah Ibn-Suleiman appointed Jews and Christians alike to State offices. The community of Bagdad gained the most through the favour shown by the vizier. Now that Rab Hai had occupied his post in the capital for a long time, and had made himself popular in the community, he was elected Gaon of Pumbeditha by the influential members. Their object was to make the school of Pumbeditha of greater importance. His successors Rab Kimai ben Achai (897—906), and Mar Jehudah ben Samuel (906—917), contemporary with Rab Hai ben Nachshon (896—906), and Rab Hilai ben Mishael

Jesodot, Book on the Elements, Latin, in the Isaaci Opera; a German translation is given by Dr. S. Fried, Leipzig, 1884; see De Sacy, Relation de l'Egypt par Abdolatif, p. 43—45. Wüstenfeld, Geschichte, p. 51; Munk, Journal Asiatique, juillet, 1850. (6) Treatise on the Urine, Latin, in the Isaaci Opera. (7) Sepher ha-Gebulim, or Book of Definitions; Latin, Isaaci Opera. See Maimonides' Letters, ed. Lichtenberg, p. 28. (8) Introduction to medicine, MS. preserved in the Bib. Nationale at Paris, No. 1190. (9) Treatise on the Pulse, mentioned by Ibn Osaiba. (10) Treatise on the Theriaque quoted by the same, MS. in Munich, No. 295. (11) Garden of Philosophy; see L. B. des Orients, x. 658. (12) Introduction to Logic, mentioned by Ibn Osaiba. (13) Treatise on Melancholy, MS. in the Bib. Nationale at Paris, 1173. See Steinschneider's Alfarabi, p. 248. (14) Treatise on Hydropsy, MS. of the Bib. Nationale in Paris, 1173. (15) Manhig ha Rophim, an Italian translation is given by M. Soave, under the name of Guida dei medici, Venice, 1861. See ha-Mazkir, iv., 140. (16) Commentary on Sepher Jecira, a fragment of this commentary has been published by Dukes in his Kontras ha-Masoret, p. 9, note, and p. 73. On the life and writings of Israeli, see Dr. S. Fried, Leipzig, 1884; and Steinschneider, Hamazkir, xii. p. 57.

(906—914) of Sora,—who like himself had commenced their career with the Rabbinate of Bagdad,—worked in the same spirit, and were assisted by the powerful members of the community. The school of Sora sank even deeper for this very reason. The chief of the school of Pumbeditha desired to make it the centre of the Babylonian community and of Judaism generally, and to put an end to the exilarchate as well as to the school of Sora. This man, Mar Kohen-Zedek II. ben Joseph, held office (917—936), contemporaneously with Rab Jacob ben Natronai (914—926) and Rab Yom Tob Kahana (926—928) of Sora, was passionate and energetic, and was one of those, who, free from personal selfishness, seek increase of power for the benefit of the community regardless of other duties. Mar Kohen Zedek, who did his best to give exclusive authority to his school, made an agreement with the Exilarch David ben Zaccai to close the school of Sora, to transplant the members to Pumbeditha, and to appoint a titular Gaon of Sora, who should have his seat in Pumbeditha. The son of a gaon named Rab Nathan ben Jehudai was invested with this titular dignity, but he died suddenly. This sudden death seems to have been taken by his contemporaries as a sign of evil omen.

The Exilarch David then determined to fill up the vacancy and to restore the ancient school at Sora. He had two candidates in view, Rab Saadiah and Rab Zemach ben Shahin, who was of the old nobility. Rabbi David decided for Rab Saadiah. He was called from Egypt to Sora and formally installed as gaon (928). Rab Saadiah ben Joseph ha-Pithomi, called in Arabic Said Ibn Jaakub al-Fayumi, who shines like a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of Jewish literature, was born at Fayum in Upper Egypt in 892. He was the founder of scientific Judaism amongst the Rabbanites, and the creator of religious philosophy in the middle ages. Very little is known of the events of his youthful life beyond the fact that he distinguished himself as a philosopher, Talmudist, theologian, orator, grammarian and commentator, when scarcely more than twenty years of age. In his twenty-third year he made a fierce attack upon the Karaites, which was felt by them for centuries afterwards.

Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra relates¹ a discussion which took place about the verse "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" (Exodus xxi. 24), between Rab Saadiah and the Karaite Ibn Zuta. Rab Saadiah thinks that the text cannot be taken literally, and that the Talmudical decision alone is acceptable. "How is it possible," he argues, "to apply the law of retaliation in the case of a blind man who has deprived a man possessing good eyes of his sight? How would you manage to make a wound which would correspond exactly to that to which you have been subjected? Could you even be quite sure that it would not prove more dangerous than the one which has been inflicted on you?" There is therefore no room for doubt that it is merely a question of damages which the judge in his wisdom is to assess. Ibn Zuta, on the contrary, as a fanatical adherent to the letter, persists in his view, and in consequence he can see nothing but the law of retaliation in it.

So great was the reputation of Rab Saadiah, that David ben Zaccai sent for him to come to Sora, where he was appointed gaon of the academy (928), a dignity which had never before been conferred upon any but the sages of Babylon, who were selected from the learned teachers of their own academies. After occupying this high office a little more than two years (928—930), he was deposed through the jealousy of others and his own unflinching integrity. He, however, retained his office in the presence of an anti-gaon, Rab Joseph ben Satia, for nearly three years more (930—933), when he had to relinquish his dignity altogether. He then retired to Bagdad, where he resided as a private individual for four years (933—937), and composed sacred poems, compiled a prayer book,² after the manner of Rabbi Amram, and collected the rules of the calendar, as well as wrote these two philosophical works—The Commentary on the Book Jecira, and the treatise entitled Creeds and

¹ In his Commentary on the Pentateuch, Exodus xxi. 24; concerning the Anti-Karaite writings of Rabbi Saadiah Gaon, see Dr. S. Poznanski, the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1898, with an edition of certain hitherto unprinted parts of the gaon's works.

² Mentioned by Rabbi Isaac Or Zarua, t. i., 89. The Prayer Book of Rab Saadiah has been published by Steinschneider, Berlin, 1864.

Opinions (Emunot w'deut)—which were the foundation of the first system of ethical philosophy among the Jews. He wrote besides a work on Hebrew rhetoric, in which he treats at length of word-building, style, grammatical anomalies, and the use of Hebraism in rhetorical style.¹

Rab Saadiah was re-installed in his office as Gaon in Sora, in 937, and laboured in the academy for five years, raising it to the highest state of prosperity.

Rab Saadiah's magnanimity showed itself in his conduct to the family of his opponent David. When the latter died, in 940, his son Judah was elected in his stead, through Rab Saadiah's influence, though he only filled the post for seven months. On his death he left behind him a son fourteen years old, whom Rab Saadiah appointed as his successor. He received him into his house, and adopted him. In the meanwhile a distant relative, a member of the Bene-Haiman family, who lived in Nisibis, was appointed to the office. He had scarcely been installed before he had a quarrel with a Moslem. Witnesses testified that he had spoken disparagingly of Mohammed. For this offence he was put to death. When the last representative of the house of the exilarch who had been brought up by Rab Saadiah, was raised to the principedom, Moslem fanaticism was let loose against him. It was determined to assassinate him whilst he was riding in his state-carriage, because the mere shadow of princely power among the Jews was disliked. The caliph tried to prevent his murder, but in vain. Thus died the last of the exilarchs, and the representatives of Judaism determined to leave the office vacant, by which means they thought to subvert the fanatical hatred. The two schools alone remained to represent the unity of the Jews, but even these were soon to be no more. With Rab Saadiah's death, in 942, was extinguished the last glimmer of light for the academy of Sora.² It is true that he left a son, Rabbi Dossa, who was both learned in the Talmud and in philosophy and the author of several works—but he was not appointed his father's successor.³

¹ Fürst's Introduction to his Hebrew Lexicon, p. xxv.

² Graetz, t. iii., p. 206—207. Dr. Müller's Einleitung, p. 169; S. Munk, Guide des Egarés, t. i., p. 462.

³ Rab Saadiah's most important writings were:—(1) A book in refutation of Chivi Albalchi's doctrines published by Polack, in his Halichot Kedem, Amsterdam, 1846. (2) In refutation of Anan. This work has

Rab Joseph ben Satia, who was formerly deposed, was again made the chief of the school (942—948). He, however, was not able to maintain its superiority over the sister academy, which had at its head, after Mar Kohen Zedek, Rab Zemach ben Kafnai (936—938), Rab Chanina ben

not as yet been found, but from Solomon ben Jerucham's (a celebrated Karaite) rejoinder to it, we learn that the import of it was to refute Anan's doctrines, and to show the necessity of the traditional explanation of the Scriptures as contained in the Rabbinic writings; see S. Pinsker, *Likutei Kadmoniot*, p. 13, ff. (3) A Translation of the Pentateuch, with annotations, which he completed (915—920), first appeared in Hebrew characters with the reputed Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, the Jewish Persian version of Jacob Tusi, the Hebrew text, and Rashi's Commentary in the folio Tetraglott Pentateuch of Constantinople, in the year 1546. Nearly a century later, an Arabic version of the Pentateuch was printed in the Polyglott of Paris, and was then reprinted in the London Polyglott; see L. Dukes' *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Aeltesten Auslegung der A. T.* Stuttgart, 1844, t. ii., p. 43—73. The surviving portion of this faithful and able translation is highly valued by Biblical scholars. On the Persian version, see Kohut, *Krit. Beleucht. der Pers. Pentat.*, Leipzig, 1871. (4) A Translation of Isaiah, published by Paulus, Jena, 1790—91; see Eichhorn's *Allg. Bibliothek der bibl. Literatur*, vol. iii. p. 9, ff., 455, ff. Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, vol. 1. part 1, p. 88, ff., Leipzig, 1821; Rapaport has published some corrections of Paulus' edition in his *Biography of Rabbi Saadiah*, Vienna, 1828; S. Munk has published some emendations of Paulus' text, and has also corrected sundry errors of Gesenius and Rosenmüller in *Cahen's Bible*, vol. ix. p. 73—184, Paris, 1838. (5) A Translation of the Psalms of David with annotations, Schnurrer published, 1790, in Eichhorn's *Allg. Bibliothek*, vol. iii. p. 425—438; Haneberg published, Munich, 1841; Ewald published with his critical remarks, in the above mentioned *Beiträge*, vol. i. p. 1—74. (6) A Translation of Job was published by Ewald in the same *Beiträge*, p. 75—115; and by J. Cohn, Altona, 1881. (7) A Commentary on the Song of Songs: a free translation into Hebrew of Rab Saadiah's Arabic work, was first published together with Ibn Caspi's and Jacob Provinciali's expositions of the same book by Isaac Akrish, Constantinople, 1579; then separately by Solomon ben David Moses, Prague, 1608, with an English translation, has been published by Ch. Ginsburg, 1857. Rab Saadiah also made a commentary on the other four Megilloth, as well as the Minor Prophets and the Book of Daniel, which are only known by quotations from them in the works of Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Solomon ben Jerucham, and other Jewish expositors and lexicographers. (8) A Commentary on the Sepher Jecira, published with a French translation by Lambert, Paris, 1891. (9) *Emunot w'deut*, Creeds and Opinions, translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Judah Ibn Tibbon, *editio princeps*, Constantinople, 1562; with a German translation by Ph. Bloch, Munich, 1879; see Guttman, *Die Religions Philosophie des Rabbi Saadiah Gaon*, Göttingen, 1881.

Rab Saadiah wrote also grammatical and lexical works on the language of the Hebrew Scripture. His grammatical works commence the series, viz.: (1) A Hebrew Grammar, consisting of ten treatises. (2) Refutations and Criticisms upon the work of Ben Asher. See Dr. J. Fürst, Introduction to his Hebrew Lexicon, p. xxiv. All these

Jehudai (938—943), and Rab Aaron Ibn-Sarjadu. Ibn-Sarjadu had not gone through a regular course of academic instruction, but was a rich merchant of Bagdad. He was chosen on account of his riches, as well as for his knowledge and activity. He had received a good philosophical education, and had written a philosophical work, a Commentary on the Pentateuch and a Sepher ha-Nikkud.¹

After Ibn-Sarjadu, Rab Nehemiah ben Kohen-Zedek held office in Pumbeditha.

The schools of the east were gradually closed, and the scholars migrated to Spain. But before the final extinction of the lamp, in the complete downfall of the college in Pumbeditha, two celebrated men occupied the office of

works, however, have become a prey to time, and are only known from quotations in other treatises on the same subjects, with the exception of his work on the seventy words and a comparison of them with analogous words from the Mishna, Talmud, and Targum, written against the Karaites, published by Dukes in the *Beiträge*, vol. ii., p. 110—115; and again with important corrections by J. Derenburg, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, vol. v., p. 317—324, Leipzig, 1844. See Dr. Harkavy, *Stades Zeitschrift*, ii., p. 7; W. Bacher, *Die Anfänge der Hebraische Grammatik*, p. 2.

A Commentary of Rab Saadiah on the Thirteen Rules of Rabbi Ishmael has been published by S. Shechter in *Beth-Talmud*, 1885, p. 237—244; cf. Steinschneider's *Hamazkir*, t. xxi., p. 134.

Rab Saadiah's religious poems and hymns for the Feast of Weeks, published under the name of "Aseret ha-Debarim" into Arabic, Oran, 1856.

Contemporary with Rab Saadiah was Jachya Ibn Zakarya Judah el-Katib in Tiberias, who translated the Bible into Arabic; see De Sacy, *Chrestomatie Arabe*, i., p. 350.

For sources of information on Rab Saadiah Gaon, see Rapaport's *Rab Saadiah*, Vienna, 1828; Munk, *Notice sur Rab Saadiah Gaon*, in *Cahen's Bible*, vol. ix., p. 73—184; Ewald und Dukes, *Beiträge*, etc., vol. i., p. 1—115; vol. ii., p. 5—115, Stuttgart, 1844; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, 2156—2224; Güdemann, *Geschichte, des Erziehungswesens*, p. 269, Vienna, 1880; Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, edit. 1866, iii., p. 706, 707; Steinschneider, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung von Rödiger*, p. 1186, Berlin, 1881.

¹ Ibn Balam, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch, cites Ibn Sarjadus' linguistic explanations on the Pentateuch; see *ha-Chaluz*, ii., p. 60. Rab Hai gaon speaks of his Sepher ha-Nikkud in *Sepher ha-Kemizah*; and of his Halachite opinions, a few of which are cited in Rashi's *Sepher ha-Pardes* (fol. 26). He wrote besides a Commentary on the *Sepher Jecira*; fragments of it are cited in Rabbi Moses' Botarel's Commentary on the same book, and a philosophical dissertation against the Aristotelian views concerning the eternity of the world, like his contemporary Rabbi Dossa, the son of Rab Saadiah; see *Zeitschrift*, iv., p. 389—90.

gaon. These two men—father and son, the last heads of note of the school of Pumbeditha—were Rab Sherira and Rab Hai, to whom later generations gave the name of “fathers and teachers of Israel.”

Rab Sherira, son of the Gaon Chanina (930—1000), was of noble parentage both on his father’s and mother’s side, several members of both families having filled the office of gaon. He boasted that he could trace his descent from the line of the exilarchs before that of Bostenai. The seal of the Rab Sherira family bore the impress of a lion, which is said to have been the coat-of-arms of the Jewish kings. Rab Sherira was sufficiently acquainted with the Arabic language to answer questions in it which were directed to him by the Jewish communities in Moslem countries. Rab Sherira’s chief claim to fame may be ascribed to his letter, which is the main authority for the history of the Talmudical, post-Talmudical and Gaonic periods of Jewish history.

Rab Jacob ben Nissim Ibn-Shahin, a pupil of Rab Chushiel, who had been taken captive to Africa, and who taught the Talmud in Kairuan, sent a letter of historic import in the name of the community of Kairuan to Rab Sherira. In it the following questions were propounded:—“In what way was the Mishna written down? If the tradition is of remote origin, how comes it that only authorities of a comparatively recent period are known to us as bearers of the same? In what order were the various books of the Mishna compiled?” Rab Jacob also asked about the order of the Saboraim and the Gaonim, and about their respective functions. Rab Sherira, on that occasion, wrote an answer (987), half in Hebrew and half in Chaldee, in which he threw light upon several dark portions of Jewish history with surprising clearness.¹ The Chronicle of the Saboraim and Gaonim as given by him is our guide for this epoch. Rab Sherira shows himself in this historical response, as a real chronicler imbued with the necessary truth and trustworthiness.

¹ The Responsa of Rab Sherira was published for the first time with the Constantinople edition of the Juchasin, in the year 1566; but the best edition is that which has been published by Dr. A. Neubauer at Oxford, 1887; see Rapaport’s Rabbi Nathan, note 24; I. H. Weiss, *Beth Talmud*, i., p. 55; Dr. J. Müller, *Einleitung*, p. 178—201; and with a Latin translation and notes, has been published, Vratislaviae, 1861.

The academy had so few scholars at this time that Rab Sherira was compelled to promote his young son, Rabbi Hai, who was only sixteen years old, to the high office of chief judge.

The respect for the gaon had vanished. Some malicious persons accused Rab Sherira before the then alkadir on some now unknown charge. In consequence of this, father and son were arrested (997), all their property was confiscated, and there was not sufficient left to them for their bare livelihood.¹ They were, however, liberated at the intercession of an influential man and restored to their dignity. Rab Sherira soon after abdicated in favour of his son on account of old age (998), and died a few years later.²

His son, Rabbi Hai, although he was only thirty years old, was so popular that at the conclusion of the reading of the law on Sabbath, they added in his honour the portion where Moses asked God to appoint a worthy successor to him, and at the conclusion they inserted the words: "And Rab Hai sat on the throne of Rab Sherira his father, and his kingdom was firmly established." He was compared to King Solomon, and enjoyed a high prerogative, which foreign communities, as well as the Babylonians, ceded to him. His character was as noble as his mind was independent. He was at home in all branches of science as it was then taught, and displayed great literary activity in many of them. Like the Gaon of Fayum he was a competent Arabic scholar, and made use of that language as a medium for many of his letters, and he also treated numerous scientific subjects in it. He had frequent disputations with Mohammedan theologians, and is said to have often silenced them by his eloquence.³ His main study, however, was the Talmud, and in this he resembled his father, Rab Sherira, except that he rendered more service to it than his predecessor. He wrote a scanty commentary, in which he explained the

¹ See Rabbi Abraham ben David of Toledo in his *Sepher ha-Kabbala*, edit. Neubauer, p. 67.

² See *Sepher ha-Kabbalah*, p. 67; *Secher Zadik*, edit. Neubauer, p. 92; and I. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte*, iv., p. 174.

³ *Likkutei Kadmoniot*, p. 152; Rapaport's *Rab Hai Gaon*, note 15; *Hammagid*, 8th year, p. 199. Dr. A. Berliner, *Persönliche Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden*, p. 7.

words in the most difficult portions of the Mishna and the Talmud.¹ Rabbi Hai treated of civil rights according to the Talmud, of contracts, loans, the fixing of boundary marks, and of oaths, with systematic precision.² He did this as no one before him had done, and he therefore became the model and authority for later generations. Rab Hai was universally acknowledged as an authority, and through his influence the school of Pumbeditha somewhat recovered its prestige.³

The exilarchate had been practically extinct since the death of the grandson of David ben Zaccai, and Rab Hai stood at the head of Judaism. No fitter man could have been found to represent it.

His father-in-law, Rab Samuel ben Chofni, was gaon in Sora at the time when Rab Hai filled that office in Pumbeditha. He was the author of a philosophical commentary

¹ A Commentary on the Mishna, order Taharot, has been published, Berlin, 1856.

² On Oaths or Mishp'tei ha-Shebuoth, translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Rabbi Nissim Sason, published at Venice, 1602. On Buying and Selling or Meckach-u-Memkar, printed together with his Sepher ha-Mashkon, or treatise on Pledges and Mortgages; Mishp'tei ha-Tenaim, on Contracts, and Mishp'tei ha-Leva'oth, on Loans, the four works being issued in one volume at Venice, also in 1602. The treatise on Buying and Selling was afterwards printed, with notes by R. E. Piltz, Vienna, 1800. His Poetical Works on the laws of personal property and on oaths have been published by Halberstamm in "Jeshurun," 1868; see, however, S. Sachs, Hamagid, 16th year, No. 1—2. Rab Hai wrote also a Dictionary under the name of ha-Measeph, which Ibn Ezra, who had it before him when he wrote his grammatical treatise entitled Moznaim, describes as "full of wisdom and perfect in beauty." This work has not as yet come to light; see Gurland, Hamagid, 8th year, p. 198; Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, Longman, 1857, pp. 78, 125. Sepher Musar Haskeil, an exposition of the Peutateuch, attributed to Rab Hai, edition princeps, Fano, 1505; with a Latin translation, Paris, 1561; German translation by L. Dukes, in his Ehrensäule and Denksteine, Vienna, 1837, p. 96. See Hamazkir, 1871, p. 105. Responsa of Rab Hai, on the Release and Resurrection of the Dead; a fragment of it has been published in Kochbei Isaac, heft 5, p. 73—76. The entire MS. is preserved in the Vatican Library, No. 181; and De Rossi 327/10, 1138/15. Concerning Rab Hai's Sacred Poetry, see Landshuth's Amude ha-Aboda, Berlin, 1857, p. 62.

³ For sources of information on Rab Hai Gaon, see Rapaport, Rab Hai Gaon, Vienna, 1830—1831; Nasher, Der Gaon Hai, Berlin, 1867; Munk, Notice sur Ibn-Djanah, p. 69—70; Dr. Müller, Einleitung, p. 201, seq. A collection of Poems and Hymns on various subjects of Rab Hai Gaon is edited by Halberstamm in Kobak's Jeschurun, x., p. 150; and by S. Philipp, in Beth-ha-Bechirah, Lemberg, 1889; see also the periodical He-Asif, by N. Sokolow, p. 148, 1887.

on the Pentateuch, and some Talmudical works. He, like Rab Saadiah, attacked Karaism, especially as a keen controversy broke out at that time between the Karaites and the Rabbanites. He died in 1034, and thus ended the list of Gaonim of Sora.¹

When Rab Hai died, in 1038, mourned by all the Jews, and eulogised by the greatest poet of the time—Ibn Gebirol, and by his admirer Rab Chananael, in Africa,—the time, too, for the dissolution of the school of Pumbeditha had come. It is true that the college immediately chose a successor in whom the functions of gaon and exilarch were united, but it ceased to exist when this individual died. Chiskiya, great grandson of David ben Zaccai, was appointed head of the school. But the splendour which it was thought would accrue to it, through him, did not make itself visible. Chiskiya had many implacable enemies, who envied his office. They slandered him at the court, for what reason or under what pretext is unknown. The last gaon was imprisoned, tortured (probably that he might discover his treasures), robbed of all his property, and then executed (1040). Thus the gaonate came to an end through the oppression of the weak caliphate. Babylonia's part in Jewish history was played out, and learning sank into complete oblivion for a long time.

Information was likewise laid against Chiskiya's two sons. They escaped, and after travelling about for a long time, settled in Spain, where they were respected as being the last members of the House of David. They here devoted themselves to poetry, and were known under the name of Ibn-Daudi.

¹ Concerning the life and works of Rab Samuel ben Chofni, see Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii., p. 313; Steinschneider, *He-Chaluz*, ii., 62; Dr. Harkavy *Sichron Lerishonim*, iii.; Hamelitz, 1879; and in "Mitzpah," ii., p. 2.

CHAPTER V.

THE JEWS IN SPAIN.

WITH Chiskiya, the grandson of David ben Zaccai, the office Resh Gelutha ceased; the school over which he had presided was left without a head; the students dispersed, and the learned republic of the Jews on the borders of the Euphrates, which had subsisted and maintained itself during nearly 1000 years, was extinguished and disappeared. Had this extinction of the schools taken place while yet the western world was unprovided with any seat of learning or with competent teachers, the influence of that event must have been severely felt by the Jews. But Divine providence, through an accidental circumstance, ordained that, a short time before that extinction took place, a branch of the learning of the east should be transplanted to Spain, where it soon took root, and flourished so luxuriantly as to overshadow the fame of its parent stock.

It happened that an admiral, by name Ibn-Rumahis, who cruised through the Mediterranean Sea in pursuit of Christian ships, and probably also with the object of plundering coast-towns, captured a vessel in the Ægean Sea, in which there were four great Jewish scholars. The Moorish admiral, however, had no regard for the learning and piety of these men, who were obliged to share the fate of the other prisoners, viz., to be sold as slaves. These four men who had been sent from Sora to collect contributions from the various communities, caused the seeds of the Talmudic spirit to blossom in various places. One of these scholars, by name Rabbi Shemarya ben Elchanan, was sold in Alexandria, redeemed by the Jews there, and appointed Chief Rabbi in Cairo; a similar fortune befell a second, by name Rabbi Chushiel, who was sold on the coast of Africa, and who came to Kairuan. A son of this Rabbi Chushiel was Rabbi Chananel, who after-

wards became famous as a commentator on the Pentateuch,¹ and also for his glosses on the Talmud.² A third, Rabbi Moses by name, whose virtuous wife threw herself into the sea in order to escape the persecutions of the admiral, was brought to Cordova by Ibn-Rumahis, with his son Rabbi Chanoch, and here they also were redeemed by the Jews. The fourth was probably Rabbi Nathan ben Isaac Kohen,³ who regained his liberty and became teacher at Narbonne. Rabbi Moses, with unpretending appearance, in the garb of a slave, repaired to the house of instruction of Cordova, the president of which, Rabbi Nathan, was discoursing on the Talmud, section Yoma, concerning the day of Atonement, whilst Rabbi Moses sat listening in a corner unobserved. But when the Rabbi came to a difficult passage which he could not well explain, Rabbi Moses stepped forward, and with a few pithy words, by way of explanation, attracted universal attention. At once the listeners, and Rabbi Nathan himself, saw that the stranger far excelled them in knowledge, and question after question was put to him, which he answered to the satisfaction and surprise of all. At the door two litigants were standing, who wished to submit their differences to Rabbi Nathan, but who, according to the established rules, were obliged to await the termination of the lecture. When the lecture was over and the parties appeared before Rabbi Nathan, he exclaimed aloud, "I am no longer judge. The stranger whom you see here in his garment of sackcloth, is my teacher; I am but his disciple. Choose him for your judge." This humility on the part of Rabbi Nathan was generally approved of. Rabbi Moses was by unanimous consent appointed chief of the Jewish community, had a considerable revenue assigned to him, and received as a present a very splendid carriage.

¹ Rapaport has collected the surviving fragments of his Commentary and published them with explanatory notes, and a biography of the author in *Bikkure ha-Ittim*, vol. xii., 1831; as has also been done by Dr. A. Berliner in his *Migdal Chananel*, Berlin, 1876.

² Has been published in the edition of the Talmud, Vilno, 1880.

³ Graetz, iii., p. 213; see, however, Steinschneider's *Hamazkir*, iii., p. 4, who objects to Graetz's theory as to the fourth emissary.

When the admiral, Ibn-Rumahis, heard that his prisoner was so precious to the community of Cordova, he wished to retract the sale in order to get a higher ransom. The Jews appealed to the just caliph, Abdul-Rahman III. (911—961), by means of the Jewish statesman Rabbi Chasdai, and represented to him that they would be able, through Rabbi Moses, to sever themselves from the Gaonate of the eastern caliphate. Abdul-Rahman, who to his intense regret had seen considerable sums of money yearly taken out of his land for the Gaonate, i.e., to the land which was hostile to him, was glad that a place would now be founded in his own kingdom for the study of the Talmud, and signified to his admiral his wish that he should desist from his demand. Thus Cordova became the seat of an important school that was independent of the Gaonate.

Italy, too, felt a similar impulse towards a revival of Rabbinical learning. At the end of the eighth century the schools of Bari and Otranto acquired celebrity; and in the following century, Rabbi Sabbatai ben Abraham Donolo, a physician of Modena (913—980), greatly distinguished himself by his works on natural science and medicine, which obtained a wide circulation in other lands.¹

Among those who were specially attached to Rabbi Moses of Cordova was Rabbi Chasdai. Owing to his powerful protection, Rabbi Moses ended his life peaceably (960), undisturbed by the envy which doubtless prevailed on many sides, after having trained a number of pupils who had come to him from Spain and Africa, attracted by his fame.

Rabbi Chasdai (with the Arabic surname, Abu-Jussuf), the son of Isaac ben Ezra, of the family of Shaprut, was born in Jaen. He first of all devoted himself to the calling of a physician, and to this fact, together with his remarkable intellectual gifts, he owed his elevation to the dignity of

¹ His Commentary on the Sepher Jecira has been published, Warsaw, 1883; Dr. Jellinek edited his Commentary on the Verse "Naase Adam" (Gen. i. 26), as an Introduction to the Sepher Jecira, Leipzig, 1854. Concerning his life, see Steinschneider, S. Donolo, Berlin, 1868; A. Berliner, *Persönliche Beziehungen*, p. 4; I. Abraham's *Jewish Life*, p. 419.

vizier, an office which he occupied at the court of the caliph, Abdul-Rahman III., and his successor, Hakem (961—976).¹

The Byzantine Emperor, Romanus II., driven into straits by the Abbaside Caliph at Bagdad, courted the friendship of Abdul-Rahman, who cherished a hatred not less intense against the Abbasides, and in the year 949 he sent him, among other costly presents, a work by the Greek Dioscorides on medical remedies. But as no one in Cordova was master of the language, Abdul-Rahman requested Romanus to send some one who was acquainted both with the Latin and Greek languages, in order to instruct his learned men in the latter tongue by the medium of the former. The monk, Nicolaus, whom Romanus sent with this object, soon entered into close and friendly intercourse with Rabbi Chasdai, and the latter was particularly successful in his attempt at discovering the significance of various medicaments which had formerly been unknown.

The caliph, Abdul-Rahman III., who stood in diplomatic relationship with the small Christian courts of North Spain, perceived Rabbi Chasdai's value and usefulness, and appointed him as interpreter and diplomatist (940). At first Rabbi Chasdai only had to accompany the principal ambassadors to the Spanish Christian courts. But the more able he proved himself, the more was he honoured and advanced. On one occasion Rabbi Chasdai's diplomacy proved very useful. He once induced the king of the province of Leon (Sancho Ramirez), and the queen of Navarra (Toda), together with the clergy and other great people, to visit Cordova, in order to conclude a lasting treaty of peace with Abdul-Rahman. The caliph rewarded his services by appointing him to various offices. Rabbi Chasdai was in a certain sense

¹ How instructive is the well-known Arabic memorandum penned by the hand of Abdul-Rahman III., and found in his cabinet after his death! "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace, beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have waited on my call; nor does any earthly blessing seem to have been wanting to complete my felicity. In this situation I have diligently numbered the days of pure and perfect happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to fourteen! O man, place not thy confidence in this present world!" Quoted by J. W. Etheridge, *Hebrew Literature*, p. 242, London, 1856.

minister of foreign affairs. He had to receive foreign ambassadors and their presents, and to give them presents from the caliph in return. He was, at the same time, the minister of trade and finance, and the revenue that arose from the various taxes and tolls, that went to the treasury, passed through his hands. Rabbi Chasdai, too, had a part in the embassy which was sent by the powerful German Emperor, Otto I., to the court of Cordova. The head of this embassy, the Abbot John of Gorze (Jean de Bendières), testified his warm admiration of the wisdom of "the Jew, Chasdai."

If Rabbi Chasdai had been nothing more than a minister of finance and diplomatist, his name would certainly have passed into oblivion. The rich and the great among the Jews, who have been rich only for themselves and great only for their own aggrandizement, have left no memory behind them. That which rendered Rabbi Chasdai worthy of the immortality he obtained was the position which he occupied towards Judaism, and especially towards its spiritual interests.

Rabbi Chasdai stood to his brethren in the relation of nasi or prince. The first use which he made of his position and the favour in which he stood with Abdul-Rahman and his successor, Hakem, was to protect his co-religionists from the injuries done to them by the Moslem. Imbued as he was with the Jewish national lore and crowned by his panegyrists with the rabbinical title of honour,¹ Resh-Kallah (head of the college), he sought to advance Jewish studies in every possible way; assembled scholars and poets about him, supported needy orphans, and provided copies of religious books.

The celebrated grammarian, Menachem ben Saruk, enjoyed an especial share of his protection, but some years later he completely lost the favour of his patron, and had to make way for a more successful rival, Dunash ben Labrat.

Rabbi Menachem ben Jacob Ibn Saruk (910—970), called from Tortosa to Cordova by Rabbi Chasdai, wrote a copious

¹ See S. G. Stern, *Liber Responsionum*, p. lxxv.—viii., notes 24—26, Vienna, 1870.

Hebrew dictionary of Holy Scripture, called *Machbereth Menachem*,¹ by the help of the scientific works of Ibn-Koreish and Rab Saadiah, a work which was highly esteemed, especially among French scholars of the following centuries, and is very frequently quoted, principally by Rashi.

Dunash Ibn Labrat, the other protégé of Rabbi Chasdai, was born in Bagdad about 920, lived at Fez, and died about 980. He wrote a kind of anti-dictionary, *Teshuboth* or *Sepher ha-Sherashim*,² following the alphabetical order of *Menachem*, consisting of 160 criticisms; besides a large introductory poem against *Menachem*, consisting of 180 strophes, as well as a panegyrical poem, comprising 41 strophes, dedicated to Rabbi Chasdai. Upon these lexical anti-criticisms Ibn Saruk, or rather his disciples, Rabbi Jehudah ben Daud Ibn Chayyug, Isaac Ibn Chiquitilla, and Ephraim ben Kafron, wrote refutations of the attacks, and also wrote in defence of it.³

The contest begun between *Menachem* and Dunash, and continued between their followers already mentioned, is of great interest in relation to a knowledge of Hebrew philology, of the new Hebrew poetry, and of the state of Jewish culture in Spain, in the tenth century.

The lively sympathy which Rabbi Chasdai felt for Jews and Judaism did not, however, limit itself to Spain, but extended beyond the borders of his country, as was to be expected from a man of such eminence. He was particularly interested in hearing from time to time from oriental travellers that there was a Jewish kingdom in Asia, ruled by a Jewish king. When ships came from distant lands, Rabbi

¹ *Editio princeps* by H. Philopowski, London, 1855.

² Edited by H. Philopowski, with the grammatical and lexical animadversions of Rabbi Jacob ben Meïr Tam, to reconcile the differences of Dunash and *Menachem* on points of grammar and exegesis, London, 1855.

³ This work, entitled "*Liber Responsionum*," has been published, with notes, by S. G. Stern, Vienna, 1870. Dunash's work against Rab Saadiah is contained in Ibn Ezra's "*Sephat Yeter*," edit. Lipman, Frankfort, 1843; see Dukes' *Mittheilungen*, p. 149; Pinsker, *Likkutei Kadmoniot*, p. 66, and notes, p. 157. Concerning E. ben Kafron, see *he-Chaluz*, vi., 80; Dr. Harkavy, *Zichron Lerishonim*, i, p. 166; and the periodical, "*Mitzpa*," 1885.

Chasdai never neglected to ascertain whether Jews dwelt in the native country of these strangers, and how they fared. Once he was told by merchants from Choresvan that such a Jewish kingdom did really exist, and that the land was called Cusar. Rabbi Chasdai decided to send a letter to the king of the Khozar with the ambassadors, who came from the king of the Slavonians to Abdul-Rahman, among whom were two Jews, Saul and Joseph. In this letter to King Joseph, Rabbi Chasdai told how he had come to write to him, and begged him for information respecting the Khozaric kingdom, its condition, extent, and institutions, how the people conducted themselves in warfare, on the Sabbath, &c. Fortunately, not only was Rabbi Chasdai's letter received but the answer of the Khozaric king also reached Rabbi Chasdai. A German Jew, by name Jacob ben Eliezer, deserves the credit of having accomplished this happy result.¹ The letter was to this effect: the king tells him that his nation is derived from Yefeth, and then from Togarmah, who had ten sons, one of whom was named Chazar, two of the others being named Bulgar and Avar. One of the kings, called Bulan, once had a remarkable dream. He was a good man, but a heathen, and an angel appeared to him in the night with a message that God had heard his prayers, and would lead him in the right path. At the request of the king, the same message was given by the angel to a certain great man, and both declared their intention to the people, and they all embraced the Jewish religion. With divine assistance he was enabled to build a great temple similar to that at Jerusalem. The Greek emperor and the Moham-medan caliph sent their representative to convert the king to their beliefs. The manner in which he convinced them of the superiority of the religion he had embraced was ingenious. He first asked the Christian which of the two

¹ It was first published with the Constantinople edition of "Kol Mebasseir," in 1577, by Rabbi Isaac Akreish. An English translation of this letter is given in the Miscellany of Hebrew Literature, vol. i., p. 92—112. Not only are the whole contents of the letter literally true, and confirmed by historical testimony as appears from the savant Vivier's remarks in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, juin et juillet, 1851, but all the names of places which occur in it are proved correct from Massudi and Ibn-Houkal, contemporaries of our Rabbi Chasdai; see Bakni, *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits*, ii., p. 582.

was preferable—Mohammedanism or Judaism, and in which book they placed the greater confidence—the Koran or the Bible. The answer was that Judaism being the fountain-head, was in every way preferable. He received the same answer from the Mohammedan, who was asked whether he would prefer Christianity to Judaism. He thus convinced them out of their own mouths that he had chosen the best religion. The king then named in order the kings who had succeeded Bulan, from which it appeared that he was the twelfth descendant from the first convert to Judaism. He also mentions the establishment of schools and synagogues. Then follows a description of the country and the power wielded by him. It was situated on the river Itil, i. e., the Volga, and extended to the Black Sea, which for a long time afterwards continued to be called the Sea of Chazaria.¹

The above mentioned Rabbi Moses was succeeded as chief Rabbi by his son, Rabbi Chanoch, who was no less worthy of this position than his father. Rabbi Chasdai continued to the son the same benevolence and friendship which he had shown to the father; and before so mighty a protector every hostile voice was hushed.² But when Rabbi Chasdai was dead (970), there arose a strife in the community, some wishing to raise a pupil of Rabbi Moses to the dignity of Chief Rabbi, viz., Rabbi Joseph Ibn-Abitur, famous as a poet. Hundreds of Jews, magnificently dressed, proceeded to Medinat Alsara, the summer residence of the caliph, on horses and in chariots, with turbans like the Moors, the one party with Rabbi Chanoch, the other with Abitur. The party of the latter was unsuccessful, and he himself was excommunicated. In vain he appealed to the caliph for assistance; the caliph explained to him that he did not wish to interfere

¹ Dr. M. Gaster, the Jewish Chronicle, February 26, 1897, p. 15; see also Dr. A. Harkavy, *Erzählungen der hebräischen Schriftsteller über das Chasarenreich*, Petersburg, 1874.

² Concerning the life of Rabbi Chasdai, see Philoxène Luzzato, *Notice sur Abou Jousouf Hasdai Ibn Shaprut*, Paris, 1852; *Silv. De Saey, Abdolatif*, p. 497—500; Zedner, *Auswahl historischer Stücke*, p. 26-27, Berlin, 1840; Gayangos, *the History of the Mahometan Dynasties in Spain*, 1843, t. ii., Appendix A; t. v. p. xii.; Munk, *Archives Israélites*, 1848; *Mélanges*, p. 480; *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, vol. i. p. 73—91; Graetz, v. 359—367, 371—385.

in the affairs of the Jews. "If my subjects treated me," he said, "as the Jews have treated you, I should fly. I can only give you the same counsel." Abitur followed his advice and went to Damascus. During the reign of Hisham, Alhakim's feeble successor, the government was carried on by his grand vizier Almanzor; the latter appointed Jacob Ibn Gav, the owner of a large silk manufactory, to be head of the Jews in secular matters. Rabbi Chanoch was deprived of his office of Chief, and Abitur was invited to return. But Abitur refused to do so, and himself acknowledged the merit of Rabbi Chanoch, who in consequence retained his position, which he filled most worthily until his death in 1014.¹

During the sanguinary struggles carried on between the sons of Almanzor, the city of Cordova was repeatedly plundered and devastated by the troops of the rival brothers and their hostile competitors. The Jewish community there suffered severely in every respect. Many of the learned Rabbis, who had been formed in the schools of Rabbi Moses and his son, Rabbi Chanoch, left Cordova, and dispersed and sought refuge in the various cities of Spain. One of the most learned, Rabbi Samuel Levi, repaired to Malaga.

Rabbi Samuel ha-Levi ben Joseph Ibn-Nagrela, born about 993, was descended from an old and distinguished Jewish family, which belonged to Merida, and had afterwards settled in Cordova. In the school of Rabbi Chanoch, the young Samuel was instructed in the doctrine of the Talmud and in the history of his people from the time of the destruction of the Temple. Into the niceties of the Hebrew language

¹ The new form of liturgical hymns (Piyutim) was confirmed and developed by Ibn Abitur. He translated the Mishna into Arabic for the Caliph Alhakim. He wrote also a Commentary on the Psalms; see Dr. Harkavy in "Mitzpa," ii., p. 3-4, 1885; Lebrecht, Ueber Joseph's Zunamen ben Satnas, Frankel's Zeitschrift, iii., p. 430-433; and Lands-huth, Amude ha-Aboda, p. 92.

When Jacob Gav died and a friend of Rabbi Chanoch's hastened to tell him the news of his enemy's death, in the expectation of giving him pleasure, Rabbi Chanoch began to weep aloud. "I thought I was telling you joyful news," said the friend, "but I see that you love your enemies." "I am troubled and weep," said Rabbi Chanoch, "on account of the poor, who always found an open hand and a plentiful table with Jacob Gav; what will they do now? If you will provide for them, I shall cease to lament." Miscellany of Hebrew Literature, i., p. 90.

he was initiated by the founder of Hebrew grammar, Rabbi Judah Chayyug.¹

Rabbi Judah ben David, commonly called Chayyug, and in Arabic, Abukaria Jachya ben Daud el-Fasi el-Kartubi, was born in Fez, and lived in Cordova, where he became the teacher of Rabbi Samuel. He was the first who established the trilateralism of Hebrew stems, as up to his time some of the chief etymologists and expositors, e.g., Rab Saadiah Gaon and Menachem ben Saruk, maintained that there were biliteral and even monoliteral stems. He, too, was the first who discovered the true relation of the quiescent letters, and their changes. It was he, too, who arranged the verbs according to their conjugations.² His views have been accepted by all later Hebrew philologists who proceeded from the Spanish school, Ibn Ezra, Ibn Balam, both the Kimchis, Parchon and others, even down to our own time.

In the meantime Rabbi Samuel earned a scanty subsistence in Malaga by a small retail trade. His poverty, however, proved no obstacle to his literary activity. Just at that time a lively controversy broke forth respecting the rules of Hebrew grammar. A young man, a physician, also from Cordova, and driven to Saragossa by the civil war, had set forth entirely new views with regard to the structure of the Hebrew tongue, and had by this means, perhaps unintentionally, eclipsed the merits of Chayyug. This was Rabbi Jona (Mervan) Ibn-Ganach, a most profound Hebrew philologist.

¹ The chronographer, Rabbi Abraham ben David, in his *Book of Tradition*, edit. Neubauer, p. 81, says: "Rabbi Judah ben David Fasi, named Chayyug, has restored the holy language to its purity, after it had been already forgotten in all the dispersion."

² These discoveries Chayyug propounds in three books: (1) *Sepher Otot ha-Noach*, Treatises on Verbs containing feeble letters; (2) *Sepher ha-Kaphul*, Treatises on Verbs whose second and third radicals are alike doubled; (3) *Sepher ha-Nikud*, Treatises on Punctuation, translated into Hebrew from the original Arabic by Rabbi Moses Chiquitilla and by Ibn Ezra; these have been published by L. Dukes in his *Beiträge*, etc., with elaborate sketch of the author's life, p. 155—163, Stuttgart, 1844; and by J. Nutt, with an English translation. Chayyug also wrote a Hebrew Lexicon, which is often quoted by Ibn Ganach and Parchon, but the work has not yet come to light; see Munk, *Notice sur Abulwalid*, p. 64; Steinschneider, *Catal. Bodl.*, 1301—1306; Bacher, *Die Grammatische Terminologie des Jehuda ben David Hajjug*, Vienna, 1882; and Jastrow, *Stades Zeitschrift*, t. v. p. 193.

Rabbi Samuel looked upon Ibn-Ganach's polemic against his master, Chayyug, as a wilful detraction from his merits, and zealously took up the cause. He wrote small pamphlets against Ibn-Ganach, both in a serious and in an ironical style, and challenged him to reply. Ibn-Nagrela composed twenty small grammatical works, which, however, perished, being superseded by the works of Ibn-Ganach. Whilst engaged in these polemical works, all of which are valuable contributions to Hebrew lexicography and Biblical exegesis, Ibn-Ganach prepared himself for his *chef d'œuvre*, called Kitab el-Tankich, that is, Book of Enquiry, which he finished in his advanced age, and divided into two parts; the one being a treatise on grammar as connected with exegesis, entitled Kitab el-Luma, the Book of Embroidery,¹ and the other a lexicon, entitled Kitab el-Azul, that is, Book of Roots.² The mastery of the science of the Hebrew language in all its delicate points which Ibn-Ganach therein displays, the lucid manner in which he explains every grammatical difficulty, and the sound exegetical rules which he therein propounds, have few parallels up to the present day. He was not only the creator of the Hebrew syntax, but almost brought it to perfection.³

A fortunate circumstance transferred Rabbi Samuel Ibn-Nagrela from this literary occupation, and from his needy circumstances, to the sphere of politics. His shop was near the palace of the Granadian vizier, Abulkasim, who was the right hand of the king, Habus. Abulkasim's housekeeper, who frequently sent in accounts to her master, had the letters written by Rabbi Samuel, and so gave the vizier an

¹ Translated into Hebrew by Ibn Tibbon; has been published, Frankfort, 1856.

² Or Sepher ha-Sherashim, edited with an appendix containing extracts from other Hebrew-Arabic dictionaries by Dr. A. Neubauer, Oxford, 1875; Ibn-Tibbon's Hebrew translation of the same dictionary is preserved in the Vatican, no. 54.

³ For sources of information on Ibn-Ganach, see Dukes, Beiträge, p. 169—175; S. Munk, journal asiatique, juillet, 1850; Neubauer, Notice sur la lexicographie hebraïque, 1863; W. Bacher, Leben und Werke des Abul-Walid, Leipzig, 1885; Die hebraisch-arab. Sprachvergleichung, Vienna, 1884; D. Morgenl. Gesel., 1884, p. 620—629; Revue des études juives, t. vi. p. 208; Steinschneider, Catal. Bodl. p. 1415—1420; Derenbourg, Introduction to Opuscules, 1880.

opportunity of admiring his beautiful Arabic style and elegant handwriting. As soon as Abulkasim learnt the name of the writer, he invited him to Granada, offering him a dwelling in his palace. In this way Samuel became secretary to the vizier (about 1025). Abulkasim soon perceived that he not only wrote in an elegant style and a good hand, but that he was also a clear thinker, who looked on the political complications of the Pyrenean peninsula with an accurate eye, and knew how to give excellent advice. From this time he undertook nothing in state affairs without first consulting his Jewish secretary; and Rabbi Samuel's counsels always approved themselves by the happy issue. Abulkasim now fell ill, and the king, Habus, sat despairing by his bedside, asking who should advise him in the present critical state of his kingdom. The vizier most earnestly recommended his Jewish secretary, and was honest enough to confess on his deathbed, that the good measures he had suggested for some years had been Rabbi Samuel's inspirations. Habus, who as a Berber, had no deep-rooted prejudice against Jews, and was in need of a wise head at this critical time, did not hesitate to appoint Rabbi Samuel Ibn-Nagrela to be minister of state and vizier (nagid),¹ and to assign him a dwelling in his palace (1027).

King Habus had no reason to repent of his choice. Affairs of state prospered under the guidance of the prudent and active Jewish vizier. By his noble character and his clear understanding, Rabbi Samuel knew how to turn aside the caprice of the oriental ruler, and to disarm the prejudices of the Mohammedan population against a Jewish minister.

His wisdom and deep piety preserved him from that arrogance which is common to favourites and upstarts, often leading to their downfall. He was not, indeed, without enviers and enemies. Moreover, the status of the Jews of the kingdom

¹ Concerning the position and the power of the viziers of that time, see Professor D. Chwolson's *Die Semitischen Völker*, Berlin, 1872, p. 39. Rabbi Samuel addressed King Habus, of Granada, in a poem of seven *beit*, each of which was in a different language; see I. Abraham's *Jewish Life*, p. 361. Such an extensive knowledge of languages at this time implied great mental power and perseverance, for there was no expedient to facilitate the study of language. Rabbi Samuel was perhaps the first *Mezzofanti*; cf. Chemda Genuza, p. 29.

of Granada was raised by him, and they were now admitted to offices of state, and even served in the army. This placing of them on an equality with the Mohammedan population gave great offence to the Mussulmans. Two high officers of state, Ibn-Abbas and Ibn-Abu-Musa, entered into a conspiracy against the Jewish minister, and sought to effect his overthrow. But the king held so firmly to him, and found his fidelity so spotless, that he had one of the conspirators, Ibn-Abbas, executed.

Rabbi Samuel himself drew a masterly sketch of a true ruler; and this ideal was his guiding star.¹ "He whose counsel is free from the stains of lust, pure as the sun, whose eyelids do not succumb to sleep, whose thoughts are firm as towers, whom dignity surrounds with a brightness like the flashing of weapons, enabling him to command the wills of others, and who keeps aloof from all that brings shame, he only is worthy of dominion."

King Habus died (1037) without having made arrangements as to which of his sons should succeed him. At once two parties formed themselves in Granada, the one declaring itself for Badis, the elder son of Habus, the other for Balkin, the younger. As the Jews of this kingdom now enjoyed equal political rights with their fellow-citizens, they could join either one party or the other. Rabbi Samuel declared for Badis; other Jews, Rabbi Joseph Ibn Migash (the elder), Rabbi Isaac ben Leon, and Nehemiah Ashkafa, gave their support to Balkin. Already the Berberic magnates were assembled with their partisans to do homage to the younger son, when he himself withdrew and left the kingdom to Badis. His opponents were therefore obliged to swear allegiance to him, and Rabbi Samuel remained at his post. Balkin afterwards repenting of his magnanimity, entered into a conspiracy with his adherents against Badis, and put obstacles in the way of his government. In the meantime, however, Balkin fell suddenly ill, and his royal brother commanded the physician who attended him to administer no remedies, in consequence of which his death was accelerated. After Balkin's death, the supremacy of Badis, and the

¹ Miscellany of Hebrew Literature, vol. i., p. 6.

vizierate of Rabbi Samuel remained undisputed. As the new king was indolent and addicted to pleasure, Rabbi Samuel conducted all the affairs of government, and was in fact king.

Occupation with government affairs and with politics did not prevent the Jewish minister from working as a rabbi and author; on the contrary, this activity formed the centre of his life. He collected youths about him to whom he explained the Bible and the Talmud. Individuals and communities applied to him, as the first Talmudic authority, with questions, which he answered from the sources with much learning. With the pen he employed in drawing up government decrees, he wrote also a Commentary on the Pentateuch and Talmudic treatises. He was the first to introduce a scientific method into the study of the Talmud.¹ Rabbi Samuel also laid the foundation for a sketch of Jewish history after the destruction of the temple. As a preface to his Talmudic introduction, he brought together the links of the chain of tradition, through the Talmudic, Saburaen, and Gaonaic epochs down to his own time.² His knowledge of the Talmud was so profound and comprehensive that he wrote a commentary on those portions of the Talmud which treat of religious, civil, judicial and matrimonial law, under the title of "Hilchata Gabriatha."³ He was also a Hebrew poet, and understood rhyme and metre. He composed elevating prayers in the words of the holy tongue, after the manner of the Psalms, and called them Ben Tehillim (Son of the Psalms). He composed maxims full of meaning and thought, as the fruit of his deep observation of men and things, and called them Ben Mishlei (Son of the Proverbs). Finally he set forth a philosophy of life after the pattern of Ecclesiastes, under the title of Ben Kohelet (Son of the Preacher).⁴

¹His Introduction to the Talmud is printed in every edition of it. This treatise, of which a condensed German translation is given by Dr. E. M. Pinner, in his Introduction to the Masechet Berachot, Berlin, 1842.

² See Rapaport's Rab Hai, note 2.

³ Meïri in Bet ha-Bechira, Vienna, 1854, preface, p. 11.

⁴ Fragments of Ben Tehillim and Ben Mishlei have been published by Dr. Harkavy under the title of "Studien und Mittheilungen," Petersburg, 1879; see also Munk, Journal Asiatique, September, 1850, p. 203—210; and Dukes, Nachal Kedumim, p. 31.

For his co-religionists this great statesman had an open heart. He spread blessings far and near, and encouraged Jewish science and poetry with a princely hand. He shared his riches with every disciple of Jewish erudition, not merely in Spain, but also in Africa, Sicily, Babylonia, and Judaea. He employed a number of transcribers to make numerous copies of the Holy Scriptures and of the Talmud, which he bestowed on needy youths who were anxious for knowledge.

Rabbi Samuel kept up a brisk correspondence with all distinguished Jews in Syria, Africa, Egypt and Irak, and took the warmest interest in their studies. With true devotion he inquired of a Sicilian judge, Rabbi Mazliach Ibn-Al-Bazak,¹ a disciple of the last intellectual, learned, philosophic gaon, Rab Hai, who died 1038, how this gaon lived and taught. Rabbi Samuel stood in close relation to the African authorities of Judaism. Rabbi Nissim ben Jacob Ibn-Shahun, in Kairuan,² was a great Talmudist who had imbibed the culture of his age. Although rabbi of one of the largest Jewish communities, Rabbi Nissim lived in poverty, because the rabbis of that time looked upon it as a sin to receive any salary for their office. But he was so richly supported by the Jewish minister of Granada, that he felt no want. Rabbi Samuel did not even hesitate to ally his noble son, Rabbi Joseph, who had been instructed in every branch of knowledge and was destined to succeed him in the vizierate, to the virtuous daughter of the poor Rabbi Nissim (about 1048).³

Contemporary with Ibn-Nagrela was the poet Abu-Omar Joseph Ibn Chasdai.⁴

The death of Rabbi Samuel, which took place in the sixty-second or sixty-third year of his age, was justly lamented far and near. His noble son Hussain Joseph succeeded him in

¹ See Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, 1857, p. 78, 125.

² He wrote:—(1) *Maftach ha-Talmud*, a key to the Talmud, printed by Goldenthal, Vienna, 1847. (2) *Megillat Setarim*, the Concealed Leaves, on three treatises of the Talmud which have been published in the editions of the Talmud, Vilno, 1880; see *Hamazkir*, 1873, p. 132; *Nitei Naamanim*, Breslau, 1847.

³ See Chemda Genuza, p. 29.

⁴ Of whom only one ode has survived and reached us; it has been published in *Nachal Kedumim*, i., p. 17, Hanover, 1857; but it bears the stamp of masterly abilities.

the vizierate of Granada. Unfortunately, however, the long suppressed envy of the population of Granada ended in a terrible outbreak, almost the whole of the Jewish community of Granada, including Rabbi Joseph ha-Nagid, falling victims to the popular fury (1066).

This Spanish-Hebrew era, which extended over many centuries, may rightly be called the Golden Age in the Post-Biblical History of the Jewish people; for at no other period after the final breaking up of their nationality, had the Jews enriched the world of letters to such an extent as they did at that time—known in modern phraseology as the “dark ages.”

In religious poetry the Spanish Jews greatly excelled; hymns for the service of the Synagogue, moral poetry, the defence of Judaism against Greek philosophy, lamentations over the misfortunes of their countrymen—these formed the fertile subjects of their verse. The most distinguished poet in the eleventh century was Rabbi Solomon Gabirol.

Rabbi Solomon ben Jehudah-Ibn-Gabirol or Abu Ayub Suleiman Ibn-Yachia, born in 1021 at Malaga, studied and wrote at Saragossa. He is only known to us by his writings, which show him to have been a man of deep feeling, great poetical talent, and extensive learning. From his poems we learn that he was early left an orphan, and that he found a friend and protector in a certain Rabbi Jekuthiel Ibn-Hassan,¹ the chief minister of the reigning caliph. There are verses in existence which tell us of this friendship, and verses, too, of a sadder sort, which tell us of that friendship's ending. Rabbi Jekuthiel died when the boy he loved, and who loved him in return as only boys and poets can, was but eighteen, and the sorrow that came thus early in Gabirol's life shadowed it henceforth. Gabirol, in his nineteenth year, wrote a Hebrew grammar,² in verse—a work which Ibn-Ezra has since pronounced worthy of the highest praise. In this

¹ Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1858, p. 454; D.M.G. 1859, p. 515. *Ginzei Oxford*, London, 1850, p. 26, 27. *Dukes' Shirei Shelomo*, Hanover, 1858.

² This grammar, entitled “Anak,” which originally consisted of 400 verses, is not extant in its entirety. Part of it is given by Parchon in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, Presburg, 1844, p. 23, and with some corrections by L. Dukes, *Shire Shelomo*, part ii., p. 56.

work, the author complains, "That the study of the sacred tongue, honourable above all others, had been too long neglected, so that by a great multitude of his brethren the words of the prophets were no longer understood."

At the age of twenty-four he wrote in Arabic an ethico-philosophical work, which was translated into Hebrew, under the name of *Tikkon Midot ha-Nephesh*, by Rabbi Judah Ibn-Tibbon.¹ Ibn Gabirol propounds in this work a peculiar theory of the human temperament and passions, enumerates twenty propensities corresponding to the four dispositions multiplied by the five senses. In consequence of some personal allusions which he made in this work,² Gabirol was obliged to quit Saragossa in 1046, and for some time to wander about Spain, till he was taken up by the celebrated Rabbi Samuel ha-Nagid, when he wrote in Arabic his grand philosophical work, called in Hebrew, "*Mekor Chayim*," the Fountain of Life. The Fountain of Life and its philosophy were so wise and so original that the book grew more celebrated than the author. It was translated about 1150 from the Arabic language into Latin, and under its name of *Fons Vitae* it was greatly prized by learned school men of the period, as William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris (died 1248), Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), Albert the Great (died 1280), and Duns Scotus (died 1308). And in time it became a puzzle to identify the writer. "Avicebron" was received as the name of the author, but who "Avicebron" might be was only conclusively solved in our days, when the French savant, Munk, proved to the satisfaction of all who knew most about the facts that the unknown and celebrated "Avicebron" of general fame, and the known and beloved Gabirol of Jewish fame, were identical.³

¹ Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1550.

² He said, "I need not mention names, for they are sufficiently well known." He describes the haughty men, who carry themselves above their fellow-citizens, and who always hold their own counsel for the best, and those who, actually, filled with hate, yet bear words of love on their lips.

³ The fragments of a Hebrew translation, of Ibn-Falaquera, have been published by S. Munk in his *Mélanges de Philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris, 1857—1859. The philosopher, Ali ben Joseph Habilto, in the fifteenth century, declared explicitly the name of Avicebron to be Ibn Gabirol; see Dr. Bloch, *Die Juden in Spanien*, p. 34 note 1, Leipzig, 1875.

The poetical talents of Gabirol were exercised on many different subjects: hymns, elegies, confessions of sin, and descriptions of the future. In all these we find a noble and affecting echo of the poetry of his ancestors. The *Keter Malkut*, or *Kingly Crown*, is looked upon as his masterpiece, a poem which the Israelites recite during the night before the Great Day of Atonement. This poem, in honour of the goodness and power of God, after a brilliant introduction, contains first a description of the universe, rich in details, which give us much interesting information on the ideas held by the Talmudists concerning the laws of creation; then follow praises of the greatness and wisdom of God, as manifested in the construction of the human body, and he then dwells, with equal richness of language and poetry, on the nothingness and misery of human nature, and the necessity for humiliation before God on account of sin. The whole closes with a prayer for the temporal and eternal preservation of Israel, their restoration to their country, and the rebuilding of their sanctuary, followed by a magnificent doxology.¹

A short extract from it will enable the reader to form a fair estimate of the poetical genius of its composer—"Man, from his existence, is distressed, needy, mortified, and afflicted; from his beginning he is chaff, that the wind blows. From the time he came from his mother's womb, his night is sorrow, his day sadness. To-day he is elevated, to-morrow he breeds worms; a straw makes him draw back, a thorn wounds him. If in abundance, he becomes wicked; if hungry, a loaf of bread renders him criminal. He comes into the world, but knows not whence; he rejoices, but knows not why; he lives, but knows not how long. In his youth he walks in his depravity. When reason begins to give strength to his mind, he diligently seeks to accumulate wealth. He is constantly liable to trouble and the endless

¹ The *Keter Malkut* has been translated into almost every European language, into Latin by Fr. Donato, in *Tappuchei Zahab*, Rome, 1618; into French by M. Venture, Nizza, 1773; into Italian by M. Bollofi, Leghorn, 1809; into Dutch by G. Polak, Amsterdam, 1839; into English by A. de Sola, London, 1840; and into German by L. Dukes in his *Ehrensäulen und Denksteine*, p. 58—70, Vienna, 1837.

changes of events, subject to evil occurrences that happen every moment, until his life becomes a burden to him; in his honey he finds the venom of vipers. As the infirmities of age increase, his intellectual powers diminish; youths mock him; they rule him; he becomes a burden to those who sprang from his loins, and all his acquaintance are estranged from him."

Ibn Gabirol also composed a small collection of wise and witty saws and sayings, under the name of *Mibchar ha-Peninim*, or a Choice of Pearls.¹

Gabirol died at Valencia before he was quite fifty years old (1070). His death is said to have been caused by the sanguinary envy of an Arabian rival in song, and the legend tells that the poet was buried by his murderer under a fig-tree, which produced in consequence so great an abundance of fruit of such exquisite flavour as to attract the attention of the caliph, and lead to the discovery of the body, and a detection of the crime which had been committed.²

Another Jewish philosopher of this time, which was so rich in great men, pursued a different course from Ibn Gabirol, and whilst introducing new elements, took his stand by the fundamental principles of Judaism. Rabbi Bechaya ben Joseph Ibn Pakuda revealed in his personality a pattern of deeply earnest religiousness and cheerful, resigned morality, and established an entirely original moral theology of Judaism.³

¹ This little book has been translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Judah Ibn-Tibbon, editio princeps, Soncino, 1484; an English translation is given by B. H. Asher, London, 1859.

² For references to the life and works of Ibn-Gabirol, see Raymund Lullund, *Die Anfänge der Catalonischen Poesie*. Berlin, 1858; L. Dukes, *Salomo ben Gebirol*, Hanover, 1860; Dr. H. Adler, *Chief Rabbi*, London, 1865; Hanberg, *Ueber das Verhältniss Ibn Gebirols zur Encyklopædia der lautern Brüder*, 1866; Graetz, *Geschichte*, vi., p. 21 and 29; Stössel, *Salomo ben Gebirol*, Leipzig, 1881; Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 158—164; Ginzei Oxford, p. 5—8; I. Myer, *The Philosophical Writings of Ibn Gabirol*, Philadelphia, 1888; and Dr. Steinschneider in *Berliners Pletat Soferim*, p. 45—50.

Concerning the poetry of Ibn Gabirol, see M. Sachs, *Die Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, p. 3—29, 213, Berlin, 1845; S. Sachs, *Shir-ha-Shirim*, with elaborate notes, Paris, 1868; *Shirim-u-Zemiroth*, Constantinople, 1545; and Edelmann's *Chemda Genuza*, p. 14, Königsberg, 1856.

Ibn Gabirol's Hymns on the 613 precepts, surnamed *Azharoth*, editio princeps, Venice, 1525.

³ Graetz, *History*, iii., p. 277.

He is only known to us through his work, "Instruction in the Duties of the Heart," which he wrote in Arabic, and which still enjoys the highest reputation among the Jews, both on account of its pure diction and sublime morality. It treats on spiritual life and the duty of man towards God, himself, and his fellow creatures.¹

Concerning prayer, Ibn Pakuda expressed himself as follows:—"All the thoughts that our sacred prayers awaken in thee will lead thee to chain thy tongue, to subdue thy mind, to restrain thy desires, to direct thy sentiments, and to weigh thy actions; and it is then that God, in His mercy and His greatness, will shield thee with the wing of His love."²

At this period, Cordova boasted of five sages, all having the name of Isaac.

Rabbi Isaac ben Baruch Albalia (1035—1094), having happily escaped the massacre at Granada, settled first at Cordova under the protection of Ibn Nagrela and Rabbi Joseph ha-Nagid, but afterwards removed to Seville. His great talents as an astronomer gained him the friendship of Abulkassim Mahomet, called Almutamed "The Mathematician," King of Seville, who appointed him to the high and confidential office of steward to the royal household. He was at the same time rabbi over the communities of the realm of Seville, and was moreover acknowledged abroad as such. Beautiful Seville became through him the centre of Jewish Spain, as Cordova and Granada had been in the past. Ibn Albalia had scarcely attained his thirtieth year, when he produced a commentary to elucidate the most difficult

¹ Rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Judah Ibn Tibbon, editio princeps, Naples, 1490. Fragments of Rabbi Joseph Kimchi's translation, edited by Dr. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1846. A German translation has been made by Fürstenthal, Breslau, 1836; Spanish by Pardo, 1610; Portuguese by Sam. Abbas, Amsterdam, 1670. Ibn Pakuda wrote also, a "Tokacha," or an Exhortation, printed in the editions of the Chobat ha-Lebaboth, which has been translated into Italian by Debora Ascarelli, Venice, 1610; into German by M. Sachs, in his *Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, p. 273, and by M. Stern, at the end of his translation of the Chobat ha-Lebaboth, Vienna, 1853; see Munk, *Guide des Egarés*, i. 339; Steinschneider, *Catal. Bodl.*, 780; D. Kaufmann, *Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn Pakuda*, Vienna, 1874.

² At the end of the Chobat ha-Lebaboth, translated by A. Abraham, *Tales for the Young*, London, 1846, p. 74.

portions of the Talmud.¹ He worked at the same time at an astronomical treatise on the principles of the Jewish Calendar, under the title "Ibbur," which he dedicated to his patron, Rabbi Joseph Ibn Nagrela, in 1065.²

Almutamed, the last noble ruler of the Arab race in Spain, had also another Jewish functionary at his court, Ibn-Mishal, whom he employed on diplomatic missions, and who was known to his contemporaries as Rabbi Isaac ben Judah Ibn-Giat (1030—1089). He belonged to a rich and illustrious family, whose residence was Lucena, not far from Cordova. Both the Ibn-Nagrelas gave him in his youth many proofs of their respect, and he was devoted to them heart and soul. After the tragic end of Rabbi Joseph ha-Nagid, Ibn-Giat gave himself much trouble to raise Rabbi Joseph's son, Abunassar Azaria, to the rank of Rabbi of Lucena. But death deprived this noble house of her last scion. The community selected Rabbi Isaac Ibn-Giat to be their spiritual chief on account of his learning and virtues.³ Liturgical poetry, philosophy, and the Talmud, were the three domains that he sedulously cultivated. In the year 1089, the learned rabbi was taken ill, and removed for change of air to Cordova, where he shortly afterwards died.

The third was Rabbi Isaac ben Moses Ibn-Sakni, greatly celebrated for his Talmudical learning. In his infant years, he frequented the lectures of Rabbi Chanoch. When he came to man's estate, he was appointed chief of the congre-

¹ Under the name of Kuppas ha-Rochelim, or the "Merchant's Chest," which has not as yet come to light.

² Graetz, iii., p. 290-291.

³ He wrote a *Sepher Halachot*, a collection of decisions from the Talmud and the *Responsa* of the Gaonim down to his own time, of which a part has been published at Fürth, 1861—1862, and at Berlin, 1864. See J. Derenburg, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, t. v. 397; Dukes, *L. B. des Orients*, 1848, p. 536. Ibn-Giat composed, also, hymns which are used in the Jewish service to the present day, extant in the *Machzor*. Some of his poetry was published in *Sach's Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, pp. 46, 255; and in *Chofes Matmonim*, Berlin, 1845; see Kaempf, *Nichtandalusische Poesie*, ii. p. 191, Prague, 1858.

Ibn-Giat's Commentary on Ecclesiastes has been published by J. Lövy, Leyden, 1884. To Ibn-Giat succeeded as poets Rabbi Joseph ben Jacob Ibn-Sahl, his disciple, who died 1124, at Cordova, and his own son Rabbi Judah, and grandson Rabbi Solomon Ibn-Giat.

gation at Denia, on the coast of the Mediterranean. There he continued ministering to his people until the arrival at Denia of Rabbi Isaac ben Reuben Albergeloni, who found great favour in the eyes of the congregation, whereupon Ibn-Sakni showed his high appreciation of the abilities of Albergeloni by yielding to him his post and departing from Denia. He wended his way eastward, and in Pumbeditha became a teacher of the law under the name of gaon.

Rabbi Isaac ben Reuben Albergeloni (1043—1103) was, as his name indicates, a native of Barcelona, and one of the most distinguished pupils of the Granadine school. His knowledge was alike extensive and varied; and he is celebrated, not only for the purity and elegance of his Hebrew and Arabic poems, but likewise for his notes on the Talmud.¹

There was, however, a fifth Rabbi Isaac, whose fame not only eclipsed his four namesakes, but whose works rank high among the productions of Hebrew literature. This was Rabbi Isaac ben Jacob Alfassi or Alkalai, born at Kalab-Ibn-Hammad, in the neighbourhood of Fez (1013). He heard the last African authorities, Rabbi Nissim and Rabbi Chananel, and after their death in 1056 he became the bearer of the Talmud in West Africa. On the occasion of some disputes he had with one Barazan Alkalfa ben Al-Anab, and his son Hayim, he was induced to quit his native land about the year 1088 for Cordova. His great talents gained him the friendship of Rabbi Joseph ben Meir ben Stomikos, one of the leaders of the Jewish community at Cordova. Joining its academy, he taught and lectured on the Talmud. After being chief of the synagogue for some years, he retired to Lucena. Rabbi Isaac formed an attachment for a certain young man, Rabbi Joseph ben Rabbi Meir ben Migas, whose father determined to confide the future hopes of his son to the guardianship of the great African teacher. Alfassi received the youth, adopted him as his own child, and devoted every care and attention to perfect his education. He was so satisfied with the progress of his pupil that after the expiration of

¹ He translated the work of Rab Hai Gaon from Arabic into Hebrew under the name of Mekach u-Mimkar on "Buying and Selling," published at Venice, 1602; his Azharot hymns on the 613 precepts, editio princeps, Venice, 1593.

fourteen years, he gave the young Rabbi Joseph a certificate of his merits, in which he praises him as gifted with the highest mental endowments.¹ The same noble devotion and solicitude which Alfassi displayed towards his adopted son, he likewise exercised towards the son of his adversary.² Shortly before the death of Rabbi Isaac ben Baruch Albalia, this great opponent of Alfassi caused his only son Rabbi Baruch, then seventeen years of age, to be called to his couch, and said to him in a feeble voice, "Go and tell Rabbi Isaac Alfassi that I quit this world for another and a better state. At this important moment, when I am about to appear before my Maker and my Judge, I forgive him all the harsh and offensive expressions which, either in writing or verbally, he has made use of against me. Request of him, in my name, that he will likewise forgive me and pardon every injurious expression to which in the frenzy of excitement, I have given utterance against him. When thou hast acquitted thyself of thy errand, stay with him, and profit by his instructions. I know that he will not withhold his protection from thee." After his decease, the youth, in obedience to the paternal commands, departed for Lucena, in order to execute the commission his father had entrusted to him. Alfassi was deeply affected when he received the last message from his dying antagonist. He burst into tears, and, having attempted to console the youth under the great loss he had sustained, he exclaimed, "Thou art bereaved of thy father! but I will supply his place to thee. Henceforth I am thy father."

Rabbi Isaac is the author of a great work known and celebrated under the name of Alfassi, which contains a compendium and illustration of the Talmud.³ His object was to

¹ Rabbi Bezalel Ashkenasi in his Responsa, ch. 28, mentioned Ibn Migas' Commentary on the Talmud. A collection of Ibn Migas' Responsa has been published at Salonicha, 1791, again at Warsaw, 1870; and in *Teshubot ha-Rambam*, edit. Lichtenberg, p. 46—48.

² *Hebrew Review*, ii., p. 255, 256; cf. *Sepher ha-Kabala*, edit. Neubauer, p. 77.

³ *Editio princeps*, Constantinople, 1509. His three *Helachot* in the Arabic language have been translated and published in the *Sepher Tumat Yesharim*, ch. 218—220, Venice, 1622. The Responsa of Alfassi was published at Leghorn, 1781. His grandson, Rabbi Isaac ben Rabbi Reuben, wrote a treatise on the "Oath," under the title of "Shaare Shebuot," published at Cracow, 1597; see Rapaport's *Rav Hai*, 92, note 23.

place in the hands of the rabbis an abridgment of the Talmud, omitting those laws that were only obligatory in the Holy Land. Accordingly his work became a standard guide. It is much esteemed by the great Maimonides, and still regarded as one of the most useful productions of rabbinical learning.¹

Rabbi Isaac Alfassi survived all his namesakes, surpassed them and all contemporary rabbis in fame as well as in influence, and died universally respected and lamented, at the advanced age of ninety years, at Lucena, where he was buried.²

His disciple Rabbi Joseph ben Meir Ibn Migas succeeded him in the presidency of the college of Lucena, which post he held for thirty-eight years, and was the instructor of Rabbi Maimun, the father of Rabbi Moses Maimonides.

Meanwhile Christianity was becoming more and more paramount in Spain. Alfonso VI., king of Castile, who employed several Jewish diplomatists, and continued to do so in spite of the remonstrances of Pope Gregory VII., had taken possession of Toledo in 1085. Almutamed applied for help to the Almoravian prince Jussuf,³ from the north of Africa, but though the latter defeated Alfonso, he at the same time put an end to the power of the native Moslem rulers, and Almutamed himself lost both his crown and his life. The Jewish inhabitants of the south of Spain suffered considerably during these wars, but their social freedom was not diminished, and Jewish doctors and ministers of State

¹ See Maimonides' letter to his disciple Rabbi Joseph ben Judah, *Journal Asiatique*, 1842, juillet, p. 28.

² The inscription on his monument shows the high estimation in which he was held: "Write with a pen of steel on a tablet of diamond to perpetuate the memory of our loss that the remotest generations may mourn, and all our descendants weep for him. Tell them the fountain of wisdom lieth here, buried and hidden. Mankind gropes about in darkness. Come, ye daughters of Zion, weep and mourn; mourn for him with bitter lamentations: for this tomb is the cause of your grief; here lieth the ark of the covenant broken, and the tables of testimony shattered to fragments! Here lieth enshrined the chief of chiefs, the prince of saints, the teacher of the wise, the divine philosopher and sage, Rabbi Isaac ben Jacob Alfassi," etc. *Hebrew Review*, ii., p. 256.

³ Jussuf was very much attached to his physician Abu Mervan Ibn-Zohar, the preceptor of Ibn-Roshed; see Steinschneider in Virchow's *Archive*, xxxvi—xxxvii.

were employed at the court of the Almoravian rulers. A Jewish doctor and poet, Abu Ayub (Solomon Ibn Almuallem), of Seville, was physician to the Caliph Ali, the second ruler of the Almoravide dynasty (1106—1143), and bore the title of prince and vizier.¹ A doctor named Abulhassan Abraham ben Meir Ibn Kamnial, of Saragossa, likewise occupied a high place at Ali's court, and also bore the title of vizier.² The prince Solomon Ibn Farusal was likewise praised by his contemporaries. Abu Ishak Ibn-Mohagir also bore the title of vizier, and was immortalized by the poets.

An astronomical writer, Rabbi Abraham ben Chija Albargeloni (1065—1136), also occupied a high position under another Mohammedan prince. He was a kind of minister of police (*Zachib-al-Shorta*), and bore the title of prince. He was held in high consideration by the ruler on account of his astronomical knowledge, and had disputes with learned priests, to whom he demonstrated the accuracy of the Jewish Calendar. He wrote a description of the form of the earth, of the arrangement of the firmament, and of the revolutions of the planets. His moral work, entitled "Higayon Hanefesh" (or Meditations of a Penitent Soul on reaching the Gates of Repentance), is held in high estimation. He composed also a work on geometry, with an explanation of spherical triangles, and the conversion of angles and circles.³

¹ Rabbi Jehuda Charizi in *Tachkemoni*, ch. iii.; see Rosin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra*, 119.

² Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra, in the beginning of his *Tarshish*, eulogised Ibn-Kamnial in verse on account of his noble sentiments, his generosity, and commiseration for the future of his co-religionists.

³ The works of Rabbi Abraham ben Chija are:—(1) *Sepher Zurat ha-Aretz*, an astronomical treatise, editio princeps with a Latin version, Basle, 1546. (2) *Sepher ha-Ibbur* on the Jewish Calendar, published by H. Philipowski, London, 1851. (3) *Sepher Mishnat Hamidot*, a treatise on geometry, published by Steinschneider, Berlin, 1864. (4) *Sepher Megillat ha-Megalle*, a treatise on the redemption, preserved in MSS. in the Bodleian Library; see Steinschneider, *Abraham Judæus Savasorda*, etc., p. 5; Goldenthal, *Journal Zion*, 1845, N^o. 1. (5) *Sepher Higayon Hanefesh*, *Meditations of a Penitent Soul*, published by E. Freimann, with an introduction by S. L. Rapaport, Leipzig, 1860. (6) *Cheshbon ha-Mahalachot*, on the planets and the two spheres, MS. preserved in Turin, cod. 66; see *Jewish Literature*, p. 351; and W. Wardheim's *Kebutsat Chachamim*, Vienna, 1861, p. 8. Concerning the work entitled *Yesodei ha-Tebuna Umigdol Haemuna* or *Cyclopædia of Knowledge*, attributed to Rabbi Abraham ben Chija, see *Hamazkir*, vii., p. 84—95.

Rabbi Abraham ben Chija and his contemporary Rabbi Jehuda ben Barzillai Albergeloni,¹ author of the celebrated Talmudic work, "Sepher ha-Ittim,"² afterwards lived in Mar-seilles.

Amongst poets worthy of record, and who also occupied themselves with other matters, were Rabbi Judah Ibn Giat,³ Rabbi Judah Ibn Abbas,⁴ Rabbi Solomon Ibn Jektiel, Rabbi Joseph Ibn Sahl, liturgical poet, and Rabbi Solomon ben Zikbel, a relative of Rabbi Joseph Ibn Sahl.⁵

About the same time the Jews in the north of Africa suffered terrible persecutions at the hands of the Almohades, followers of the fanatical Abdallah Ibn Tumart. Under the leadership of Abdulmumen, the Almohades crossed over to Spain, took Cordova (where the successor of Joseph Ibn Sahl in the rabbinate, was Rabbi Joseph Ibn Zadik) in 1148, and spent their proselytising fury on Jews and Christians alike. Rabbi Judah Ibn Ezra, governor of Calatrava, sheltered and protected many fugitives. Although Rabbi Joseph Ibn Zadik was celebrated as being deeply read in the Talmud, his works consist of philosophical treatises in the Arabic language. His treatise on religious philosophy and ethics, under the name of "Sepher ha-Olam-ha-Katon," or Microcosmos,⁶ is greatly esteemed by Maimonides and Bedersi.

The four brothers Ibn Ezra of Granada were richly endowed; they were noble, learned, and wealthy. Their names were Abu Ibrahim Isaac, Abu Harun Moses, Abul-

¹ Disciple of Rabbi Isaac ben Reuben Albergeloni, cf. Tashbats, i., ch. 15.

² A collection of Talmudical prescriptions, see Sepher Tmim Deim, ch. 104; Orchot Chaim, Hilchot Shabbath, ch. 22, and Gross, Monats-schrift, 1868, p. 524. Rabbi Jehuda's other works as the Sepher Yichus Sheer Basar on the Talmud Seder Nashim, and his Sepher Shetarot on Seder Nezikin have not as yet come to light. His Commentary on the Sepher Jecira has been published by S. Z. Halberstam, Berlin, 1885, with his introduction.

³ See D. Halub in his Pardes David, ii., p. 14.

⁴ Pardes David, ii., p. 15, 81.

⁵ See Kaempf, Nichtandalusische Poesie, 195. Zikbel's Poetry has been published in He-Chalutz, iii., p. 154.

⁶ It was translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses Ibn Tibbon and edited with an introduction by Dr. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1854; see Zunz, in Sach's Religiöse Poesie, p. 289, and D. Kaufmann, Geschichte der Atributenlehre, p. 255.

hassan Jehuda, and Abu Haja Joseph, the youngest. Their father, Rabbi Jacob, occupied a post under King Habus, or, rather, under his vizier Ibn Nagrela. One might know, said a contemporary historian, that these four princely sons of Ibn Ezra were of David's blood, and of noble lineage, from their nobility of character. The chief amongst them was Abu Harun Moses (1070—1140), who was the pupil of Rabbi Isaac Ibn Giat. He was the most prolific poet of his time.¹ Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra closely resembled Rabbi Solomon Ibn Gabirol. He also complained of deception and jealousy, and the hardships and faithlessness of the time. His works are remarkable not only for the intrinsic excellence of the matter, but for the purity, sweetness, and aesthetic grace of their style. He wrote verses which he called a Row of Pearls,² composed of 1,210 verses in ten divisions; they were dedicated to his patron Ibn Kamnial. Ibn Ezra composed three hundred poems for special occasions, comprising more than ten thousand verses,³ and also two hundred prayers for New Year and the Day of Atonement.⁴ He also wrote a work on the philosophy of religion, in seven parts.⁵

The following extract may serve as a specimen of his penitential hymns: "O seek not after grandeur, for thou art ensnared in a net. Hast thou words to reply, or darest thou lift up thy face? Lo! thou mayest raise thine eyes to heaven, yet thine heart clings to earthly pursuits, and thy

¹ Although, like his contemporary poets, he excelled in sacred song, he also tuned his lyre and sang in praise of the beauties of nature. Alexander von Humboldt in his *Kosmos*, ii., 119, has praised his sublime description of natural scenery.

² *Sepher Anak*, or *Tarshish*, from the number of its stanzas, 1210, expressed by the numerical value of the letters *Tarshish*, has been published—a part of it in *Kerem Chemed*, iv., p. 65—74, by Luzzato, another part in Dukes' "*Moses ben Ezra*," Altona, 1839, p. 17—29; and the whole recently by Dr. D. Günzburg.

³ A part of his *Diwan* has been published by Luzzato in *Kerem Chemed*, iv., p. 82—96; and in *Ginzei Oxford*, London, 1850.

⁴ In the Sephardim Ritual the *Selichot* or Penitential Hymns are greatly esteemed, which give to Ibn Ezra the epithet of "*Hasaloch*," or the *Selichot* poet, *par excellence*.

⁵ Under the title of *Arugot Habosem*, a part of which has been published in *Journal Zion*, by L. Dukes, p. 117, Frankfort, 1842; extensive specimens are given in Dukes' *Moses ben Ezra* and in Sachs' *Religiöse Poesie der Juden*.

prayers are empty sounds; thy tongue is soft, but thy heart is obdurate and impure. Thy lips utter praise, and evil dwelleth within thee. Thy tongue prayeth, whilst thy heart deviseth blasphemy. Such is thy practice of the divine precepts. O spare Him the noise of thy songs! Shall theft and murder be expiated by bowing low in feigned prayer? Put away profligacy from thy mind, and lustful wickedness from thy sight. O plead not, 'I am yet young,' but give glory unto the Eternal thy God, ere He causeth thy light to be darkened and thy lamp to be put out; ere thy feet stumble, and thy natural force abate; ere thy gums grow dry and thy breath short; ere thy brow wrinkleth and thy vigour declineth; ere care weighs heavily on thee, and life becomes a trouble to thee, like a burdensome stone."¹

The great star and most important writer of this period was Abulhassan Jehuda ben Samuel Halevi. His name deserves to be inscribed in a book with a border of gold. He was a perfect poet, a perfect thinker, and a worthy son of Judaism, which he ennobled and idealised by his poetry and ideas.²

Rabbi Jehuda Halevi was born in Toledo about the year 1085. He attended the college of Alfassi at Lucena. When but a youth, as in the case of Ibn Gabirol, the muse aroused him, not, however, like the latter, with mournful tones, but with pure joyful strains. Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra expresses his wonder at Halevi's early proficiency, in the following words:—

"How can a boy so young in years
Bear such a weight of wisdom sage,
Nor 'mongst the greybeards find his peers,
While still in the very bloom of age?"³

Rabbi Jehuda seems to have possessed an almost magnetic attraction, due to his bright affectionate nature, that shines forth in all the poems of his early period, and is echoed in the poems addressed to him.⁴

¹ Tochacha, or Penitential Poem of Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra, published in Asher's *Book of Life*, p. 95, London, 1847; see I. Abrahams' *Jewish Life*, 163.

² Graetz, *History*, iii., p. 328.

³ Dr. Harkavy's edition of Rabbi Jehudah Halevi's *Anthems and Miscellaneous Poems*, i., p. 17., Warsaw, 1893; translated by J. Jacobs in his *Jewish Ideals*, p. 107.

⁴ *Jewish Ideals*, p. 107.

Halevi appears to have been still in Lucena when Alfassi died, and Rabbi Joseph Ibn Migash succeeded him in the office of Rabbi (1103). On the occasion of his death, Halevi composed a beautiful elegy,¹ and at the same time celebrated the accession of his successor in a poem, expressing his homage and deep respect.² Halevi obtained a thorough knowledge of the Talmud, occupied himself in natural science, penetrated even the depths of metaphysics, and was skilled in all branches of learning. He obtained a livelihood as a physician,³ and he practised on returning to his native place. He spent his manhood at Toledo, where he founded a college and had many disciples.

Rabbi Jehudah Halevi is the author of the much read and highly valued book called "Kusari," which treats of the most important parts of Judaism. It is grounded on the already mentioned circumstance of a king of the Chozars, together with his people, having embraced the Jewish religion.⁴ The whole book goes to prove that all the doctrines of the Jews, their customs and ceremonies, are perfectly reconcilable to human reason, and that all their peculiar and exclusive observances, serve but to maintain and confirm them in those religious principles which, being alone worthy of the Deity, should be universally embraced by all mankind.

The condition of slavery into which Israel had fallen whilst scattered among the nations of the earth is, according to the view of the poetical philosopher, no evidence of its decay or a reason for abandoning hope. The greatest sufferer however, is Israel, since he is among men what the heart is in

¹ See Dr. Harkavy's edition, i., p. 143.

² Ibid, p. 77.

³ J. Jacobs in *Jewish Ideals*, p. 120, reproduced in translation a letter of Rabbi Jehudah Halevi, written about 1130, to one David ben Joseph of Narbonne, concerning his daily occupation as a physician.

⁴ The work was at first composed in Arabic, in the form of a dialogue, with the title: "The Book of Evidences and of Arguments for a help to the true Religion." It was rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Jehuda Ibn Tibbon, who gave it the name of *Sepher Hacusari*, and it was first published in Fano, 1506; with a Latin translation and dissertations by J. Buxtorf, fil., Basle, 1660; a Spanish translation, by Abendana, Amsterdam, 1663; with a commentary, various readings, index, &c., by G. Brecher, Prague, 1838—1840; and lastly with a German translation and explanatory notes, by D. Cassel, Leipzig, 1853.

the human organism. Just as the heart sustains the most acute share of bodily pain, the Jewish nation was most unmercifully treated in every calamity that was inflicted, whether owing to its own fault or not. The Jewish people, in spite of the unspeakable agonies it has gone through, has not perished; it may be likened to a person who is dangerously ill, whom the physician has entirely given up, but who expects to be saved by some miracle. The picture of the scattered lifeless bones, which at the word of the prophet unite together and are clothed with flesh and skin, have a new breath breathed into them, and again stand erect, applies to Israel; it is a complete description of Israel in its despoiled and low condition. The dispersion of Israel is a miraculous and divine plan devised to impart to the nations of the earth the spirit with which Israel is endowed. The race of Israel resembles a grain of seed, which, placed in the ground, apparently rots away for some time; it then appears to have become changed and absorbed into the elements of its surroundings, leaving no traces of its former existence. It next buds and blossoms forth, again assumes its original nature, and bursts asunder the disfiguring husk which envelops it. It finally displays its own vital force, which flourishes according to the wonted manner of the seed, till it arrives step by step at its highest development.¹

When Rabbi Jehuda Halevi had concluded his immortal work, the dialogue of the Cusari, about 1140, he entertained serious thoughts of his holy journey. He exchanged a peaceful, comfortable life, for one of disquietude and uncertainty, and left behind his only daughter and his grandson, whom he loved most dearly. He gave up his college, which he had established in Toledo, and parted from a circle of pupils whom he loved as his own sons, and who in turn revered him as a father. There were not wanting some friends who urged the dangers he was about to brave, and these he answered in tones of earnest conviction, "Shall a

¹ See the Second Dialogue of the Cusari. In the course of the discussions of the book "Cusari," all subjects bearing upon the exposition of the Scriptures, Jewish literature, history, philosophy, &c., are in turn reviewed and discussed in this work, which De Sacy has pronounced to be one of the most valuable and beautiful productions of the Jewish pen.

body of clay stop a soul urged by eagle's wings?"¹ He passed through Cordova, exchanging civilities with Rabbi Joseph Ibn Zaddik, travelled on to Granada, and then took ship for Alexandria. Of the sea, he sang songs which for faithfulness of description and depth of feeling have few equals.

One of his best known songs on the sea is the following :—

THE STORM.²

The waters roar
As their wheels roll o'er,
Becoming less and more
On the face of the sea.

The waters grow black,
Grim lowers the rack,
The breakers rear back
Till the depths you can see.

The cauldron boils o'er
With a hiss and a roar,
And none can restore
Its tranquility.

And brave men must fear
As the waves disappear,
And a mountain is here,
And there a valley.

The ship turns like a vane,
Bows and rises again ;
And the eye asks in vain,
Where, pilots, are ye ?

And my heart then stands still,
But bows down to His will
Who to Moses gave skill
To divide the Red Sea.

To the Lord I would call,
But to sin I've been thrall,
And I fear to recall
The punishment due.

Delayed by adverse winds, the ship arrived at Alexandria at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles (September), and Rabbi Jehuda betook himself to his co-religionists with the

¹ *Jewish Ideals*, p. 129.

² Dr. Harkavy's edition, i., p. 35 ; translated by J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 129, 130.

firm determination to spend but a short time with them, and never to forget the aim of his journey. But as soon as his name became known, all hearts were drawn towards him. The most distinguished man of the Alexandrian congregation, the physician and rabbi, Aaron Ben-Zion Ibn Almani, who was blessed with prosperity and children, and was himself a liturgical poet, hastened to receive him in his house, as a noble guest, showed him the highest honour, and placed his hospitable mansion at the disposal of Halevi and his comrades.¹

The family of Ibn Almani were so urgent in their desire to keep him with them, that, in spite of his great longing for Jerusalem, he remained for nearly three months at Alexandria till the Feast of Dedication. He tore himself away by force from such dear friends, and travelled towards the port of Damietta, where dwelt one of his best friends, Abu Said ben Chalfon Halevi, whose acquaintance he had already made in Spain.² He was, however, compelled to alter the course of his journey, for the Jewish prince Abu Mansur Samuel ben Chananya, who held a high post at the court of the Egyptian caliph,³ sent him a pressing letter of invitation. Abu Mansur, who dwelt in the palace of the caliph, appears to have been head of the Jewish congregations in Egypt, bearing the title of Prince (Nagid). Rabbi Jehuda Halevi was the less able to decline this flattering invitation, as it was necessary for him to obtain from the Jewish prince, whose fame was wide spread, letters of recommendation for the continuance of his pilgrimage towards Palestine. The intimation of Abu Mansur that he was willing to aid him with large supplies of money, he delicately put aside in a letter saying "that God had blessed him so munificently with benefits, that he had brought much with him from home, and had still left plenty behind." He followed his letter in a Nile boat. The wonderful river awoke in him memories of the Jewish past, and reminded him of his vow. He immortalised this remembrance in two beautiful poems.⁴

¹ See Dr. Harkavy's edition, i., p. 37, 38.

² Ibid, p. 39-40, 44-45, 115-116.

³ Ibid, p. 117-123, 123-125, 45-46.

⁴ Ibid, p. 45, 46.

He was warmly received by the prince, Rabbi Samuel, in Cairo, basked in the sunshine of his splendour, and sang of his liberality and renown and of his three noble sons.¹ He made but a brief stay in Cairo, and hastened to the port of Damietta, which he reached on the Fast of Tebet (December, about 1142). There he was well received by many friends, and especially by his old friend Abu Said Chalfon Halevi, a man of great distinction. At length he parted from his friends and admirers, determined to carry his project into effect. It is not known at what place he next stopped. Halevi appears to have reached the goal of his desire and to have visited Jerusalem, but only for a short time. The closing adventures of his life remain unknown, beyond the fact that he was at Tyre and Damascus. The Jewish community at Tyre rendered great honour to him, and the memory of this treatment was impressed on his grateful heart. In a poem to his Tyrian friend he grieves over his faded hopes, his misspent youth, and his present wretchedness, in verses which cannot be read without stirring up emotions at the despondency of this valorous warrior.²

The year of his death and the site of his grave are both unknown. A legend says that a Mohammedan horseman rode over him as he was chanting his mournful songs of Zion.

His writings, besides his hymns, many of which are incorporated in the Liturgy of the Synagogues, consist of elegies and epithalamiums.³

¹ Dr. Harkavy's edition, i., p. 123—125.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126—128.

³ On the life and poetry of Rabbi Jehuda Halevi, see S. D. Luzzato's selection under the title of *Betulat bat Jehuda*, Prague, 1846; L. Dukes, *Zur Kenntniss der Neuhebräischen Religiösen Poesie*, Frankfort, 1842; M. Sachs, *Die Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, 1845; *Divan of Rabbi Jehuda Halevi*, Breslau, 1851; Dr. Harkavy's edition of the *Poems of Rabbi Jehuda Halevi*, t. i., Warsaw, 1893; t. ii., 1896. Benedetti, *Canzonero sacro di Guido Levita*, Pisa, 1871; Kaempf, *Nichtandalusische Poesie andalusischer Dichter*, 1858; D. Kaufmann, *Jehuda Halevi*, Breslau, 1877, and in Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, xx., p. 89—94; Joseph Jacob's *Jewish Ideals*, p. 103—134, London, 1896; I. Abraham's *Jewish Life*, p. 125, 164, 188, 352, 386, 390, 414; *Good Words*, December, 1885, p. 777—783.

Halevi's far-famed *Zionide*, in which great beauty and elegance of diction is expressed, induces me to transcribe a few stanzas of it:—

O Zion, perfect of beauty, thou combinest love and grace
 From of old, and in thee unite the souls of thy companions :
 They rejoice in thy prosperity, they are pained
 At thy desertion, and they are weeping for thy ruin.
 From the depths of the captivity they are longing for thy presence :
 Each from his place is bowing towards thy gates.

The flocks of thy own host, that are exiled and are spread
 Over mountain and o'er plain, yet do not forget thy folds :
 They are clinging to the fringes of thy garments, and they hasten
 To rise up and to seize the branches of thy palms.

Shinar and Patmos, can they near thee with all their greatness?
 Nay, vanities are they, compared with thy light and thy right :
 To what compare thy anointed, and to what thy seers,
 And to what compare thy Levites and thy singers?
 Mutable and transient is the sov'ranty of idols,
 Thy power eternal, from age to age thy crown.
 Thy God desires thee for His dwelling, and blessed the man
 He has chosen to be brought near to dwell in thy court.
 Blessed is he that awaits and draws near and sees the rising
 Of thy lights, and upon him breaks forth thy dawn,
 And that sees the welfare of thy saints, and exults in
 Thy joy and thy return to the old ways of thy youth.¹

To the same period of Rabbi Jehuda Halevi also belongs Rabbi Abraham ben Meir Ibn Ezra, to whom he is said to have been closely related. Ibn Ezra was born in Toledo, in 1093, and very soon distinguished himself as a mathematician, astronomer, philosopher, poet, physician, traveller, theologian, grammarian, and commentator. His commentary on Scripture has rendered his name famous, and handed it down to the admiration of all subsequent generations. He made good use of his great talents as a linguist, and

¹ Dr. Harkavy's edition, i., p. 10—14; translated by J. Jacobs. *Jewish Ideals*, p. 131—133. It has been translated into German by M. Mendelsohn, into French by S. Munk, and into English by Theodoros, *Hebrew Review*, ii., p. 295, 296. Some of the poems of Rabbi Jehuda Halevi have been introduced to the literary world by H. Heine, who speaks of their author as follows:—"When his soul was on the point of leaving heaven for her earthly career, she was kissed by the Creator. This kiss re-echoed later on in the poet's soul, and vibrated in all the outpourings of his genius." H. Heine's *Sämmtliche Werke*, 11^{ter} Band, p. 116, and Dr. Chotzner, *Zichronoth*, p. xii.

was skilful in detecting the meaning of the text; while his expressions were elegant, and sometimes lively and full of wit. He also highly distinguished himself as a poet.¹

As long as he remained in Spain, he was only known as a clever mathematician and astronomer, not as an exegetist. He produced little evidence of his literary powers in his native land, at the most only some Hebrew poems of a religious or satirical character. Whilst living in Toledo, which town had become impoverished owing to the continual wars, his means of existence grew very straitened, and Ibn Ezra was obliged to look elsewhere for support and to leave his native town. He was never possessed of much wealth. In his epigrammatic way, he made merry over the misfortunes which condemned him to poverty: "I strive to become wealthy, but the stars are opposed to me. If I were to engage in shroud-making, I verily believe that men would cease dying; or if I adopted candle-making as a trade, the sun would never again sink to its rest even unto the hour of my death."²

As he was unable to earn his livelihood at home, he started on his travels. His son Isaac, who was already grown up, accompanied him. He visited Africa, Egypt and Palestine, and communed with the learned men of Tiberias, who prided themselves on the possession of carefully-written copies of the Torah. As he could find no rest in any place, he journeyed further, towards Babylonia; paid a visit to the city of Bagdad, where a Prince of the Captivity, with the consent of the caliph, once again exerted complete sway over certain Eastern congregations; and is said to have been carried as a captive to India.³ He afterwards returned to Europe, and in 1140 we find him at Rome, where he spent several years, and where he published commentaries on the Five Megilloth,⁴ and on Job.

¹ See Rabbi J. Alcharizi, *Tachkemoni*, ed. Vienna, p. 76.

² *Dibrei Chakamim*, Metz, 1849, p. 85.

³ Rabbi David Abudraham, ed. Warsaw, 1877, p. 118; cf. Steinschneider, *Zeitschrift der deutsch—morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xx., p. 427—432.

⁴ The Commentary is given in the Rabbinic Bibles. Zedner has published the Commentary on Esther, after another recension, London, 1850. There are Latin versions of the Song of Songs, by G. Gereboard,

Ibn Ezra was the first to convey to the Roman Jews a conception of the importance of Hebrew grammar, of which they were completely ignorant. He translated the grammatical works of Chayyug from the Arabic into Hebrew, and wrote an independent work under the title of "The Balance" (*Moznaim*),¹ in which the beautifully composed historical introduction concerning the performances of his predecessors in the sphere of Hebrew philology is even now of interest. In the summer of 1145 he was at Mantua, and here he composed a new grammatical work upon the purity of Hebrew style, entitled "Zachot."² In this book he directed a charge of heresy against those who deviated from the Massoretic authorities. From Mantua, Ibn Ezra emigrated to Lucca, where he dwelt for several years, and gathered a circle of pupils about him. Here he occupied himself very much with the study of astronomy, drew up astronomical tables, and paid great attention also to the empirical science of astrology. He wrote many books under different titles on this subject in 1148.³ He was also the author of several works on mathematics.

Paris, 1585; Latin of Ruth, by J. Carpzov, 1722; and Latin of Lamentations, by F. Taylor, London, 1615. An English version of the first chapter of the Song of Songs is given by Ch. Ginsburg, London, 1857, and of the first chapter of Kohelet, by the same, London, 1861.

¹ Editio princeps, Augsburg, 1521; the best edition is that which has been published by W. Heidenheim, Offenbach, 1794.

² It has been published, Berlin, 1769; and by G. Lippmann, Fürth, 1827.

³ The following is an enumeration of his astronomical, astrological, and mathematical works:—(1) *Sepher Reshit Chachma*, divided into five parts:—(a) *Sepher Mishptei ha-Mazalot*, Rules on the Planets. (b) *Sepher ha-Taamim*, on Astrology, a Latin version is given under title of "Liber Rationum," preserved in MSS. in National Library of Paris, no. 189, 4°; see Steinschneider, *Jew. Lit.*, p. 186. (c) *Sepher Hamoldot*, the Book of Nativity; a Latin version was made by Petrus Paduanus, in 1292, and published in Venice in 1507, under the title of "Abrehae Avenaris Judaei Astrologi, Opera." (d) *Sepher Hashaalot*, the Book of Consultations, a Latin version by the same Paduanus, entitled "Interrogationes," preserved in MSS. in the same library, no. 189, 6°. And (e) *Sepher ha-Mibcharim*, the Book of Choosing; a Latin version is given in "Carivet Amicus Medicorum," published, Frankfort, 1614. (2) *Sepher Hamearot*, the Book of Lights, a Latin version by Paduanus, published, Leyden, 1496; see Steinschneider, *Catal. Leyde*, p. 366. (3) *Klei Nechoshet*, the Vessels of Copper, on Astrology, published by H. Edelmann, Königsberg, 1845. (4) *Sepher Hamachberet*, on the Planets. (5) *Sepher Haolam*, Book of the World; there is a Latin

When he had been taken dangerously ill, he made a vow that if restoration to health were vouchsafed to him, he would engage in a Commentary on the Pentateuch. It is to this vow that the world is indebted for this masterly work. He was now in the sixty-ninth year of his age, 1162. But there are no signs of approaching old age to be found in the work, which bears rather the stamp of freshness and youthful vigour. The exposition of the Pentateuch by Ibn Ezra is an artistic piece of work, both in contents and in form. The language is vigorous, flowing and witty, the interpretation profoundly penetrating and temperate, and impregnated with a spirit of devotion. His rich store of knowledge, his extensive reading and experience, enabled him to make the Book of Books more intelligible. He furnishes us with an exposition the most luminous, and a guide the most satisfactory and congenial to our reason of all and any that have attempted to comment on Holy Writ.¹

The highest and most precious testimony to his great talents and the importance of his writings is afforded to Ibn Ezra by his great contemporary Maimonides, who, in a letter to his son, Rabbi Abraham, directs the attention of the youthful student to the writings of Ibn Ezra, of which he says,² "And thou, my faithful and obedient son, I command

version under the title, "De Conjunctionibus planetarum et annorum revolutione;" see Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 485; Steinschneider *Catal. Leyde*, p. 366. (6) *Sepher Haibbur*, on the Calendar, published, Lyck, 1874. (7) *Luchot*, or Astronomical Tables, which has not as yet come to light. (8) *Sepher ha-Mispar*, the Value of Numbers; has been published in the periodical journal *Jeshurun*, by Kabak, t. i., and by M. Silberberg, Frankfurt, 1895. (9) *Jesod ha-Mispar*, published, Vienna, 1863. (10) *Sepher Haechad*, Book of the Unity, published in Kabak's *Jeshurun*, t. i., Lemberg, 1855. (11) *Sepher ha-Tishboret*, the Book of Fractions, MSS. in the Vatican.

¹ The Commentary is given in the Rabbinic Bibles, the best edition of which is the one edited by Jekuthiel Lasi ben Nachum, Amsterdam, 1721, under the title of "Margaliot Tobah," the Pearl of Great Price, with square letters, and the Super Commentaries of Rabbi Joseph ben Eleazar Sefardi, Rabbi Samuel Motot, and Rabbi Samuel Zarza. The introduction of this valuable commentary has been translated into Latin by Voisin, *Disputa Rabbi Israelis de Anima*, Paris, 1635, p. 151—167; and the Commentary on the Decalogue was translated into Latin by Seb. Munster, Fraben, 1527.

² Letters of Maimonides, edit. Lichtenberg, p. 39, Leipzig, 1859; see however, I. Kabak's *Jeshurun*, t. i., 3rd part, p. 47.

thee that thou shalt not fatigue thy understanding with the voluminous works of commentators. The only commentaries I wish thee to read and diligently to study are those of Ibn Ezra, which, like all his writings, are most valuable and useful to whosoever studies and understands them; for his works require diligent reading, profound meditation, and persevering assiduity."

In Lucca, Ibn Ezra wrote his brilliant Commentary to Isaiah (1154—1155),¹ and a grammatical work under the title "Sephat Yeter,"² on difficult words in the Old Testament, in defence of Rabbi Saadiah against Ibn Librat's attack. In this book, Ibn Ezra esteemed and admired the works of his predecessor, Ibn Chayyug. It runs as follows:—"The grammar of the Hebrew language was not known until Rabbi Jehuda ben David, the chief of grammarians, arose."

Having completed his Commentary on the Pentateuch, he quitted Italy, visiting southern France. He spent several years at Beziers, where he was treated by the Jewish community with the greatest distinction. The greatest Rabbinical authority of the time, Rabbi Jacob Tam, sent him a poem of homage, in a metrical form, at which Ibn Ezra was so surprised, that he replied to him in a half-flattering, half-violent epigram.³

In the town of Rhodes he stayed for many years, and wrote his Commentaries to the Book of Daniel, the Psalms, and the Twelve Prophets.⁴

In the year 1158 he visited England, and remained some time in London, enjoying the patronage of some of the influential members of his community. Here he composed a

¹ The Commentary on Isaiah is given in the Rabbinic Bibles; the best edition with an English translation is by Dr. M. Friedländer, with notes, London, 1873—1877.

² It has been published in Presburg, 1838, and in Frankfort, 1843, by G. Lipmann.

³ See A. Gavison, *Omer ha-Shikcha*, p. 127, Leghorn, 1748. *Kerem Chemed*, vii. 35.

⁴ The Commentaries are given entire in the Rabbinic Bibles, a Latin translation of Hosea, by Mercer, Leyden, 1621; of Joel and Obadiah, by Leusden, Utrecht, 1657; of Jonah, by Leusden, Utrecht, 1656; of Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah and Haggai, by Don. Lund, Upsala, 1705—1708; and of Malachi, by And. Borgwall, Upsala, 1707.

philosophical work, "Yesod Moreh,"¹ Foundation of Religion. Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra dedicated this work to Joseph ben Jacob, in London.

We insert the following translation of the lines of his dedication :—

God is One ; through all His Spirit flows,
 So high is He, no man His greatness knows.
 Only man's mind in the work the Worker spies ;
 E'en the sceptic's doubt proves what he denies.
 His people, when on Sinai's Mount arrayed,
 Saw in the flames His Majesty displayed ;
 No image beheld : one was chosen to receive
 What each should know and all believe.
 I long have sought for wisdom in His Law,
 Till some of its secrets I thought I saw ;
 And now will I build for it a mansion fair,
 And reverence I place for its supporters there.
 Thanks be to God that I've brought it to an end ;
 Thanks for supporting me to Joseph Jacobs, His friend.²

He wrote also in London his "Igeret ha-Shabbath," or Epistle on the Sabbath, a somewhat fantastical production, in defence of the Sabbath.³ Shortly afterwards he returned to France. In the autumn of 1160 he visited Narbonne, and later on, he was again in Rhodes, where he recast his Commentary on the Pentateuch, abridged it, and composed a grammatical work, under the title of "Safah Berurah,"⁴ on diverse points of Hebrew grammar. In the year 1167

¹ Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1530, and with a German translation by Kreuznach, Frankfort, 1840 ; extracts in English are given by J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, p. 29—35.

² J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, p. 29. This Joseph ben Jacob, of Moreil, concludes J. Jacobs, wrote a super-commentary on Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Genesis, in which he says, "I, Joseph ben Jacob of Moreil, heard *vivà voce* from this sage (Abraham Ibn Ezra), the explanation of this passage, and wrote it down in my own words ;" see Dr. Neubauer's *Catal. of Bodleian Heb. MSS.*, no. 1234, 9, 486.

³ Published at the end of the Book of Mibchar ha-Maamarim, by Rabbi Nathan Tibbon, Leghorn, 1840 ; and in Kerem Chemed, iv., p. 159. The Introduction to the Epistle has been translated into English by J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, p. 35—38.

⁴ Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1530 ; and by Dr. G. Lipmann, Fürth, 1839 ; at the end of this edition we find an enigma of Ibn Ezra on the "Letters of Mem and Nun," with a commentary of G. Lipmann. A grammatical enigma in poetry on the quiescent letters is given at the beginning of Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch, which has been translated into Latin by De Lara, London, 1658. When Ibn Ezra was staying in Beziers, he composed his *Sepher Hashem*, on the Tetra-

he set out to revisit his native country. But he was not destined to see it, for death overtook him at Calaharra, on the frontier of Navarre and Aragon.¹

In 1170—1190, lived in Toledo Rabbi Jehuda Ibn Balam, the commentator and grammarian, one of the most distinguished philologists of the Spanish school.²

grammaton, which has been published by G. Lipmann, with a commentary, Fürth, 1834. He is said to have invented the Ecliptic; see *Biblioteca Espagnola*, vol. 1, p. 21. Besides his above-mentioned valuable works he wrote also:— (1) *Sepher Shaar ha-Shamaim*, the Gate of Heaven, on Astronomy, the Introduction to which has been published in *Betulat bat Jehuda*; the first chapter of it in *Kerem Chemed*, iv., p. 6—9; and the second chapter in *Sepher ha-Techiah*, i., p. 63, by S. Sachs, Berlin, 1850. (2) *Arugat ha-Chachma u-Pardes ha-Mezima*, the Gardenbed of Wisdom and the Garden of Thought, a philosophical work, published in *Kerem Chemed*, iv., p. 1—15. (3) *Sepher ha-Atzmim*, a philosophical work on nature, composed in Arabic, translated into Hebrew by Jacob Alfandari, preserved in MSS. in Parma, no. 1355. (4) *Sepher Gerolot*, a Treatise on Geomancy, published. Amsterdam, 1781. He also highly distinguished himself as a poet; he has left sacred poetry, hymns, and prayers, some of which have been added to the Liturgy of the Sephardim, and in the *Shirim u-Zemiroth*, Constantinople, 1545. He has left also other descriptions of poetry, as *Epithalamiums*, *Satires*, and *Enigmas*; see *Halichot Kedem*, Amsterdam, 1847; M. Sachs, *Rel. Poesie*, p. 130; Egers, *Divan des Ibn Ezra*, Berlin, 1886, S. Rosin, *Reime des Abraham Ibn Ezra*, and I. Abrahams in the *Jewish Life*, p. 134, 189, 385; see also the edition of his poetry in *Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1893. The same author is said to have written an arithmetical riddle on the subject of chess, published with a Latin version by Th. Hyde, Oxford, 1694, see *Steinschneider*, *Hamazkir*, 1872, p. 60. On the mathematical works of Ibn Ezra, see Dr. M. Friedländer, *Essay on the Writings of Ibn Ezra*, London, 1877, and *Steinschneider*, Leipzig, 1880. On Grammar and Commentaries, see Bacher, *Ibn Ezra als Grammatiker*, Budapest, 1881. On Travels, see *Zunz*, *Itinerary*, p. 250; *Graetz*, *Geschichte*, vi., 440—450; *Derenbourg*, *Revue des études juives*, v. 139; and *Academy*, vol. i., Dec., 1873, p. 451. Ibn Ezra's short Commentary on Daniel, edited in the *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, second series, p. 257, 1877.

¹ Cf. J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, p. 263.

² He wrote on denominative verbs in the Hebrew language, on the Hebrew particles, and on the Hebrew homonyms. Never fully edited; portions of them may be found in *Fürst's Orient*, t. vii., p. 454—659; t. ix., p. 458; see *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, t. v., p. 408. His *Taamei ha-Mikra*, a treatise on the accents of the Bible, was published by Jo. Mercer, Paris, 1565; and twelve chapters of it at Rödelheim, by W. Heidenheim, in his *Mishptei ha-Taamim*, 1808; see *Dukes*, *Beiträge*, 186—189; *Zunz*, *Additamenta*, cod. xv. The Imperial Library of St. Petersburg has two large fragments, almost complete, of his work on the Prophets, and one leaf on the Psalms; the Bodleian, fragments on Numbers and Deuteronomy; the Vatican, a few leaves on Job and Daniel; see Neubauer in the *Oxford University Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1876; *Journal Asiatique*, December, 1861; *Steinschneider*, *Hechaluz*, II., p. 60; *Monatschrift*, 1885, p. 287; *Ein unbekanntes Werk von Jehuda Ibn Balam*.

Toledo about this time gave birth to an eminent historian among the Jews: this was Rabbi Abraham Ibn Daud Halevi. Ibn Daud Halevi (born about 1110, died a martyr 1180), who claimed descent on the maternal side from Rabbi Isaac Ibn Albalia, was not only well versed in the Talmud, but was also initiated in all the different branches of the science of the time. His work, *Sepher ha-Kabbala*,¹ the Book of Tradition, shews the uninterrupted transmission of the Oral Law. After the death of the Emperor Alfonso, and the probably subsequent downfall of his favourite, Rabbi Jehuda Ibn Ezra, the Karaites of Spain again raised their heads and recommenced issuing their polemical writings. Thereupon Ibn Daud undertook to prove historically that Rabbinical Judaism was based on an unbroken chain of traditions which began with Moses and reached to Rabbi Joseph Ibn Migash. The information which he imparts concerning the rise and formation of the Spanish congregations is of the highest importance; he draws his knowledge either from the original labours of Rabbi Samuel Ibn Nagrela, or from independent historical researches. Ibn Daud also wrote:—(1) A History of Rome, from its foundation to the King Reccardus of Spain, collected from Arabic and Spanish sources.² (2) The History of the Jews during the Second Temple.³ (3) A philosophical work under the title of “*Emuna Rama*,”⁴ the High Belief, on the elements of nature and how faith is attainable through them, and on medicine for the soul. (4) An astronomical work.⁵

¹ The first edition is that of Mantua, 1514, but the best edition is that which has been published by A. Neubauer, supplemented down to the year 1525 by a certain Rabbi Abraham ben Solomon of Tortutiel in Spain, an eye witness of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492; and with an addition from a MSS. concerning the formation of the congregation at Narbonne, Oxford, 1887.

² A Latin translation is given by Zeller, Stuttgart, 1724; and to his *Sepher Hakabbala*, by Genebrand, Paris, 1572.

³ *Editio princeps*, Mantua, 1515.

⁴ Published, Frankfort, 1853.

⁵ See Munk, *Isr. Annalen*, 1841, p. 93; Gugenheimer, *Die Religions-Philosophie des Rabbi Abraham ben David*, Augsburg, 1850, S. Pinsker, *Hamitzpa*, iii., p. 2—10, 1885. Concerning his *Astronomical Work*, see Rabbi I. Israeli in his *Jesod Olam*, sec. iv., ch. 18. Concerning his *Emuna Rama*, see M. Eisler, *Geschichte der Juden in Böhmen*, p. 22—32.

Under Alfonso VIII., called the Noble (1166—1214), who at an early age had been married to Eleanor, daughter of Henry II. of England, many talented Jews obtained high positions, and were appointed officers of the State, the latter greatly benefitting by their work for the greatness of their beloved fatherland. Rabbi Joseph ben Solomon Ibn Shoshan, called "The Prince" (born about 1135, died 1204-5), was a distinguished personage at the court of Alfonso. "Favour was bestowed upon him, and goodwill manifested towards him by the king and the grandees."¹ With his usual liberality, he encouraged the study of the Talmud, and erected, in princely magnificence, a new synagogue in Toledo. His son Solomon equalled him in many virtues. Another highly honoured man at Alfonso's court was Rabbi Abraham Ibn Alfachar (1160—1223), "who was crowned with noble qualities and magnanimous deeds. He was exalted in word and deed, an ornament to the king, and of renown to the princes." Thoroughly proficient in the Arabic language, Ibn Alfachar wrote choice prose and well-sounding verse, whose high merit induced an Arab author to make a collection of them, amongst them being a panegyric upon King Alfonso. This noble king once despatched Ibn Alfachar upon an embassy to the court of Morocco, where ruled Abu Jacob Yussuff Almostansir.²

A kinsman of this favourite of Alfonso, named Rabbi Juda ben Joseph Ibn Alfachar, also bore the title of prince.

When Alfonso assembled his immense army, in order to subdue the great power of the Almohades, who under Jacob Almansur were again trying to penetrate into the heart of Spain, the Jews poured forth their riches into the coffers of the impoverished monarch, so as to enable him to equip his forces. The battle of Alarcos (19th July, 1195) terminated in a defeat for him. The Almohades ravaged fair Castile far and wide, and Alfonso was compelled to shut himself up in his capital, where the Jews fought in emulation of the other inhabitants, in order to repel the onslaughts of the enemy. They materially assisted in the forced retreat of the foe.

¹ See Alcharizi in Tachkemcni, xlvi. ed., Vienna, p. 56^b.

² Graetz, History, t. iii., p. 395.

They witnessed with joy the withdrawal of the Almohades, which was caused by the kings of Castile and Aragon, who entered into a confederacy to harass the army of the Almohades. Through this union, however, the Jews of the kingdom of Leon suffered severely when the allied forces, ravaging the land, marched through their territory. In this campaign, the oldest Hebrew copy of the Bible in Spain, called Hillali,¹ which had hitherto served as a model for copyists (and is said to have been written about the year 600), fell into the hands of the enemy (9 Ab., 1197).²

In Aragon, to which Catalonia was attached from the time of Ramon Berengua IV., the Jews lived under favourable circumstances, and were able to develop the activity of their minds. Alfonso II. (1162—1196), a promoter and patron of the Provençal poetry, favoured men who were famed for word and thought, and amongst these the Jews at this time took a foremost place. Although Saragossa was the capital of Aragon, and of old had a Jewish congregation, yet at this time the city of Barcelona was considered the centre of Northern Spain, owing to its favourable position by the sea and the flourishing state of its commerce. At its head stood Rabbi Sheshet Benveniste, who had a liking for philosophy, and was physician, diplomatist, Talmudist, and poet (born 1131, died about 1210).³ Well acquainted with the Arabic language, he was employed by the King of

¹ Concerning Hillali, see Ozar Nechmad, t. ii., p. 159. The explanation of Hillali is given by J. Fürst in his Introduction to the Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, 1807, p. 19, and runs thus:—"About 600 we first meet with the intelligence of a Hillali-manuscript, which was made at Hilla or Helala, a town built in the vicinity of the ruins of the old Babel, and which was furnished not merely with vowels and accents, but also with Masora copiously. About 1500, when a part of it was sold into Africa, it was already 900 years old; about 1196, when a great persecution of the Jews took place in the kingdom of Leon, it had been brought from thence to Toledo, where the grammarian Rabbi Jacob ben Eleazar made use of it in his work *Sepher ha-Shaleim*, whence Kimchi quoted it, who had not seen it himself." See Neubauer, the *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January, 1886, and *Studia Biblica*, 1891, showing that the name of the scribe was Hillel. Concerning Rabbi Jacob ben Eleazar, see *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxvii. p. 553.

² Graetz, t. iii., p. 398—399.

³ Concerning the Benveniste family from old time to the seventeenth century see D. Holub, *Geschichte der jüdischen Ärzte*, t. ii., p. 33—36, Vienna, 1882.

Aragon on diplomatic service, obtained honours and wealth, and expressed his gratitude for this prosperous state of existence, as Rabbi Samuel Ibn Nagrela had done, with his pen. Like this Jewish prince, Rabbi Sheshet Benveniste supported men of science and the students of the Talmud. The poets laud his noble mind and his liberality in excessive terms.¹ Benveniste himself, when in his seventy-second year, composed a long song of praise of one hundred and forty-two verses in honour of Rabbi Joseph Ibn Shoshan of Toledo.²

Next to him in importance in Barcelona stood Rabbi Samuel ben Abraham Ibn Chasdai Halevi (1165—1216), “the fountain of wisdom and the sea of thought,” as the poet Charizi exaggeratedly calls him.³

The community of Tudela, a small town on the Ebro, which was the apple of contention between the kings of Aragon and Navarre, had on two occasions courageously fought for equal privileges with the Christian and Mohammedan inhabitants, and possessed a castle of their own for their security. It produced a learned traveller, Rabbi Benjamin ben Jonah of Tudela, to whom not alone Jewish history, but also the general history of nations, owes thanks for his interesting and authentic information. Benjamin travelled (1165—1179) from Saragossa by way of Catalonia, the south of France, Italy, Greece, the Archipelago, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Cilicia, to Syria, Palestine, the lands of the caliphate, and Persia. His return route took him to the Indian Ocean, the coast towns of Yemen, Egypt, Sicily, and Castile, whither he returned, after an absence of about fourteen years. His “Itinerary” furnishes the oldest material for the history of the commerce of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the twelfth century. In several Asiatic and southern European districts Benjamin found Jews engaged in handicrafts. Naturally the Jews had their favourite arts. In Asia, as Benjamin shows,

¹ See Alcharizi in his *Tachkemoni*, xlvi. ed., Vienna, p. 57a. Rabbi Joseph Sabbara composed in his honour his *Sepher Shaashuim*, the *Book of Dallying*, editio princeps, Constantinople, 1577, and again Paris, 1866. See also Steinschneider's edition of the *Testament of Rabbi Juda Ibn Tibbon to his son Rabbi Samuel*, p. xi. Berlin, 1852; Neubauer, *Mlechet ha-Shir*, p. 43, Breslau, 1865.

² See Maimonides' *Letters*, edition Lichtenberg, t. iii., p. 7.

³ *Tachkemoni*, edition Vienna, p. 57a.

the Jews were specially noted as dyers and manufacturers of silk. In Italy the Jewish dyers were only less noted than their Sicilian brethren who plied the same art.¹ Jerusalem and Damascus are depicted vigorously and vividly. Bagdad, he says, contained a thousand Jews, who lived in peace, comfort and honour, and it also contained ten colleges. These were presided over by four rabbis, one of them being lineally descended from the prophet Samuel, and he and his brethren, it is remarked, were acquainted with the melodies which had been sung in the Temple of King Solomon. Daniel ben Chisda, descended from the house of David, was then Prince of the Captivity.

In Gerona there was a small Jewish community, whose members were devoted to the study of the Talmud. Here Rabbi Serachya Halevi Gerundi was born in 1125, and died in 1186. He appears to have possessed a certain amount of knowledge of philosophy. He chiefly studied the Talmud, and, being acquainted with the labours of the French and Spanish schools, he combined in himself the studies of Alfassi and Rashi, Rabbi Joseph Ibn Migash and Rabbi Jacob Tam. He was a thoroughly critical and deductive scholar, his mind being at the same time analytic and synthetic in its tendency. In his youth, at the age of nineteen, he composed Talmudical works and wrote commentaries on those of Alfassi. Rabbi Serachya appears to have suffered persecution from the community of Gerona, for which he avenged himself by a satire which he composed on them. In Lunel, where he possessed many friends, and where he was maintained by a patron of learning, he composed various writings against a Talmudical authority of the south of France—Rabbi Abraham ben David;² and here also, at an advanced age, he compiled his

¹ I. Abrahams' *Jewish Life*, p. 211, 217, 219. The first edition of this curious book of travels, "Massaot," is that of Constantinople, 1543; with a Latin translation by Arias Montanus, Antwerp, 1575; and by l'Empereur, Leyden, 1633; with a French translation by Barratier, Amsterdam, 1784; with a German translation by Martinet, Bamberg, 1858; with an English translation by B. Gerrans, London, 1783; but the best edition is that which has been published by A. Asher, translated and edited with valuable notes on the geographical literature of the Jews, London, 1840-41.

² A polemical criticism on the work of Rabbi Abraham ben David, entitled *Sepher Baalei ha-Nephesh* was published at Berlin in 1762.

acute commentaries on Alfassi's work on the greater part of the Talmud. These he published under the name of Maor.¹ In this critical work, Rabbi Serachya displayed his independence of spirit, and showed throughout his comprehension of the Talmud.²

Amongst the earliest grammarians and lexicographers worthy of record, was Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham Parchon. He flourished about 1130, at Calatajud, in Aragon. Afterwards he emigrated to the peninsula of Salerno. Being anxious to furnish his co-religionists in southern Italy with the results of the grammatical and exegetical labours of his brethren in Spain, he compiled, in the year 1160, a Hebrew lexicon, entitled "Machberet ha-Aruch."³ The work is divided into two parts, the first containing a grammar of the Hebrew language, and the second a lexicon. Though it is substantially a translation of Ibn Ganach's celebrated lexicon, yet Parchon also introduces in it the labours of Chayyug, Rabbi Jehuda Halevi, Ibn Ezra, &c., and explains many words by the aid of passages from the Targumim, the Mishna, Tosephta, and the Talmud. He wrote also a commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa, and translated the medical and astrological works of Ali Ibn Raghl, which have not as yet come to light.

¹ Printed in the editions of that work.

² Graetz, iii., p. 401. R. Serachya wrote also a terminology of logic on the Talmud, under the name of Sepher ha-Tsaba; it has been published in the collection of Rabbi Benjamin Mutal, entitled *Temim Deim*, Venice, 1622, p. 255, and separately at Shklov, 1803. Rabbi Serachya distinguished himself by a collection of poems, and several hymns extant in the liturgy. Extensive specimens of Rabbi Serachya's poems are given in Jacob Reifman's *Biography of Serachya*, Prague, 1853. See Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 476; Luzzato in *Meged Jerachim*, iii., p. 156, iv. 5.

³ It has been published by Stern, Presburg, 1844, with a valuable introduction by S. L. Rapaport, in which this erudite scholar gives a succinct history of the study of the Hebrew language, and of the different periods in which the great grammarians lived. See Steinschneider, *Hamazkir*, 1859, p. 108; Dr. M. Weiner, "Parchon als Grammatiker und Lexicograph," *Ofen*, 1870.

CHAPTER VI.

RABBI MOSES MAIMONIDES AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

IN Rabbi Jehuda Halevi, the Jews could boast a poet of great powers and originality of genius. In Ibn Ezra they have a universal student, conversant with every branch of learning cultivated in his day. But in the great man of whose life and works we are now going to treat, they have a profound philosopher and divine, who not only has exercised the greatest influence on his contemporaries and on his nation, but, also, on the civilized world in general.

Rabbi Moses Ibn Maimun (with the long Arabic name Abu Amran Musa ben Maimun Obaid Allah) was born on the Eve of Passover (30th March, one o'clock p.m., 1135), in Cordova.¹ The youthful training of Maimonides (as he is often called), the man who was destined to bear the future of Judaism on his strong shoulders, was calculated to imbue him with studious habits in the most emphatic manner. His father, Rabbi Maimun ben Joseph, a pupil of Ibn Migash, was, like his ancestors for eight generations back (as far as his progenitor Rabbi Obadiah), a learned Talmudist and member of the rabbinical college of Cordova.

Rabbi Maimun also took an interest in the sciences, was versed in mathematics and astronomy, and wrote books on those subjects as well as on Talmudical topics.² It was he who planted in his son an enthusiastic love for learning, and awakened his feeling for an ideal life.

¹ So memorable did everything connected with this great personality appear in the eyes of his contemporaries that even the day and the hour of his birth have been recorded.

² He wrote:—(1) A Commentary on Esther, quoted by Rabbi Sol. Duran in his *Tipheret Israel*, Venice, 1632. (2) Decisions on the Prayer, and Festival Observances, quoted by Rabbi Simon Duran in *Tashbatz*, i., ch. 2. (3) Commentary on the Talmud, mentioned by Maimonides in his Introduction to the Mishna, Order Zeraim. (4) Commentary on the

Maimonides had scarcely passed his thirteenth year, when great misfortune overtook the community of Cordova, owing to that city having been captured by the Almohades (1148), who forthwith promulgated fanatical edicts against Jews and Christians, and put before them the alternatives of embracing Islamism, expulsion, or death. Rabbi Maimun and his family went into exile with the great majority of the Cordovan congregation. They are said to have established themselves at Port Almeria, which a year before had been conquered by the Christians.¹ In the year 1151, Almeria also fell into the power of the Almohades, whose fanatical king, of course, did not fail to impose on the Jewish and Christian inhabitants of the city the necessity of changing their religion, as in the other conquered cities of southern Spain. From that time the family of Maimun was obliged to lead a wandering life for many years, without being able to find a permanent residence anywhere.

Maimonides learnt from his father the Bible, the Talmud, the Jewish branches of learning, mathematics and astronomy; he attended lectures on science and medicine by Mohammedan professors, and was introduced into the temple of philosophy.

Although he was attracted by many branches of learning which cohered in his mind as one united whole, still there were four special subjects on which he centred most of his attention: the whole range of Biblical and Talmudical writings, philosophy, medicine, mathematics and astronomy. In his twenty-third year he drew up in Hebrew for a friend a Jewish Calendar based on astronomical principles (1158).² In the same year he commenced a work, the undertaking of which already gives evidence of greatness and boldness of

Astronomy of Fergani, quoted by Azarya De Rossi in *Maor Einaim*, ch. xl., p. 126, a. (5) An Epistle on Religious Persecution, published by H. Edelman in *Chemda Genuza*, Königsberg, 1856, p. lxxiv.; and by S. I. Halberstam in *Kebod Halebanon*, 1872, p. 199; with an English translation, by Rev. M. Simmons, under the name of "Letter of Consolation," in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ii.

¹ Leo Africanus, cited in Fabricus, *Bibliotheca Graeca* t. xiii., c. 28, p. 295.

² Has been published under the title of "Maamar ha-Ibbur," by E. Ashkenasi in *Dibrei Chachamim*, Metz, 1849, and in the Collection of the Letters of Maimonides by A. Lichtenberg, p. 17—20, Leipzig, 1859.

intellect. He began to explain the Mishna independently and in a new light, at an age when most men have scarcely finished their college career, a gigantic task in which he had no model to guide him. He worked at it amidst continual wanderings, and while battling with hardships; but so thoroughly was the whole compass of the Talmud before him that he could manage to dispense with books. A year or two later (1159-1160) his father emigrated with him, his younger brother Rabbi David and his sister, from Spain to Fez. In Fez, as in all North Africa, wherever the bigoted Abdul-Mumen ruled, no Jews were allowed to declare themselves as Jews, but had to profess their belief in the first article of the Mohammedan faith. This filled Rabbi Maimun with pain, and he sought to counteract the apathy of the pseudo-Mohammedan Jews as much as lay in his power, and to confirm the belief in Judaism in their hearts. With this object he addressed to the community an exhortation (1160), which is full of mournfulness and instinct with a deep sense of religion.¹ Soon his son, Rabbi Moses, also found an opportunity to enter for the first time into the arena, to give expression to his original views on Judaism, to offer encouragement to his comrades in affliction, and to trace out for them a line which they should pursue.² Rabbi Moses Maimonides zealously endeavoured to induce the Jewish pseudo-Mohammedans to remain in their ancient religion. On this account he exposed himself to extreme danger, and might have been put to death if a Mohammedan theologian and poet, named Abul-Arab Ibn Moisha, had not interceded for him and saved him.³ The feeling of insecurity induced the family of Rabbi Maimun to leave Fez, and travel to Palestine. In the depth of night they embarked (4th Yyar, 1165). After they had voyaged for six days on the Mediterranean, a terrible storm arose, of which the fury was so great as to render the vessel unmanageable, and rescue seemed

¹ Published by Edelmann in Chemda Genuza, p. lxxiv., and in the Jewish Quarterly Review, ii.

² His views on Judaism are published under the title of "Maamar Kiddush Hashem," Treatise on Glorifying God, in Chemda Genuza, p. 6—13, and in Lichtenberg's edition, p. 12—15.

³ S. Munk, Archives Israélites, 1851, p. 329.

impossible. But the storm abated, and, after a voyage of one month, the ship sailed into the harbour of Acco (3d Sivan). This day Rabbi Maimun dedicated as a family festival. The emigrants from Spain were received in a friendly manner by the congregation of Acco. After a residence of nearly half a year in this town, the family travelled amid dangers to Jerusalem, to pray at the ancient site of the Temple (4th Marcheshvan). The family remained in Jerusalem for three days, then journeyed to Hebron, and from that place to Egypt, which at that time bade fair, through the Ajubides, to become the centre of Islam. Some months after their arrival in Egypt the head of the family died (beginning of 1166). So highly esteemed were both father and son by all who knew them, that letters of consolation were sent to the latter by his friends in Africa and Christian Spain.¹

On the other hand, in Egypt, in old Cairo (Fostat), where the family of Rabbi Maimun had settled, the name of Maimonides had not as yet become famous. The two brothers lived quietly and carried on together the jewellery trade, but in such a manner that the younger brother took a far more active share than the elder, and travelled on business as far as India. Rabbi Moses, on the other hand, devoted himself to study.² Severe misfortunes, which would have brought a mind less strong than his to despair, tore him from this quiet life. Physical sufferings threw him on a bed of sickness; heavy losses diminished his fortune, and informers appeared against him and brought him to the brink of death. Lastly, his brother David perished in the Indian Ocean, and with him not only both their fortunes, but also the money which had been entrusted to them by others for business purposes. These accumulated misfortunes aggravated his sufferings and filled him with melancholy. The death of his brother afflicted him the most. His unbounded trust in God, his enthusiastic love for learning, and his anxiety for his family and for the widow and daughters of his brother roused his courage once more, and moved him to enter on an active life.

¹ See Letter from Maimonides addressed to Rabbi Yephet ben Elijah, in *Dibrei Chachamim*, p. 60, and in Lichtenberg's edition, p. 37; translated into English by A. Benish, *Life of Maimonides*, p. 47.

² See his Letter addressed to Rabbi Yephet, Lichtenberg's edition, p. 37; and Alkifti in Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabico-hispana*, i., p. 293.

Maimonides appears from this time to have gained a livelihood by the practice of medicine. About this time he also gave public lectures on philosophical subjects.¹

His whole mind, however, was bent on the completion of the gigantic work with which he had been occupied since his twenty-third year, whilst roaming about on sea voyages, and in the midst of numerous adversities. He finished this, his first great work, in the year 1168, in Arabic, under the title of "Siraj, The Light."² The characteristic feature of this commentary of Maimonides consists in this, that it follows the analytical method, laying down at the beginning of each section the principles and general views of the subject, and thereby throwing light upon the particulars to be explained.

The luminous introduction to the commentary especially gives evidence of its scientific character. Maimuni treated, with special predilection, those points of the Mishna which have a scientific colouring, and in which the principles of mathematics, astronomy, physics, anatomy, ethics and philosophy could be introduced. In such parts he could show that the doctors of the Mishna, the upholders of tradition, knew science also, and based their works upon it. Especially did he aim at establishing that the Mishna contains a sound ethical and deep philosophical conception of God.

"Know," says Maimonides,³ "that everything under the Lunar sphere is created for the use of man. If there are

¹ Alkifti, *ibid.*

² Translated into Hebrew by several scholars who flourished in the thirteenth century, namely Seder Zeraim, by Rabbi Jehuda Charizi; Seder Moed, by Joseph Ibn Alfual; Seder Nashim, by Rabbi Jacob Achsai; Seder Nezikin, by Rabbi Solomon ben Joseph, with the exception of Perek Chelek in Sanhedrin and the treatise Aboth (including the ethical treatise Shemone Perakim, introducing the latter) which were translated by Rabbi Samuel Ibn Tibbon; Seder Kadashim, by Rabbi Nathanel Ibn Almuli; the translator of Seder Taharoth is not known, *editio princeps* with the text of the Mishna, Naples, 1492. Portions of it were translated by Pocock, chiefly consisting of the introductions to the different tractates; see *Theological Works*, vol. i., ed. Twells, London, 1748. Syrenhusius has given an abridged version of the whole commentary in his edition of the Mishna, Amsterdam, 1678.

³ In his Introduction to the Mishna, Seder Zeraim. The above extract is given by E. H. Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain*, p. 63—64. A German translation is given by E. M. Pinner in his *Masechet Berachot*, p. 1—12, Berlin, 1842.

animals and plants, the utility of which is not apparent, it is because our ignorance has not been able to discover it. The proof is that every age makes discoveries of the utility of certain animals and plants; objects that to us seem poisonous possess their salutary qualities: we have an evident proof in vipers, which, although noxious reptiles, have been rendered useful to man. Then since man is the end of all the creation, we must examine for what purpose he exists, for what end he is created. We see every object of the creation produce the effect for which it is created; the palm yields its dates, the spider weaves its cobwebs. All their qualities render the animal or plant proper to attain its purpose. Then what is that of man? It cannot be to eat, drink, propagate, build walls, or to command; for these occupations are separate from him and add not to his essence, and he possesses nearly the whole of them in common with other animals. It is then intelligence only that augments his being and elevates him from a lowly condition to a sublime state. It is but by reason that man distinguishes himself from the other animals: he himself is but a rational animal. By reason, I mean the understanding of comprehensible subjects, and above all of the unity of God; all other knowledge tends to conduct him to that; but to arrive at it he must avoid luxury, for too much care bestowed on the body destroys the soul. The man who abandons himself to his passions, who renders his understanding subservient to his corporal desires, does not demonstrate the divine power that lies within him, that is to say reason, which is a matter floating in the ocean of space.

“ It results from what has been said, that the purpose of our world, and of the objects contained therein, is man endowed with knowledge and goodness. For a man to be perfect, he must combine in himself science and actions, that is the knowledge of truth, with the practice of virtue. This is what not only our prophets, but the ancient philosophers taught us, and it will be found more detailed in my exposition of the ‘Ethics of the Fathers.’ Throughout the law you find this precept, ‘Learn and then practice’! It inculcates that knowledge precedes action, for knowledge leads to

actions, while they do not lead to knowledge. This is the reason why our sages have said that 'learning begets practice.' But probably, some persons will say, If the purpose of man is to acquire knowledge and perform good actions, why do we see the major part of mankind deficient in knowledge and even despising it; giving reins to their passions, and devoting themselves to mundane occupations? To this I answer: Man has many material wants; it requires the labour of a multitude to satisfy them. The length of Methusalem's life would not suffice were every one obliged to exercise all the arts necessary to supply his physical wants. The study of philosophy can only be the portion of a small number. Were every one to apply himself to that study, in a short time the human race would become extinct."

The tractate of the Mishna, which combines, like a string of pearls, the sayings of the fathers (Aboth), appeared in the eyes of Maimonides a veritable treasure. In explaining these he could display the whole wealth of his world of thought, and he thus saturated Talmudical Judaism with philosophical ideas.

In the special introduction to the tractate Sanhedrin he for the first time defined and formally laid down the Jewish creed, which consists of the following thirteen articles:— (1) There is One God, who is a perfect Being, the Creator and Preserver of all things; (2) He is an indivisible unity; (3) He is incorporeal and immutable; (4) He is eternal, and no being existed before him; (5) He alone is to be worshipped; (6) He endowed chosen men with the gift of prophecy; (7) Moses was incomparably the greatest of all prophets; (8) The Torah was given by God to Moses; (9) This Law is complete and unalterable; (10) God is omniscient, and takes cognizance of all the thoughts and deeds of man; (11) He will judge both the righteous and the wicked; (12) Messiah is to come, and he may appear any day; and (13) There is to be a general resurrection of the dead.¹

¹ For fuller particulars concerning the Thirteen Articles, see Dr. M. Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, p. 1—232. Maimonides' work on ethics and psychology, entitled *Shemone Perakim*, the Eight Chapters, editio princeps, Naples, 1492; a Latin translation by Vythage, Leyden,

The fortunes of the Jews of Egypt and of the neighbouring countries had taken a favourable turn. The Fatimide Caliph died or was deposed, and the great Saladin, the model of royal magnanimity and chivalry in that barbarous age, succeeded to the government (September, 1171). The first office that the celebrated Ajubide held was that of Vice-Field-Marshal of Nureddin; gradually he acquired absolute supremacy over Egypt and a part of Palestine, and Syria, and even the districts about the Euphrates, and the Caliphate of Bagdad obeyed his rule. His empire became a safe asylum to the oppressed Jews. Saladin behaved justly towards them, as indeed he did towards every one, even his bitterest enemies. Under him the Jews rose to great prosperity and importance.

Maimonides' greatness only obtained gradual acknowledgment. In the year 1175, already he was looked upon as an authority in determining Rabbinical laws; and religious-legal questions were addressed to him from all parts, a circumstance from which we may infer the universal recognition of his authority. Maimonides appears to have been officially recognised in 1177 as Rabbi of Cairo, on account of his profound knowledge of the Talmud, his character and fame. He formed an ecclesiastical board, with nine colleagues. His office he regarded as a holy priesthood, and exercised it with characteristic conscientiousness and circumspection.

His pupils, to whom he gave lectures, and who revered him as the incarnation of wisdom, spread his reputation abroad. One of his earliest disciples, Rabbi Solomon Cohen,¹ who travelled to South Arabia (Yemen), was full of his praise, and impressed on the congregation there that in the time of need they should apply to Maimonides for consolation and support. In that place, two Schütes had seized upon the government and compelled the Jews to embrace Islamism under threat of heavy penalties. Rabbi Jacob Alfayumi, the most learned and most respected man among them, turned to Maimonides, of whom he had heard through his disciples,

1683; German, by Falkenheim, Königsberg, 1832; and French, by M. Beer, Paris, 1811. See *Die Ethik des Maimoides*, by D. Rosin, Breslau, 1876. A brief outline of the eight chapters in English is given by the Rev. B. Spiers in "The Threefold Cord," p. 113—127, London, 1891.

¹ See Iggeret Teiman, ed. Lichtenberg, p. 1.

for counsel and consolation, described to him their sufferings and apprehensions, and begged him to send a reply. Maimonides accordingly sent a letter of consolation, in Arabic,¹ to the congregation of Yemen, directed personally to his correspondent, but having reference to all the members. He sought in it to elevate the sufferers to the height of spiritual consciousness, through which suffering for religion's sake loses its sting and darkness and appears as an inevitable antecedent to the break of light. This interesting letter of consolation, which was written with much warmth, made so favourable an impression on the Jews of South Arabia, that they, far from growing indifferent to their religion, were strengthened in it, and were moved to take an energetic share in all the proceedings of the whole Jewish community. In later times, when Maimonides attained greater importance, he found the means of putting a stop to the political oppressions and bigoted persecution suffered by the Jews. For this the congregation of Yemen clove to him with enthusiastic love and veneration. They included his name in their daily prayers, a demonstration of honour which was formerly only accorded to the exilarchs when in their zenith.²

In the midst of his energetic activity in communal affairs, practising as a physician and devoting himself to the constant study of philosophy and science, Maimonides completed his second great work (8 Kislev, 1180), his epoch-making "Mishne-Torah," or religious code.³ If, as he states, he

¹ Translated into Hebrew by Nachum Maarabi, published under the name of "Iggeret Teiman," Basel, 1629, and in Lichtenberg's edition, p. 1—17; but the best edition is by D. Halub with an introduction and notes, Vienna, 1874. A Latin translation is given by H. Vorst in his *Observations in Zemach David*, p. 293, Leyden, 1644; and by Chr. Gräfe in his *Politicus Orientalis*, Altenburg, 1679.

² Nachmanides in his Letter to the Rabbis of France, Lichtenberg, p. 9.

³ Editio princeps of this work appeared in Italy from the printing office of Solomon ben Jehuda and Obadia ben Moses, about 1480; then in Soncino; the text with different commentaries, Constantinople, 1509; Venice, 1524, 1550-51, 1574-75; with an alphabetical index and many plates, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1702. Translations of portions of this work in Latin have been published; also a German translation comprising the part called *Hilchot Deiut*, by Lazon, Königsberg, 1832; *Sepher ha-Mada*, the first part, by E. Soloweiczky, Königsberg, 1846; the second part, 1847. An English translation, *The Tractate on the Repentance*, by Skinner; *Sepher ha-Mada* by B. Hurwitz, London, 1870. A selec-

laboured at it continuously for ten successive years, the time stands in no relation to the magnitude of the performance. It is impossible to give the uninitiated an idea of this gigantic work, in which he collected the most remote things from the immeasurable mine of the Talmud; classified all details under their appropriate heads; showed how the Talmud was based on the Bible, brought the details under general rules, and combined apparently unconnected parts into one organised whole, and cemented it into a work of art. He justly laid special emphasis, in the *Mishne-Torah*, on the necessity of artistic grouping, of which the difficulties can only be estimated by a specialist deeply versed in the subject. Apart from the technical excellence, and the incomparably well-proportioned architecture, the work has, as far as the contents are concerned, a most important influence on the development of Jewish history. All the various lines which his predecessors had partially traced out on the ground of Judaism, Maimonides united in the greatest harmony. Nothing therein is superfluous, nothing wanting. The philosophical, the ethical and the ceremonial sides, and, so to speak, the emotional side of Judaism, which the aspiration for a Messianic period of redemption expresses, are treated in the book and raised to a just position. There breathes in this work the spirit of true wisdom, calm reflection, and deep morality. Maimonides, in the *Mishne-Torah*, treats of the precepts of the Torah under the following fourteen heads:— (1) Fundamental principles of our faith; (2) Divine worship; (3) Sabbath and festivals; (4) Marriages; (5) Forbidden food and forbidden relations of the sexes; (6) Vows; (7) Agriculture; (8) The Temple and the regular sacrificial service; (9) Occasional sacrifices; (10) Cleanness and uncleanness; (11) Compensation for damages; (12) Transfer of property; (13) Contracts; (14) Administration of the law.¹

tion from the *Mishne-Torah* has been made by Hermann H. Bernard, published under the name of "The Main Principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews," Cambridge, 1832. An English translation of the laws relating to the Poor and the Stranger from the *Mishne-Torah* is given by I. W. Peppercorne, London, 1840. Concerning the MSS. of the *Mishne-Torah*, preserved at Frankfort, see Neubauer, *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 June, 1886.

¹ See Dr. M. Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, p. 241, London, 1891.

It was only after a residence in Egypt of more than twenty years that Maimonides obtained an appointment as physician at the court of Saladin, whereas till that time he had acquired only a slight connection with the court. He was not, indeed, by any means Saladin's physician-in-ordinary, for the sultan, on account of the constant wars with the adherents of Nureddin and with the Christians, could not visit his capital for a long time. But the favour of the noble vizier, the wise and mighty Alfadhel, who was also a great promoter of learning, and of whom a contemporary said, "He was entirely head and heart," was of as much value to Maimonides as the distinction he received from his connection with Saladin. Alfadhel caused Maimonides to be placed on the list of royal physicians, settled upon him a yearly salary, and loaded him with favours. Inspired by his example, the great men of the country who lived in Cairo likewise bestowed upon him their patronage, so that Maimonides' time was so fully occupied that he was obliged to neglect his studies. Maimonides elaborated the writings of the medical oracle in the middle ages—Galen; he abridged and arranged them without allowing himself the least variation. The same character is borne also by his medical aphorisms, which contain nothing further than extracts and classifications of older theories.

Maimonides' works on medicine are too numerous to set down here, but the chief of them are:—

(1) Aphorisms on Medicine. Rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Nathan Hamati, from the original Arabic, under the title of *Pirke Moshe*, embodying the doctrines of Galen and Hippocrates, and some of the more eminent Arabian physicians, has been published, Lemberg, 1834. Latin translation, Bologna, 1489, and Basle, 1579. Rabbi Immanuel Aboab states, *Nomolog*, P. II., c. xxiv., p. 284, that he has heard from skilful physicians, and particularly from Mercurial, that the Aphorisms of Maimonides are not inferior to those of Hippocrates.

(2) Compendia from twenty-one books, viz., sixteen from Galen, and five from the works of other authors. They are written in Arabic, MS. preserved in the National Library of Paris, No. 1203,1°. See S. Munk, *Annal*, vol. iii., p. 97; De Sacy, *Relation*, 466.

(3) Treatise on the Hemorrhoides and their Treatment. Translated from the Arabic into Hebrew by Rabbi Samuel Ibn Tibbon; MSS. of both the original and Hebrew version are preserved in the same library, No. 1202; 335,8^o, and 1173,3^o.

(4) Consultation on the Snoring of the Nose and Throat. Translated from the Arabic into Hebrew by the same, and preserved MSS. in the same library.

(5) Treatise on Poisons and Medicines which may cause death. A Hebrew version, made also by the above-named. Dr. I. M. Rabbinowicz translated it into French, and published it, 1865, Paris. See M. Steinschneider, "Gifte und ihre Heilung," in Virchow's Archiv, Band 57, Heft, i. p. 21, February, 1873.

(6) Treatise on Coitus. A Hebrew version made by Zerachya Chen exists, MSS. both in Paris, No. 335,7^o, and in De Rossi's Library at Parma, 1280.

(7) Treatise on Asthma, and the remedies for curing it. Translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Samuel Benveniste, preserved MSS. in Paris, No. 1173,2, and in Parma. See Steinschneider, Hamazkir, viii., p. 85.

(8) Consultation on Constipation. Translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses Ibn Tibbon, MSS. in the National Library of Paris, No. 1120,3^o.

(9) Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms. Rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses Ibn Tibbon, MSS. in the Arabic language, preserved in Paris, No. 1202.

(10) Hanhagot ha-Beriot, on the Preservation of Health. Epistle addressed to the Sultan El-Melik-el-Afdhal, son of Saladin, rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses Ibn Tibbon, has been published in "Kerem Chemed," iii. p. 9—31. A Latin version, under the title of "Regimen Sanitatis," has been published, Venice, 1514; and German by D. Winternitz, Vienna, 1848. See Hamazkir, 1865, p. 88.

(11) Sepher ha-Nimtsa, the Book of Existence: a medical and moral treatise, editio princeps, Salonicha, 1596. Concerning this book see S. Sachs, Hatechiah, i. 38; Kerem Chemed, viii., p. 23—34.

(12) Compendium of the Canon of Avicenna. A beautiful Hebrew MS. of this work is preserved at the Dominican

convent at Bologna. The following remarkable words are prefixed to it in Hebrew: "Eben Cinna, from the translation of Rabbi Moses Maimon (blessed be his memory), made in Egypt from the book of Eben Cinna, which he received from the great Sultan, the king of Egypt, in the year 4946, from the creation." Bened. Montfaucon, who relates this in his diary on Italy, p. 402, subjoins that an Italian epistle added at the end states that Ferdinand I. had offered in vain two hundred gold pieces for this copy.

(13) Exposition of Drugs; an Arabic Pharmacopœia, quoted by Ibn Abi Osaiba.

(14) Consultation of Medicine, composed for a prince of his acquaintance, who was a valetudinarian and a hypochondriac. MS. of a Hebrew version made by Rabbi Moses Ibn Tibbon is preserved at Paris.

(15) Method of Curing those who have been Bitten by Venomous Beasts, or have been Poisoned. This treatise, written in 1198, at the command of the Sultan, and quoted by Dr. Herbelot, under "Mocalat al-Hasliat," has been translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses Ibn Tibbon, and MS. of the version exists in the Library of Vienna, clii.; and in Parma, 1280.

(16) Treatise on the Causes of Maladies, written in Arabic, and extant in the Bodleian.

(17) On the Podagra; a Spanish translation exists at the Escorial (Wolf, iii., xxi., b.) Steinschneider first called attention to this writing, which is perhaps only a portion of some other work. Oester. Bl., p. 119, 1845.

On the medical works of Maimonides, see Carmoly, *Histoire des Médecins juifs*, p. 52—53; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte*, No. 198; Steinschneider, *Medicinische Schriften von Maimonides*, in *Oester. Bl. für Lit. und Kunst*, 1845, No. 12; and Dr. A. Benish, *Two Lectures on the Life and Writings of Maimonides*, 1847, p. 37—40.

The celebrated Mohammedan physician and theologian, Abdellatif of Bagdad, who enjoyed the favour of Saladin in a high degree, confessed that his wish to visit Cairo was prompted by the desire to make the acquaintance there of three men, among whom was Musa ben Maimun.¹ The poet

¹ See Abdellatif, edition De Sacy, p. 539.

and *cadi*, *Alsaid Ibn Sina Almulk*, sang of *Maimuni's* greatness as a doctor in ecstatic verse.¹ *Maimuni's* reputation was so great that the English king, *Richard Cœur de Lion*, the soul of the third Crusade, wanted to appoint him his physician-in-ordinary, but *Maimuni* refused the offer.²

In consequence of his favour with the vizier, *Maimonides* was appointed supreme head of all the Egyptian congregations, and this honour descended in his family from father to son and grandson. It is certain that *Maimonides* drew no salary for this office, for nothing appeared to him more discreditable and sinful than to receive payment for the discharge of spiritual duties, or to degrade knowledge into a money-making business.³ He sought this prominent position not for himself, but for the sake of his co-religionists, in order to avert injustice from them. It was through his means that the heavy yoke of persecution was removed from the congregation of *Yemen*. When *Saladin* had once more wrested *Jerusalem* from the hands of the Christians, who had held it for nearly a century, he allowed the Jews to settle in the city of their fathers (October, 1187); and from all sides there streamed once more ardent sons to visit their mourning and forsaken mother.⁴

Enjoying a firmly established reputation, placed in most favourable circumstances, and engaged in the discharge of duties so congenial to a benevolent heart and powerful mind, one might have expected that *Maimuni* would have spent his latter years in happiness; yet was his life not exempt from the miseries of the common lot of man, nor from those petty annoyances attendant upon merit, as shadow upon substance. Habitual debility and serious illness but too frequently interrupted the activity of a mind for which no task was too arduous. He was attacked with violent controversy by some *Talmudists*, among whom we find the names of *Rabbi Samuel ben Ali*, the head of the college of *Bagdad*, and *Mar*

¹ *Graetz*, iii., p. 488.

² *Alkifti*, *ibid*, see also *Weill*, *Les Califes*, iii., p. 423.

³ See *Maimuni's* Commentary on *Aboth*, iv. 5.

⁴ See *E. Carmoly Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, p. 119-120. *Bruxelles*, 1847

Sacharya in Aleppo, who feared the rivalry of Rabbi Joseph Ibn Aknin, the favourite scholar of Maimuni, and who worked with equal hostility against master and disciple. Maimuni repelled all attacks that came to his notice with calmness and dignity.¹

And yet amidst all these fatigues and interruptions, Maimonides found leisure to compose a religious and philosophical work, "Guide to the Perplexed" (*More Nebuchim, Delalat al Haïrin*), about 1190.² It is divided into three parts: the first contains seventy-six chapters, and treats of the various synonyms, homonyms, metaphors, allegories, and similes found in Scripture, and moreover comments on prophecy, heaven, the universe, and angels. The second part discourses in forty-eight chapters on God, on the celestial bodies and their influence, and on the law. The third, divided into eighty-four chapters, treats on the vision of Ezekiel, Providence, and the reasons for the divine commandments. This treatise became of extraordinary importance, not only for Judaism, but for the history of philosophy in the middle ages generally. Maimonides appears at the summit of his intellectual power in this work, which contains the vindication of his profoundest convictions. He sought to answer the question, which the human mind starts ever anew, about the existence of a higher world, the destiny of our being, and the imperfections and evil of the earthly

¹ See the Epistle of Maimuni, directed to Rabbi Joseph Ibn Djabar, edition Lichtenberg, p. 15; and to his disciple Rabbi Joseph Ibn Aknin, p. 31. Rabbi Samuel ben Ali of Bagdad had no sons, but only a daughter, who was expert in the Scripture and Talmud; see *Travels of Rabbi Petachya*, ed. Benisch, p. 19.

² The *More Nebuchim*, originally written in Arabic, was translated into Hebrew during the lifetime of the author, by Rabbi Samuel Ibn Tibbon, editio princeps about 1480, Lisbon, 1497. It was also translated into Hebrew about the same time by Rabbi Jehuda Alcharizi, which translation was first published in London by L. Schlosberg, 1851-79. Justinian rendered it into Latin, Paris, 1520; then again by Buxtorf, jun., 1629; into German, the first part by Fürstenthal, Krotoschin, 1839; the second by M. E. Stein, Vienna, 1864; and the third by Scheyer, Frankfort, 1838. Part III., ch. 26-49, has been translated into English by Dr. Townley, London, 1827; Dr. M. Friedländer translated it from the original into English, with annotations, 3 vols., London, 1885; the original Arabic has for the first time been published with a French translation by S. Munk, Paris, 1856-66. An Italian version is given by D. J. Maroni, Leghorn, 1871.

world. The doubts which, to the thinking Jew, clash with the truth of his hereditary religion, he endeavoured to remove in a persuasive manner. He, whose thoughts were ever directed to the loftiest subjects, could with justice assume the character of guide to the perplexed and wavering. The external form of this epoch-making work makes it appear as though the author elaborated for his favourite pupil, Rabbi Joseph Ibn Aknin, of Fez,¹ separate treatises on important points which had disquieted and tortured the latter. But it was dictated by the desire to express clearly his philosophical conception of the world and his views of the place which Judaism finds in it, and thoroughly to analyse their mutual relations.²

Maimuni's philosophical work, being written in Arabic, also exercised considerable influence beyond the Jewish world. A Mohammedan wrote a searching explanation of the axiom established by Maimuni to prove the existence of God.³ The chief founders of the Christian scholastic philosophy, Albert the Great (died 1280) and Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), not only used Maimuni's work, which was translated into Latin at an early period, but for the first time learnt from it how to reconcile the diverging tendencies of belief and philosophy.⁴

Maimonides made an attempt to show that the six hundred and thirteen laws of the Torah, or of Judaism, tend to establish a true theory as to the Deity and His relation to the world, to oppose false and generally pernicious opinions, to uproot incorrect but received ideas, to remove wrong and violence, to accustom men to virtue, and finally to eliminate perverted morals and vices. Maimonides arranged all the obligations of Judaism into fourteen groups according to his

¹ Concerning the life and works of Rabbi Joseph Ibn Aknin, see S. Munk, *Rabbi Joseph ben Jehuda*, Paris, 1842; Steinschneider, *Hamazkir*, xiii., p. 38; and Neubauer, *Graetz's Monatsschrift*, xxix., p. 348.

² See Graetz, *History*, iii., p. 492-493; 493-503; Steinschneider, *Allgemeine Encyclopædie*, sect. 2, vol. xxxi., p. 47, note 11.

³ See S. Munk, *Notice sur Joseph ben Jehuda*, Paris, 1842, p. 23.

⁴ See *Annalen*, 1840, no. 40. For fuller particulars see D. Kaufmann in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. xi., part 3.

scheme. Besides these he also recognised a group of religious duties which aim at inculcating a spirit of beneficence and compassion for the poor and helpless.¹

In the year 1191, Maimonides composed a Vindication in the form of a Treatise on the Resurrection of the Dead.²

Maimonides wrote also: (1) Treatise on Eternal Bliss,³ *Pirkei ha-Hatzlacha*, an esoteric teaching to the disciple to whom it is directed, perhaps for his beloved disciple Rabbi Joseph ben Jehuda Ibn Aknin, to whom he had also dedicated the "Guide."⁴ (2) *Maamar hayichud*, on the Unity of God.⁵ (3) *Milot Higayon*, on the Terminology of Logic.⁶

Nowhere did Maimuni's ideas find a more fruitful ground, and nowhere were they adopted with more readiness than in the Jewish congregations of the South of France, where prosperity, the free form of government, and the agitation of the Albigenses against austere clericalism, had awakened a taste for scientific investigation, and where Ibn Ezra, the Tibbon and the Kimchi families, had scattered the seeds of Jewish culture. Not only laymen, but even profound Talmudists like Rabbi Jonathan Cohen, of Lunel, eagerly watched for every word of his, and paid him homage.⁷

The great veneration which the congregations of South France felt for Maimuni's writings, and especially for his Code, aroused against him a violent antagonist in the person

¹ This exposition of the six hundred and thirteen precepts was originally written in Arabic and rendered into Hebrew by Moses Ibn Tibbon, under the name of *Sepher "ha-Mitswot,"* editio princeps, Constantinople, 1517. A German translation has been made by M. Peritz, Breslau, 1882, and English, with the life of the author, Edinburgh, 1849.

² Written in Arabic, translated into Hebrew by Samuel Ibn Tibbon under the title of *Maamar-Techiyat ha-Metim,* editio princeps, Venice, 1546, Constantinople, 1569.

³ See Steinschneider, *Die Hebr. Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* p. 437. It was printed for the first time, Salonica, 1567, as appendix to a dictionary of terms, composed by Rabbi Menachem ben Abraham of Perpignan; translated into English by W. Bacher in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. ix., no. 34, p. 270—289. See, however, Graetz *Geschichte der Juden*, vii., p. 461, and Schmiedl, *Studien über jüdische Religions-philosophie*, p. 233.

⁴ Bacher, *ibid*, p. 273.

⁵ Published by Steinschneider, Berlin, 1847.

⁶ Editio princeps, Venice, 1550; a Latin translation by Munster, Basle, 1572; German by Neumann, Vienna, 1822.

⁷ See *Responsa of Maimuni*, p. 6, edition Lichtenberg.

of Rabbi Abraham ben David, of Posquières. This profound Talmudist subjected Maimuni's Mishne-Torah to an unsparing criticism, and treated him in a repellent tone. He reproached him for desiring to bring Talmudical authorities into oblivion by reducing the Talmud to a code, and, lastly, for smuggling philosophical notions into Judaism. But he never treated Maimonides as an innovator; on the contrary, he did justice to his point of view and his noble aim. Rabbi Abraham ben David's strictures (Hassagot) upon Maimuni's work gave a great impulse to the taste for disputation of the Talmudists of a later time.

The polemic of Rabbi Abraham ben David against Maimonides in no way prejudiced the latter's consideration among the congregations of Provence; he remained for them an infallible authority. The chief representative of Jewish-Provençal culture, Rabbi Samuel Ibn Tibbon, wrote to Maimuni to inform him that he was busying himself with the rendering of the "Guide" from Arabic into Hebrew, and he was longing to see the greatest man in the Jewish world face to face. Ibn Tibbon thereby anticipated in part a wish of Maimuni's, for the latter already contemplated translating his work into Hebrew. Full of joy he replied to Ibn Tibbon, and gave him some advice how to handle so difficult a theme (8 Tishri, 1199).¹ He dissuaded him, however, from making the perilous voyage from France to Egypt on his account, as he would scarcely be able to devote to him an hour of his time. He took advantage of the occasion to inform him of his own over-worked condition, which allowed him scarcely a moment to rest. "The Sultan lives in Cairo, and I in Fostat; the two towns lie at a distance of two Sabbath journeys (about one mile and a half). With the Sultan I have a difficult lot; I must visit him daily in the morning, and when he or any of his children or one of the women of his harem is suffering I may not leave Cairo.

¹ This letter was first published in a collection entitled "Peir ha-Dor," by Rabbi Mordecai Tama, Amsterdam, 1765; again in Lichtenberg's edition, p. 27—29. A portion of it, rendered into English by E. H. Lindo, in his *History of the Jews of Spain*, p. 62; and, with elaborate notes, by Dr. H. Adler, Chief Rabbi, in the *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, i., p. 219—228; and by I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life*, p. 235.

Even when nothing particular happens, I cannot come home till after mid-day. When I enter my house, dying of hunger, I find the hall thronged with people—Jews, Mohammedans, illustrious and otherwise, friends and foes, a motley crowd—who await my advice as a physician. There scarcely remains time for me to alight from my horse, wash myself, and take some refreshment. Thus it continues till night, and then, worn out with weakness, I must retire to bed. Only on Sabbath have I time to occupy myself with the congregation and with religion. I am accustomed on this day to dispose of the affairs of the community for the following week and to hold a discourse. Thus my days glide away.”¹

Maimonides had now attained his seventieth year and the time had come when he was to complete his earthly pilgrimage (20 Tebet, 1204), deplored by many congregations throughout the whole globe. His earthly frame was conveyed to Tiberias. There is a legend concerning the funeral of Maimonides to this effect:—“While the remains of Maimonides were being removed, a band of robbers rushed into the midst of the disciples who formed the funeral procession and tried to throw into the sea the precious remains which they attended. But a miracle was wrought; thirty of those sacrilegious robbers vainly tried to lift up the coffin, and, soon tired of their impotence, they were suddenly struck with

¹ Graetz, iii., p. 506—507. Concerning Maimonides' correspondence on rabbinical and other subjects, see Igg'rot ha-Rambam. Constantinople, 1522; Peeir ha-Dor, Amsterdam, 1765; Lichtenberg's collection of Maimonides' letters and smaller works, Leipzig, 1859; Dibrei Chachamim, Metz, 1849; Taam Zkeinim, Frankfurt, 1855; Chemda Genuza, by Z. H. Edelman, Königsberg, 1856. A portion of it has been translated into Latin by J. Buxtorf. in his *Institutio Epistolaris*, Basle, 1629. Maimonides' Testament, addressed to his son, Rabbi Abraham, published by M. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1842; and by Z. H. Edelman, under the title *Derech Tobim*, London, 1852. For references on the life of Maimonides, see M. Berr, *Notice sur Maimonide*, Paris, 1815; Munk, *Notice sur Joseph ben Jehuda*, Paris, 1842; Carmoly in *Univers Israélite*, 1850, May and June; Peter Beer, *Leben und Wirken des Rabbi Moses ben Maimon*, Prague, 1834; Derenburg, *Wissensch. Zeitschrift*, i., p. 97—123, 210—224, 414—427, Frankfurt. 1835; A. Kohn *Israelit. Annalen*, 1839, no. 35—36; M. Joel, *Breslau*, 1859; J. Perles, *Breslau*, 1875; A. Jaraczewski, Halle, 1865; Rosin, *Breslau*, 1876; M. Wolff, Leipzig, 1863; Falkenheim, Königsberg, 1882; Ad. Frank, *Dic. de science philosophique*; and Neubauer, *Documents inédits sur Maimonides et David Alroi*, *Revue des études juives*, no. 8, p. 173—191.

terror, and immediately restored to the Israelites their precious relics, saying: 'We plainly see that he whom you carry is a divine man whom God protects; go in peace, and accomplish your holy mission.'"¹

¹ A. Zacuti, Juchassin, edition H. Filipowski, p. 220, London, 1857. Concerning Joseph Ibn Abdallah Abul-Maali, nephew of Rabbi Moses Maimonides, see *Revue des études juives*, no. 13, p. 152.



CHAPTER VII.

RABBI MOSES MAIMONIDES AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES (CONTINUED).

MAIMONIDES left only one son, Rabbi Abraham, who inherited his father's character, his mildness, his sincere piety, his medical knowledge, his place as physician-in-ordinary, and his dignity as chief¹ (Nagid) of the Egyptian community.

Rabbi Abraham Maimonides (1185–1254), who was likewise a Talmudical scholar, defended the learning of his father with Talmudical weapons, and delivered rabbinical judgments. He was also well versed in philosophy, and composed a work in this spirit to reconcile the Agada with the philosophical ideas of the time. He was skilled in medicine, was physician-in-ordinary to the Sultan Alkamel—a brother of Saladin—and presided over the hospital of Cairo, together with the physician and Arabian historian, Ibn Abi Osaibiya.²

Maimuni's death not only produced a gap and brought about a standstill in the spiritual aspirations of the Jews,

¹ His son, Rabbi David Maimuni (1223–1300), who, like his father, was the prince over all the congregations in Egypt, wrote a Midrash on the Pentateuch and on the Haftarot. See Abba Mari in *Minchat Kenaot*, p. 88; see, however, S. Munk, *Annalen*, iii.

² Rabbi Abraham Maimuni wrote:—(1) A Commentary on the Pentateuch. On Genesis and Exodus are preserved MS. in the Bodleian Library. (2) *Kitab el Kafaya*, an extensive exposition of the Jewish Law, of the Creed and Ethics, in the order of his father's *Mishne-Torah*; 3 volumes MSS. kept in the same library. A portion of it was published under the title of "Maamar al Derashot," treatise on the explanations, in *Kerem Chemed*, ii., p. 7–16, and in Lichtenberg's collection, p. 40–43. (3) *Rêsponsa*, directed to Rabbi Daniel of Babylon, published by B. Goldberg, under the title of *Birkat Abraham*, Lyck, 1859. (4) *Maase Nissim*, correspondence of Rabbi Abraham to the same Rabbi Daniel, edited by B. Goldberg, Paris, 1867. (5) *Milchamot Hashem*, letter apologetic on the attack of his father's *More-Nebuchim*, published Vilna, 1821, and in Lichtenberg's collection, p. 15–21. In his *Birkat Abraham*, ch. 8 and 22, he quotes his commentary on the treatise *Pesachim*. Concerning his life and works see Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 91. See *Kerem Chemed*, v., p. 1–25.

but deprived them of a dignified and mighty leader, who had been able to unite under one standard a people scattered all over the universe. To him the congregations in the East and West freely submitted.¹ He had prudent counsel for every contingency, but after his departure the Jews were without a leader and Judaism without a guide.

The opposition to his philosophical doctrines had begun already during Maimonides' life, but he responded only gently and modestly. A young, intellectual, and learned man, Rabbi Meir ben Todros Halevi Abulafia, of Toledo (1180—1244), had at an early period already shown signs of his religious objections to Maimuni's theory in a missive to the wise men of Lunel, which was intended for publication.² He made, however, but little impression by this letter. Instead of finding supporters, Rabbi Meir met with a sharp rebuff from Rabbi Aaron ben Meshullam, of Lunel, who was learned in science and the Talmud, and a warm adherent of Maimuni. He charged him with presumption, in that he, who was so unripe in years and wisdom, should dare to pass an opinion on the greatest man of his time.³ Amongst his opponents of the North French Talmudists we find the name of Rabbi Samson, of Sens, so long as he remained in his native land.⁴

The hostility against Maimonides appeared also in the East, but not so strongly. A disciple of that Rabbi Samuel ben Ali, who had conducted himself so maliciously against the sage of Fostat, named Rabbi Daniel ben Saadiah, a learned Talmudist, had settled in Damascus, and was animated by the same spirit as his master against the Maimunist tendency, conceiving it to be his duty to pursue it with his

¹ Graetz, iii., p. 510—511.

² Kitab el-Reseil, p. 1—25, Paris, 1871.

³ Ibid, p. 25—40.

⁴ See Kitab el-Reseil, p. 107—137. Abulafia wrote:—(1) Commentary on the treatise Baba Batra, published Salonica, 1785. (2) On the treatise Sanhedrin, Salonica, 1798. (3) Lifnai we-Lifnim, a Cabalistical work, a portion of which has been published by Rittangel, Amsterdam, 1662. (4) Masoret Seiyag Lattorah, on the Masorah, published Florence, 1750, and in Berlin, 1761. (5) A letter to Rabbi Moses Nachmanides, published Constantinople, 1522, and in Lichtenberg's edition, iii., p. 6. (6) Kitab el-Reseil, edited by J. Brill. Paris, 1871. See Zunz, Zur Geschichte, p. 432-433.

hostility. Maimuni's admirers, however, were so exasperated at these attacks of Rabbi Daniel that Rabbi Joseph, Maimuni's pupil, wanted to have his opponent visited with severe punishment. He urged Rabbi Abraham Maimon to pass sentence of excommunication on Rabbi Daniel. Rabbi Abraham, however, who had inherited his father's love of justice and disinterestedness, would not hear of it. He expressed himself on the subject with meritorious impartiality. He did not think it right to excommunicate Rabbi Daniel, whom he considered a religious man of refined belief, who had only made a mistake. Maimuni's admirers, and especially Rabbi Joseph, were not, however, disposed to take the same view. They laboured to induce the exilarch, Rabbi David of Mosul, to exclude from the community the blameless and esteemed scholar of Damascus until he humbly recanted his strictures upon Maimuni. Rabbi Daniel was excommunicated and died in grief. From this time all opposition to Maimuni became silent for a long time in the East.

Very different was the state of affairs in Europe, and especially in the south of France and Spain. Here Maimuni's theories had taken root and dominated the men of learning and most of the influential leaders of congregations; henceforth they regarded the Bible and Talmud only in the Maimunist light.

The tocsin of alarm was sounded at Montpellier against the Maimonists by Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham, a distinguished Talmudic scholar. In his endeavours he was zealously assisted by his two disciples, Rabbi Jonah ben Abraham Gerundi (the elder), of Gerona,¹ and Rabbi David ben Saul. These three pronounced the ban (at the beginning of 1232) against all those who read Maimuni's compositions,

¹ He wrote:—(1) A commentary on the Alfasi's Talmudical decisions, treatise Berachot, published in the editions of Alfasi. (2) *Sepher Issur-we-Hetter-ha-Aruch*, a work on prohibited and lawful things, editio princeps, Ferrara, 1555. (3) *Dat ha-Nashim*, ordinances concerning the women, edited Cracow, 1609. (4) Commentary on the treatise *Aboth*, published by S. Dolitzki, Altona-Berlin, 1848. (5) *Shaare Teshuba*, the Gates of Repentance, editio princeps, Fano, 1505. (6) *Sepher ha-Yera*, on the Fear of God, editio princeps, Fano, 1505. (7) A commentary on Proverbs, MS. preserved in Michael's Library, no. 96. See Rabbi Bechay ben Asher's Preface to his commentary on the Pentateuch.

especially the philosophical parts, More and Madda. Rabbi Solomon and his allies explained the reasons for their sentence of excommunication in a missive.

This excommunication, the proscription of science and defamation of Maimuni, excited the most violent indignation of his followers. It seemed to them an unheard of audacity, an unparalleled impudence. The three chief congregations of Provence—Lunel, Béziers, and Narbonne—in which the Maimunists were in the ascendency, rose in arms against Rabbi Solomon, and on their side excommunicated him and his two disciples, and hastened to send a missive to the other congregations of Provence, bidding them unite in rescuing the honour of the great Moses. The flame of discord grew more violent, and spread over the congregations of Provence, Catalonia, Aragon, and Castile.

Two men had a share in this passionate quarrel whose names are celebrated in Jewish literature, Rabbi David Kimchi and Rabbi Moses Nachmanides.

The former, already an old man and at the zenith of his fame as a grammarian and expositor of the Bible, belonged to the enthusiastic admirers of Maimonides. Old and weak as he was, he nevertheless did not hesitate to undertake a journey to Spain, in order personally to bring the congregations of that country over to the side of the Provençals against Rabbi Solomon of Montpellier. When he arrived at Avila, he became so ill that he had to abandon the journey, but on his bed of sickness wrote with trembling hand, through his nephew, to the chief representative of the Toledo congregation, Rabbi Jehuda Ibn Alfachar.¹ He blamed him for his obstinate silence in an affair which stirred the French and Spanish communities so deeply, and importuned him to persuade his congregation to make common cause with the Maimonists. Alfachar at first would not reply to Kimchi at all, but ultimately deciding to do so, he treated him in so repellent a manner that the Maimonists, who were expecting the support of Toledo, were quite disconcerted at the result.²

¹ Cf. Lichtenberg's collection, iii., p. 1—2.

² Ibid, 1—4.

The other man of commanding influence in this struggle, Rabbi Moses ben Nachman, or Nachmanides (Ramban) Gerundi, likewise issued a circular, in which he implored the principal rabbis of Aragon, Navarre, and Castile to desist from a dispute which had lasted so long and caused so much evil.¹ Nachmanides was a great admirer of Maimonides, whose virtues and great merits in the service of Judaism he describes in his letter to the French rabbis.²

Before proceeding to speak of the course of this struggle, let us first cast a glance at the life and work of Nachmanides.

Rabbi Moses ben Nachman, or Bonastruc de Portas, as he was called by his fellow-countrymen, or Nachmanides, as he is commonly called now, was born in Gerona about the year 1195.³ He was initiated by Rabbi Judah ben Yakar, the commentator of the prayers,⁴ and by Rabbi Meir ben Nathan of Trinquaintaines.⁵

So extraordinary was his proficiency in the Biblical and Talmudical writings, that he wrote an elaborate Treatise on the Rights of Primogeniture and Vows,⁶ when he was scarcely fifteen years of age (1210). In this work he shows such an astounding intimacy with the Talmud that no one would recognise it as the production of a youth. It bears the stamp of complete maturity, shows a thorough command of the subject, and reveals profound acumen. Not less splendid in its way was his second youthful work, in which he sought to justify Alfasi's Talmudical decisions in respect of the tractate dealing with the civil and marriage laws against the attack of Rabbi Zerachyah Halevi Gerundi.⁷ Nachmanides had already commented upon several Talmudical tractates, and continued this labour indefatigably till he had furnished the greatest portion of the Talmud with explanations (*chidushim*).⁸ Nachmanides' merits are universally acknowledged

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4—7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8—11.

³ S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 121.

⁴ See Nachmanides' Glosses on the treatise *Baba Batra*, 36^b

⁵ See his Glosses on the treatise *Shebuoth*, 37^a.

⁶ Published in the editions of the Talmud.

⁷ Edited under the title of *Milchamot Hashem* in the editions of the Alfasi.

⁸ See Benjacob's *Ozar ha-Sepbarim*, p. 180, nos. 394—404, Vilna, 1880.

“whose words were held in Catalonia in almost as high authority as the Scriptures.”¹

He delivered a discourse in Saragossa, before James I., King of Aragon, and the magnates of the church and state, in defence of Judaism.² He was a profound philosopher, cabalist, and physician; and particularly famed for his abilities in the obstetric art.³

His reputation as a learned doctor in the law led to his being nominated on the part of the Jews to the public disputation with Fr. Pablo Christiani, a converted Jew, which lasted four days (July 20–23, 1263), by the decree of James I., King of Aragon. The conference took place at Barcelona, in the presence of the king and court. The king was so pleased with his conduct and talents that he presented him with 300 crowns. Christiani published a false version of the controversy, and Nachmanides, in self-defence, issued a truthful statement of the affair. Nachmanides' story must have proved unpleasant reading for his opponents, for it led to his banishment from Spain.⁴ Whereupon the septuagenarian Rabbi Moses Nachmanides had to leave (1266) his native place, his two sons, his college with numerous disciples, and his friends, and betake himself to the Holy Land, which he reached August 12, 1267. In Palestine Nachmanides completed and revised his stupendous Commentary on the Pentateuch, which he had begun nearly twenty years before.⁵

In a letter to his son he gives an account of the feelings excited by his residence in that country. “My son Nach-

¹ See Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet, ch. 415.

² This remarkable Address was first published 1582, Constantinople, then in Prague, 1600; but the best edition with corrections and notes is by Dr. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1853; and Vienna, 1872.

³ See Rabbi Solomon ben Adereth, Responsa, ch. 120.

⁴ It was first published with a Latin translation by Wagenseil, in his *Tela Igne Satanae*, Altorf, 1681. Then it was published in the collection of polemical writings, entitled *Milchemet Choba*, Constantinople, 1710, and again by M. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1860, to which are added learned notes by the editor, and Nachmani's exposition of Is. liii. See Loeb, *Revue des études juives*, xv., 1 seq., and xviii. 52; and Neubauer's *Essay on Jewish Controversy in the Expositor*, vol. vii., p. 98 seq.

⁵ The editio princeps of this commentary was printed before 1480, then in Lisbon, 1489; Naples, 1490; Pesaro, 1514; Salonica, 1521, and many other editions. His Commentary on Job is published in the Rabbinical Bibles.

man," he writes, " may the Lord bless you and grant you to see the peace of Jerusalem, and your children's children. I date this letter from Jerusalem, the Holy City. I give thanks and praise to the God of my salvation that I was enabled to reach this place in safety on the ninth of the month Elul. I have remained here till now, the day following the great Day of Atonement. My plan is to visit Hebron, to prostrate myself upon the sepulchres of our fathers, and there to prepare my own tomb. What can I say of this country? Great is its desolation and its sterility. The more holy the spot, the more completely is it abandoned. Jerusalem is the most degraded of all—Judea more so than Galilee. Yet even in its desolation it is a blessed country. The city contains 2000 inhabitants, 300 of whom are Christians, who have escaped the sword of the sultan. Since the invasion of the Tartars, no Jews have been settled here. Only two brothers, dyers by trade, are Jews. At their house we assembled, to the number of ten, and celebrated the Sabbath with prayers. We have now succeeded in procuring a deserted house, with marble pillars and a fine vaulted roof, and have transformed it into a synagogue. The city has, properly speaking, no government, and he that wishes may take possession of the parts that are unoccupied. We have contributed the needful expense to ensure possession of the house for the purpose I mentioned. We have also procured from Sicheu some volumes of the law, which had been concealed there at the time of the Tartar invasion. Thus we shall have a synagogue, and shall pray here. Men and women flock from all parts to Jerusalem—from Aleppo, Damascus, and all parts of the country to behold the sanctuary and to weep. May He who has permitted me to see Jerusalem in her desolation grant, that we may see her restored, rebuilt, and filled with the glory of the Lord. May you, my son, see the welfare of Jerusalem and be witness of the consolation of Zion!"¹

¹ Published at the end of his *Sepher Torat ha-Adam*, Warsaw, 1841, p. 69. A German translation is given by M. Sachs, *Religiöse Poesie*, p. 324—325; an English version, in Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles*, p. 299—301; and by S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 131—132. Another letter of Nachmanides, published in the appendix to his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. Venice, 1545; translated by S. Schechter in his *Studies*, p. 133. The same author translated another of Nachmanides' letters from the Holy Land to his son; see *Studies*, p. 134—171.

His work on mourning rites, burial customs, and similar topics, entitled *Torat ha-Adam*, the Law of Man,¹ gained the esteem of succeeding generations. In the preface he says: "My son, be not persuaded by certain propositions of the great philosophers, who endeavour to harden our hearts and to deaden our sensations by their idle comfort, which consists in denying the past and despairing of the future. One of them has even declared that there is nothing in the world over the loss of which it is worth crying, and the possession of which would justify joy. This is an heretical view. Our perfect Torah bids us to be joyful in the day of prosperity and to shed tears in the day of misfortune. It in no way forbids crying or demands of us to suppress our grief. On the contrary, the Torah suggests to us that to mourn over heavy losses is equivalent to a service of God, leading us, as it does, to reflect on our end and ponder over our destiny."²

As a poet, he is chiefly famed for his magnificent hymns, used by many of the synagogues in the service for the solemn days of the year.³

Meanwhile Rabbi Solomon of Montpellier had not remained inactive. Finding that the south was not favourable to his anathema and that the partizans of the "More" were con-

¹ Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1519, Venice, 1595, Warsaw, 1841 and 1876.

² Translated into English by S. Schechter, *Studies*, p. 139—140.

³ See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 478; Landshut Amude ha-Aboda, p. 234—239; Luzzato, *Ozar Nechmad*, ii. 27. Nachmanides wrote also: (1) Commentary on the Sepher Jecira, editio princeps, Mantua, 1562. (2) *Haeumna we-ha Bitachon*, incorporated and first published in the book "Arzei Libanon," Venice, 1601, *Giov. di Gara*; cf. J. Reifmann, *Hammagid*, 1861, p. 222. (3) *Responsa* editio princeps, Venice, 1523. (4) *Keitz ha Geulah*, the end of the Redemption which is extant in the British Museum, MS. Add. 26,894. (5) Annotations on Maimuni's Sepher ha-Mitzwot, editio princeps, Constantinople, 1510. (6) Sepher ha-Zakut, justifying Alfasi's Talmudical decisions against the attacks of Rabbi Abraham ben David on the three treatises, *Yebamoth*, *Ketuboth*, and *Gittin*, was first published in A. Meldola's *Shibah Einaim*, Leghorn, 1745. (7) An Epistle on the Sanctity of Marriage, *Igeret ha-Kodesh*, editio princeps, Rome, 1546. (8) Commentary on the Song of Songs, which is ascribed to him, belongs to his teacher, Rabbi Ezra, was first published Altona, 1765. (9) *Shoshan Sodot*, the Lilac of Mysteries, a cabalistical work, editio princeps, Koretz, 1784. (10) A Hymn of Nachmanides on the Day of Atonement, an English translation by Mrs. Henry Lucas, *Studies*, p. 165—166. (11) A Sermon for the New Year, ed. by H. Berliner, *Libanon*, v., 564, and another sermon by Schorr, *Hechaluz*, xx. 13.

tinually gaining ground and increasing in numbers and influence, he, in order to check their progress, implored the aid of the Catholic clergy, and called upon them to put a stop to the spread of a heresy which sapped alike the fundamental truths of both creeds. The Dominicans and Franciscans did not wait to be invited twice to interfere. The Papal Cardinal Legate, who was of the same fanatical disposition as Gregory IX., promptly took up the matter. Maimonides' works, at least in Montpellier, were hunted up in the Jewish houses and publicly burnt. In Paris also Maimonides' antagonists copied the example of the Montpellierians and burnt his works.

These proceedings, as was natural, excited the horror of all the Jews on both sides of the Pyrenees. Rabbi Solomon and his partizans were assailed with general condemnation. Rabbi Abraham ben Chasdai of Barcelona, an enthusiastic admirer of Maimonides, who had already censured Rabbi Jehuda Alfachar for his insulting treatment of Kimchi and for his championing the cause of Rabbi Solomon,¹ together with his brother, despatched a missive denouncing Rabbi Solomon's action in unmeasured terms to the communities of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Leon.² When Kimchi, who was already in Burgos on his journey home, heard of this affair he inquired of Alfachar whether he still thought of keeping the informer and traitor under his protection. Rabbi Meir Abulafia was deeply abashed, and remained silent. The

¹ See Lichtenberg's collection, iii., p. 7-8.

² Rabbi Abraham ben Chasdai, of Barcelona, left the following learned works:—(1) *Sepher ha-Tappuach*, the Apple, from the Arabic, containing numerous moral sayings and sentences of philosophers, editio princeps, Venice, 1519; a Latin version is given by Manfred, the son of the Emperor Frederick II.; see Rev. Dr. Adler, *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, 1872, p. 225. (2) *Sepher ha-Nephesh*, an imaginary discourse of Galen with his disciples, translated from Greek into Arabic; Rabbi Jehuda Charizi rendered it into Hebrew, editio princeps, Venice, 1519; and with notes by Dr. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1852. (3) *Sepher Mooznei Tsedek*, the Just Balances, a moral work of Algazali, rendered from Arabic into Hebrew, published by Goldenthal, Leipzig, 1839; a German translation by J. Musen, Lemberg, 1873. (4) *Ben ha-Melech we ha-Nazir*, the Prince and the Nazirite, a moral dialogue between a worldly-minded and a penitent man, translated from Arabic, editio princeps, Constantinople, 1508. See Veislovitz, *Prinz und Derwisch*, and M. Steinschneider, *Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, von I. Busch, iv. p. 221, v. 335, Vienna, 1845-6.

rabbis of Saragossa now issued a synodal epistle, a kind of apology in defence of the writings impugned and of the calumniated character of Maimonides, whose learning and piety they extolled. This epistle was accompanied by a private letter of a similar tenor, written by Rabbi Bechay, chief of the college.¹ The documents were circulated among the congregations of Aragon, and produced the desired effect. The informers, now without any Jewish support, were also abandoned by their Christian party, and a cruel mutilation (the cutting out of the tongue) inflicted on the slandering organ at the command of those who had ordered the burning of the books, was to expiate the crime of calumny.²

By public opinion Rabbi Solomon and the cause he represented were already condemned. Rabbi Jonah Gerundi publicly confessed his sincere repentance in the synagogue, and announced his intention of making a pilgrimage to the grave of Maimonides, and there, veiled in mourning, of prostrating himself and imploring the pardon of this great and pious man in the presence of ten persons. For this purpose he set out on his journey, left Paris, and arrived at Montpellier, where he also made public confession of his remorse for his procedure against Maimonides.³ This act reconciled the minds of the people. His opponents cast aside all their feelings of rancour against him, and received him as a brother. In his discourses he repeatedly mentioned the name of Maimuni with the respect due to that of a holy man. This conversion possessed so much the greater importance since Rabbi Jonah was a rabbinical authority and the author of several Talmudical works, which were held in high estimation. The fame of his great piety and morality brought him to the notice of James I., of Aragon, who commanded him to write a work to instruct man in the duties of religion and piety, which he did, under the title of "On the Fear of God."⁴ He died and was buried at Toledo (Marcheshvan, 1263).⁵

¹ Ibid, p. 5—6.

² Ibid, p. 17, and the letter of Rabbi Hillel of Verona, p. 13—15, in the same collection; see also Chemda Genuza, p. xxiv., note 3.

³ See the Epistle of Rabbi Hillel of Verona, in Lichtenberg's collection, iii., p. 13—15.

⁴ See Brüll, Jahrbuch, 1883, p. 83.

⁵ See Rabbi Solomon Duran, Responsa, ch. 291, Leghorn, 1742.

For the time the dispute was settled, yet the flame of discord was not entirely extinguished. Seventy years after, it again broke forth at Montpellier, when Rabbi Abba Mari ben Moses of Lunel, surnamed En Doran Astruc de Lunel, author of the book *Minchat Kena'oth*,¹ sent circulars to many congregations, especially to Rabbi Solomon ben Adret,² for the purpose of obtaining their concurrence in the prohibition of the study of philosophy. His endeavours were successful, and the application to the study of philosophy was interdicted for the next fifty years to persons under twenty-five.

Amongst poets worthy of record at this period were Rabbi Jehuda Charizi, Rabbi Joseph Ibn Sabara, Rabbi Jehuda ben Isaac Ibn Sabbatai and Rabbi Isaac ben Solomon Ibn Sahula.

Rabbi Jehuda ben Solomon Charizi lived in Spain, 1170—1230. He travelled extensively in the south of Europe, Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Babylonia, and laboured as an author, being a translator and poet of the first order. Besides his translation of Maimuni's works, he rendered selections from the Greek philosophers and also from the Arabic of Honein bar Isaac into Hebrew,³ under the title of *Musarei ha-Philosophim*; he likewise translated the *De Anima* from Galen under the title *Sepher Hanephesch*;⁴ composed *Refuot ha-Geviya*, a didactic poem on healing and medicine;⁵ and translated *Igeret ha-Musar*, *Epistle on Morality*, from the Arabic of Ali Ibn Rodhwan.⁶ But the true fame of Charizi rests on his own poetical works. His principal work, *Tachkemoni*,⁷ is not exactly a translation or imitation of

¹ (1) Containing a collection of letters and documents relating to the controversy going on at that time among the rabbis on the study of philosophy; (2) *Sepher Hayareyach*, on the same topic; and (3) A treatise on the Articles of Faith, Presburg, 1838. See Neubauer *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 3^e série, t. i., p. 572; Saige, *les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 108—112; and *Les Rabbins français*, p. 647.

² See Perles, *Rabbi Solomon ben Adereth*, p. 15, 1868.

³ *Editio princeps*, Riva di Trento, 1562, again Luneville, 1807, and Frankfort, 1896, by Löwenthal.

⁴ *Editio princeps*, Venice, 1519, and with notes by Dr. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1852.

⁵ *Editio princeps*, Venice, 1519.

⁶ *Editio princeps*, Riva di Trento, 1560; again in Benjacob's *Debarim Attikim*, i., Leipzig, 1844.

⁷ Has been published, Constantinople, 1540; Amsterdam, 1720; Vienna, 1854; and at Göttingen, 1883, by P. de Lagarde, contains fifty sections, partly prose and partly verse, in the form of dialogues and

Hariri, though written in the style of the Arabian poet. The author describes human life in a multitude of its phases, relates his own adventures as a traveller, and takes a critical survey of Hebrew poetry. The poem is quite a panorama, and abounds with picturesque scenery and wise disquisitions. In the eighteenth section of the *Tachkemoni* he gives precepts on the art of versification. He recommends in the first place, purity and severity of diction, not overgrown with a mixture of strange weeds, for which he blames the Grecian-Jewish poets; regularity in versification; unity and utility in the choice of a subject, and the manner of treating it; lastly, clearness of expression, "which is not to be found among the French Jews, who need a commentator to explain their works." He desires the poet "not to publish immediately to the world the fruit of his talents, lest it should prove abortive;" neither must he give all he has to the public, but only the best. "Lastly he must be popular in his language, and not write only for the learned, like Rabbi Solomon, who pleases only the latter, while ordinary readers cannot understand him."¹

The following is the expression of Charizi on Rabbi Jehuda Halevi: "The poetry of Rabbi Jehuda the Levite is like a diadem on the head of the synagogue, and a necklace of pearls around its neck; it is the pillar of the temple of poetry; he is the man armed with a lance, who overthrows all the giants of the art; his songs take away courage from the prudent; he has exhausted the storehouse, he has carried off precious spoil; he is gone out and has closed the door after him, so that none may enter. All the poets who follow him have his words in their mouth—he rends the heart, he takes possession of it by his songs of supplication; his lays of love are gentle as the dew, yet fervent as the burning coal. In his letters and his writings all poetry is contained."²

discourses on the most varied subjects. Portions of this deserving work have been translated into Latin by Ure, London, 1772; into German by Kaempfer, Berlin, 1845; Prague, 1885; Dukes' Ehrensäulen and Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der jud. Poesie*, Leipzig, 1836; into French by De Sacy, *Extrait du Sepher Tachkemoni*, Paris 1833; and Carmoli, *Revue Oriental*, iii., 1843, 1844.

¹ *Tachkemoni*, edition Vienna, 1854, p. 31—32.

² *Tachkemoni*, edition Vienna, p. 7^b.

Charizi wrote also the *Machberet Ittiel*, an adaptation in Hebrew from the *Makamen* of the Arabian poet *Hariri*.¹

Rabbi Joseph Ibn Sabara of Barcelona (1200), composed poetry in an exactly similar manner to Charizi in his *Tachkemoni*. Ibn Sabara wrote an interesting and attractive piece of Hebrew literature under the name of *Sepher Shaashuim*, the *Sources of Delight*.²

The third poet of this class, Rabbi Jehuda Ibn Sabbatai of Burgos, was considered by Charizi himself to be one of the best masters of the art at that time. He composed a dialogue, "*Between Wisdom and Riches*,"³ and a satirical romance under the title, "*The Women-hater*."⁴

And finally the fabulist Rabbi Isaac ben Solomon Ibn Sahula, of Guadalaxara (1244—1298). He has left us a pleasing volume of moral fables and apologues, under the title of *Mashal ha-Kadmoni*, *Fables of Ancient Times*.⁵

About the same time (1265—1280) the distinguished grammarian, lexicographer and commentator, Rabbi Tanchum ben Joseph Joshua Jerushalmi, from Jerusalem, wrote a commentary in Arabic on the whole Scripture.⁶

¹ Of the fifty *Makamen* (Cantos, or "Gates"), twenty-seven are extant and preserved in the National Library of Paris. The third may be found in De Sacy's *Séances de Hariri*, Paris, 1822 and in Dukes' *Ehrensäulen*; and the eighteenth in German, in Zedner's *Auswahl historischer Stücke*, p. 67. Prof. Chenery edited the *Machberet Ittiel*, with an introduction. On the life and works of Charizi, see Krafft, *Jüdische Sagen und Dichtungen*, p. 206; Th. Chenery, London, 1872; Munk, *Journal Asiatique*, t. xiv., p. 540. Dukes', Altona, 1879; Kaempfer, *Leben Charizis*, Berlin, 1845; Steinschneider, *Manna*, p. 109; *Cat. Bodl.*, 2302; *Z. d. M. G.*, ix. 838.

² *Editio princeps*, Constantinople, 1517, by Isaac Ekrish, and with a preface on the life and works of Ibn Sabara by S. Sachs, Paris, 1866; See I. Abrahams, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vi., and Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*

³ *Editio princeps*, Constantinople 1543.

⁴ *Editio princeps*, Constantinople and in *Sepher Taam Zkeinim*, by Aschkenasi, Frankfurt, 1855.

⁵ *Editio princeps*, Soncino, 1480, and many others; a portion of it has been translated into German, by Steinschneider, in *Manna*, p. 58—65, Berlin, 1847.

⁶ Entitled *Kitab-el-Bian*, the *Book of Exposition*. The Commentary on the Pentateuch has not as yet come to light. His commentary on Joshua was edited by Haarbrücker, Berlin, 1862. Commentary on Judges, ch. i.—xii., edited by Shnurrer, Tübingen, 1791; ch. xiii.—xxi., edited by Haarbrücker, Leipzig, 1844. Commentary on Habakkuk, edited by

Munk, in Cahen's Bible, vol. xii., Paris, 1843; and his commentary on Lamentations, edited by Cureton, London, 1843. In the Bodleian Library are preserved MSS. of Rabbi Tanchum's Commentaries on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, Commentaries on the Five Megilloth, the Haftarothe, translated into Arabic, and an Arabic Lexicon to the Mishna, treating on the relation of the language of the Mishna and of Maimonides' Mishna Torah to the Hebrew of the Bible.

Concerning his life and works see J. Goldziher, Leipzig, 1870. Rabbi Moses Taku or of Tachau who died at Vienna, 1290, wrote a curious work against the evils of philosophical speculation, entitled *Ketab Tamim*, incorporated in the periodical *Ozar Nechmad*, iii., p. 54; cf. Benjacob, *Debarim Attikim*, ii., p. 9; Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 251; Landshut, *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 223—224; and I. M. Zunz, *Geschichte der Krakauer Rabbinat*, notes p. 8, Cracow, 1874.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE JEWS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY.

LEAVING Spain for the present, let us advert to some of the prominent Jews who figured at about this time in France, Germany, Italy, and England.

Under the dynasty of the Carlovingians in France we find the Jews of the eighth and ninth century enjoying a great degree of prosperity. Pepin had already granted to the Jews of Languedoc the right of acquiring landed property, and his son Charlemagne pursued the same indulgent policy. Their prosperity and influence increased considerably in the kingdom of France under this monarch.

Lucca was at this time one of the principal seats of Jewish learning, and from this place in 787 the emperor transplanted Rabbi Kalonymos, with his son, Rabbi Moses, and a nephew, to Mainz, where they opened schools, which continued to flourish under the care of their successors, and much influenced the Jews of northern France. With the same object of introducing learning into his empire he employed a Jew, named Isaac, on an embassy to Harun-al-Rashid, and the caliph, at his request, sent him Rabbi Machir, who founded an important school at Narbonne,¹ which must have received a still greater impulse when later, about 950, Rabbi Nathan ben Isaac, the Babylonian, took charge of it. Under Louis the Pious (814—840) the Jews were highly favoured by the emperor and his wife Judith; a high official, termed the *magister Judæorum*, protected their interests, and they could trade freely from one part of the empire to the other without payment of toll. Charles the Bold (840—877) shewed them special favour; a Jew, Zedekiah, was his physician, and another, named Judah, his trusted adviser.

¹ See gr. Rab. Zadoc Kahn, *Etude sur le livre de Joseph le Zélateur*, p. 13.

This improvement in the material condition of the Jews of France continued with some interruptions till nearly the end of the twelfth century, and the great wealth they acquired¹ was partly expended in founding a multitude of schools, which produced a long succession of teachers, whose works in some cases still survive, although most frequently their names only can be recovered.²

The first founder of the scientific study of the Talmud, which henceforth flourished in France and Germany, was Leon or Leontin (Rabbi Jehuda ben Meir). His famous pupil, Rabbi Gershom, confessed that he owed all his knowledge to Rabbi Leon.³ Rabbi Gershom together with his brother, Rabbi Machir, spread the seeds of Talmudic knowledge from the south of France to the Rhine.

Rabbi Gershom ben Jehuda (960—1028) emigrated from France to Mayence. In Mayence Rabbi Gershom founded a school, which soon attracted numerous pupils from Germany and Italy. The respect for Rabbi Gershom was so great that he was named “The Light of the Exiles.” He wrote some very lucid commentaries on the Talmud.⁴ Rabbi Gershom was the first of the learned Jews of Germany acquainted with the Masora, which was the first step for understanding Hebrew grammar.⁵ He contributed also several liturgical prayers to the synagogue;⁶ and many of his decisions on points of law are still extant. He is chiefly,

¹ Half Paris is said to have belonged to them in the twelfth century; see Léon Kahn, *Les Juifs à Paris*, p. 8, Paris, 1889.

² In *Les Rabbins français*, p. 448, is to be found a long list of authors whose works have for the most part perished; see Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesen*, Vienna, 1880, p. 107, 113.

³ See Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg, *Responsa*, section 264, ed. Prague, and Tashbats, *Responsa*, section 574—575.

⁴ Published in the editions of the Talmud by Ram, Vilna, 1880.

⁵ See De Rossi, *Var. lect.* t. ii. p. 59.

⁶ Which are extant in the *Machzor* and *Selichot* of the rite of the Ashkenazim. Rabbi Gershom gave utterance to his grief at the severe persecution of the Jews in Germany by the emperor, Henry II. See Landshuth, *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 57—58; Kerem Chemed, viii. p. 106, 209; F. Wicken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, i. p. 41; and J. Reifmann, *Frankel's Monatsschrift*, 1854, p. 231.

however, remarkable for having assembled a council at Worms, and there passed, among other important regulations, a prohibition of polygamy.¹

His brother, Rabbi Machir, composed a Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon under the name of "Alpha Betha," of considerable merit.²

His pupil, Rabbi Elijah ben Menachem the elder, the husband of the sister of Rabbi Hai Gaon, was a skilful and prolific Hebrew poet (Poetan). The most valuable and interesting of his contributions is the Azharot, or poetry on the six hundred and thirteen precepts.³ His contemporary, Rabbi Simon ben Isaac ben Abun, who was of French descent, from Le Mans, wrote a number of liturgical compositions, in the style of Kaliri, in which he introduced the Hagadic literature, often in an enigmatical way.⁴

The school that had been founded by Rabbi Gershom in Mayence flourished for more than 180 years, and became the centre of Talmudic activity for Germany, France and Italy.

About the same time Rabbi Simon ben Chelbo Kara wrote his famous work "Yalkut Shimeoni,"⁵ a collection of agadic explanations by previous rabbis, on various portions of the Bible. In it he gives the substance of more than fifty works, many of which are lost.

His brother, Rabbi Menachem ben Chelbo Kara, is the author of a commentary on the Pentateuch, which he explains in a simple and natural manner. He appears to have written comments on the whole Bible, though only fragments of them remain in the writings of Rashi and his (Rabbi

¹ His Tekanot Constitutions were published at Venice, 1519; in Sepher "Kolbo;" in Responsa of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg; and in Responsa of Rabbi Moses Minz.

² See Rapaport, Rabbi Nathan, p. 26; Zunz, G.V., p. 163; Kerem Chemed, viii., p. 109.

³ Published in L.B. des Orients, 1850, no. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, and in Kobeits-Maase Yedei ha-Geonim, p. 55-73, Berlin, 1856. His sister, Killet, was famous as being well versed in the Talmud.

⁴ See Landshuth Amude ha-Aboda, p. 312-314.

⁵ Editio princeps, Salonica, 1521, and the last edition, Warsaw, by J. Goldmann, 1876; see Kerem Chemed, vii., p. 4-14; Horowitz, Frankfurter Rabbinen i., p. 3, Frankfort, 1882.

Menachem's) nephew, Rabbi Joseph Kara,¹ the son of Rabbi Simon ben Chelbo. Rabbi Joseph Kara holds a conspicuous place between the Bible commentators and exegetists of the eleventh century.² The contemporary learned men were Rabbi Joseph ben Samuel Tob-Elem (Bonfils), a prolific writer of ritual hymns,³ and a collector of previous rabbinical decisions,⁴ and Rabbi Meir ben Isaac Sheliach Zibbur,⁵ precentor at Mayence and Worms.

Amongst the great learned men at this period were Rabbi Eleazar ha-Gadol ben Simon from Le Mans, disciple of Rabbi Simon ben Isaac ben Abun, and his son Rabbi Tobiah from Mayence, who distinguished himself by his composition of a traditional interpretation on the Pentateuch under the name of *Lekach Tob*.⁶

The earliest attempts at Biblical exegesis, in the South of France were, as those of the North, in accordance with the traditional interpretation of the Midrash. The names of Rabbi Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne, who, about 1050, composed Midrashic notes on Genesis,⁷ and of Rabbi Judah

¹ See the extracts in Levy, *Die Exegese bei den franz. Israeliten vom 10 bis 14 Jahrh.*, p. 9. Dr. A. Berliner, *Pleitat Sopherim*, Breslau, 1872; and in Hashachar, ii., Heft 7, p. 289.

² Fragments of his commentaries on the Pentateuch were published in *Nitei Naamanim*, and in *Pleitat Sopherim*. On the Bible, see *Dukes' Kobeiz al-Yad*, Eslingen, 1846. On Job, *Kerem Chemed*, vii., p. 58—61. On *Echa*, *Lamentations*, editio princeps, Naples, 1487; again in the *Book Dibrei Chachamim*, p. 16—23. On *Jeremiah*, the edition published at Paris, 1881. See Darmsteter, *Archives des miss. scient.* 1871, p. 91; *Romania*, i. 148.

³ See *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 96—98.

⁴ Published by D. Cassel, Berlin, 1848. He is the author of the *Sepher Tikkon Shetarot*, a collection of forms of contracts, quoted by Rabbi Moses from Coucy, Rabbi Mordechai ben Hillel and by Rabbi Asher, which has not as yet come to light. Concerning his commentary on the Pentateuch, see Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 61, *Luzzato Bet ha-Ozar*, p. 55a, 66^b, and concerning his *Seder Tanaim*, published for the first time, Leghorn, 1775, see Rapaport's "Introduction to the Responsa of the Gaonim Kadmonim," and Weiss, *Toldot Rashi*, p. 2, note 5.

⁵ See *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 162—167.

⁶ The second part was first published, Venice, 1546, and both parts by S. Bober, Vilna, 1880.

⁷ His notes on the Blessing of Jacob were published at Venice, 1602, and Vilna, 1878; A. Epstein has collected the surviving fragments of his writings which he found in the works of the ancient authors, and published them with an introduction and explanatory notes, Vienna, 1891.

ha-Darshan of Toulouse,¹ have descended to us as authors of note in this line, but only fragments of their works remain to us in the writings of Rashi.

Amongst the disciples of Rabbi Moses ha-Darshan was the lexicographer Rabbi Nathan ben Jechiel. Rabbi Nathan was president of the academy at Rome in the eleventh century. His name is held in universal repute among Hebrew scholars as the author of the Aruch,² an arrangement of the words of the Mishna, both the Gemaroth, the Midrashim and all the Chaldee paraphrases of the Bible in alphabetical order. This lexicon became the key to the Talmud. His works are still the only clue to the ancient Jewish writings which are so important to Biblical literature and exegesis.

Rabbi Kalonymos ben Rabbi Shabbatai from Rome is also mentioned as a Talmudic authority of that time. Rashi spoke of him with great respect; the community of Worms elected him as their rabbi after the year 1096.³

In the same year as the last gaon suffered martyrdom, a star of the first magnitude began to shine in the firmament of Jewish literature in France—an eminent commentator and Talmudist known under the name of Rashi,—as if to intimate that the new impetus given by Rashi would fully compensate for the downfall of the old institution.

Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac Yitschaki (Rashi) was born 1040, at Troyes,⁴ in Champagne. His mother was the sister of Rabbi Simon ben Isaac from Le Mans,⁵ who was highly respected on account of his services to the community of

¹ See Rashi, Jer. xxxi. 22.

² Editio princeps, Italy, about 1480; the next Pisuari, 1517; Venice, 1531—1553; Basle, 1599; Amsterdam, 1655; M. J. Landau published an edition of Rabbi Nathan's Aruch, with Musafia's supplement, with his own notes, in five volumes, entitled "Maarche Lashon," Prague, 1819—1824; *ibid*, 1834—1835; but the best edition is that which has been published by Dr. Alexander Kohut, with his elaborate introduction, Vienna, 1878—1880. On the life of Rabbi Nathan, see Rapaport's Rabbi Nathan, Vienna, 1829—1830. D.M.G., xii. 142, 357; xiv. 318; Zunz, Itinerary, p. 18; Steinschneider, Catl. Bodl. 2040—2043.

³ See Rashi, Beitsa, 24 at the end, and Aguda, 172^a.

⁴ The Jewish family of Treves is alleged to descend from Rashi; the name is said to be a corruption of Troyes; see L. Wolf, *Jewish Chronicle*, September 18, 1896.

⁵ See Weiss Toldot Rashi, p. 3, note 6; Shabbalei Leket, ii., ch. 73, ed. Vilna, 1887.

Mayence and for his liturgic poetry. His father was also well versed in the Talmud. In order to perfect himself in the study of the Talmud, he frequented the Talmudical school of Mayence, which was founded by Rabbi Gershom, and which was then conducted by Rabbi Jacob ben Yakar. He afterwards attended the lectures of Rabbi Isaac ha-Levi, and Rabbi Isaac ben Jehuda at Worms, as well as the school of Rabbi Eliyakim at Spire,¹ leaving his home and wife, and suffering from want of food and garments in order to acquire divine knowledge.² At the age of twenty-five he permanently settled at Troyes, where he was already recognised as a high authority in rabbinical learning, and was consulted by some of the most distinguished Talmudists about difficult civil and religious questions. Consequently his teachers lavished on him the most flattering eulogies in their letters. Rabbi Isaac ha-Levi, of Worms, wrote to Rashi, "Thanks to you, this age is not orphaned, and may many like unto you arise in Israel." He soon after became rabbi of the Jewish community in Troyes, and founded a school to which numerous disciples resorted both from Germany and France (1070). Here he delivered those famous lectures on the Talmud and the Bible which form the substance of his commentary on the Talmud and the Scriptures, and which secured for him the distinguished title of Interpreter of the Law. He was certainly a master in Israel in the ordinary learning of his people, the Scriptures, and the whole circle of Talmudic lore. It was rightly said that without him the Babylonian Talmud would have been neglected like that of Jerusalem.³

Through Rashi and his school the north of France, especially Champagne, became the home of Talmudic lore as Babylon had been of old. It laid down the law for the rest of Europe. The leadership, which Jewish Spain had taken over from Babylonia, had to be shared with France from Rashi's time. Whilst Spain remained the classic ground

¹ Graetz, iii., p. 293; see, however, Weiss, *Toldot Rashi*, p. 5, note 7, who objects to the teaching of Rabbi Eliyakim.

² See Rashi's letter addressed to Rabbi Nathan ben Rabbi Machir, in *Chofes Matmonim*, p. 1—2.

³ See Rabbi Bezaleel Ashkenasi, *Responsa*, section 14.

with respect to Hebrew poetry, linguistic attainments, exegesis and philosophy, it had to yield the palm to France with regard to the study of the Talmud.

Rashi in his commentary combines the traditional exposition contained in the Talmud and Midrashim with a simple and literal explanation of the text. For the same end he employs all the resources of lexicography and grammar which he has at his disposal, and often explains the sense of the Hebrew by French equivalents.¹

He incorporated in his commentaries all the lore contained in the cyclopædias of Jewish tradition, as well as the learning of the French expositors.² His work at once attained the highest honour among his countrymen. The celebrated Ibn Ezra praised him.³ More than seventy works have been written with a view of explaining his writings.⁴ Christians, such as Gilb. Genebradus, Ar. Pontacus, Henry d'Aquine, the Buxtorfs, Lightfoot, and Carpzov, and in later times Rabe and Tychsen, have not been less ready to recognise his merits, and to express their obligations to him. Luther drew largely upon Nicholas de Lyra (1270—1340) in his translation of the Bible, and this great scholar was formed in the school of Rashi and his successors, the Tosaphists.⁵

Before the Crusades the Jews of Germany dwelt in peace; they were neither excluded from the possession of land nor were they despised and humiliated. When Bishop Rüdiger Huozmann, of Speyer, included old Speyer within the limits of the town he knew no better way of giving respectability to the town than by allowing the Jews to have privileges and dwellings therein. Bishop Rüdiger gave a special jurisdiction to the Jews, and their chief or rabbi had

¹ The works of Rashi have furnished Arsène Darmesteter with more than 2,000 old French words of the eleventh century. See his article in *Romania*, 1872, p. 146, and his reports in their *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, série 2, vol. 7, p. 87; série 3, vol. 4, p. 387; see also *Ecrivains Juifs français du xiv^e siècle*, p. 389.

² See Zunz, *Rashi*, p. 292—322; Weiss, *Toldot Rashi*, p. 10—16.

³ See Hamagid, 11, 10.

⁴ See Dr. A. Berliner's edition of Rashi on the Pentateuch, preface p. ix.

⁵ See *Les Rabbins français*, p. 433; the *Thinker*, vol. vi, no. 4, October, 1894, p. 299—300.

equal rights with the burgomasters to decide law-suits. In order to protect them from the intrusion of the mob, Rüdiger gave them a special quarter, which they might fortify and defend. Rüdiger adds, in the document that he had granted to the Jews, the same favourable conditions which they enjoyed in other German towns. The emperor, Henry IV., confirmed these privileges and added other favourable conditions. This emperor issued a decree (6th February, 1095) which was remarkably beneficent to the Jews. No one was permitted under fear of punishment to compel either the Jews or their slaves to be baptised. In a law-suit between Jews and Christians, the Jewish laws and oaths were to be followed. They could not be compelled to undergo ordeals by fire and water, and yet not long after this they were cut down by the Crusaders.¹

The enraged populace, especially the hordes of Flagellants sweeping over South Germany and the Rhenish provinces, murdered in those days many thousand Jews, torturing others,² or baptising them by force. The Emperor Henry was at that time occupied in war with Italy, and the wildest anarchy prevailed in Germany. This terrible fate successively befell the congregations of Mayence, Metz, Treves,³ Speyer, Worms, Cologne, and many smaller places. The slaughter extended to Regensburg. The majority of the Jews died for their faith, many killed themselves and their children, set fire to their houses and synagogues and perished in the flames, or threw themselves into the Rhine; only a few feigned conversion to Christianity.⁴

When the Crusaders traversed Bohemia, its powerful duke, Wratislaw II., who was occupied in a foreign war, could do nothing to stem the evil. The crusading miscreants were therefore at liberty to gratify their fanaticism by dragging off the Jews of Prague to baptism or killing those who resisted. Bishop Cosmo preached in vain against such excesses.

¹ Graetz, iii., p. 304—305.

² See Dr. Berliner's *Kobeitz al Yad*, iii.

³ See the *Chronicle of Treves in the Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages*; Oxford Essays, 1857; and the *Jewish Chronicle*, May 15, 1896, p. 23.

⁴ See the very touching *piyut* of Rabbi Kalonymos ben Jehuda, in *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, i., p. 175.

Meanwhile the Emperor, Henry IV., had returned from Italy, and at the news of the atrocities perpetrated against the Jews by the Crusaders, he had publicly announced his horror, and owing to the intervention of the head of the congregation of Speyer, Moses or Gutthiel, he had permitted those who had been forcibly baptised to return to Judaism. This was a gleam of joy for the Jews of Germany. The converts did not fail to make use of their liberty to throw off the mask of Christianity (1097). These unhappy people were regarded as renegades by those who had remained Jews; they would not intermarry nor mix with them, nor eat nor drink with them, although the latter had shown their attachment to Judaism by a prompt return to it. When, however, Rashi heard of this, he exclaimed:—"Far be it from us to separate and shame those who have returned. All that they did was done from fear of the sword, and they lost no time in returning to Judaism."¹

Rashi died 29 Tamuz, 1105, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.²

¹ Pardes Hagadol, p. 59b, ed Warsaw, 1870.

² See A. Chaikin, *Apologie des Juifs*, p. 96, 258, from a MS. preserved in the National Library of Paris no. 73, at the end.

The Works of Rashi are:—(1) The Commentary on the Pentateuch, editio princeps, Calabria, 1475, then before 1480, then again 1487, and since printed in almost every Jewish edition of the Hebrew text. The edition of Rashi on the Pentateuch by Dr. A. Berliner, Berlin, 1866, is very meritorious. The German translation of Rashi's commentary was made by L. Dukes, Prague, 1833—1838. His comments on the other portions of the Bible are given in the Rabbinic Bibles. Breithaupt translated the whole of Rashi's commentaries into Latin, Gotha, 1710—1714. (2) A Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud, printed in the editions of that work. (3) Commentary on the Midrash Bereshit Rabba, editio princeps, Venice, 1568, and the last edition, Vilna, 1878; see Weiss' *Toldot Rashi*, p. 61—62. (4) *Sepher ha-Pardes*, and *Sepher ha-Orah*, collections of legal decisions, were published, Constantinople, 1802, and Warsaw, 1870; an extract of the *Sepher ha-Pardes*, made by Rabbi Samuel Bamberg, published Venice, 1519, under the title of *Likutei ha-Pardes*; see Weiss' *Toldot*, p. 49. (5) *Dinei Nikkur*, legal decisions on the removal of the forbidden fat and of the purging of the veins, published, Venice, 1605.

His epistolary correspondence is incorporated in the following works:—*Melo Chofnaim*, p. 33, Berlin, 1840; *Chofes Matmonin*, p. 1—14, Berlin, 1844; *Zichron Jehuda*, p. 50^a—52^b, Berlin, 1846; *Ozar Nechmad*, ii., p. 174—180, Vienna, 1857; and in the *Responsa* of the *Geonei Mizrach* and *Maarab*, edited by Dr. Joel Müller, Berlin, 1888. We have from Rashi various *Selichot* hymns on the severe persecution of the Jews in his time; cf. Weiss, *Toldot*, p. 47—48. His disciple, Rabbi Menachem

Rashi left no sons to take up his labours, but only three daughters, one of whom was so deeply versed in the Talmud that during her father's illness she read to him all the questions concerning the Talmud that had been sent to him, and wrote down the answers which he dictated to her.¹ The three daughters were married to men of note as rabbinical scholars: Rabbi Meir of Rameru, Rabbi Jehuda ben Nathan, and Rabbi Eleazar Joslin.² Rabbi Meir of Rameru, not far from Troyes, became the father of three distinguished sons: Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam), Rabbi Isaac ben Meir (Ribam), and Rabbi Jacob ben Meir, surnamed Rabbenu Tam. They have immortalized themselves among the learned Jews by their Tosafot, or supplementary commentaries on the Talmud.

Rabbi Samuel ben Meir, born at Rameru about 1080, is one of the most distinguished expositors of the Scriptures belonging to the French school.³ The extraordinary influence which his literal, grammatical, and exegetical efforts had on his fellow-labourers may be judged of from the fact that no less a person than his own grandfather—the immortal Rashi—was convinced by the soundness of Rashbam's principles of interpretation, and declared to him that if he had to re-write his own expositions he would adopt those principles of interpretation. Rashbam completed the commentaries on certain tractates of the Talmud which his grandfather Rashi had left unfinished.⁴

bar Machir, wrote an elegy on the persecution of the Jews by the first Crusaders; cf. *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 189—192

Concerning the life and works of Rashi, see *Zunz Rashi*, 1822; S. Bloch, *Toldot Rashi*, Lemberg, 1840; *Parschandata*, Leipzig, 1855, p. 12; *Steinschneider*, *Cat. Bodl.*, 2340—2357; Weiss, *Toldot Rashi*, Vienna, 1882; N. Kronberg, *Rashi als Exeget*, Halle, 1882; Siegfried, *Archiv. f. Wiss. Erforschung d. A. T.*, i., p. 428; Dr. M. Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden*, p. 11—12, t. i., Vienna, 1880.

¹ See *Sepher ha-Pardes*, section 242. See, however, *Zunz Zur Geschichte*, p. 567; and *Berliner*, *Monatsschrift*, iv. p. 288.

² *Carmoly in Lebanon*, iv. no. 7; cf. *Sepher ha-Yashar*, section 599.

³ His *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, editio princeps, Berlin, 1705, begins with *Gen. xviii.*; Dr Rosin published and completed the missing portion, with an elaborate introduction, Breslau, 1882. His *Commentary on the Five Megillot*, was published by Jellinek, Leipzig, 1855. Rashbam completed also Rashi's *Commentary on Job*.

⁴ See *Rosin's Rashbam*, xii.—xvii.; and Weiss, *Toldot Rabbenu Tam*,

The distinguished Talmudist, Tosaphist, grammarian, and commentator, Rabbenu Tam, was born about 1100. Being the youngest of the three learned grandchildren of the great teacher of Troyes, Rabbi Tam was unable to acquire anything from his grandfather, whom he only knew when a child. He attained, however, to such a degree of excellence in the study of the Talmud that he outshone his contemporaries. He united clearness of intellect with acuteness in reasoning, and was the chief founder of the school of the Tosaphists. None of his predecessors had revealed such profoundness of knowledge and so marvellous a dialectical ingenuity in the sphere of the Talmud. Although living as a private person and engaged in business, he was still esteemed the most famous rabbi of his time, and his renown travelled as far as Spain and Italy. Questions upon difficult points were exclusively sent to him, not only from his own land but also from Southern France and Germany; and the rabbinical authorities of the period, and even those of Paris, bowed to him with the deepest reverence. Already in his youth he was surrounded by numbers of pupils who regarded him with veneration as their ideal. He was so overwhelmed with the task of giving answers to questions sent to him that he was sometimes tempted to put aside the burden.¹

The fanatics of the Second Crusade, who almost deprived him of life, robbed him of all his possessions and left him nothing more than his bare life and his library.² Nevertheless he composed his Glosses on the Talmud just at this troublous period.³

He wrote verses with such elegance as to excite the astonishment of Ibn Ezra when he made a journey into

p. 5, 6. On the life and work of Rashbam, see Nitei Naamanim, p. 29—39; Parschandata, p. 20—24; and Rosin's introduction, p. i—xlili.

¹ Graetz, iii. p. 385—386. Cf. Responsa of Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet, section 394; and Rabbi Tam's Sepher ha-Yashar, p. 67^a, 83^a.

² Sepher ha-Yashar, p. 81^a.

³ Concerning his Sepher ha-Yashar, annotations on the Talmud and legal decisions, published Vienna, 1810, see I. H. Weiss, Toldot Rabbenu Tam, p. 14—22; and J. Jacobs, The Jews of Angevin England, p. 25—26. Concerning the First and Second Crusades, see Hefele, Concilien-geschichte, v. 224, 270, 498; and C. U. Hahn, Geschichte der Ketzler im Mittelalter, iii. p. 17.

France;¹ and he became so far advanced in the knowledge of grammar that he was able to act as arbiter in the grammatical controversy between Menachem ben Saruk and his opponent Dunash.²

The large number of learned rabbis in northern France and Germany, and the universally acknowledged authority of Rabbenu Tam, brought about a new departure which now for the first time made its appearance in post-Talmudical times. Under the presidentship of the master of Rameru, the first rabbinical synod assembled for the purpose of deciding, in common, upon certain important resolutions which were necessary at the time. Probably the council which had been convoked in France by the fugitive popes, Pascal, Innocent II., Calixtus and Alexander III., gave this impulse to the rabbis. The decisions of the rabbinical synods concerned not only religious and communal matters, but touched also upon civil laws in accordance with the feeling of the people and for the welfare of the community.³

In his old age Rabbenu Tam lived to witness a bloody persecution of the Jews in his vicinity in Blois, which is not so memorable on account of the severity with which the martyrs were treated, as of the lying accusation, fiercely levelled against them, that the Jews at Easter used the blood of Christians. It was a base intrigue which kindled the fire at the stake for the innocent. Thirty-four men and seventeen women died amid the flames whilst chanting the prayer which contains the confession of the existence of the One God (Wednesday 20 Sivan, 26 May, 1171).⁴

When the news of the martyrdom of the Jews reached Rabbi Jacob Tam, he decreed that the day should be observed as a strict fast and day of mourning. The congregations of

¹ He corresponded with Ibn Ezra; cf. Tosaphot Kidushin; 37b; and exchanged poems with him; see Kerem Chemed, iii. p. 35.

² Published by H. Philipowski, London, 1855. Concerning his liturgical prayers, see Landshuth, *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 106—108.

³ Concerning the Takanot or Ordinances of Rabbi Tam, see Kol Bo, section 117; Responsa of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, p. 111, Prague, 1608; cf. *Revue des études juives*, t. xvii., p. 69, S. Schechter, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 47—49, and I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life*, p. 49, 54, 58, 88, 183, 254, 394.

⁴ Cf. *Emek ha-Bacha*, p. 37—40; the *Elegy on the Martyrs*, composed by Rabbi Hillel ben Jacob, incorporated in the *Selichot of the Day of Atonement* has been translated into English by Dr. A. Löwy, *Miscellany of Heb. Lit.*, p. 182.

France, Anjou, and the Rhine country at this intimation of the great teacher, which was conveyed by letter, willingly obeyed his commands. This fast day in memory of the martyrs of Blois is at the same time connected with the first outbreak in France of the utterly false and groundless fabrication that the Jews used blood on their Passover, which in the course of half a century was the cause of the death of hecatombs of victims. This was the last public act of Rabbenu Tam, for a few days afterwards he died (Wednesday 4th Tamuz).¹

The first charge in Europe of the so-called "blood accusation" was especially brought against the Jews of Norwich,² in 1146, just at the time when the mind of Europe was particularly inflamed against the Jews, as was shown by the persecutions in Germany.³

"The charge," says the Rev. Charles H. H. Wright,⁴ "has, indeed, in modern times generally been regarded by enlightened public opinion in the most civilised parts of Europe as a foul slander, as one of the base falsehoods preferred against the Jewish people during the middle ages, deliberately invented, or, if not invented, maliciously made use of for the purpose of inflaming the popular indignation against the Jewish people, in order the more easily to seize hold of the wealth and property of that hated race, or to get rid of debts superinduced by wanton extravagance."

"We would, however," concludes the Rev. Ch. H. H. Wright,⁵ "call special attention to the elaborate opinion of

¹ Concerning the life and works of Rabbi Tam, see Zunz. *Zur Geschichte*, p. 32, 109; Dessauer in *Rahmer's Literaturblatt zur Wochenschrift*, 1873, p. 19; G. Klemperer, in *Paschele's Calendar*, Prague, 1880; I. H. Weiss, *Toldot Rabbi Tam*, Vienna, 1883; Graetz, iii., p. 389—397. Concerning the Elegy on the Martyrs of Troyes in 1288, cf. *Les Rabbins français*, p. 475—482.

² Cf. Joseph Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 19.

³ Cf. Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacobs' *Jewish Martyrology of the Second and Third Crusades*, at the end of Wiener's edition of the *Emek ha-Bacha* of Rabbi Joseph Cohen, and in *Hebraische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen, während der Kreuzzüge*, published by Dr. Neubauer and Stern, Berlin, 1892.

⁴ *The Nineteenth Century*, p. 765, Nov., 1883.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 778. See also A. Chaikin, *Apologie des juifs*, p. 201—207, the opinions of the following scholars, Ph. Jalabert, Glasson, Ch. Beudant, and E. Renan.

Professor Dr. Hermann L. Strack, of Berlin, in favour of the Jews (which is contained in two pamphlets), in which he points out the absurdity of the charge of using human blood as being utterly opposed to all the directions of the Mosaic law. He refers to the extreme care taken by the Jews, even in the middle ages, to abstain from anything with blood in it, and among other facts, to the curious directions given with regard to the minute atoms of blood sometimes found in eggs, which were ordered to be carefully shunned by pious Jews, as well as to the directions given as to what to do when, in the act of eating, the gums might accidentally bleed. Professor Strack also points out that the accusations of this kind brought against the Jews were originally preferred also against the Christians by their pagan assailants. The opinions in these pamphlets of Professor Nöldecke of Strasburg, Professor Merx of Heidelberg, Professor Stade of Giessen, Professor Siegfried of Jena, all Hebrew scholars of the highest eminence and men not likely to be influenced by any theological prepossessions on the subject, ought to be sufficient in the eyes of all rational men to clear the Jewish nation from this odious charge. The theological faculties of Amsterdam and of Leyden have also given strong opinions in favour of the Jews. The only strange thing about the matter is that in the nineteenth century of the Christian era the charge—which, like that of witchcraft, ought long since to have been thrown into the lumber-room of exploded opinions—should still be believed in by many persons.”

The crime of child murder for ritual purposes was first brought against the early Christians.¹ Athenagoras found himself compelled to appeal to Marcus Aurelius for protection against the calumny, and Origen, 185—250, in his reply to Celsus, was obliged to cite from the Old Testament, the many prohibitions of the use of blood as evidence of the impossibility of the alleged practice. In course of time, however, Christians themselves adopted the fable, together with many other of the superstitions of paganism, and by a

¹ See Tertullian in his *Apology for the Christians*, chap. ix.; Justinus Martyr in his *apologia ad Anton.*, p. 2; Eusebius, *Cæsarensis*, vol. i., p. 5, ch. 1 and 4; Pineda in his *Monarchid Ecclesiastica*, vol. i., p. 11, ch. 52; and several other authors.

triumph of prejudice, fastened it on the very people whose traditions they had relied on to rebut it when it was related of themselves. Notwithstanding that the popes Clement III. (1190), Honorius III. (1217), Gregory IX. (1227), Innocent IV. (1243), Clement VI. (1342), Urban V. (1365), Sixtus IV., and Alexander VII. disproved the blood accusation, and the most able scholars have shown its utter baselessness,¹ the anti-Jewish agitators obstinately persisted in repeating the charge through all the middle ages, even to the end of the nineteenth century.

“It is a singularly creditable proof,” said Professor J. Clark Murray,² “of the liberal government of Stephen Batory—one of the ablest monarchs who ever sat on the throne of Poland—that so long ago as 1576 he issued an edict prohibiting the imputation of this crime to the Jews, as being utterly inconsistent with the principles of their religion. Yet, in spite of this enactment, the fanatical suspicion continued to display itself at frequent intervals. Milman supposed it had been finally quelled by the ukase of the Russian govern-

¹ On this subject cf. Samuel Ibn Usque, *Consolaçam de las Tribulationes en Israel*, Ferrara, 1553; Wolf, *Bib. Hebr.* ii., p. 1131—1135; iii., p. 1071—1075; Jehuda Karmi, *De Charitate*, Amsterdam, 1643; Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel, *Vindiciah Judaeorum*, 1653; J. Cph. Wagenseil, *Benachrichtigungen Wegen einiger die gemeine Jüdischheit betreffenden Sachen*, p. 126—206, Leipzig, 1705; Isaac Cantarini, *Vindex Sanguinis*, Amsterdam, 1680; W. Dohm, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, Berlin, 1781; Zunz, *Damascus, ein Wort zur Abwehr*, 1840; H. L. Biesenthal, *Ueber den Ursprung der wider die Juden erhabenen Beschuldigung*, Berlin, 1840; I. B. Levinson, *Efes Damim, or Conversations at Jerusalem, on the malicious charge of using Christian blood*, translated into English by Dr. L. Løwe, London, 1841; Dr. M'Caul, *Reasons for believing that the charge lately revived against the Jewish people is a baseless falsehood*, London, 1840; I. Tugendhold, *Der alte Wahn vom Blutgebrauch*, Berlin, 1858; *Der neue Piteval*, t. ii., p. 14—19, Leipzig, 1858; Professor D. Chwolson, *Ueber einige mittelalterliche Beschuldigungen gegen die Juden*, St. Petersburg, 1861, second edition, 1880; A. Cahen, *Ephémérides des Israélites*, Paris, 1861; Kayserling, *Die Blutbeschuldigung von Tisza-Eszlar*, Budapest, 1882; G. Valbert, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Avril, 1883, p. 681—692; H. Friedländer, *Zur Geschichte der Blutbeschuldigungen*, Brünn, 1883; *Christliche Zeugnisse gegen die Blutbeschuldigung der Juden*, Berlin, 1883; *Blutbeschuldigung gegen die Juden von Christlicher Seite beurtheilt*, Vienna, 1883; Professor Strack, *Der Blut-Aberglaube*, Berlin, 1892; and an article by Rev. Dr. Charles H. H. Wright, *On the Jews and the Malicious Charge of Human Sacrifice*, the *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1883, p. 753—778.

² In his *Monography on Solomon Maimon*, p. 18, London, 1888.

ment in 1835, which went in the same direction as the earlier prohibition of the Polish king (*History of the Jews*, vol. iii., p. 389). What would have been his astonishment had he lived to learn that, half a century after he thought it extinguished, this ancient delusion was to revive, that an Hungarian court was to spend thirty-one days in the solemn trial of a Jewish family on the charge of the sacrificing a Christian girl in their synagogue, that a learned professor in the Imperial and Royal University of Prague was to write in defence of the charge, and that the trial was to form the subject of an extensive controversial literature in the language of the most learned nation in the world !”

“The atrocious and murderous lies,” says Dr. M’Caul,¹ “which envelop this charge of using blood give us strong reason for suspecting that it is as devoid of truth, as calumnious, and as devilish as those image and wafer stories by means of which so many thousands of unhappy Israelites were put to the sword, whose blood still cries to heaven for vengeance.”

The following remarkable illustration will exemplify the foundation of the ridiculous story attributed to the Jews:—“A few days back two Greeks presented themselves at the palace of the grand Rabbi of Smyrna, and asked to see him on very important business. The venerable Abraham Palacci being unwell, they were asked to come another day. Next day they called again; the rabbi not having yet recovered, his son, a man of forty-five, learning that the business was urgent, asked if they could not explain it to him. After some desultory conversation they consented, at the same time requesting to be conducted to some remote compartment where there was no danger of being overheard. This being done, one of them said to him:—‘Every one has his particular religion; we are aware that part of yours is to offer at Easter a Christian child in sacrifice; now we are ready, for the sum of £1,400, to furnish you with a fine, plump, and healthy Christian child, a little Greek girl of four years old, for your sacrifice, and the child shall be ob-

¹ In his “Reasons for believing that the charge lately revived against the Jewish People is a baseless Falsehood,” p. 16—24.

tained in such a manner as to insure the most profound secrecy.' The Rabbi's son, as may be supposed, was thunderstruck at the proposal, but he dissembled his feelings and stated that before he could enter into any definite arrangements with them it was necessary he should consult his father. They having consented to this, he withdrew to his father's room and briefly related to him the story of the grim proposal. Speaking in the Hebrew tongue, for fear the men outside should understand, the father told him to despatch a messenger immediately to the head-quarters of the police, requesting the chief of police to send immediately an officer with a body of gendarmes, and then to go back and keep the Greeks, under the pretence of discussing the price of their crime. Emin Effendi speedily answered the summons, and on the arrival of the zaptiehs the rabbi posted them behind a door concealed by a heavy curtain, and sent word to his son that the men had come, this message, like the previous one, being delivered in Hebrew. One of these individuals asking what the man had said, Nissim Palacci answered that his father, although ill, wished to see them. Ushered into the presence of the rabbi, he began asking them in Turkish, so that the officials might understand the affair, how and where they got the child, how the sale was to be effected, and many other particulars. The examination of the case satisfactorily concluded, he whistled, the police came in, and having manacled the men, led them off to prison. As they were led through the streets some inkling of the affair seems to have got abroad, and the police had to be strengthened to repress the people, who looked as if about to take vengeance on the miscreants."¹

¹ Charles Godfrey Leland, from the *Levant Herald*, in the Works of Heinrich Heine, t. i., p. 179, London, 1892.

CHAPTER IX.

THE JEWS IN FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY.

THE absorption in the Talmud became the balm for the wounds caused by the crusading mob amongst the communities of the Rhine district. In the school the pleasures of thought obtained, and no sorrow or despair was to be found.

The disciples of Rashi, Rabbi Shemaya, Rabbi Isaac ben Asher ha-Levi of Speyer, Rabbi Nathan ha-Machiri, and his brother, Rabbi Menachem, Rabbi Simon, and Rabbi Simcha bar Samuel of Vitry,¹ founded a multitude of schools, which produced a long succession of teachers.

Amongst the learned men worthy of record at this period were Rabbi Jehuda ha Cohen,² Rabbi Meshullam ben Moses, Rabbi Eleazar ben Nathan from Mayence, who described the revolting cruelties of the first Crusaders,³ Rabbi Solomon ben Samson of Worms, and Rabbi Eleazar ben Samuel from Metz.⁴

¹ He wrote the famous book "Machzor of Vitry," which has recently been published in Berlin.

² The author of *Sepher ha-Dinim*; cf. the periodical *Hammebasseir* i., no. 8.

³ This Martyrology, under the title of *Gzeirot Tatnu*, 1096, was published by Dr. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1854; enlarged by Neubauer, *Revue des études juives*, no. 7, p. 1—3; see Levin in the same *Revue*, viii., 134; see also Löwe, the *Memorbook of Nurenberg*, London, 1881.

Rabbi Eleazar ben Nathan gives therein a vivid account of the terrible events at Spiers, Worms, Mayence, and Cologne. There are many tales of individual heroism which stand out in their singularly impressive horror with a strange lurid light. The story of Rabbi Simcha Cohen surpasses in its weird, tragic elements anything that the Greek dramatists could have conceived; cf. the *Jewish Chronicle*, 15th May, 1896, p. 23, and L. Levysohn, *Scenen aus dem Jahre, 1096*, in *Frankel's Monatschrift*, 1856; Rabbi Eleazar was also the author of *Piyutim*, dealing with those times; cf. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 246; and is also famous as the composer of the *Sepher Eben ha-Eizer*, on the Rabbinical Constitutions, edited Prague, 1610: cf. Zunz, *Zur-Geschichte*, p. 72.

⁴ Author of the *Sepher Yereim*, editio princeps, Venice, 1566; reprinted correctly, Vilna, 1895; cf. Azulai's *Shem ha-Gedolim*, p. 24, t. i., edit. Vilna, 1852.

Bohemia must also be enumerated as being in the list of Talmudical centres at this period, for it produced many men famous for Jewish knowledge. Rabbi Isaac ben Jacob Halaban, of Prague, takes an important place among the Tosaphists. His brother, Rabbi Petachya, made distant journeys (about 1175—90) through Poland, Russia, the land of the Chozars, Armenia, Media, Persia, Babylonia, and Palestine. His abridged description of his journeys gives interesting notices of the Jews in the East.¹

The small town of Rameru continued to be the centre of study. Here Rabbi Isaac ben Samuel of Dampierre (Ri), a great grandson of Rashi, held his school. He was the chief authority after the death of his uncle, Rabbenu Tam. Learned and acute, like his ancestors, Rabbi Isaac occupied himself with completing Rashi's commentary, with collecting and arranging his notes on the whole Talmud, and with determining the questions and solutions of difficult passages in the Talmud by the Tosaphists. The story is told later² that in the college of Rabbi Isaac the elder, there were sixty learned members, all of whom were not only proficient in the whole of the Talmud, but each one of whom knew by heart and in a masterly manner one of the sixty tractates. Rabbi Isaac's first collection of the glosses was called "the oldest Tosaphot."

In consequence of the hostile spirit which began to prevail in North France through Philip Augustus, Rabbi Isaac's son, named Rabbi Elchanan,³ who although young had gained renown among the Tosaphists, fell a martyr to his religion in the lifetime of his father (1184).

¹ His *Travels*, editio princeps, Prague, 1595; rendered into Latin, Altdorf, 1687; into German by Ottensosser, Fürth, 1844; into French by Carmoly, Paris, 1831; and into English by Benish, London, 1856.

² Preface to the *Sepher Zeida La Derech*, by Rabbi Menachena Ibn Zerach.

³ Rabbi Solomon Luria, *Responsa*, section 29; cf. Zunz, *Literaturg.* d. S. Poesie, p. 288. Rabbi Jehuda ben Eleazar in his *Minchat Jehuda*, Gen. xxi., 2, mentioned that Rabbi Elchanan is the author of an astronomical work entitled *Sod ha-Ibbur*. On the identity of Rabbi Elchanan with the Deodatus Episcopus Judæorum of the Latin records, see Rev. Dr. H. Adler in his "Chief Rabbis of England," p. 12. London, 1887; and J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 81. A separate collection of *Tosaphot*, compiled by Rabbi Elchanan ben Isaac, is extant in a MS. now at Ramsgate, from which a quotation is given by J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 269.

Among the victims of the year 1197 was the Tosaphist Rabbi Samuel ben Natrunai (Shebet), pupil and son-in-law of Rabbi Eleazar ben Nathan.¹

After the death of Rabbi Isaac the elder (about 1200) the study of the Talmud in North France was represented by three men who had sprung from his school: Rabbi Jehuda Sir Leon ben Isaac, the Pious (ha-Chasid), in Paris, 1166—1224; Rabbi Samson ben Abraham in Sens, 1226; and his brother, Rabbi Isaac the younger (Rizba), in Dampierre. All three expounded the Talmud in their schools in the usual manner, decided on religious questions that were submitted to them, and solved the original Tosaphot, of which those of Rabbi Samson exist in a separate form under the name of Sens Tosaphot. Rabbi Jehuda Sir Leon,² the Pious, became the master of many pupils, who afterwards acquired renown, as Rabbi Solomon of Montpellier, Rabbi Moses of Couci,³ Rabbi Isaac of Vienna, the author of *Or Sarua*,⁴ and others who became rabbis and promoters of the study of the Talmud in Spain, France and Germany.

¹ Cf. The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua Meir ha-Cohen, the Sephardi, translated into English by Bialloblotzky, London, 1834—1836.

² Rabbi Jehuda's father-in-law was Rabbi Abraham ben R. Jehoseph of Orleans. Sir Leon's Tosaphot are frequently quoted; a portion of his Tosaphot has recently been published under the title of "Beracha Meshuleshet," Warsaw, 1863; cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 35; Dr. Gross, in *Berliner's Magazin*, 1877, p. 173—187.

A learned article by Joseph Jacobs is given in his *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 406—416, wherein he endeavours to trace Sir Leon in London in the time of Philip Augustus, who drove all the Jews out of Paris in 1182, and did not allow them to return till 1198, after which time Sir Leon returned to his native place and founded there an important school of Tosaphists. Concerning his liturgical prayers, see Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 238.

For references on the life and work of Rabbi Samson of Sens, see Gross, *Revue des études juives*, vi., p. 167; vii., p. 40, and in Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, xxvii., p. 6; xxviii., p. 17; xxix., p. 58; Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 302; *Zur Geschichte*, p. 35; Halichot Kedem, p. 46; and J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 241—242.

³ The author of the *Sepher Mitsvot Gadol*, on the six hundred and thirteen precepts, editio princeps, about 1480; again by Gershon Soncino, 1489, Venice, 1522, 1547, Kopust, 1807.

⁴ An Halachic or legal compilation, of which the first two parts have been published, Zitomir, 1862, and the third part in Jerusalem, 1887. Extracts are quoted by J. Jacobs in the *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 146, 241-2. Responsa of his son, Rabbi Chaim, *Or Sarua*, was published, Leipzig, 1865.

Rabbi Moses ben Jacob of Couci travelled from one congregation to another in South France and Spain (1235), and was accordingly called the "preacher." He was successful on his side in bringing many thousands who had neglected several rites, or had never observed them, to repentance and atonement, and in persuading them to remain constant to their practice.¹

The first real attempt to suppress the Talmud occurred in the thirteenth century as a direct consequence of the anti-Jewish zeal of the zealous convert Nicholas Donin. He betook himself to Pope Gregory IX., and brought charges against the Talmud, saying that it distorted the words of Holy Writ. The Pope immediately commanded that all copies of the Talmud should be confiscated and handed over to the Dominicans and Franciscans. The Talmud was then put on its trial. Louis IX. of France arranged a public controversy in which Rabbi Jehiel of Paris, disciple and successor of Rabbi Jehuda Sir Leon, Rabbi Moses of Couci, Rabbi Jehuda ben David of Melun, and Rabbi Samuel ben Solomon took part.² The disputation was held in Latin at the Royal Court (on the 5th of Tamuz, 1240), in the presence of the bishops of Paris and Senlis, of many Dominicans, and of the queen-mother Blanche, who for all practical purposes was at the head of affairs. As the result of three days' discussion, the commission, which had been appointed to make an enquiry upon the Talmud, condemned it to be burnt. The sentence of condemnation, however, remained unfulfilled. It appears that a prelate, having great influence with the king, named Archbishop Walter (Gautier) Cornutus of Sens, interceded on behalf of the Jews, with the result that the confiscated volumes were altogether or partly restored to their owners. But after the death of the prelate, the monarch

¹ Cf. Semag, ii., ch. 3. A Commentary on the Pentateuch of Rabbi Moses of Couci is repeatedly quoted by Rabbi Jehuda ben Eleazar in the preface of the *Sepher Daat Zekeinim*, and also pp. 86^b, 87^c, Leghorn, 1783.

² Dr. Gross in *Berliner's Magazin*, iv., p. 179, identified Rabbi Samuel ben Solomon with Sir Morel, who came from Falaise in Normandy to England; cf. *Monatsschrift*, 1869, p. 148; J. Jacobs' article in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Jan. 25, 1889, p. 16; and in *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 53, 146.

commanded that the volumes of the Talmud should be sought for and taken from their possessors by force. Four-and-twenty cart-loads of them were brought together in one spot in Paris and committed to the flames (Friday, Tamuz, 1242). Two young men,¹ one a Provençal and the other a German, named respectively Rabbi Abraham Bedersi and Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg have written elegies on this event.²

Rabbi Jechiel felt himself obliged to leave his native land and to journey towards Palestine (to Jean d'Acre).

His two sons-in-law were the famous Tosaphist, Rabbi Isaac of Corbeil, and the celebrated Rabbi Mordecai ben Hillel. Rabbi Isaac ben Joseph of Corbeil (died 1280) was the author of the sepher "Amude Gola," or Sepher Mitswot Katon on the six hundred and thirteen precepts, an abridgment of Rabbi Moses of Couci's Semag, which was commented by Rabbi Peretz ben Elijah (1300).³

Rabbi Mordecai ben Hillel, who died in a riot, Nurenberg, 1298, collected a number of decisions of previous authorities on Talmudical questions.⁴

The reign of the Emperor Frederick II. was, on the whole, favourable to the Jews, as the frequent hostilities between himself and the Pope led him to disregard the anti-Jewish edicts of the latter. In the year 1223, a large rabbinical assemblage was held in Mayence for the purpose of discussing taxes and other subjects connected with the various congre-

¹ Zunz in *Geschichte der Syn. Poesie*, p. 332, and *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 51, named a third young man, Rabbi Benjamin ben Abraham de Mansi.

² For accounts of this disputation, see *Les Rabbins français*, p. 506; Kish, *Monatsschrift*, 1874, p. 66; I. Loeb, *Revue des études juives*, 2, p. 247; Gr. Rabbi Zadok Kahn, *Joseph le Zélateur*, p. 26—29; Neubauer, *Jewish Controversy, Expositor*, 3^d series, vii., p. 81, and Noel Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, 118, 137.

³ *Editio princeps*, Constantinople; and with the annotations of Rabbi Peretz, Cremona, 1556; Cracow, 1596; Ladi, 1805, and Kopis, 1820; cf. Zunz, *Die Ritus*, p. 211. Another abridgment was made by Rabbi Abraham ben Ephraim, preserved MS. in the Library of Baron Horace de Günzburg, in St. Petersburg.

⁴ There have been several editions since the *editio princeps* of Alfasi's codification of Talmudic Law at Constantinople, 1509, on which the Mordecai, as it is called, is a running commentary. A monograph on him and his sources was written by Dr. Kohn, Breslau, 1878. Cf. J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 53, 54, 399.

gations.¹ It was attended by Rabbi David ben Kalonymos,² Rabbi Baruch ben Samuel,³ Rabbi Simcha of Speyer,⁴ Rabbi Eleazar ben Joel Halevi,⁵ Rabbi Eleazar ben Jehuda and others.

The last mentioned Tosaphist, Rabbi Eleazar ben Jehuda of Worms, was distinguished by his original didactic works.⁶ His principal work is the *Sepher Rokeach*, on the ritual rules, with a masterly preface on Jewish ethics. The following maxims taken from the preface will give some idea of what Jewish ethical doctrine was at a time when morality was not the world's strong point, and when, moreover, persecution was doing its best to crush out every noble aspiration from the Jewish soul:—

“No crown surpasses humility, no monument a good name, no gain the performance of duty. The good man leads others in the right path, loves his neighbour, gives his charity in secret, does right from pure motives and for God's sake; he indulges in no idle talk; he is free from the lust of the eye; he is reviled yet answers not. He shuts his heart

¹ Cf. *Responsa Maharam*, Prague, 1608, at the end.

² Rabbi Kalonymos was the son of Rabbi Meir and the grandson of Rabbi Kalonymos the elder; cf. *Zunz, Literaturgeschichte*, p. 325.

³ Disciple of Rabbi Eleazar of Metz, composed a compendium of rabbinical prescriptions, under the name of *Sepher ha-Chachma*, quoted by Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, and Rabbi Mordecai ben Hillel. He wrote also liturgical hymns and elegies. Great beauty and elegance of diction is displayed in his *Zulat* to the weekly *Parasha*, of Behar, which begins with the words: “*Achrei Nimkar*”; see *Seder Abodat Israel*, edition S. Baer, Rödelheim, 1868, p. 715.

⁴ His Rabbinical Constitutions are extant in the *Responsa of Mahram* and in the book of Rabbi Mordecai ben Hillel.

⁵ Author of the *Sepher Abi-ha-Ezri*, MS. in the Bodleian Library, and *Sepher Abi-Asaph*, on the Rabbinical Constitutions; cf. *Gross, Monatsschrift*, 1885. The first part of *Abi-ha-Ezri* has been published, Cracow, 1882.

⁶ He wrote: (1) *Seder darke ha-Teschuba*, on Penitence, editio princeps, Venice, 1580. (2) *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, editio princeps, Cracow, 1583. (3) *Sepher Rokeach*, on the ritual, editio princeps, Fano, 1505. (4) *A Commentary on the Sepher Jecira*, editio princeps, Mantua, 1562. (5) *Likkutim: Explanations on the Pentateuch*, large extracts given in *Azulai's Nachal Kedumim*, Leghorn, 1800. (6) *Sodei Raza*, a Kabbalistical work, *Shaarei Bina*, a gematrical method on the Scripture, and *Sepher ha-Shearim* of the same author have not as yet come to light. (7) *Rimzei Haphtarot*, annotations on the *Haphtarot*, has been published, Warsaw, 1875; cf. *les Rabbins français*, p. 469; *Kochbei Isaac*, xxvii., 7.

against all envy save that excited by another's virtues; he makes the righteous his example; he deceives no one by word or deed."¹ His wife, Dulcie, gave public discourses on the Sabbath. She supported her husband and family, and with her two daughters suffered a martyr's death in 1213 or 1214 at the hands of two knights of the Cross.²

Rabbi Eleazar ben Jehuda of Worms was one of the disciples of Rabbi Jehuda ben Rabbi Samuel Chasid of Speyer,³ who had composed the famous *Sepher Chasidim*,⁴ a collection of ethical instructions, enriched with excerpts from the older moralists; he wrote also an additional hymn, called *Shir ha-Kabod*, to his father's celebrated *Shir ha-Yichud*,⁵ on the unity and unchangeableness of God, and *Sepher ha-Kabod*, the book of glory,⁶ on Penitence.

Here are a few sayings chosen from the *Sepher Chasidim* :⁷

“Serve not thy Maker because thou hopest for Paradise, but from pure love of Him and His commands. Give thy life for His service like a soldier in battle. Deceive no one, neither Jew nor Gentile; quarrel with no one whatever his creed. If one would borrow of thee and hast doubts of being repaid, do not lie, saying thou hast no money. On him that oppresses the poor or buys stolen goods no blessing

¹ The above extract is taken from an Address on the Jewish Ethics, p. 12, London, 1889.

² I. Abraham's Jewish Life, p. 344, and Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 172.

³ Rabbi Samuel was the son of Rabbi Kalonymos, grandson of the great Rabbi Eleazar.

⁴ Editio princeps, Bologna, 1558; cf. Zunz, *Hamazkir*, 1858, p. 42. His Testament has also been published in the same edition.

⁵ Editio princeps, with a Commentary of Rabbi Lipman Mühlhausen, Thiengen, 1560.

⁶ Mentioned in his *Sepher Chasidim*, ch. 197, 321, 449, 462, 808.

⁷ Cf. *Sepher Chasidim*, ch. 63, 358, 426, 665, 666, 667, 683, 684, 1073, 1074, 1076; the translation is taken from the Address on the Jewish Ethics, p. 12. A treatise concerning the Jewish slaying of animals, attributed to Rabbi Jehuda Chasid, is preserved MS. in the National Library, no. 446, 2° at Paris. Responsa from Rabbi Jehuda Chasid, addressed to Rabbi Eleazar of Worms, is preserved MS. in the same Library, no. 335, ii. An Exhortation Hymn, called *Shir Tochacha*, of Rabbi Jehuda, was published by Rabbi Moses Chagis, Venice, 1703. Cf. Rabbi Shem Tob, *Sepher Emunot*, section 7, ch. 14; Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 125; *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 298, 300. Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, p. 153, 167, 219, t. i., and J. Brück, *Rabbinische Ceremonial Gebräuche*, Breslau, 1837.

rests. If a murderer would take refuge with thee, consent not to hide him, yea, though he be a Jew. Honour the virtuous Gentile, not the irreligious Israelite. In morals Jew and Christian, as a rule, are alike. On those that clip the coin, on usurers, on such as have false weights and measures, or who are in any wise dishonest in business, there is no blessing. The worst failing is ingratitude, it must not be shown even to the brute. More guilty even than those who are cruel to animals are the employers that ill-treat their servants. Pay thy debts before thou givest alms. If one has cheated or injured thee in any way, let not revenge tempt thee to do the same to him."

It remains a noteworthy fact that the domestic activity of the French Jews, and the ingenious exposition of the Talmud by the Tosaphists, in no way ceased on account of their miseries, but continued undisturbed for some time longer. The Talmud was burnt; the teaching of it was again prohibited by Louis; and still during this very time the pious travelling preacher, Rabbi Moses of Couci, composed his great work on the Law. In this, proceeding on the basis of the code of Maimonides, he combined in a clear synoptical manner the elements of the Talmud, together with the religious ordinances of the Bible. Another famous Talmudist, Rabbi Samuel ben Solomon Sir Morel, of Falaise, prepared a new collection of Tosaphot, just at the time when the Talmud was proscribed (1252—1259). As he possessed no copy of the Talmud to work from, because the officers of the Dominicans had deprived him of it, he was compelled to rely upon his memory. Moreover, Rabbi Jehiel of Paris had three hundred students of the Talmud in his academy to whom he delivered discourses probably from memory. The French congregations had become impoverished by the frequent demands for money and the confiscation of their property. Rabbi Jehiel was compelled to send a messenger to Palestine and the neighbouring lands to procure supplies for the maintenance of his academy.¹

¹ Graetz, History, iii. p. 605—606. The name of the messenger was Rabbi Jacob, who brought back a list of the celebrated tombs of Palestine, preserved MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 312.

Rabbi Isaac ben Joseph of Corbeil, the pupil and son-in-law of Rabbi Jechiel, wrote a concise manual of such religious duties as were of practical importance to the Jews in their dispersion (Semak).

Rabbi Isaac ben Joseph declares that: "A Jew sins more against God by cheating and robbing a Christian than when he cheats or robs a Jew, because though both acts are dishonest and criminal, in the case of a Christian the Jew offends not only against the moral law, but profanes the sacred name of God."¹

In order to render his book as popular and pleasing as possible, he sent a letter to the congregations of France and Germany asking them to take the trouble of making copies of his work and of spreading the knowledge of it. Besides these we may mention Rabbi Baruch ben Isaac, disciple of Rabbi Isaac the elder, who composed a work on the rabbinical prescriptions ritual and legal, under the name of *Sepher ha-Teruma*.² His son Rabbi Samuel of Mayence was one of the teachers of the celebrated Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg.

Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg on the Taube, born 1220, was the greatest rabbinical authority of that time. He was indeed the first official chief rabbi in the German kingdom, and probably received this title from the hands of the Emperor Rudolph, the first of the House of Hapsburg.³

The Jews of several congregations resolved to shake off the dust of Germany from their feet, and, together with their wives and children, to wander forth and seek a new home. Many families from the cities of Mayence, Worms, Speyer, Oppenheim, and others, in the Wetterau, left their rich possessions in order to cross the sea. At the head of these emigrants was the most famous Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg. He also wandered forth, together with his whole family, intending to make his way to Syria (spring, 1286). Many wealthy Jews of the districts of the Rhine and the Maine

¹ Semak, 85 and 275, quoted by I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life*, p. 106.

² Editio princeps, Venice, 1523, again Zolkow, 1811.

³ Cf. *Les Rabbins français*, p. 452. His brother Rabbi Abraham Rothenburg wrote a casuistical work under the name of Sinai, preserved MS. in the Bet ha-Midrash of London, cf. *Revue des Etudes juives*, N. 23, p. 94.

had already started on their journey. Rabbi Meir reached Lombardy with his family, and was only waiting for the members of his community in order to take ship in Italy, and together with other exiles to steer towards the East into the haven of safety. Unfortunately Rabbi Meir was recognised by a baptised Jew, who, in the train of the Bishop of Basle, was passing through the same town. At the instigation of the bishop, Captain Meinard of Görz took him prisoner, and delivered him to the authorities. The Emperor Rudolph ordered him to be placed under arrest in the tower of Ensisheim, in Alsace (4th Tamuz, 1286). The Emperor did not intend by this course to punish the runaway rabbi, but to keep him safe and prevent him from exiling himself. He, indeed, was afraid lest by the departure of the Jews *en masse* the imperial income obtained from these serfs of the chamber would suffer heavy loss. Rabbi Meir's imprisonment was, therefore, not a severe one. He was permitted to receive visits, to instruct his pupils,¹ and to perform all the functions of a rabbi, provided that he did not go away from the place.

The German Jews were, however, unable to feel at ease as long as their highly respected chief remained in custody; they, therefore, sent deputies to the Emperor Rudolph, when he paid a visit to the Rhine country in the year 1288. Being then, as usual, in need of money, he entered into negotiations with them. The Jews offered him 20,000 marks of silver if he would inflict punishment upon the murderers of the Jews of the Upper Weser and Boppard, release Rabbi Meir from custody, and guarantee to them security against murderous outrages at the hands of the populace. The emperor acceded to their terms, and laid a heavy fine upon the citizens of the

¹ His favourite pupil in Ensisheim was Rabbi Simson ben Zadok, who collected all the ritual and casuistical constitutions which he had received from Rabbi Meir under the title of "Tashbats," editio princeps, with annotations of the Tosaphist Rabbi Peretz, Cremona, 1556, again, 1558, Cracow, 1559, Kojis, 1816 and Lemberg, 1858.

Rabbi Meir was in correspondence with the famous Rabbi Avigdor ben Elijah ha-Kohen, spiritual head of the congregation of Vienna; cf. his Responsa, ed. Cracow, section 12 and ed. Prague, section 102. Rabbi Avigdor composed a commentary on the Pentateuch, combining the religious ordinances corresponding to the sections of the law and the explanations of it; see Steinschneider, Catl. in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg, p. 15.

Upper Weser and Boppard. Rabbi Meir was not, however, released from prison, either because the emperor thought to make capital of the respect of the Jews for their rabbi by extracting large sums of money from them, or, as is related, because Rabbi Meir himself refused to be liberated on these terms. He feared that the precedent of imprisoning the rabbis to extort ransoms from the Jews would be frequently resorted to in after times, and therefore continued for five years longer under arrest. From prison he sent replies to inquiries addressed to him, and composed several works there.¹ He died in prison, and the successors of Rudolph kept his corpse unburied for fourteen years, in order to extract money from the congregations. At length, a childless man of Frankfort, named Rabbi Süsskind Alexander Wimpfen, ransomed the body for a large sum, and interred it in Worms. The only reward which the noble Wimpfen demanded for himself was that his bones might be laid by the side of the pious rabbi.²

As Biblical exegetists of northern France we may mention Rabbi Joseph Bechor-Shor, whose commentary on the Pentateuch shews that he was a sound exponent of Scripture ;³ his

¹ Besides his *Tosaphot* on the Talmud we have from him ;—(1) *Responsa*, 315 sections, published Cremona, 1557. (2) *Responsa*, 1,022 sections, Prague, 1608 and Sdilkow, 1835. (3) *Responsa*, edited by Rabbi N. Rabbinowitz, with notes, Lemberg, 1860. (4) Annotations to the *Sepher Mishna Tora* of Maimonides, finished by his pupil Rabbi Meir ha-Cohen, printed in the editions of that work under the title of *Hagahot Maimuni*. (5) *Birchat Maharam*, a Ritual Work on the Blessings, editio princeps, Riva di Trento, 1559; cf. *Tashbats* of Rabbi Simson ben Zadok, section 322. (6) *Hilchot Semachot*, Ordinances concerning the time of mourning, edited with a commentary by Rabbi Jehuda Halevi, Lehighorn, 1819. (7) Treatise on the Masora, MS. in the Vatican Library, 183, no. 2. (8) *Be'er Maim Chayim*, a moral book, MS. in the Munich Library, 45, no. 2. (9) Annotations on the *Semak* of Rabbi Isaac of Corbeil, MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 378. His legal decisions are incorporated in the *Sepher ha-Parness* of Rabbi Moses Parness of Rothenburg, published, Vilna, 1891; cf. *Responsa* of Maharil, sections 156, 181. Concerning his liturgical writings, see Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 361 and *Amude ha-Aboda*, p. 160—161.

² Graetz iii., p. 661—662; cf. Rabbi Solomon Luria, in his *Yam Shel Shloma Gittin*, p. 41, ed. Prague, 1812; Levysohn, *Nafshot Zadikim*, p. 35—39 and Wiener's *Regesten*, note at the end of the preface.

³ His *Commentary*, editio princeps, Constantinople, 1520; Dr. Jellinek republished the first part, containing Genesis and Exodus, Leipzig, 1856; extracts are given in J. Jacob's *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 23—25, who identified him with the "Rubi Gotsce," the father of the

son, Rabbi Saadiah, the author of *Sepher Otiot*;¹ Rabbi Eleazar of Beaugenci, the author of a commentary on Isaiah,² who was probably a pupil of Rashbam; the author of the *Sepher Haggan*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, which consists of fifty-three weekly Parashiyoth;³ the author of *Daat Zkeinim*,⁴ *Tosaphot* on the Pentateuch, which contains the commentaries of several writers; Rabbi Isaac ben Jehuda Halevi, grandson of Rabbi Samuel of Falaise, who made a collection of the commentaries of his predecessors of the north French school;⁵ Rabbi Joseph Chazan of Troyes, the author of a Hebrew Grammar under the title of *Sepher "Yedidut,"* mentioned by his pupil, Rabbi Jehuda ben Eleazar in his *Minchat Jehuda*, a commentary on the Pentateuch, compiled from previous exegetists;⁶ and finally Rabbi Chiskiah ben Manoach, the author of the *Sepher Chiskuni*.⁷

The eminent French rabbis of the southern school were: Rabbi Abraham ben Isaac and his son-in-law, Rabbi Abraham ben David.

Rabbi Abraham ben Isaac of Narbonne, called *Ab-bet-din* (about 1140), is the author of the book *Eshkol*,⁸ on the ritual

Isaac fil Rabbi and Abraham fil Rabbi Joce, who play such important rôles in England in the latter half of the twelfth century; see also *Revue des études juives*, iii., p. 6 and Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 33.

¹ On the letters of the Alphabet, in verse, incorporated in Rabbi Elie Levita's *Massoret ha-Massoret*, Venice, 1538; again in *Responsa* of the Geonim, Prague, about 1590; and in Rabbi Joseph del Medigo's *Noblet Chachma*, Basle, 1626; cf. Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, 2225 and his *Man. Bibl.*, p. 121.

² Published by J. W. Nutt, London, 1879; cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 79 and Neubauer, *Cat. Bodl.*, 1606, 12.

³ Preserved MS. in the Bodleian Library; cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 78 and Neubauer, *Monatsschrift*, xxi., p. 230.

⁴ *Editio princeps* with the *Sepher Minchat Jehuda* of Rabbi Jehuda ben Eleazar, Leghorn, 1783.

⁵ Under the title of *Paaneyach Rasa*, *editio princeps*, Prague, 1607; see Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 92—94; *Kerem Chemed*, vii., p. 69; *les Rabbins français*, p. 437 and Dr. Berliner, *Magazin*, iv., 73.

⁶ P. 19^c, 24^a, 35^b; extracts in English from the *Sepher Minchat Jehuda* are given in Joseph Jacob's *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 81, 98.

⁷ *Editio princeps*, Venice, 1524; cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 91—92.

⁸ Published for the first time with a lucid commentary and an elaborate introduction by Dr. H. B. Auerbach, Halbertstadt, 1868—1869. *Responsa* of Rabbi Abraham ben Isaac is preserved MS. in the Library of

and rabbinical decisions, which was much appreciated by the great rabbis. He was looked upon as an authority in determining rabbinical laws, and religious-legal questions were addressed to him from the learned Rabbi Meshullam ben Jacob of Lunel.¹

His son-in-law was Rabbi Abraham ben David of Posquières (1125—1198), the celebrated author of critical Annotations on Maimonides' Talmudical Code, esteemed by his contemporaries as the greatest authority on the Talmud.² The rich and learned rabbi of Posquières supported a college of his own, which attracted many students³ from far and near, and provided not only for the Talmudical education of his disciples but also for their material requirements. While still in his youth he composed Talmudical works of deep importance, and wrote, among other works, a commentary on a part of the Mishna, being persuaded thereto by Rabbi Meshullam ben David.⁴

Baron Horace de Günsburg in St. Petersburg. Concerning Rabbi Abraham ben Isaac, see the Introduction of Dr. Auerbach to the *Sepher ha-Eshkol*, Gross, Frankel *Monatsschrift*, 1868, and G. Saige, *les juifs du Languedoc*, p. 43.

¹ Concerning Rabbi Meshullam ben Jacob, see *Literaturblatt d. Or.*, i., p. 760; his son-in-law was Rabbi Moses ben Jehuda of Béziers, the father of Rabbi Meshullam, the author of "*Sepher ha-Hashlama*," an additional work to the writings of Alfassi, published on the treatise *Baba Kama*, Paris, 1885; and on the treatise *Berachot*, Berlin, 1893. The author of *Sepher ha-Terumot* mentioned, section 335^b a *Responsa* of Rabbi Meshullam ben Jacob.

² Cf. Rabbi Abraham bar Nathan, in *Sepher ha-Manhig*, ed. by Goldberg, pp. 34^b, 73^b.

³ Cf. *Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela* (ed. by Asher), in the beginning.

⁴ In addition to the critical annotations on Maimonides' *Mishna Tora*, he wrote also:—Polemical notes on Alfassi, incorporated in the *Book Temim Deyim* of Rabbi Benjamin ben Abraham Motal, section 234—239; *Commentary on the Siphra*, editio princeps, Constantinople, and republished with annotations by I. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1862; *Sepher Baalei ha-Nephesh*, which treats of legal uncleanness, editio princeps, Venice, 1602; *Polemical notes on the Sepher ha-Maor* of Rabbi Zerachiah Halevi, incorporated in the book *Temim Deyim*, section 240—248; *Commentary on the treatise Eduyoth*, editio princeps, Prague, 1725; *Commentary on the treatise Kannim*, editio princeps, Constantinople, 1751; *Commentary on the treatise Tamid*, Prague, 1715; cf. Frankel's *Darkei ha-Mishna*, p. 333. The Rashba in his *Responsa*, i., section 440, quoted *Sepher "Issur Mashehu"*, as written by Rabbi Abraham ben David. Concerning Rabbi Abraham ben David, see G. Saige, *les Juifs du Languedoc*, pp. 57, 72, 73, 75, 167.

One of his disciples was Rabbi Abraham ben Nathan, who was born in Lunel, 1150, and settled in Toledo in 1204. Rabbi Abraham ben Nathan who wrote his book *Hamanhig*,¹ on Jewish customary rites, describing the differences of ritual observance among the Jews of the various lands he had visited, seems to have been a great traveller, and to have even reached England.²

Bourg de St. Gilles, the second chief town of Duke Raymond V. of Toulouse, had a congregation of a hundred members. This congregation, as well as the others under Count Raymond, whom the Troubadours called "the good Duke," lived under the most happy conditions, members of it being frequently promoted to offices of State. Rabbi Abba Mari ben Isaac of St. Gilles, who had obtained a certain importance through his son, was the sheriff of the town. His son, Rabbi Isaac ben Abba Mari, who was probably a pupil of Rabbenu Tam, had adopted from the celebrated master of Rameru a solid treatment of the Talmud. Already in his seventeenth year, he had composed at the instance of his father,³ a compendium of certain ritual laws, and combined in a work entitled *Ittur*,⁴ all the results of his investigations in the Talmud upon the rabbinical civil laws and rites.

Raymond VI. of Toulouse favoured the Jews almost more even than his father, and promoted them to official places.

To this period belongs the famous Talmudist, Rabbi Jonathan ben David ha-Kohen of Lunel, author of the commentary on Alfassi's Talmudical code.⁵ In his old age he left his native place and went to the Holy Land.

¹ Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1519; re-published Berlin, 1854; Warsaw, 1885. A full account of the book was given by D. Cassel in the Yubelschrift in honour of Zunz, pp. 122—197.

² See *Hamanhig*, Book of Customs, ed. Goldberg, p. 83^b; a translated extract is given in Joseph Jacob's *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 224.

³ Mentioned by his son Rabbi Isaac in the Preface to his *Sepher ha-Ittur*.

⁴ Editio princeps, Venice, 1608; again Warsaw, 1801, and with another work of the author under the name of *Aseret ha-Debarim*, by S. Schönblum, Lemberg, 1860.

Rabbi Isaac wrote also a *Sepher Dinei Nikkur*, rules on the removing of the forbidden fat, and of the veins, published, Offenbach, 1712. See *Les Rabbins français*, p. 520 and Saige, *Les juifs du Languedoc*, p. 16.

⁵ His commentary on the treatise *Erubin*, printed in the editions of that work; on the treatise *Chullin*, published, Frankfort, 1871, under

Rabbi Meir of Trinquetaille and his son Rabbi Nathan of Trinquetaille, of the thirteenth century, were esteemed as profound Talmudists. The favourite pupil of Rabbi Nathan was Rabbi Samuel ben Isaac ha-Sardi.¹ Rabbi Samson ben Isaac of Chinon, who wrote a methodological treatise on the Talmud under the title of *Sepher Keritut*;² Rabbi Manoach of Lunel, the author of the annotations on the Mishna Torah of Maimonides;³ and Rabbi Aaron ben Jacob Hacoheh of Lunel, the author of the *Sepher Orchot Chayim* on the ritual prescriptions,⁴ are also to be ranked amongst the great Talmudists.

The greatest exegetists in the south of France were the family of the Kimchis. The founder of the family, Rabbi Joseph ben Isaac Kimchi, was one of the numerous Jews who were obliged to flee from Spain to escape the cruel persecutions of the Mohades about the middle of the twelfth century. Having a knowledge of Arabic, he translated Rabbi Bachya's moral-philosophical work and many others into pure fluent Hebrew, and composed two Hebrew grammars, under the title of *Sepher ha-Galuy*,⁵ and *Sepher ha-Zik-*

the title of *Abodat ha-Leviyim*; his commentary on the Alfassi on the section *Nezikim*, preserved MS. in the Bodleian Library, see *Les rabbins français*, p. 500; concerning the date of his death, see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi., p. 403, note 19. To this period belongs Rabbi Meir Hakohen, who emigrated from Narbonne to Toledo, where he died, 1264; he is the author of a ritual work entitled *Sepher Hameorot*, MS. in the library of Baron H. Günzburg.

¹ The author of the *Sepher ha-Terumoth*, on the civil rites, editio princeps, Salonica, 1596, again 1628 and Prague, 1605, Rabbi Samuel ha-Sardi quotes a book of his teacher Rabbi Nathan under the title of *Shaar ha-Tefissa*. Rabbi Meir of Trinquetaille wrote a book entitled *Sepher ha-Eser* against the attacks of Rabbi Zerachya on the Alfassi; cf. Steinschneider, *Catl. Bodl.*, 1654.

² Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1516.

³ Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1718, and recently by Rabbi Simon Sidon in Presburg.

⁴ In two parts; the first part has been published, Pirinzi, 1750. Concerning the second part, see S. D. Luzzato, *Meged Yerachim*, i. 5; Benjacob Kerem Chemed, viii., p. 167--169; and Hamebasser, ii. 2. Rabbi Aaron quotes a *Sepher ha-Minhagot* or *Sepher ha-Manhig* of the celebrated Rabbi Asher of Lunel, 1170--1205, preserved in MS. in the University of Cambridge, Add. Dd. 5-38.

⁵ Published by Mathews, 1887; cf. J. Jacob's *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 281--282.

karon.¹ He wrote also a commentary on Holy Writ,² a moral work under the name of Shekel Hakodesh (the Sacred Shekel), and finally penned many liturgical poems. A polemical work entitled Sepher ha-Berit, being a dialogue between a believer and an apostate, is also ascribed to him. The believer maintains that the true religion of the Jews is attested by the morality of its professors. The ten Commandments at least, they observe with the utmost conscientiousness. Not only do they adore no other being but God, but they avoid taking false oaths. Among them are no murderers, adulterers, nor robbers. Jewish children are brought up in purity and fear of God; no low word is allowed to escape them. Jewish girls sit modestly at home. A Jew observes brotherly hospitality towards his neighbours, ransoms prisoners, clothes the naked, and feeds the hungry.³

Rabbi Joseph left two sons, who both followed his favourite studies. The elder, Rabbi Moses, who flourished 1170—1190, distinguished himself as a commentator and grammarian,⁴

¹ Published by Prof. Bacher, 1888. A full account of these two books was given by Dr. S. Epenstein in his article on Rabbi Joseph Kimchi in the *Periodical Journal*, Keneset ha-Gedola, i. 1—17, Warsaw, 1890.

² His commentary on Job was published by Dr. I. Schwarz, Berlin, 1868; his commentary on the Proverbs is preserved in MSS. in Munich, no. 242, and in Vatican, 89.

³ The Sepher ha-Berit is incorporated in the *Polemical Book*, entitled "Milchemet Choba," Constantinople, 1710. His contemporary, Rabbi Jacob ben Reuben, wrote his *Milchamot Hashem*, on the same subject, of which the preface has been published in *Otsrot Chaim*, Hamburg, 1848, p. 370—373, and the twelfth chapter in *Vikknach ha-Ramban*; cf. *Hamazkir*, 1860, p. 44. Concerning the book of Shekel ha-Kodesh, which is preserved in MSS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 983, 3^o, see *Carmoly*, *Annales*, 1839, no. 24; a part of which has been published in the *Periodical Journal Zion*, ii. p. 97; and in *Derech Tobim*, sections 7 and 23, London, 1852. Concerning the life and works of Rabbi Joseph Kimchi, see *Ozar Nechmad*, i., 97—119. A disciple of Rabbi Joseph Kimchi, Rabbi Menachem ben Simon of Posquières, wrote a commentary on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 192. In proof of the words of Rabbi Joseph in his *Sepher Haberit*, cf. Professor Döllinger in his lecture delivered before the Academy of Sciences in Munich on the 25th July, 1881; see the Article by Dr. H. Adler in the *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1881, p. 822.

⁴ He wrote an exposition of the Proverbs, Ezra and Nehemiah, which are incorporated in the rabbinical Bibles. These works of Rabbi Moses Kimchi's are sometimes wrongly ascribed to Ibn Ezra; cf. J. Reifmann, *Zion*, i., p. 76; Lipmann, *Zion*, ii., p. 113—117. Rabbi Moses Kimchi composed a grammatical work entitled "Mehalech Shebilei ha-Daat,"

and has the credit of having educated his younger and illustrious brother Rabbi David, whose Hebrew grammar and dictionary continued in general use among scholars for centuries.

The younger brother, Rabbi David Kimchi, 1160—1235, is greatly esteemed for his masterly commentaries on the Scriptures, and for his valuable labours in the grammar and lexicography of the holy tongue. He was the first who discovered the distinction between the long and short vowels, whereby the understanding of the changing of vowels has been greatly facilitated.¹

In Lunel lived about this time the Tibbon family, who distinguished themselves from father to son by their translations of the Arabico-Jewish works, and made themselves famous in the history of Jewish literature.

Rabbi Judah ben Saul Ibn Tibbon, 1120—1190, originally came from Granada, and had emigrated to the south of France on account of the persecution of the Jews by the Almohades. In Lunel he pursued the profession of physician, and in that capacity made himself so popular that his

or "Journey on the Paths of Knowledge," edited by Elias Levita with a Commentary, Pesaro, 1508; a Latin version is given by Sebastian Münster, Basle, 1531.

¹ The works of Rabbi David Kimchi are:—(1) A commentary on the Pentateuch, of which, however, Genesis only has been published by A. Günsburg, Presburg, 1842. (2) A commentary on the earlier Prophets, incorporated in the rabbinical Bibles. An earlier edition issued separately, Leira, 1494. (3) A commentary on the later Prophets, Pesaro, 1515, also incorporated in the rabbinical Bibles. (4) A commentary on the Psalms editio princeps, 1477; and other editions since. This precious work on the first book of the Psalms has been republished by S. M. Schiller-Szinessy from a MSS., Cambridge, 1883. (5) A commentary on Ruth, published by Mercier, Paris, 1563. (6) A commentary on Chronicles, incorporated in the rabbinical Bibles. (7) Michlol or Perfection, which consists of two parts—*a*, a Hebrew grammar, usually bearing the name Michlol, edited with notes by Elia Levita, Venice, 1545, and by Hechim, Fürth, 1793; republished with notes by Rittenberg, Lyck, 1862; and *b*, a Hebrew lexicon, commonly called the Book of Roots, the best editions of which are by Elias Levita, Venice, 1546, and Biesenthal and Lebrecht, Berlin, 1847; the Latin version of the Michlol was translated by Guidacier, Paris, 1540, and of the Roots in 1535. Editio princeps of the Roots was about 1480. (8) A commentary on the treatise Aboth, editio princeps, Trino, 1525. (9) Et Sophér, a massoratical work, published Lyck, 1864. (10) His controversies are incorporated in the Sepher Milchamot Choba, Constantinople 1710, p. 13a—18b. Concerning his life, see Dukes, in the "Orient," 1850, Ozar Nechmad, p. 157, and Tauber, Breslau, 1867.

services were sought by princes, knights, and bishops, and he was even sent for from across the sea. He knew Arabic thoroughly and studied Hebrew with enthusiasm. At the instigation of Rabbi Meshullam of Lunel—with whom he lived on friendly terms—and of other friends, he translated in succession from Arabic into Hebrew Rabbi Bachya's "Duties of the Heart;" Ibn Gabirol's "Ethics," and "Pearl-strings;" Rabbi Jehuda Halevi's religious-philosophical work; Ibn Janach's important grammatical and lexicographical work; and lastly Rabbi Saadiah's "Religious Philosophy," 1161—1186.¹

His son, Rabbi Samuel Ibn-Tibbon, was born about 1160, and died about 1239. Rabbi Judah had spent the utmost care on his education, had instructed him himself and put him under highly-salaried masters. Thus Rabbi Samuel Ibn-Tibbon learned the profession of medicine, the Arabic language, the Talmud and the other departments of knowledge belonging thereto.

Rabbi Judah trained his son to attend the poor without charge. "Thou mayest accept fees from the rich," said Rabbi Judah Ibn-Tibbon to his son, "but heal the poor gratuitously." He adds: "Examine thy drugs and medicinal herbs regularly once a week, and never apply a remedy which thou hast not thoroughly tested."² There is another noble remark of Rabbi Judah to his son: "Avoid bad society," he says, "but make your books your companions. Let your bookcases and shelves be your gardens and your pleasure grounds. Pluck the fruit that grows therein, gather the roses, the spices and the myrrh. If your soul be satiate and weary, change from garden to garden, from furrow to furrow, from sight to sight. Then will your desire renew itself and your soul be satisfied with delight."³

¹ Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 1893.

² Cf. *The Testament of Rabbi Judah*, edited by Steinschneider, Berlin, 1852, p. 7; and with an English translation, entitled *Derech Tobim*, London, 1852; see I. Abrahams' *Jewish Life*, p. 331.

³ *Testament*, ed. Steinschneider, p. 6; see *Jewish Life*, p. 353—354. There exists an epistle of Rabbi Judah addressed to Rabbi Meshullam, published in the *Book Otsrot Chayim*, p. 366—367, Hamburg, 1848.

Rabbi Samuel rendered into Hebrew not only works of Jewish authors, but also some of Aristotle's compositions, wrote a philosophical exposition of Ecclesiastes,¹ and a treatise on a chapter of Genesis.²

The son of Rabbi Samuel was Rabbi Moses Ibn-Tibbon, who flourished 1244—1274. Like his father and grandfather, he was a diligent and successful translator of Greek and Arabic works on Jurisprudence, Philosophy, Astronomy and Medicine; and those of Maimonides, Averroes, Aristotle, Alphagran, and Euclid's Elements.³

¹ Which exists in MS. He translated the Meteorologica of Aristotle under the name of Othoth ha-Shomayim, MS. in the British Museum.

² Entitled "Maamar Yikkavu ha-Mayim," a philosophical work, solving the problem why the sea and waters do not inundate the earth, published, Presberg, 1837; cf. *Revue des études juives*, no. 6, p. 238—275.

To this period belongs the physician Rabbi Jacob Hakkaton, who translated for his teacher, Rabbi Moses Nachmanides, a treatise of Averroes on Purgation, published by I. Goldblum in his *Trésors d'Israel*, i., p. 24—32. Rabbi Jacob wrote also an exposition of Drugs, a Pharmacopœia of the University of Montpellier, MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 1173,5°. Cf. Carmoly *Histoire des médecins Juifs*, p. 78; Steinschneider, *Jeschurum*, 7, p. 82, and Goldblum in *Trésors d'Israel*, p. 24, note 1.

³ The works of Rabbi Moses Ibn-Tibbon are as follows:—(1) *Sepher Olam ha-Katon*, Microcosmos, of Rabbi Joseph Zadik, rendered by Rabbi Moses from Arabic into Hebrew, published with an Introduction by Jellinek, Leipzig, 1854; cf. *Les Rabbins français*, p. 598. (2) *Sepher ha-Techalot ha-Nimzaot*, the principles of all existing things, of Abunazar Alfarabi, translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses, edited by H. Philipovske, in his *Sepher he-Assif*, vol. i., London, 1847, and Leipzig, 1849. (3) Notes on the Pentateuch, MS. in the Bet-Hamidrash of London; cf. *Hamazkir*, xiv., p. 103. (4) Commentary on Canticles, published, Lyck, 1874. (5) *Sepher Chush-u-Muchash*, De Sensu et de Sensibili of Averroes, rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses, preserved in MS. in the Bet-Hamidrash of London. (6) *Abi al-Hasan ben Al-Haitham's Commentary on Euclid*, translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses, MS. in the Library of Munich; fragments of this book preserved MS. in the Bet-Hamidrash of London. (7) Averroes' Commentary on the *Cœlo et Mundo* of Aristotle, rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses, MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 918, 3°. (8) Commentary of Averroes on Meteorologia of Aristotle, translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses, MS. in the same Library, no. 918, 5°. (9) Fragments on *Isagoge* of Porphyrius, and many parts of *Organon*, preserved in MS. in the same Library, no. 898. (10) His translation of Averroes' Abridgment of Aristotle's *Physica*, MS. in the same Library, 918, 12°. (11) His translation of Averroes' Abridgment of Aristotle's *De Anima*, MS. in the same Library, no. 918, 6°. (12) His translation of Averroes' Abridgment of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, MS. in the same Library, 918, 8°. (13) His translation of Averroes' Commentary on *De Generatione*

The son-in-law of Rabbi Samuel Ibn-Tibbon was the well-known Rabbi Jacob ben-Abba-Mari ben Simon Anatoli, who flourished about 1200—1250. The most cultured German Emperor, Frederick II., invited him to come to Naples, and granted him an annual salary so that he should be at leisure to apply himself to the interpretation of Arabic works of a scientific character. This monarch entrusted Anatoli with the task of translating the writings of Aristotle together with the commentaries of the Arabic philosopher, Averroes (Ibn Roshed), which latter had hitherto been unknown to Christians. A Christian doctor, probably Michael Scotus, the Court Astrologer of the Emperor, translated these works into Latin, perhaps under the guidance of Anatoli. Anatoli delivered public discourses on Sabbaths and Festivals, which he collected into one volume, under the name of *Malmed ha-Talmidim*,¹ which became the cherished book of the orthodox Provençal congregations.

The Emperor carried on a correspondence with a young Jewish scholar, Jehuda ben Solomon Cohen Ibn Matka, of Toledo, 1215—1247. His learning produced such an impression on the Emperor Frederick that he sent him a number of scientific questions, and expressed his pleasure at the answers returned to them; the Emperor then probably induced him to come to Italy (Tuscany). Jehuda Ibn Matka possessed the right of free entry to the Imperial Court.²

The fourth connection of Ibn Tibbon, Rabbi Jacob ben Machir, or Don Prophiat Tibbon, from Montpellier, 1271—1303, also distinguished himself in the labour of translation.³

et Corruptione of Aristotle, MS. in the same Library, 918, 4^o. (14) *Sepher Peyah*, a commentary on the Midrash, MS. in the Bodleian Library. (15) A Treatise on Measure and the Weight in the Bible and in the Talmud, MS. in the Vatican Library, ccxcviii., 4.

¹ Published Lyck, 1868. In the Preface of the treatise of the Categories of Prophyrius of Rabbi Jacob Anatoli, MS. in the National Library of Paris, the author quotes his other works which he translated as follows:—(1) *Sepher ha-Maamarot*, on the Categories. (2) *Sepher ha-Melitsah*, on the Interpretations. (3) *Sepher ha-Hekash*, Analytical work; and (4) *Sepher ha-Mofeit*, on the Topic. Concerning the *Sepher Ruach Chein*, which is attributed to Anatoli, cf. *Mlo Chofnayim*, p. 13; *he-Chaluz*, ii., p. 24—25. Concerning his life and works, see S. Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 487—488, and *Hamazkir*, vii., p. 62—66.

² Graetz, *History*, iii., 583—584.

³ Rabbi Jacob ben Machir carried on a correspondence with the celebrated Rabbi Solomon ben Adret; cf. *Responsa*, i., section 355, and

Rabbi Shem-Tob ben Isaac of Tortosa (1196—1264), a distinguished writer on medicine and a practical physician, delivered public discourses on the healing art to Christian audiences in Marseilles, and made them acquainted with the results of the Arabian schools. This physician presents an instructive instance of the Jewish zeal for knowledge.

Rabbi Shem-Tob Shaprut, as a rich merchant, was always engaged in his trade, and made journeys across the sea. In 1226 he went as far as the last remaining seat of the former Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, Jean d'Acre (Acco). Here a co-religionist, who was engaged in the study of mathematics, upbraided him for his neglect of the study of the law of his fathers, and for having considered science as subordinate to the earning of his livelihood. Owing to this rebuke, although thirty years of age, Rabbi Shem-Tob Tortosi changed his plan of life, hastened from Acco to Barcelona, and made study his primary pursuit under the tuition of the Rabbi Isaac ben Meshullam of Barcelona, and his livelihood a subsidiary

Sepher Minchat Kenaot, ch. 21, 26, 39, 40. He wrote:—(1) Sepher Mozney ha-Yiunim, of Algazali, translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Jacob, of which the 10—12 chapters have been published in Ozar Nechmad, ii., p. 196—198 (2) Translation of the *De Animalibus* of Averroes, of which the 11th book is preserved MS. in the Bet-Hamidrash of London. (3) *Roba Israel*, an astronomical work, MS. in the Bodleian Library. (4) Translation of an Abridgment of *Almageste*, by Djaber-Ibn Alfah; cf. *Melo Chofnayim*, p. 12; Benjacob, *Ozar ha-Sepharim*, pp. 37, 650. (5) Translation of an astronomical work of Ibn Abu Ali Haiham. (6) Translation of an astronomical work of Quosta Ibn Louqua. (7) Translation of the treatise on the Astrolabe of Abu-Isaac Ibn al-Zarqala. (8) Translation of the treatise on the Astrolabe of Alsafar. (9) *Astronomical Tables*, MS. in the National Library of Paris. A Treatise on Euclid by Rabbi Jacob ben Machir, entitled *Sepher ha-Matanot*, MS. in Madrid, no. 126. His translation of Averroes' Abridgment on Logic, published at Riva de Trento, 1559. His relative and disciple Estori ben Moses ha-Parchi, the first and most important author on the topography of Palestine, who spent seven years in exploring the country in all directions, afterwards collected his observations into one volume, entitled *Kaftor va-Pherach*, of which portions were printed in Venice about 1549, and again by Edelmann in Berlin, 1852. In this work Estori refers to an astronomical treatise of Rabbi Jacob ben Machir, entitled *Ikker ha-Dechiyot*; cf. *Kaftor va-Pherach*, ed. Berlin, p. 56^b, 113^b. Concerning Estori ha-Parchi, see Zunz, *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ii., p. 260 and Neubauer-Renan *Écrivains Juifs*. About the same time Rabbi Solomon Melgueiri translated Averroes' Paraphrase of the "*De Somno et Vigilia*," MS. in the Bet-Hamidrash of London, and portions of Averroes' *De Cælo et Mundo*, MS. in many libraries; see Saige's *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 126.

one. He learned the art of medicine, and arrived at such a pitch of excellence in it, that he was able to translate the writings of the best Arabian doctors, and to deliver lectures upon the healing art.¹

Rabbi Joseph Ezobi ben Chanan, of Orange, near Avignon (about 1230—1250), occupies an important place among the Jewish poets of France. He dedicated to his son, Samuel, an epithalamium, called "The Silver Dish" (Kaarat Kesef), as a wedding gift, in which he laid down admonitions and regulations how to live. Among other things he commanded him "to hold himself aloof from the wisdom of the Greeks, which resembled the vine of Sodom, and only implanted the seeds of disease in a man's mind."²

The most popular ethical prose-poem writer was his countryman Rabbi Yedaya Bedaressi. Rabbi Yedaya Bedaressi (1280—1340), lived in Béziers. He was the son of the celebrated Rabbi Abraham Bedaressi, the author of a Dictionary of Hebrew Synonyms, entitled Chotam Tochnit.³

¹ Carmoly, *Histoire des médecins Juifs*, p. 78—79, and Graetz, *History* iii., p. 601. The Works of Rabbi Shem-Tob are as follows:—(1) *Sepher ha-Shimush*, a treatise on medicine, from Abul Quasim-Khalaf Al-Zahravi, rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Shem-Tob, published with a Latin translation, Oxford, 1778 (2) Translation of Almansuri de Rhazes' treatise on medicine, preserved MS. in the Vatican Library. (3) *Sepher ha-Nefesh*, translation of Averroes' commentary on "De Anima," MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 940; see *Revue des études juives*, 10, p. 256. (4) *Sepher Pardes Rimōnim*, explanatory notes on the Agada, editio princeps, Sabbionetta, 1554. (5) *Tsafnat Paaneyach*, Revealer of Secrets, commentary on Ibn Ezra's explanation of the law, and a treatise on the Agada, preserved in MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 852, 2^o. (6) A polemical work entitled "Eben Bochan." MS. in the same library, no. 831, 4^o. Cf. Steinschneider, *Catal. Leyden*, p. 115—119.

In the year 1262, Rabbi Solomon ben Ayub, of Béziers, wrote his *Sepher ha-Shomaiym Ve-ha-Olam*, an intermediate commentary on the "De Coelo et Mundo," preserved MS. in the Bet-Hamidrash of London; he also wrote a treatise on the Leprosy, MS. in the Library of Munich, no. 110/5.

² Editio princeps, Constantinople, 1523; has been translated into Latin, by Reuchlin, Tübingen, 1512; into French, by Carmoly, in *Revue Orientale*, iii., p. 185; and into English, by D. I. Freedman, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. viii.

³ Published, Amsterdam, 1863; his poetry is incorporated in *Sepher Maskiot Keseph*, Amsterdam, 1765; in *Sepher Bechinot Olam*, of his son, edition Mantua, 1556; and in *Kerem Chemed*, iv., p. 57—65.

Rabbi Yedaya Bedaressi was satisfied to prove in a letter to the famous Rabbi Solomon,¹ that secular and scientific occupations were not inconsistent with a complete belief in God or devotion to the demands of religion. His principal work, *Bechinat Olam*, *Examination of the World*, is a most interesting and attractive piece of Hebrew literature.² The following extract from the eighth chapter of the *Bechinat Olam* will give some idea of the mode of his elegant style of composition:³—“This world is a tempestuous sea; unfathomably profound; and the boundaries are without comprehension. Time forms the bridge over which man must pass. The extremities are suspended by *attenuated cords*. While travelling its extent, the object should be to behold the beauties of God and discover the splendour of the Eternal, which shines conspicuous. The breadth of the bridge is the measure of a man, and the borders fail. From the moment man exists, he begins his journey. The path is narrow, and the road direct. There exists no avenue to the right hand or the left. In what, O man, wilt thou glory? In what wilt thou rejoice? The rampart on thy right hand is death! on thy left, destruction! Can, then, thy heart sustain its ordinary courage? or thy hands remain firm? Wilt thou exult in avarice, and the covetousness which creates riches? Or, rejoice in those things, which, with violence thou hast attained, and gathered with thy net of wickedness? In the tempests of the great sea, what wilt thou do? When the foaming surge flows and arises, and thy lodging house is doomed to

¹ Ben Adret, disciple of Nachmanides, president of the school of Barcelona, paramount in religious affairs affecting Judaism, not alone in Spain but also in other parts of Europe, as well as in Asia and Africa. Questions for his decision were sent to him from France, Germany, Bohemia, Italy, and even from St. Jean D’Acre in Palestine and from North Africa. Students from Germany sat at his feet to hear him expound the Talmud; cf. Graetz, iii., p. 641; J. Perles, 1863; and *Les Rabbins français*. His countryman, Rabbi Aaron Halevi, is the author of the famous *Sepher ha-Chinuch*, the Book of the Initiation on the six hundred and thirteen precepts, editio princeps, Venice, 1523.

² *Editio princeps*, Mantua, 1476, by Abraham Canato, has been translated into French by Philippe d’Aquin, Paris, 1629; and by Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 495; in German, the best edition is by M. Stern, Vienna, 1847; and in English by Tobias Goodmann, London, 1806. See Renan-Neubauer, *Les Ecrivains Juifs français du xiv^e Siècle*, p. 25.

Translated by Tobias Goodmann, p. 11—13, London, 1806.

destruction, where wilt thou rest? This sea thou hast to encounter! Why dost thou hope to come off conqueror? What will become of thee in the day, when the wine of arrogance stupefies thee, and the juice of the pomegranate fills thee with haughtiness? By an inclination to the right hand or the left thou mayest destroy thyself. In the mighty abyss thou wilt be lost. From one precipice to another thou wilt go; no one will retrieve thee! Floating in the floods of the deep, no one will exhort thee to return."¹

The ecclesiastical laws were nowhere less strictly observed than in Italy, where the Papal Court and its surroundings were best known. In consequence of this the condition of the Jews there was fairly satisfactory, and actual persecution was rarer in Italy than in any other country; cultured princes and sovereigns valued learning and learned men without distinctions of creed. Rabbi Jacob Anatoli was in the service of Frederic II.; the physician Farraj Ibn Solomon, who was held in high repute as a scholar, under the name of Farragut,² translated Arabic works into Latin for Charles of Anjou, the King of Sicily. One of the four popes who reigned during the short period of thirteen years (1279 to 1291) entrusted his holy person to the care of a Jewish physician, Isaac ben Mordecai, who bore the title of Maestro Gajo.³

¹ Rabbi Yedaya wrote also:—(1) *Ktob Hadaat*, a translation of Alfarabi's *De Intellectu et Intelligibili*, MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 984; cf. Steinschneider, *Alfarabi*, St. Petersburg, p. 91—92, 1869. (2) *Hadeot Besechel Hachomri*, *Opinions on the Material Intellect*, MS. in the same Library, no. 984, 2°. (3) *Ktob ha-Hitatsmot*, *Book of Consolidation*, MS. in the same Library, 984, 4°; cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 468. (4) *Commentary on the Midrash Raba*, *Tanchuma*, *Pirke di Rabbi Eleazar*, MS. in the same Library; cf. Zunz, *ibid* p. 467. (5) *Sepher ha-Pardes*, a collection of ethical sentences of Hebrew, Greek, and Arabian philosophers, published Constantinople, 1516. Crescas in his commentary on the *More Nebuchim*, ii., ch. 30, mentioned a commentary on the same book of Rabbi Yedaya. Concerning the book *Maadanei Melech*, treatise on the game of chess, generally attributed to Rabbi Yedaya, published with a Latin translation by T. Hyde, Oxford, 1694, see Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 468, and Steinschneider, *Schach bei den Juden*, Berlin, 1873. Concerning Rabbi Yedaya's *Oheb Nashim*, see Steinschneider, *Israelitische Letterbode*, iv., p. 120—122.

² Cf. Graetz, *History*, iii., p. 650; Steinschneider, in the *Archive of Virchow*, t. xxxix., p. 296; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine Arabe*, t. ii. p. 464; and *Les Rabbins français*, p. 628.

³ Graetz, *ibid.*, p. 650.

The family of the Anavim occupied a high position in Rome at the time of the Pope Innocent III. Rabbi Zedekiah Anav, a physician of Rome, about 1250, compiled earlier decisions on ritual questions in his *Shibbole Haleket*.¹ A relation of Zedekiah, Rabbi Yechiel ben Yekutiel, made an abridgment of the *Shibbole Haleket* under the name of "Tanya,"² and compiled a moral book entitled "*Maalot Hamidot*."³ The greatest Talmudic authorities in Italy in the thirteenth century were Rabbi Isaiah de Trani and his grandson of the same name.⁴

The philosophical writings of Maimonides made their influence felt in favour of the nobler sentiments upon the minds of Italian Jews. About this time they began to occupy themselves in real earnest with the "Guide," and intellectual men delivered discourses upon this profound work. If the origin of this revival may be traced back to Anatoli, at all events Rabbi Hillel of Verona must be considered as the founder and promulgator of the method of scientific thought among the Italian Jews.

Rabbi Hillel ben Samuel of Verona, 1220—1295, was the pupil in Talmudical knowledge of the famous Rabbi Jonah Gerundi. He had been a witness of the latter's genuine

¹ The complete edition of this celebrated work has been recently published by S. Buber, Vilna, 1887.

² Editio princeps, Mantua, 1514, and many others, but the best edition is with additions and a commentary by S. Hurwitz, Warsaw, 1879.

³ Editio princeps, Cremona, 1556.

⁴ The works of Rabbi Isaiah are:—(1) *Tosaphot* or *Glosses* on the treatise *Keduschin*, editio princeps, Sabbionette, 1553, by Rabbi Joshua Boaz Baruch. (2) *Sepher ha-Machria*, legal decisions, and *Glosses* on the treatise *Taanit*, published Leghorn, 1779. (3) *Glosses* on the treatises *Chagiga*, *Rosh-ha-Shanah*, incorporated in the *Sepher Ohlei Isaac* by Rabbi Isaac Bonans, Leghorn, 1821. (4) *Decisions* on ritual questions contained in the treatise *Berachot*, incorporated in the *Sepher Bet Nathan* of Nathan Coronel, Vienna, 1854. (5) *Decisions* concerning *Mezuza Tsitsis*, and *Tephilin*; also the ritual questions contained in the treatise *Succa*, incorporated in the *Sepher Sam Chayim*, Leghorn, 1805. His epistolary correspondence is incorporated in the following works:—*Responsa* of Rabbi Elie Mizrachi, section 35, Constantinople, 1546, and in the *Sepher he-Agur*, ed. Naples, 1480. His *Annotations* on the *Pentateuch* are incorporated in *Azulai's Penei David*. The *Annotations* of his grandson on the *Alfassi* are incorporated in *Shiltei Hagiborim*. *Decisions* of Rabbi Isaiah the Elder on *Yebamoth*, *Ketuboth*, *Nedarim* and *Niddah* are preserved in MS. in the British Museum.

atonement for his error in calling in the aid of the Dominicans in his onslaught against the writings of Maimonides, and since that time Rabbi Hillel held Maimonides in very great reverence. He made himself so thoroughly acquainted with the Latin language that he was able to compose in Latin with great ease; he translated a work upon surgery by Maestro Bruno from this language into Hebrew.¹ At first he practised the profession of medicine in Rome; afterwards in Capua and Ferrara.

About this time in Italy there lived two logical thinkers, one a native-born Italian, Sabbatai ben Solomon of Rome, in his time a very distinguished personage; and the other a Spaniard, who had emigrated to Rome, Serachya ben Isaac, a member of the renowned family of Ben Shaltiel-Chen, whose home was in Barcelona. The latter of these two was especially famous as a physician, was proficient in the Aristotelian philosophy, and contributed to Biblical exegesis.²

To this period belongs the celebrated Rabbi Nathan Hamati. Rabbi Nathan had emigrated from Hamat, Syria, to Rome, and pursued the profession of physician. He made himself

¹ Entitled *Sepher Keritut*, MS. in the National Library of Paris, 973.²⁰. He wrote also a philosophical treatise on the soul under the name of *Tagmulei Hanephesch*, edited by S. J. Halberstamm, with an introduction by Steinschneider, Lyck, 1874. His epistolary correspondence is incorporated in *Chemda Genuza*, p. 17, *seq.*, and *Ozar Nechmad*, ii., p. 45, 232, 237. See Renan, *Averroes*, p. 190, 240. Rabbi Hillel translated also a treatise on Medicine of Galen, MS. in Turin, no. 80. In his *Tagmulei Hanephesch*, he mentioned his work on the *Agada*.

² The works of Rabbi Zerachya are:—(1) Treatise on the quality of the soul, edited in *Chemda Genuza*, p. 45, *seq.*; cf. Steinschneider's *Mémoire*, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 109, 247. (2) Translation of Avicenna's Canon, consecrated to the physician Rabbi Isaac Halevi of Rome, preserved in MS. in several European libraries. (3) Translation of the "*Liber de Causis*," entitled "*Biyur Batob Haggamur*," MS. in the *Bet-Hamidrash* of London; cf. Steinschneider's *Hamazkir*, iii., p. 99. (4) Explanations on the difficult places of the "*Guide*," published in the periodical *Ozar Nechmad*, ii., p. 124—143. (5) Commentary on the Proverbs, mentioned in his letter to Rabbi Hillel of Verona. (6) Commentary on Job, published by I. Schwartz, Berlin, 1868. (7) Translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, MS. in the *Bet-Hamidrash* of London. (8) Translation of Aristotle's *Physica*, MS. in the same library. (9) Translation of Aristotle's *De Coelo et Mundo*, MS. in the same library. Concerning his life and work, see Steinschneider, *Ozar Nechmad*, ii., p. 229—245.

famous by his skill as translator of Greek and Arabic works on philosophy and medicine.¹

The services of the Italian Jews were great as translators of medical, scientific, philosophical and even folklore literature, such as the popular *Kalila we-Dimna*.² The Jews turned the Arabic into Hebrew, and helped their Christian friends to render the Hebrew into Latin; and through them was brought to Europe the literature and science of ancient Greece.

Of the literary intimacies between Jews and Christians in Italy, no more remarkable instance is recorded than that between Dante and his Jewish imitator, Immanuel of Rome.³ Immanuel ben Solomon Ziphroni, born in Rome, 1272, is the author of a collection of poems, tales, parables, and chants, called "*Machberet Immanuel*."⁴ His brilliant talents, his charming poetry, and his delightful company, made him a general favourite, and attracted the notice of Dante, so that

¹ Rabbi Nathan wrote:—(1) Translation of Hippocrates' Aphorisms, MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 1135, 2°. (2) *Sepher Happerakim*, Hippocrates' Aphorisms with the commentary of Galen, translated by Rabbi Nathan in the year 1283, MS. in the same Library, no. 1106. (3) Translation of the Pronostic of Hippocrates, MS. in the same Library, no. 1106, 2°. (4) Translation of a Physical treatise of Hippocrates, MS. in the same Library, no. 1106, 3°. (5) *Pirke Moses*, embodying the doctrines of Galen and Hippocrates by Rabbi Moses Maimonides, rendered into Hebrew by Rabbi Nathan, published, Lemberg, 1834. (6) Translation of Avicenna's Canon, preserved in MS. in several European libraries. (7) Translation of Abulkasim Alzahravie's treatise on medicine, MS. in the National Library of Paris, no. 1165. (8) Translation of Abulkasim Alzahravi's treatise on remedies for the eye, MS. De Rossi, no. 1344.

² Concerning *Kalila we-Dimna*, see Steinschneider, *Zeitschrift d. deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxvii., p. 553, "*Zu Kalila we-Dimna*;" and J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 135 161.

³ I. Abraham's, *Jewish Life*, p. 419.

⁴ *Editio princeps*, Brisa, 1492; again, Constantinople, 1535; Berlin, 1796; Lemberg, 1870, with the biography of the author by Steinschneider, a part of which has been translated into German by Steinschneider in his "*Manna*," Berlin, 1847; and the sixth section in *Sabbat-Blatt*, no. 44, Leipzig, 1844. His *Commentary on Proverbs*, editio princeps, Naples, 1486; and his annotations on the *Psalms*, published Parma, 1806; see Zunz, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, 1839, iv., p. 194, and Steinschneider, *Letterbode*, vii., p. 165—176, "*Ein Brief des Immanuel ben Salomo an Hillel*." A part of Immanuel's commentary on the *Pentateuch* has been published by P. Perreau in the *Archives de Merx*, 1^{er} vol., 1870; his commentary on *Job*, edited by the same in the *Annuaire della societa ital. per gli studii orientali*, anno 1, 1872; and on the *Song of Songs*, Rome, 1878.

the two spirits formed a mutual and intimate attachment. In his commentary on the Bible, he gives not only a grammatical and archæological explanation of the text, but makes also some of the most valuable remarks upon the nature and spirit of the poetical books.¹

His contemporary, Rabbi Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, who was born in Arles, in 1287, was celebrated as a sweet and satirical writer. In 1319, Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, entrusted him with the task of translating the Arabic philosophical works.

He translated the Arabian poem, *Risale Ichwan el-Ssafa*, in five cantos, under the title of *Iggeret Baalei Chayim*.² He also translated Averroes' Commentary on Aristotle's "*De Generatione et Corruptione*,"³ and wrote besides a moral satire on the manners of the age, entitled *Ebn Bochan*⁴; a treatise on medicine under the name of *Sepher Refua*,⁵ from the Arabic of Honein Ibn-Ishak-el-Abadi, and Galen; and a treatise for the Feast of Purim.⁶

¹ Cf. Azulai in his *Shem ha-Gedolim*, edition Vilna, 1852, ii., p. 22.

² A series of dialogues on natural history, editio princeps, Mantua, 1557. Cf. *Dukes' Annalen*, 1839, p. 131. Has been translated into German by Dr. J. Landsberger, Darmstadt, 1882.

³ Preserved in MS. in the *Bet Hamidrash* of London.

⁴ Editio princeps, Naples, 1489, and with annotations by the Rev. Joseph Kohen-Zedek, Lemberg, 1865.

⁵ Published, Amsterdam, 1610.

⁶ Editio princeps, Venice, 1552.

Concerning his life and writings, see Steinschneider, *Frankel's Zeitschrift*, iii., p. 374; and in his *Memoires de l'Académie Impériale*, St. Petersburg, 1869.

Rabbi Kalonymos' translation of Averroes' treatise on Aristotle's *Eight Books of Physics* is preserved in MS. in the British Museum.

CHAPTER X.

THE JEWS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, soon after he had obtained possession of the throne of England, invited the Jews to come over in large numbers from Rouen and to settle in England; and he is reported to have appointed a particular place for their residence¹

Under him and his successor, and the first kings of the House of Plantagenet, they flourished in the new land. There, as almost at that time everywhere, they were the guardians of knowledge, the doctors and physicians, the honoured friends of kings, *dilectus et familiaris noster*.

In 1090 William II. summoned a convocation at London of Christian bishops and Jewish rabbis for the purpose of discussing the evidence of their respective creeds, and we are told by William of Malmesbury (*De Gestis*, p. 122) that the Jewish disputants stood their ground with vigour.²

At the end of the eleventh century there began to spread throughout Europe a movement which, when it reached England, converted the vague popular dislike of the Jews into an active and violent hostility. While the Norman conquerors were still occupied in settling down in England,—the king organising his realm, and the barons enjoying, dissipating or forfeiting their newly-won estates,—popes and priests and monks had been preaching the Crusade to the other nations of civilised Europe.³

¹ Fuller, *History of Cambridge*, p. 8, fixes the date of the first Jewish settlement in that town in 1073. Anthony à Wood, i., p. 129, fixes their settlement in Oxford in 1075, quoted by J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 4—5; for the first mention of the Jews in Ireland (in 1079), see W. Stokes, *Academy*, 22nd March, 1890; for the first mention of the London Jewry (in 1115), see J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 13; *Ideals*, p. 180.

² Cf. *The Chief Rabbis of England*, p. 6—7, written by the chief rabbi, Dr. H. Adler, London, 1887.

³ B. L. Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews*, in 1290, p. 8, London, 1895.

England was so closely related to the churches of the Continent that it could not fail to be affected by the great movement. It is narrated in Peck's "Antiquarian Annals of the Town of Stamford" (Lib. iv., c. xv., p. 18) that Joffred, Abbot of Croyland, in the tenth year of Henry I. (1109), sent some monks from his abbey to Cottenham so that they might publicly preach against Judaism in the neighbouring city of Cambridge. He also sent ecclesiastics to the convent of Wridthorst, near Stamford, in order to preach in Stamford against Judaism.¹

Throughout the years 1146—1148 the Jews were persecuted in France, Spain, and Germany, but in England they seem to have escaped, even though the "blood accusation" had just been raised against them for the first time in the case of William of Norwich.²

It seems from the entry of Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacob, of Bonn,³ that this was due to the favour of Stephen, who recovered power in England in 1146.⁴

Under the firm reign of Henry II. anti-Jewish feeling found no further expression in act. The king, like his predecessors, gave and secured to the Jews special privileges, so great as to arouse the envy of their neighbours. They were allowed to settle their own disputes in their own *Bet-Din*, or ecclesiastical court, and in so far to enjoy a privilege that was granted only under strict limitations to the Christian church. They were placed, apparently, under the special protection of the royal officers of each district. They lived in safety, and they made considerable contributions to the Royal Exchequer.⁵

¹ The Chief Rabbis of England, p. 6.

² Cf. Joseph Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 19. The story was supported by no evidence more trustworthy than that of an apostate Jew, which was so worthless that the sheriff refused to allow the Jews to appear in the Bishop's Court to answer the charge brought against them, and took them under his protection; cf. J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 257, and B. L. Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews*, p. 10—11.

³ Cf. *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*, p. 64.

⁴ Cf. *Angevin England*, p. 259.

⁵ B. L. Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews*, p. 11.

He allowed them to have cemeteries at the outside of every town they inhabited, for until that time they had only one place of interment, which was near London, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, commonly designated in ancient deeds "the Jews' Garden."¹

The Jews had schools in London, York, Lincoln, Lynn, Norwich, Oxford, Cambridge, and other towns. Some of these seminaries, indeed, were rather colleges than schools. Besides the Hebrew and Arabic languages, arithmetic and medicine are mentioned among the branches of knowledge that were taught in them; and the masters were generally the most distinguished of the rabbis.²

In the year 1158 the celebrated Spanish-Jewish commentator, poet, philosopher and traveller, Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra, visited London. He composed here his Epistle on the Sabbath, and a philosophical work, *Yesod Moreh*, dedicated to Rabbi Joseph ben Jacob of Moreil.³

On the day when Richard the Lionhearted ascended the throne, September 3rd, 1189, the leaf was turned. When, after his coronation, a deputation from the whole body of the Jews of England did homage to him, and desired to bring rich and gracious gifts, they were turned away upon the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. None should receive presents from Jews, neither should Jews tread the court of the castle. The roughness of the common people, who had never loved them, was thus sanctioned and unfettered by a holy mouth. Unwillingly had they seen the small community increase and grow, progressing towards wealth and

¹ Cf. Jacobs' *Jewish Ideals*, 181.

² M. Margolioth, *The Jews in Great Britain*, p. 109, London, 1846. J. Jacobs in his *Angevin England*, p. 23, 253, 403, asserts that the martyr, Rabbi Simon Chasid of Treves, lived in England for some forty years, 1106—1146. Concerning the Jews of Oxford, see Neubauer's *Notes on Oxford Jews in Collectanea ii. of the Oxford Hist. Soc.*, p. 282. Concerning the Jews of Norwich, see the Rev. H. Gollanz, "The Norwich Jewry" in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 28th June, 1895, p. 21—22.

³ This Rabbi Joseph ben Jacob of Moreil wrote a super-commentary on Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Genesis, in which he says:—"I, Joseph ben Jacob of Moreil, heard *viva voce* from this sage, Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra, the explanation of this passage, and wrote it down in my own words." Cf. Neubauer, *Catalogue of Bodleian Heb. MSS.*, no. 1234 (9), col. 486, and Joseph Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 30.

power. They had become their debtors in money, and found it inconvenient to repay them; therefore they laid upon them taxes which they could not afford to pay, and accused them as usurers when they took high interest in order to meet the requirements of their borrowers.

This mischievous sentiment spread itself from the court of the king at Westminster over the whole of England.¹

The persecutions of the Jews at once began. They were hunted and massacred with inhuman insensibility by their foes and adversaries, who in those times were usually their debtors and hoped to become their inheritors.

In the more populous towns Crusaders were continually gathering together in order to set out for the Holy Land in company; and they, aided by the lower citizens, clerics, and poor countrymen, and in some cases by ruined landholders, fell on and killed the Jews wherever they had settlements in England—at Norwich, York, Bury St. Edmunds, Lynn, Lincoln,² Colchester, and Stamford.

But most tragic of all was the lot of the Jews of York, because among them were two men who enjoyed princely fortunes, had built magnificent palaces, and had accordingly aroused the envy of the Christian inhabitants. One of these was Joceus, the other was Benedict, who had been so brutally ill-treated at Richard's coronation. The latter, who had reverted to Judaism after his compulsory baptism, died from the wounds which had been inflicted on him in London. Crusaders who wanted to obtain wealth, citizens who looked unfavourably at the prosperity of the Jews, noblemen who owed money to them, and priests who were animated by a blood-thirsty fanaticism, all entered into a conspiracy to destroy the Jews of York. In the dead of the night, during

¹ Concerning the massacre of the Jews at London, see J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 99, 106, 107; at Lynn, p. 113; at Norwich, Stamford, York, and St. Edmunds, pp. 112, 115, 117, 123, 130, 385; and *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.* (Rolls Series), i., 309-10, 312-322; see also Graetz, iii., p. 425-429; and Isaac Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, "The Jews of York."

² The Jews remembered gratefully the interference of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, on their behalf during the riots; for their behaviour at his funeral, cf. J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 116, 207. Concerning the Jews of Lincoln, see M. D. Davis' paper on "The Jews of Lincoln."

a conflagration which had arisen, the conspirators broke into the house of Benedict, which was inhabited only by his wife and daughters, carried away all the valuables, and set the house on fire. Joceus, who had foreseen the danger threatening him, repaired with his family and most of the members of the congregation to the tower watchman, and demanded protection in the fortress. But few Jews remained behind in the town, and these were attacked by the conspirators, who made their appearance on the day following their successful experiment, offering them the choice between baptism and death. The Jews in the tower, however, were formally besieged by a huge multitude of people of all ranks, and were called upon to embrace Christianity. One day the watchman sauntered out of the fortress, and as the Jews feared that he would betray them and give them over to their enemies, they resolved to refuse him re-admittance into the fortress. The latter made complaint before a high royal officer, the governor of the fortress, who happened to be present at the time, that the Jews had had the audacity to shut him out of the fortress which had been entrusted to him, and the governor, infuriated in the highest degree, now gave orders to the besieging multitude to demolish the fortress and take vengeance on the Jews. He even brought up reinforcements in order to ensure his victory. The siege lasted six days; the Jews repulsed all attacks bravely. Already the governor began to repent of having given orders to storm the place. Many noblemen, and sober and prudent citizens had begun to withdraw from an enterprise which, when the king should hear of it, promised so many evil consequences to them, when uprose a monk in a white robe, who exhorted the besiegers by voice and example to continue their work. He was nevertheless struck to the ground by a stone hurled by a Jewish hand, and yielded up his fanatical spirit.

The Jews had in the meantime exhausted their provisions, and death stared them in the face. When the men deliberated what step they should then take a learned rabbi, who had come over from France, Rabbi Yom Tob of Joigny, counselled them to slay one another, saying, "God, whose decisions are

inscrutable, desires that we should die for our holy religion. Death is at hand, unless you prefer for a short span of life to be unfaithful to that religion. As we must one day prefer a glorious death to a shameful life, it is advisable that we take our choice of the most honourable and noblest mode of death. The life, which our Creator has given us, we will render back to Him with our own hands. This example many pious men and congregations have given us in ancient and modern times." Many were of the same way of thinking; the timid, however, would not abandon the hope of being able to save their lives. In the meantime the heroic Rabbi made preparations for the carrying out of his self-sacrifice.¹ All valuables were burnt, fire was applied to the doors, and the men with the courage of zealots passed the knife across the throats of those dearest to them. Rabbi Joceus, as leader of the congregations, first slew his beloved wife, Anna, and to him was allotted the honour of being sacrificed by the rabbi. The Tosaphist, Rabbi Elias,² took also a prominent part in the tragedy enacted beneath the smoking ruins of the castle—a deed of heroism well worthy of the spirit of the Maccabees.³

Rabbi Jacob of Orleans, a disciple of his famous namesake, the illustrious Rabbi Jacob Tam of Ramerú, also met a martyr's death at the massacre which took place shortly after the coronation of Richard I.⁴

¹ Rabbi Yom Tob is therefore named in the Tosaphoth (Yoma, 48^a) with the appellation of Martyr. Cf. the account of Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn, edition Wiener, p. 10, translated into English by J. Jacobs in Angevin England, p. 130—131.

² Pupil of Sir Morell, is also named in the Tosaphoth (Zebachim, 14^b) with the appellation of the Martyr; cf. *Les Rabbins français*, pp. 446, 736.

³ Rabbi Yom Tob of Joigny is the author of the Penitential Hymn "Amnam Kein" for the Day of Atonement, which is still used in all the Synagogues of the Ashkenazic or so-called German rite, translated by I. Zangwill into English, who has preserved the metre, the rhyme system and the alphabetical acrostic of the original, published in the *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 109—110.

⁴ See account of Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn in Wiener's "Emek Habacha," p. 9, rendered into English by J. Jacobs in the *Angevin England*, p. 107—108; see also Dr. Gross, in his biography of Rabbi Jacob of Orleans in the *Magazin für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, i., p. 87, who conjectures that he came to England on the occasion of the coronation as the delegate of the French Jews, who were under the suzerainty of England; cf. *The Chief Rabbis of England*, p. 7—8.

Other French Jews of distinction, who helped to kindle the torch of learning in this country, were Rabbi Samuel ben Solomon of Falaise, known as "Sir Morell of England"; Rabbi Elchanan ben Isaac of Dampière;¹ his most important pupil, Rabbi Jehuda ben Isaac, called "Sir Leon of Paris";² Rabbi Chaim of Paris;³ Rabbi Isaac⁴ ben Yom Tob of Joigny, the martyr of York; Rabbi Joseph ben Jacob of Morell,⁵ for whom Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote his *Yesod Moreh* in London; Rabbi Moses of Paris;⁶ and Rabbi Benjamin of Canterbury, who was likewise a disciple of Rabbi Jacob Tam of Rameru.⁷

King John in the first year of his reign (1199), to show the Jews that they would not be molested by reason of any antipathies which he entertained towards them on account of their creed, granted them permission to nominate a person to the office of Chief Rabbi of England, and confirmed the appointment by the following charter:—"The King to all his faithful, both to all the Jews and the English, greeting: Be it known that we have granted and by our present charter confirmed to Jacob, the Jew of London, Presbyter, supervision of all the Jews throughout all England, to be had and be held by him during his lifetime freely and quietly, honourably and entirely, so that no one may presume to molest or trouble him in any way. We wish therefore and firmly

¹ According to the views of J. Jacobs in his *Angevin England*, pp. 45, 64, 65, 81, 269; see *The Chief Rabbis of England*, p. 12.

² See the *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 406—416.

³ Cf. *Angevin England*, pp. 240, 363.

⁴ Rabbi Isaac was in London, 1186—1194; cf. J. Jacobs in *Angevin England*, pp. 88, 241, 242, who gives a translation of a passage of the *Sepher Or Zarua*, ii., p. 50, in which is mentioned the name of Rabbi Isaac.

⁵ Cf. the *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 29—263.

⁶ Cf. *Revue des études juives*, t. iv. p. 7—8; and *Angevin England*, pp. 225, 229.

⁷ Rabbi Benjamin of Canterbury is mentioned in a list of mediæval rabbis drawn up by Rabbi Solomon Luria, section 29; cf. *Angevin England*, pp. 54, 281. See also Rabbi Jehuda ben Eleazar in his *Minchat Jehuda*, Deut. xxvi., 2, in which he mentions another English rabbi, Rabbi Aaron of Canterbury; see *Angevin England*, p. 98.

Concerning a MS. on decisions, supposed to be written by Rabbi Benjamin of Canterbury, see the Address of Dr. H. Adler, Chief Rabbi, in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 December, 1896, p. 12.

command that the same Jacob, Presbyter of the Jews of all England, may live secure, shielded and peaceably defended."¹ King John also favoured him with a charter of safe conduct throughout his dominions, calling him *dilectus et familiaris noster* (our well beloved and intimate friend). Both these charters were granted by the hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor of the kingdom.²

The king in the second year of his reign also signed two charters, one extending to the Jews of England alone, and the other comprising those of Normandy. The Jews might dwell freely and honourably where they chose. They might hold lands and be entitled to all their privileges as in the time of Henry II. If a Jew died, the king would not disturb his possessions, provided he had heirs who could answer for his debts and forfeitures. The oath of a Jewish witness was to be as valid as that of a Christian witness. Actions at law, where Jewish interests were attacked, were to be tried before a jury of Jews. All the king's subjects were bidden to defend the Jews and their chattels as the property of the king. The Israelites paid the king for these privileges a sum of 4,000 marks. When in the fifth year of his reign the citizens of London heaped indignities on the heads of the Jews, John sent a sharp reprimand to the mayor, in which he stated that he attributed the late outrages to the fools and not to the wise men of the city, and he ended by placing the Jews under the mayor's protection.³

These measures of conciliation had the desired effect. Jews came over from the continent, and, relying on the king's favour, applied themselves to the pursuit of wealth. True, their position was insecure, and the people scowled at them with hatred and jealousy. But they looked upon the promises of the king as their safeguard, and they were

¹ The Chief Rabbis of England, p. 12—13.

² Ibid, p. 13.

³ J. Picciotto, Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History, p. 9—10, London, 1875. The Rev Dr. H. Adler, in his Chief Rabbis of England, p 13, identified this Rabbi Jacob of London with the Rabbi Jacob mentioned by Rabbi Moses Isserl in the Darkei Mose on the Orach Chaim, ch. 473, wherein is stated that Rabbi Jacob of London translated the Hagada into the vernacular for the sake of women and children; cf. Zunz, Ritus, p. 62—63.

tolerably easy. A sudden change came over John. He met opposition on every side, and here were subjects for whom no one would lift up a finger. The Jews became his victims. If formerly they were scourged with whips, now they were scourged with scorpions. A tallage of 66,000 marks was laid upon them, which was an immense sum for those days. Nearly every Jew, man, woman, or child, was dragged to jail and put to torture.¹

The Tosaphist, Rabbi Joseph ben Baruch,² visited England in 1211, and induced many English Jews to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. While he was in England he commissioned Rabbi Jehuda ben Kardinal to make a new translation of Rabbi Jehuda Halevi's *Kusari*.³

Thus the memory of their past and the commonplace occurrences of their daily life continually strengthened the bonds that bound Jews together after twelve centuries of dispersion. In the thirteenth century, as in the first, they still regarded the Holy Land as their true home. Three hundred rabbis from France and England went thither in 1211. There Rabbi Jehuda Halevi ended his days. There Nachmanides taught that it was the duty of every Jew to live, and, true to his own lesson, he set out on his pilgrimage in the seventieth year of his age; and in his own and the next generation many Jews from Spain and Germany followed his example.⁴

Happier days for the Jews seemed to break in the beginning of the reign of Henry III. The Earl of Pembroke and afterwards his successor, Hubert de Burgh, administered the kingdom for the royal minor with fairness and impartiality. The Jews were treated as members of a common humanity, and not as wild beasts to be hunted down and killed. Measures were adopted for their especial safety. Those who were confined in prison were released. In each town where Jews lived, twenty-four burgesses were chosen to

¹ Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History, p. 10.

² Cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 52, and his *Abhandlung über die Geographische Literatur der Juden*, p. 256.

³ J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 181.

⁴ B. L. Abrahams, *The Expulsion*, p. 81.

protect their persons and property. The Jews were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. The old Justices in the Exchequer were dismissed for corruption and others, supposed to be more immaculate, were appointed.¹

The Lateran Council of 1215 accentuated the isolation of the Jews by ordering them to wear a distinctive mark, which in England took the characteristic form of a piece of cloth attached to the upper garment, in the shape of the two tablets of the law, as seen in the synagogues to the present day.²

A certain Rabbi Josceus, or Joseph, was appointed in the year 1217 to the office of chief rabbi as successor of Rabbi Jacob of London.³ His successor was Rabbi Aaron of York (1237), who is described by the chroniclers and recorded in the documents as having been a man of great wealth. Mathew of Paris states that this Rabbi solemnly assured him that the king had exacted from him during a period of seven years the sum of 30,000 marks in silver; that he had paid the queen 200 marks of gold, and that he afterwards agreed with the king to pay him the annual sum of 100 marks.⁴

As soon as the government of the country was taken out of the hands of Hubert de Burgh the Jews began to experience very great persecutions and grievous exactions from the king. From thenceforth the Jews, in place of the security they had previously enjoyed, were subjected to continual violence and arbitrary exaction. The change of feeling on the part of the government towards them was first manifested in the fourteenth year of the reign. In this year they were compelled to give up a third part of their movables to the crown. Immediately after the imposition of this tax the Jews in London were subjected to an unexpected act of injustice and oppression. By permission of the king they had lately completed a synagogue upon a scale of great magnificence. No objection whatever was made to the work

¹ J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 11.

² Concerning the Jewish badges, see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life*, p. 291—306; and B. L. Abrahams, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, viii., 360.

³ *The Chief Rabbis of England*, p. 13—15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

during its progress, but as soon as it was finished the king sent directions to have it seized, and forthwith granted it to the brothers of St. Anthony of Vienna to be by them converted into a church. From this time scarcely a year was allowed to pass without taxes to a grievous amount being exacted. These taxes were enforced by imprisonment, by seizing the property and possessions of the Jews, and by taking from them their wives and children, and punctuality of payment was secured by obliging the richest of their community to become sureties for the rest under similar penalties.¹

Rabbi Elyas was elected as chief rabbi in place of Rabbi Aaron of York in the year 1237.

In the year 1240 a Jewish parliament was summoned of six of the chief Jews of each jewry to consult with the king, chiefly on taxation and tallage. The members of Parliament for London were Benedictus Crispin, Jacobus Crispin, Aaron F. Abraham, Aaron le Blund, Elias le Evesk, Leo Blund; Elias Blund was substituted for Benedictus Crispin.²

The hopes of the Jews rose high on their being called to take part in the king's counsels. Perhaps their years of bondage were over, perhaps better days were about to dawn for down-trodden, persecuted Israel. Great was their disappointment and sore was their trouble when they found that *supplies* were the burthen of his most gracious Majesty's speech. He had brought them together to think of the ways and means of furnishing him with 20,000 marks. Six among them were appointed collectors. They might assess the sum among themselves as they pleased, but the cash must be forthcoming in two instalments within a stated period, otherwise their persons would be answerable to the king. The required amount was not delivered on the stipulated day, simply because the funds could not be gathered, and the unhappy collectors paid the penalty of disobedience to impossible commands. They were thrown into prison with their wives and children until the whole sum was squeezed from the Jews.³

¹ J. E. Blunt, *History of the Jews in England*, p. 37—39. London, 1830.

² J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 182.

³ Picciotto, *Sketches*. p. 14—15.

When the principal among them had been summoned in the year 1254 before the Earl Richard of Cornwall (the king's brother) and the council, and were threatened with imprisonment and death unless they forthwith supplied the sum required of them, the venerable chief rabbi, Rabbi Elyas, stood up and spoke warmly in expostulation. He prayed for a safe conduct to quit the country, as his brethren had determined to leave rather than submit to impossible demands. Their trade was ruined, they could scarcely exist, they were beggared, and if they sold their skins, they could not gather the sums exacted. The poor rabbi, exhausted by his own energy, was carried away fainting.¹

The king must have been greatly incensed, for we find that a few years afterwards Rabbi Elyas was deprived of his office, although no specific offence is charged against him.² His brother Rabbi Hayam or Hagin was appointed his successor. This Hagin did not enjoy his honour for many years. After his death, Hagin, the son of Deulacres, was appointed at the instance and through the intercession of Queen Eleanor.³

The request of the Jews to be allowed to leave England was not granted, and it was not till the year 1290 that Edward I., in accordance with a proposal from the Parliament, gave sentence for their perpetual banishment.

The heart shudders to read how 16,000 poor Jews quitted the island kingdom; how even the boatmen on the Thames maltreated them; how the inhabitants of the Five Ports took from them, as travelling money, that which the rapacity of the people had yet left to them; how thereon the shipowners refused to admit them on board; and how by hundreds they perished in sight of the open sea.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16; Blunt, *History of the Jews of England*, p. 42—43; cf., *The Temptations of the Jews*, in B. L. Abrahams' *Expulsion of the Jews*, p. 44—53; concerning Rabbi Elyas, see J. Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 188—191.

² *The Chief Rabbis of England*, pp. 17, 18—19.

³ Cf. *Miscell. of Heb. Lit.*, ii., p. 169.

⁴ J. Rodenberg, *England from a German Point of View*, p. 266, London, 1875; cf. B. L. Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews*, p. 69—73. For a fuller account of the inner life of the Jewish communities before the Expulsion, see Tovey D'Blossiers, *Anglia-Judaica*. Oxford, 1738;

One body of the exiles set sail for France.¹ During their voyage fierce storms swept the sea. Many were drowned, many were cast destitute on the coast that they were seeking, and were allowed by the king to live for a time in Amiens. Another body, numbering 1,335, and consisting to a great extent of the poor, went to Flanders. Many, too, may have thrown in their lot with their 850,000 co-religionists of Spain.²

Among the learned Jews who lived in England during the last century before the expulsion, were Rabbi Moses ben R. Yomtob of London (Hanaedon, or Punctator, Massorite, and grammarian);³ his disciple Rabbi Moses ben R. Isaac Han-nasiah (Comitissa), of England, who is celebrated by his famous work on the Hebrew grammar and lexicon entitled *Sepher Hashoham*, or *Book of the Onyx*,⁴ which is the most important product of Anglo-Jewish literature before 1290;

J. E. Blunt, *History of the Jews in England*, London, 1830; Margoloth, *History of the Jews in Great Britain*, London, 1851; Dr. Goldschmidt, *Geschichte der Juden in England*, i., 1887; J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, London, 1875; *Hebrew Shetaroth of English Jews, 1190—1290*, edited, with English abstracts, by M. D. Davis, London, 1887; *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, a Bibliography of Anglo-Jewish History, compiled by J. Jacobs and L. Wolf, London, 1887; *Exhibition Papers*, 1887, London; *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 1887—1897*, 2 vols.; J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, up to 1206, London, 1893; J. Jacobs, *the London Jewry*, in his *Jewish Ideals*, p. 162—191, London, 1896; and B. L. Abrahams, *Expulsion of the Jews, 1290*, Oxford, 1895.

¹ Cf. B. L. Abrahams, *Expulsion of the Jews*, p. 71—72; Laurière, *Ordonnances des Rois de la France*, i., 317; and *Revue des études juives*, i., pp. 66, 67, 69.

² Graetz, *Geschichte*, vii., 155.

³ Author of the *Darkei Nikkud*, *Rules of Punctuation* appended to the Rabbinical Bibles, published separately, Vilna, 1822, and by Frensdorf, Frankfort. 1854. With Samuel Berachya, Moses ben Isaac and Moses ben Yom Tob, all important Nakdanim (Punctuators or Massorites), it is clear that there was a most important Massoretic school in England in the latter half of the twelfth century; cf. J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 283; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i., 182, ii., 322—7; *Revue des études juives*, xii., 73—9; and Dr. Berliner, *Heb. Poesien des Rabbi Meirs aus Norwich*, p. vi.

⁴ The first portion of the work has been edited by G. W. Collins, 1882. His grammar, entitled "*Leshon Limmudim*," is lost. Cf. J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, pp. 251, 253; Bacher in his *Preface to the edition of Rabbi Joseph Kimchi's Sepher Zikaron*; and in *Winter Wünsche's Judische Literatur*, vol. ii., p. 205—7.

Rabbi Samuel Nakdan or Samuel le Pointur,¹ living at Bristol in 1194; and Rabbi Berachyah ben Natronai Crispia Nakdan, or Benedict le puncteur de Oxen,² exegete, grammarian, translator and literateur, who rendered into Hebrew a treatise on mineralogy corresponding to the mediæval *Lapidaria*, as well as Adelard of Bath's *Quæstiones Naturales*.³ Besides these translations of scientific works, he commented on several books of the Scripture, wrote an ethical treatise called "Matzref,"⁴ and above all, was the author of the *Mishle Shualim* or "Fox Fables." This was a collection of 107 Fables of the Æsopic kind, many of which were derived from the East, and bear the marks of adaptation or translation. They are written in rhymed prose with much vigour and wit, and stamp Rabbi Berachyah Nakdan as one of the most original and striking figures in mediæval Jewish literature.⁵

The following is a selection from the morals attached to Berachyah's "Fox Fables":—

"Prefer one in hand to two in hope: a little certainty is better than a great perhaps."

"Sooner a servant among the noble than leader among the common; for some of their honour will stick to you, while you must share the contempt of your contemptible followers."

¹ Author of a Hebrew grammar, MS. in the Royal Library at Berlin; see Steinschneider, *Cat. Heb. MSS. Berlin*, p. 100; and *Jews of Angevin England*, 162.

² The only work of Berachyah's yet printed is his *Mishle Shualim*, "Fox Fables," the editio princeps of which appeared at Mantua, 1557, and a complete Latin translation by M. Hanel, Prague, 1661. An introduction of Rabbi Berachyah's *Mishle Shualim*, which is only printed in the editio princeps, has been translated into English by J. Jacobs in *Angevin England*, p. 278—280.

³ Under the title of "Dodi we-Nechdi," a series of sixty-two dialogues between uncle and nephew on Natural History, selected and freely rendered from Adelard of Bath's *Quæstiones Naturales*, MS. in Munich, no. 42; cf. J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 165—174.

⁴ Divided into thirteen chapters:—i. Introduction, ii. Lust, iii. Affection, iv. Restraint of the Will, v. Justice, vi. Misfortune, vii. Poverty, viii. Honour, ix. Position, x. Rank, xi. Soul, xii. Hope, xiii. Immortality; preserved in MSS. at Munich, no. 64/4, and Parma, no. 482, 2^o; cf. J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England* and Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 127—128. Concerning his Commentary on the Scriptures, see S. Sziessy *Cat. Cambridge*, i., 40—2, 245.

⁵ J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 406.

“If you pursue after power and might, they fly before you; regard yourself as only a passing guest in this world, and honour and riches will come of themselves.”

“Most men despise those who deserve more honour than they: they wish evil to the good, and only come to him when they need him”

“The proud cedar is felled; the lowly bush is untouched.”

“Fire rises and dies away; water flows down and for ever.”

“If for what beauty or riches you have you raise your head above neighbour or brother, you feed hateful envy, and the beggar whom you despise may yet triumph over you.”

“Who stands by his honour, would sooner die than set a price on it: better enough in freedom than plenty at the table of another.”

“Love thy children with impartial love: the hope oft errs that you place on the more promising, and all your joy may come from him that you have kept in the background.”¹

To this period belongs Rabbi Elia Menachem of London, a great rabbinical authority. Questions upon difficult points were sent to him.² Rabbi Jacob ben Jehuda Chazan of London was also of this period; his liturgical work, entitled “Sepher Etz Chaim,” Tree of Life,³ contains a full account of the early English Jews’ Prayer-Book.

Next to London the principal city inhabited by Jews was Norwich; this name occurs again and again in the Shetaroth and the records of the chroniclers. We possess abundant

¹ Translated by J. Jacobs in his *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 172—173; a German translation is given by Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 144—145.

² Mentioned in *Minchat Jehuda*, Hagahoth Asheri and in *Sepher Hashoham*; cf. J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 287. A fragment of the Decisions of Rabbi Menachem of London, extant in MS. has been translated by I. Abrahams in *Angevin England*, p. 288; also of the Decisions of Rabbi Moses of London, translated by the same, p. 291. Rabbi Moses ben Isaac quotes in his *Sepher Hashoham*, Rabbi Isaac of Tchernigov. This Rabbi Isaac of Russia was possibly the first Russian in historic times who put foot on English soil; cf. J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, pp. 73, 252; and Dr. Harkavy, *Die Juden und die Slavischen Sprachen*, p. 62.

³ The MS. of which is still extant at Leipzig. It was written about 1287, and has been fully described by Prof. Kaufmann in two articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, iv., pp. 20 *seq.*, 550 *seq.*; see also J. Jacobs, *Angevin England*, p. 289.

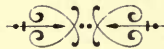
proof that, despite oppression and exactions, the Jews in England devoted themselves with ardour to the study of the law. Norwich in England may claim, like Touque, Évreux, and Sens in France, to have produced a small band of scholars who pursued zealously their Talmudical studies according to the method of their great masters.¹ The authority of "The wise men of Norwich" was held in as high consideration as that of France and Germany."² Amongst the great learned men of Norwich at this period was Rabbi Meir ben Elias, of Norwich, who composed a didactic poem, embodying the Scripture narrative from the Creation to the Passage of the Red Sea;³ this and some other compositions stamp the author as having possessed a thorough mastery of the Hebrew tongue and as being thoroughly versed in Midrashic lore.⁴

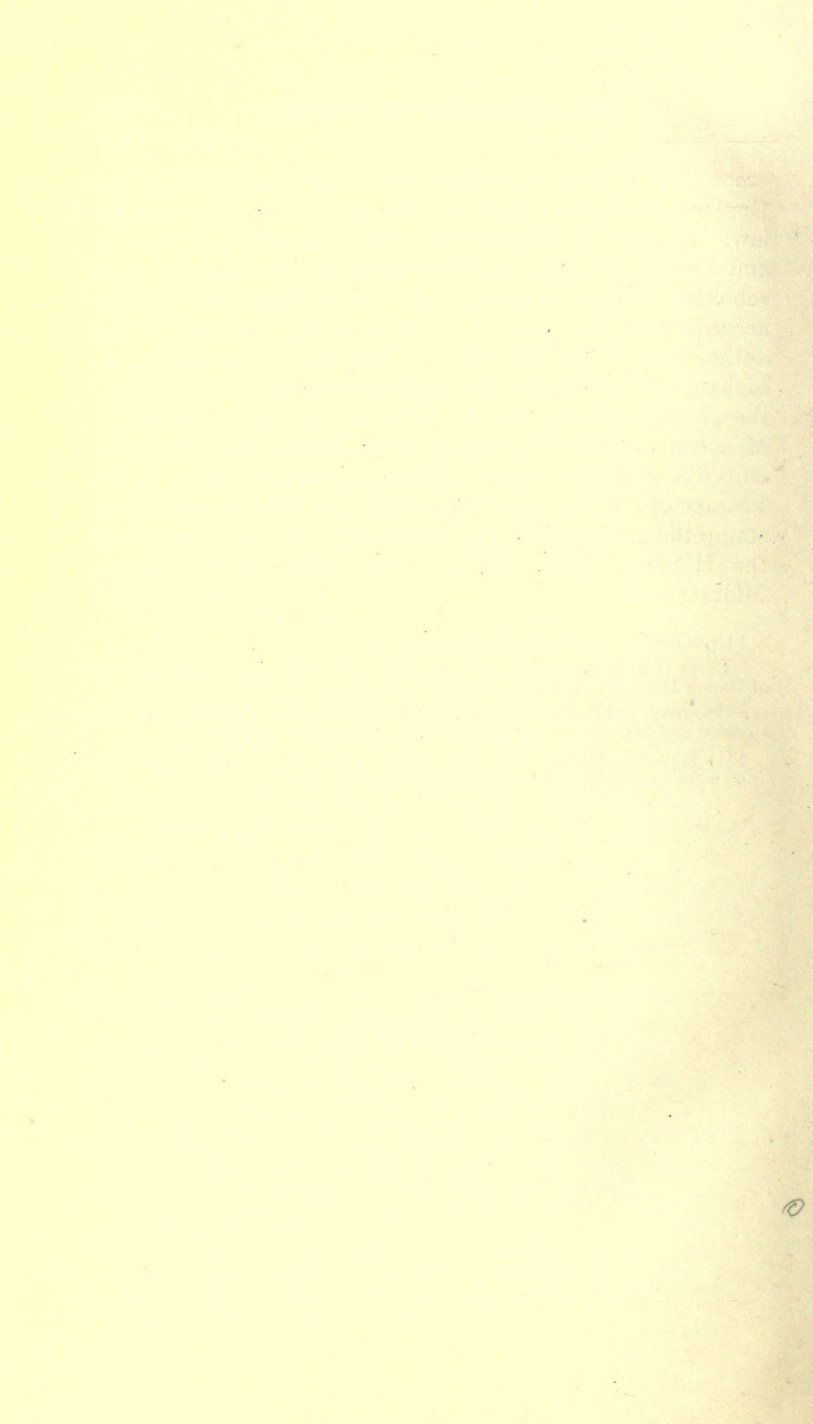
¹ Cf. *The Chief Rabbis of England*, p. 23.

² There is a manuscript of the *Tosaphot* of Norwich in the Library of Baron Horace Günzburg in St. Petersburg.

³ Has been published by Dr. A. Berliner under the title "*Hebraische Poesien des Meir ben Elia aus Norwich*," London, 1887.

⁴ Cf. Rev. Dr. H. Adler in *The Chief Rabbis of England*, p. 21—22; and in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 25th December, 1896.







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