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Judaism
and the Religion
of the Future

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JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

I N A WORLD OF TERRIBLE STRESS AND strain, and at a time of momentous global decisions, we Jews, an old historic people accustomed to stress and strain, have been celebrating this year the 300th anniversary of the landing of Jewish settlers in New York.

It is a fitting occasion to pause and take stock.

First what is there to celebrate? We can make *shehecheyanu* but what real occasion have we for celebration? Have we been true to what is best in our past? And are we giving promise of a fitting contribution to the world's future?

These are fateful questions, not spared to any adult people participating in the making of history, and quite specially not spared to us, who are claiming a special place within the economy of history, and who must make good that claim or stand adjudged as ridiculous before the bar of the world's opinion.

Has the enterprise we are engaged in, namely Judaism, been justifying itself in its fruits, in this country and elsewhere? And above all, is there a continuing promise, especially now in this world of intensified stress and strain, and at a time of global decisions as to how mankind is to live, that we can make our proper gift to the common fund of the world's life-resource?

The subject of our talk is Judaism and the religion of the future. Three ideas are involved, every one of which is a question.

That there will be a future; and that it will have some common valid faith to sustain and vitalize it; and that we Jews shall have some part in it:—these are all religious assumptions, for which there is very little ground in the actual empirical situation. They are assumptions of faith and hope, without which we cannot live.

But consider the world-situation today, and compare it say with ten years ago.

Then we were at war with Hitler and Japan, with the enemies of mankind, and we were full of anxiety but also of fervor and ardent enthusiasm, only waiting for the end of the war to fashion a new brave world.

In ten short years (so rapid is the tempo of event) the moral climate of the world has changed completely, from hope to dull despair, from eager ardor to a stalemate paralyzing all hearts, with an incubus of cold war or cold co-existence weighing down upon the whole world.

And now consider our own Jewish position.

What is our present situation? It is not good. We Jews have been manoeuvred into the unhealthy position of being massed in a few large centres of population, and away from the simpler artisan and agricultural occupations. We have all been urbanized. Socially and economically we have moved into the middle and upper brackets of the professional, commercial and industrial world. As for our spiritual and intellectual life, we have all been educated in a way which a great poet and thinker of our time, William Butler Yeats, has characterized as profoundly unfavorable to all the deeper concerns of the mind and heart. He says, speaking of his own people but it is true of all, that only those who have risen above or fallen below the conventions of education are still open to the call and influence of the great

emotions and themes of mankind; and the conventions of education are precisely those which our urbanized middle class feeds on. We are educated beyond our intelligence, and we operate in all areas with ideas which we have not earned.

And parallel with that, and most grievous of all for us Jews, we have lost our old rootage, our imbeddedness in a deep soil, from which we drew our sustenance, and pride, and inner resistance against the awful impacts of the world.

All Jews today,—possibly it is too much to say all, but certainly many,—are filled to a greater or lesser degree with discontent at being Jews, with some measure of what has been called *Selbsthass*, consciously or unconsciously with some measure of self-deprecation and self-contempt.

I hasten to add: these are phenomena for which no one is to blame. About the last thing in the world that could help us would be mutual recrimination or indictments or moral indignation. The phenomena in question are stresses and strains like the world stress and strain, inevitable in the course of economic and social developments, and to be met only by renewed thought and renewed effort on the new plane.

So then the world situation is bad and the world must rise to a new faith, to a new mode of life, circling the globe.

The Jewish position is vulnerable, from without and within, and it can survive only if it makes itself worthy of survival.

The recent utterances on both these subjects by the most vocal and articulate philosophic historian of our time, Mr. Arnold Toynbee, may serve us as text or rather as pretext.

He says about history that all the forces which have contributed to its making are in process of disintegration

and that nothing short of a new religion will avail to save the world.

Well, by itself that is nothing but an agonizing truism, and gives no light.

He says about the Jews that they fulfilled their function in preparing for Christianity, that for two millennia now they are nothing but a long drawn out anomaly, a painful fossilized survival without intrinsic meaning or justification.

Well, that is nothing new either: it is the official doctrine more or less of all the churches, and the unofficial belief of all non-Jewish students or professors of Old Testament and New Testament theology.

And indeed, unless we make transcendental assumptions about the Jews, unless they learn to regard themselves and to make themselves into a people of destiny, the charge is a true charge.

In answer to both let us then express the conviction, the religious conviction, that the great dramatist who presides over the cosmos will not allow mankind to lapse into chaos or into the monotony of stagnation; and that mankind will rouse itself to new efforts to meet the new occasion. And furthermore that the Jews, as a people of destiny from the beginning, will continue to play a vital part in the scheme of history.

The Jewish people, we firmly believe, will continue to vindicate for itself a place within the economy of history commensurate with that which it has occupied from the beginning. In the beginning it was chosen from among tribes absolutely similar to itself in blood, climate, habitat and mores, and launched upon a world-historic career, whilst the others dropped back into nameless triviality. It is destined to contribute decisively, we hope and believe, to

the future of mankind. And that contribution will lie within the area of religion, i.e. within the field of supreme need. But of course that will require immense re-dedication and re-education. It is our task tonight to sketch in programmatic outline the lines along which the contribution can be made.

* * * *

And so let us list the ways in which the religion of the future will have to develop and in which classic Judaism has a special aptitude from the start.

1) The type of man who produced the Bible, the *homo religiosus* or religious man par excellence, must be revived; he stands in a relation of polarity to God and is the chief factor in all religious life and growth.

2) Religion cannot recognize any one person as the sole way to God, and Judaism is the permanent opposition to any religion which deifies a man.

3) The ethic and idealism sanctioned by the religion of the future must be a life-ethic, a life-idealism as opposed to the romantic, instinctivistic and other-worldly idealisms which have dominated Europe and which cut at the roots of life.

4) Our universe is a growing universe and a continuing creation, there must therefore be a growth in some aspects of the Godhead as well: in that process man is a crucial and decisive factor.

* * * *

We begin with the first, with the Bible, which with all its immense influence has only begun its effectiveness and educative role; with the Bible and primarily with the Old Testament, because although (as recently stressed) there is a common Judeo-Christian base, nevertheless there is no

question that the Old Testament is far the grander book, and must retain and assert its primacy for the future if there is to be a regeneration of the future.

For, as we shall see, the figure of Jesus in so far as it has been ontologized or transformed into a god as Christ marks a profound falling away from the religious genius which animated Jesus himself, and which he derived as birthright from his people, a falling away which he did not intend, and which stultifies his work, and which cannot conceivably remain the religion of a freed and mature future mankind.

I cannot hope to characterize the spirit animating the Bible, except to say in one word that it is the most august assertion mankind has of the will of man for righteousness and divinity.

And I take refuge in bringing the testimony of two modern writers from a totally different camp than ours, both of them Hellenists, ardent students of Greek letters, and both of them not specially friendly to the hollowed-out, urbanized Jew of today. These two are Friedrich Nietzsche from abroad and John Jay Chapman from our own country.

We begin with Nietzsche, who whatever else he may have been was one of the subtlest and most penetrating students and judges of human values of all time.

"In the Jewish Old Testament, the book of divine justice, there are men and things and utterances in a style so grand that the writings of Hellas and India have nothing to place by their side. One stands with fear and reverence before these stupendous remains of what man formerly was, and one has sad thoughts concerning that old Asia and its little jutting peninsula Europe which would like to regard itself as "the progress of mankind" in the face of Asia. . . . The taste for the Old Testament is a touchstone with

respect to "great" and "small". . . . To have hitched up the New Testament, a kind of rococo of taste in every respect, along with the Old Testament into a single volume as "Bible" i.e. as "the book in itself" is perhaps the greatest audacity and "sin against the spirit" which literary Europe has upon its conscience" (*Jenseits von Gut u. Böse* III 52, *Werke* VIII p. 77).

And again: "There I find great men, a heroic landscape, and something of what is rarest on earth, namely the incomparable naïveté of the strong heart; and even more, I find a people . . ." (*Zur Genealogie der Moral* III 22, *Werke* VIII, p. 462).

We turn to John Jay Chapman, whom an important critic of our day, Edmund Wilson, calls an American classic, and what is more to our purpose William James quotes him in his "Varieties" and calls him "a profound moralist" (*Varieties* p. 324). Chapman is of that fine breed of American manhood represented by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and William James, a person of heroic mould. He was a devout Episcopalian all his life, a vestryman of his church, but calls himself a Jew, though in what sense is seen when we recall that he was descended from old American stock and that in addition he was not specially enamored with the Jews he saw vacationing one summer in Atlantic City (*Howe's Chapman* p. 367).

"I read the Bible all the time and carry it about when I don't read it. It is the only power and opening of one's self . . . Of all the media of communication between man and man, the Bible is the greatest mind-touching influence that swallows us into union with God and with all men. . . . There is a depth of human feeling in the Jew that no other race ever possessed. We do no more than imitate it and

follow it. These Jews are more human than any other men. It is the cause of the spread of their religion, for we are all adopted into Judah. The heart of the world is Jewish. . . . The history of the Jews is the most remarkable, the most notable thing, on the globe. Their sacred books and chronicles and traditions and history make the annals of every other nation mere rubbish. . . . I'm glad I'm a Jew. . . . The New Testament has not the literary magnificence of the Old . . ." (John Jay Chapman and his Letters by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Boston 1937, p. 170-171).

And this translator of three Greek tragedies quotes a verse from Habakkuk: "For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood and stablisheth a city by iniquity (2:3.11.12)" and has this to say: "Greek literature would have lived if it had any such human touch and bang in it. . . . The Greek tragedians—how little, how mannered, how artificial, how local, how conventional."

I have quoted these two writers at length, precisely because they are foreigners, and because their words give us a hint as to the kind of man who produced the Bible and whom the world must learn to reproduce, to breed again, as its major task. Nietzsche emphasizes the mood of grandeur, the stature and sheer power of the Biblical scene and character; Chapman the moral heart of the Biblical man, his voluntative, postulative, God-demanding character.

That Biblical man, the bearer of religion in its highest sense, the partner and challenger of God, the polarity to God which lures God into reality, the polarity to God without which God remains a shadowy term, the spearhead of the world's advance,—is the hope and bearer of future humanity.

This creative power is not one of intellect but of char-

acter, which is the greatest force in the world. Reason at its highest can approximate to a God but cannot furnish a God such as we need him. The Aristotles and Whiteheads can achieve a prime mover, an orderer, a supreme dramatic artist but not a good God.

This is the immense service of the religious man that he has an intuition of a new phase in the Godhead which must become paramount in God. When the Psalmist addresses God as one that upholds all that fall and raises up all that are bowed down (Ps. 145:14), one that executes judgment for the oppressed and looses the prisoners (Ps. 146:7), he is reminding God of what God ought to do; but when has God been known to do it? Through the re-entry of the saints and martyrs into the Godhead, God will gradually shift from being a great cosmic dramatist to being primarily concerned for individual men and women, for saints and heroes and martyrs.

It is the Biblical, the religious man who by his heroic insistence as the spearhead of a growing universe postulates the good God and must compel him to emerge. Such men see the light in his light but give him back what they get, in added measure; and he learns from them, he learns, and improves. No rebuff, no defeat, no cruellest experience, can dishearten man, because he is the world's heart. He is not to be refuted because he is the bearer of the light that cannot go out.

* * * *

With that we come to the next phase of our thought concerning the religion of the future. It is this: Anything that lowers man's stature and diminishes his responsibility is an assault upon religion, and such is the repeated attempt by the inert mass of mankind to deify its great leaders, such

as Lao-Tse, Buddha, Confucius, Mohammed (and Akbar and Ali), and of course most notably of all to elevate the man Jesus into Christ the God.

It is a device whereby men escape the full burden of their own responsibility. They let a god bear it for them instead of bearing it themselves. They shrink from growing up. He, the God, atones for them, he is their goodness.

For the few it may not matter, but for the great mass of mankind this is inevitably a process of stultification, and of freeing from responsibility, freeing from the responsibility of religious growth. In our own day Gandhi was afraid of nothing so much as of being made a god. He knew that it would glorify him but would permanently stunt the worshipper. The worshipper takes it out in worship and not in growth of stature. That surely must also have been the thought in the mind of such men as Buddha and Jesus, who were amongst the great religious geniuses of the world and who wanted all men to grow into a religious maturity like their own. But the call to freedom and creativeness is apparently too much to ask of the run of men. And so churches have adapted themselves to men's weakness and have taken over for them.

This is the theme of one of the great poetic creations of modern literature, the profound legend of the Grand Inquisitor in Dostoyevsky's *Karamazovs*. In this prose poem Jesus re-appears in Seville to preach his old message of "the Kingdom of God within you," but is quickly apprehended and brought before the Cardinal Archbishop who is also head of the Inquisition in Spain. The Grand Inquisitor claps Jesus into prison and threatens to burn him at the stake, as he had done with other heretics that very day, if Jesus does not depart at once. The Cardinal Archbishop Grand In-

quisitor explains to Jesus that the call to freedom and to self-creativity which Jesus had brought and was bringing to man is too great for man. Man is a little child who must be led by hand. The church undertakes that task. The church of course knows the full truth, but it feels it must make the best of the given circumstance. And therefore instead of taking the chance of supporting the glorious but dangerous enterprise which the Prophets and Jesus and the religious leader everywhere have urged, of letting man grow up, it coddles him in his weakness and superstition.

We say then, marvellous as the image of Jesus has been in focussing the love and tenderness resident in the European heart, beautiful and profound as are his parables, touching as is his speech with the outcast men and women of the countryside, and dramatic as is the story of his death (though his last recorded word is one of despair, not of faith), nevertheless the future of mankind can never permit any one person to remain the sole channel to God. Deification in the simple naive mythological sense is no service to religion, it is a disservice to religion. Mankind must learn to grow up. We are all sons of God, we are all potential gods (cf. Ps. 82:6; John 11:34) or we should aspire to be. And this was essentially what Jesus himself had taught.

The rebellion within the Christian Church against the special ontological status assigned to Jesus, the various Unitarian and Socinian movements, are proof of our contention. But alas they have been of very limited success. There is needed a permanent opposition, an historic group committed to upholding the religion which first made Jesus possible (*for* Jesus if you please, but *against* Christ) i.e. for the free power and faith of the religious man directly con-

fronting God. That is the historic function assigned to Judaism.

* * * *

A great religion should glorify life. The hardships and tragedies of life are no argument against life. That would rule out all Buddhism and half of Christianity.

Buddhism is the negation of the will to live, it is the religion of disillusionment, the religion of those who have tried out all desire and have found it ashes in the mouth, the religion of those who want peace (Nirvana) because of fatigue.

Christianity in its origins was against marriage, against this world, for the ascetic ideal, and with its eyes set on Heaven as the place where the true life begins. In dogma and theory it is still that today.

Hence the profoundest word in the Old Testament is the injunction to choose life, spoken as the culmination of that supreme oration called Deuteronomy. I think they are the most solemn words ever uttered, these words addressed by God to man through Moses: "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse, therefore choose life, that thou mayest live thou and thy seed." (Deut. 30:19).

Now how does all this stand to the religion of the future? What does the future need, what will it ask, on this crucial subject of life-affirmation, the value of life, its conservation and enrichment?

There is no doubt of course that Christianity has made very extensive readjustments to the needs and outlook of the modern world, away from otherworldliness and the monastic ideal and escapism and contempt for the things of this world. Nevertheless the original bias remains latent,

and there will have to be a complete change of front if it is to fit itself to contribute to the religion of the future.

Here Judaism is in a much better position. Judaism from the beginning has been a life-affirming religion, a life-idealism, in every walk and concern affecting man, in love and marriage and children and family, in war and peace, in economics and livelihood, in the estimate put upon mind and study, and in the character of its ideals and religiosity. Not that by any means Judaism has run a perfect course. It has had too many and too violent impacts from without to permit of that. And today its Orthodoxy is overwhelmed by a burden of observance, and its Reform by hollowness and by taking over the mores of its neighbors. But here too the original principles of its constitution, embodied in centuries and millennia of living, embodied in codes and holy writings and mores and institutions and inherited outlook, are very near the surface, to be seized and embraced and made available for life.

As against the idealism of the instincts or of romance or of death which has largely dominated Mediæval and Modern Europe, the more sober but far more mature ethos embodied in the Jewish code and mores and religion makes for the conservation and enrichment of life, as is the case with all upward striving peoples who have laid the base for history and civilization.

At every point in the program of the conduct of life, classic Judaism takes a positive position, a position that may well be consulted as guide in shaping the religion of the future:—in the cult of children, making the having of children a religious duty, and regarding the lack of children as a kind of spilling of blood and lessening the Godhead *sh'fichut damim* and *m'maet et had'mut*; in the summary

method of dealing with the tyrannous problem of sex by the injunction to marry young; in the anti-romantic match-making, and in the high estimate placed upon the scholar, and in the resulting eugenic mores, which mated the finest mind with the most attractive girl, and thus bred upward and not downward as was the case with the surrounding European mores; in the high estimate placed upon mind and reason and rational calculus instead of instinctive impulse; in the horror of war; and finally in the transvaluation of the grim fact of suffering, as something to be accepted and transfigured, as the mark of the heroic and noble soul, and if you please a sign of God's love, and by no means a reason for condemning and fleeing life.

* * * *

We can barely mention the last phase of any effective religion of the future, but we cannot conclude without doing so. It is the reality of time, the reality of the struggle man is engaged in, and that he is actually helping to decide what the future shall be. That it is not a foregone conclusion, that creation is unfinished, that man is a supreme factor in the process, is part of any great religion, and is implied in Judaism and in its will to the future. The Jews are a temporalist people with its eyes set to the future. The best is yet to be, it teaches, the Messiah has not come but is yet to come, the Kingdom of God and God himself are at the end of the road, not at the beginning.

"I hazard the prophecy," says Whitehead, "that that religion will conquer which can render clear to popular understanding some eternal greatness incarnate in the passage of temporal fact."

* * * *

This brings us to our concluding thought: our mem-

bership in a chosen people. Without a sense of destiny we can do nothing. We just drop back into the nameless horde. The sense of chosenness is the mark and index of creative genius in every world-historic people. We gave a supreme example of it in the Biblical period. If we are to pick up the slack after a long period of abeyance and marking time, we must try to recover our old self.

Membership in any great people is a mode of enormously enlarging the individual ego, of bestowing grandeur on the self. The individual's span of life is brief, but in so far as he identifies himself with the life of a people which spans the ages and weaves at the texture of reality itself, he is immortal. A people is itself a person with definite distinctive features, and if carried by a sense of power is the creator of history and of spiritual reality. Full awareness of membership in such a chosen people gives one kinship and identity with all its great exemplars and all its great achievements, enlarges one to that tremendous person or super-person. Without it we are nothing. With it we can front and confront God.

The proud words in the concluding service of our Day of Atonement, *ata hivdalta enosh merosh vatakireshu laamod l'fanecha*. "Thou has distinguished man from the beginning and hast recognized his privilege to stand before Thee" was spoken for men, not mice; and without that polarity of confrontation where each side gives and takes there is no growth at all.

The Jews have been in the forefront of such fronting and confronting God. They have been the bearers of the God-idea for the world. If there is to be a future, if there is to be a religion for the future, if they are to contribute to the making of both, they must create a mythos of the

Jewish soul and its destiny, with symbols of beauty and grandeur to carry them and keep them strong.

And that mythos already exists. The greatest of the prophets, Jeremiah, has formulated that high awareness in words that can never die: "Thus saith the Lord who giveth the sun for a light by day and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night . . . If these ordinances depart from before me, then the seed of Israel shall also cease from being a nation before me forever." (Jer. 31:35-36).

And for the period of the Talmud, Joshua b. Levi, a central figure among the rabbis, has the lapidary utterance: "Israel can never die, neither in this world nor the world to come" *yisrael en lahem b'tela olamit lo baolam hazeh v'lo baolam haba* (Menahot 53 b).

And for the period following Bible and Talmud, the two men in whom the genius of the Jewish people has become most incarnate, Yehuda Halevi and Maimonides, express the same profound conviction as to the destiny of Israel.

Yehuda Halevi takes up the strain of Jeremiah and exclaims "Day and night will be destroyed before Israel can be destroyed." *ach yaaminu ki l'olam hem v'chi lo yishb'tu ad yom v'layil yishb'tu*. (J.P.S. Salaman 126).

And Maimonides, for all his doctrine of the unknowable ineffable God, goes even further, straining the very limits of possible expression: "As it is impossible for God to cease to exist, so is it impossible for Israel to be destroyed and disappear from the world" *uch-mo sheiy efshar shetibatel m'tsiut habore ken iy efshar sheneevad v'nitbatel anu min haolam*. (Iggeret Ternan ed. Halkin p. 24-25, ed. Goldman p. 38).

Israel is as deathless as God himself, the bearer of God to the world forevermore.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

checked against



order of pages
uncertain

also last page
obviously not class
notes - but note written to
fellow-student re agenda for
a youth group meeting

פרשה ג

(א)

הלכות -- Mishna

master of decisions -- בר הילכן

Mekilta (Halachik Midrash) -- סדרת

master of Halachik Midrash -- בר סבילאן

whole discourse -- תלמוד

learned -- בן תורה -- בר אנלפן

business man -- פרנסט'טא

share-crop system -- נסחצה

owner of landed estates, a man of substance -- סרי אסיאן

step -- דריסה

(ב)

Goyim who adopted ethics of Judaism without full rituals -- יראי'

are full proselytes -- circumcised, etc. -- גיר' צדק

(ד)

We are punished for the robbed food we eat by the torturous
passage the food has to pass until it is excreted.

Humorous lines.

Relationship of God to Israel -- There is love, but also tension beneath the surface. Jews are chosen, but at the same time are hated. Then love comes again.

Ps. 51:19 -- לב נשבר

II

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

p. 23a, 23 -- importance of prayer to thanks

-- ז, ט

peace

-- ט, ט

great story of R. Meir -- 24a

There are greater things than abstract justice -- i.e. life itself.

-- א, ז

The v. 45,8 -- is taken to mean, you love to acquit -- you hate to convict.

This is Jewish interpretation of law, even when letter of law requires conviction.

(ב) ש ב ע

Change דור המדבר to ישראל -- then add sentence about דורות, of which דור המדבר is best.

This took place of שבועות and the ירש is complimenting the people.

Then passage about ויתר גויים -- which is delicate. In ancient times there are examples of partiality against the Goyim. Rabbis rationalized this by certain verses, of which this one in Hab. is common. They are ruled out on the ground that they are pre-moral and cannot be held responsible for the מצות.

Israel carries the burden for all others -- noblesse oblige -- they support the Goyim (bottom of 17) because they are able. The strong are made to carry extra burdens.

(33) מצוות given to discipline mankind and are not sacrosanct in themselves.

Certain honesty and freedom here -- a desire for bullfights and eating lobster.

Humor -- ס'ר ט'ילן, אבער ס'ר טאָרן נ'ט

No black fanaticism here.

(bottom 33 -- Poverty sits as beautifully on the Jews as a red strap
(on the ^{breast} of a white horse. Part of pan-tragic view.

(7) (8) 11

The leper סאָרע is associated with the מצ'א שם רע .

The י'י is the hero of the Psalms -- a Pharisaic invention. The super-י'י of the Sermon on the Mount is too much. But the Jewish concept was that the י'י was the only God-fearing, good man.

(Nietzsche says Jewish ethics is an act of vengeance of a tiny people
(against the proud Romans.

Is Nietzsche right? This is a tempting poison. Read "Genealogy of Morals."

The way to be strong is to take the poison and resist it.

Are the Russians chosen?

Is their system the Torah of the future?

Open Forum

You begin talking 10-15 minutes -- read from Dostoevsky, etc. Then open up discussion -- be sure to have a series of questions ready with which to steer the discussion if it starts to wander.

There are economics, metaphysics and the war -- all involved -- it would be good -- especially if the kids are both non-religious and non-liberal.

Keep it on a level above a mere discussion of whether Communism is good or not.

(The second one -- a general bull session on God. If the kids really
(talk openly you'll be able to find out what kind of God they believe
(in. Since the group is probably representative, you'll be able to
(get an insight for the future that will be valid for other groups.

At your organization meeting -- elect officers, etc. (but don't overorganize yourself) -- then have a current events quiz -- take the last TIME quiz.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

maybe last
page Vayikha Pallas
should be first ?

Checked with notes

יְהוָה has God say -- maybe I'm wrong? This is a finite God. God grieves over a disaster which has happened to him.

perhaps my upbringing was bad -- *is this right?* אָנָּה הוּא וְתַרְבוּתִי בְּרָשָׁה

woe to me, over my disaster -- אָרִי לִי עַל שִׁבְרִי

God is suffering and weeping too. He has been stricken as much as the people Israel.

and who is בָּרֵךְ? God! -- אֵיכָּה יִשְׁבֶּה בָרֵךְ

3.

One of the most pathetic in all Midrash. -- I avoided the Hellenistic places -- but I was not alone because I sat with you. I wasn't alone in my loneliness when all the nations struck me. But when you struck me, then I was really alone.

4.

Whole history of man summed up and prefigured in Adam. This is the life of the Jews and all men, beginning with light -- ending with shadows.

5.

2 chron. 24, 20 ~~f~~ -- taken as symbol of bloody act -- open defiance.

Ezek. 24,6 is terrifying image of Jerusalem. Instead of being the innocent sufferer -- the Jew is the most satanic evil-doer. The sinfulness of Jerusalem is the reason for its destruction. They poured blood to evoke God's wrath. This is symbolic of the character of sinfulness. As an example of such sin the death of Zechariah is recorded by the Midrash. -- They slay him and throw his blood away.

כב - (p. 10)

ג' י"ד ט"ז

Seven sins in one act of killing Zechariah. Therefore Nebuzzaradan punishes Jews for their sins -- but Zechariah's blood still not satisfied. Finally N. became a Jew and this stilled the blood.

8.

The voice of wailing comes from empty wrecked Jerusalem. Who is left there to cry? Can wood and stone cry? It is God weeping among the wreckage. Immense. Finite God subject to the robbers.

We have left only these few lines -- the subject of a magnificent speech.

9.

This was made subject of one of קינות on Tisha B'Av. When Temple fell and enemies rushed in, most went for the gold. But Ammon and Moab had deeper hatred of ספר תורה and they ran to destroy that. They found cherubim and paraded these through the streets -- shouting that even Jews had "avoda zorah" in their secret worship. "All peoples are alike."

God is so incensed at this that he swears to uproot them by their very germ.

Excessive arrogation of sin to ourselves is not to be taken literally -- but represents the moral genius of a people עבד יהוה. All these פתיחות go on the assumption that Israel is a sinner but it isn't so.

10.

At end -- God complains -- look what your sins have done -- caused me to destroy my temple, my city, even exile my people -- and leave me sitting alone.

But it is not their sins which have done this -- he even calls them י"ג, innocent victim.

According to real religiosity the world is in two parts -- the greater part is evil -- and God must fight desperately against it.

10/30/42

Suffering is never punishment -- and where the Midrash does claim it as punishment -- don't believe it -- it's just a sign of moral genius -- a moral pretense.

עבודה זרה is a tendency on part of all men. And this Midrash works on premise that Jews are being punished for sins.

Damascus had 365 temples -- each one worshipping a different god. One day in year they worshipped all 365. Jews worshipped all 365 every day.

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24. (p. 12)

Culmination of all פתיחות.

Pathos of finitism -- God doesn't want to be the object of mockery.

This is open and unashamed pouring out of the whole relationship between man and God.

God will weep and insist upon it even though the angel wishes to assume the burden.

Wayikra Rabbah

7th c. -- Palestine

Pesikta & Wayikra contend for primacy -- who borrowed from whom?

I. One Moses with 600,000 Jews

Democracy is anticipation of time when each will be a God. Here Moses is an aristocrat.

Will is deeper than intellect. You don't have to understand in order to do. At Mt. Sinai they said נשמע ונעשה -- Therefore they are called גבורי כח עושי דברו. (Ps 103, 20)

They are heroes because they resist natural temptation to say נשמע ונעשה.

Not only עושי דברו, but even a mere listener בקול לשמע is a hero.

How could Moses bear the burden of 600,000? He listened when the others couldn't -- he listened and lived. We know he listened because the verse says ויקרא אל משה.

II. Universalism -- the proselytes will be exactly like the Jews.

13 -- Difference between Jewish and Goyish prophets

פרשה ב

ל. 5 -- Torah identified with pre-existent wisdom

ל. 10 -- Precious is the death of the saintly

א) -- play on קר

ב) -- play on לי

ל. 24 - 34 -- everything containing word לי perdures

ג) -- play on לי אפרים

ד) ל. 44-50 -- As people prefer garments for certain special personal reasons, so God prefers Israel.
ל. 50-64

Midrash is נחמדת for Israel.

ה) -- borrowed from Tanna dehe Eliahu -- which has better text.

not found

probably wrong not clear to me

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

*checked against
the notes*



Prayer -- contemplative, concerned with self

Ethics -- active, concerned with self

Jewish philosophers (except Rambam ^{רמב"ם}) did not consider ethics separately, but as part of their systems. Ethical works always considered details and realities, from Bible and Talmud, rather than a system of ethics. Morris Lazarus and even Solomon Schechter effected this fallacy (the latter with the intention of stimulating study in the sources). This branch of Jewish ethical literature is repetitious -- sources are the same and examples are always the same. (Waxman I, 359, II, 272 has surveys.)

Elbogen's way: Berachot 16^b & 17^e -- prayers in singular, combining ethical and devotional character.

First comes congregational service -- ^{ע"פ} and the ^{ברכות} -- then came the individual's right to say what he wanted, even as much as on ^{יום כפור}. These are called ^{תחנונים} -- and the text was left to the individual.

In Berachot (above ^{ע"פ}) are about a dozen examples of these ^{תחנונים} of various Rabbis, some of which were incorporated in the Siddur later. As late as 11th century, possible to have private prayer.

But even these ^{תחנונים} became fixed as time went on, and the fact that there once was individual inspirational prayer became forgotten, as the prayer book crystallized. History of liturgy is a struggle between the legalistic and creative -- the whole Piyuttim was an effort to preserve the devotional side of liturgy. There were always attempts in Palestine to change even texts of ^{ע"פ} for different weeks -- 150 weeks in the triennial cycle.

On one side is ^{הלכה} and ^{תפילות}, on the other side are poets and mystics attempting to preserve devotion.

Further lectures will deal with the latter efforts.

Even the legalists couldn't deny that *כונה* is part of *תפילה*, and at the same time the inspirationalists didn't altogether deny the institutional service.

R. Saadia really composed the first prayer book. Before this had developed the tradition of *סאדא ברכות* -- the aim was to include a fixed legalized outline of prayers. Saadia starts from theological conception of prayer. He says prayer is *הודאה, שאלה, תורה*. He complained that Jews omitted parts of liturgy -- he intended to restore values in their order ^{and} of significance. He leaves out academic arguments because this was intended to be a manual for laymen. He added his own *בקשות*. These *תחנות* and *בקשות* were completely free and unrestricted -- the prohibition against including anything in the *סדר תפילה* did not apply to these because they were considered outside the *סדר*. The case with the *פיוטים* is altogether different -- they became part of the liturgy and that is why Maimonides protested the *פיוטים*.

Gabirol (p. 109, par. 34 - JPS trans.) has also beautiful *בקשה*.

Master of inspirational, devotional prayer is Bachya ibn Pekuda *תורת חובת הלבבות* -- storehouse of ethics. His philosophy is optimistic -- world perfect -- humans should be grateful -- climax is *אהבת השם*. He meditates on existence and mercy of God, especially at night. *תוהבה* is translated in Halper, p. 91.

Saadia and Bachya write in pure Biblical style so that all can understand. Gabirol may be more sophisticated, with allusions, jokes, references, etc.

שיר הכבוד, usually recited only on *שבת*, but sometimes every day. Sheer inspirational beauty.

Two streams:

- 1) German medieval school of Chasidim
- 2) Spanish cabbalism

1) Gratz translated Chasid as hyper-pious -- but this is bad. No one is too pious. From this school of Chasidim at Regensburg, 12-13th c., comes the book ספר חסידים, a collection. The saintly founder Shmuel ha-Chasid was included in the Maaseh Book -- a whole Regensburg cycle.

חסידות means to be over-conscientious, over-scrupulous beyond the confines of the תורה. Their faith was rapturous -- they wanted communion in visions with God. Their hymns reflect the special meaning of כבוד, beyond mere knowledge of God. Also the שיר היחוד, which precedes the שיר הכבוד (trans. Mrs. Alice Maas -- Songs of Zion -- "Song of Unity"). This שיר היחוד is simple Biblical style.

The leader of this school is R. Eleazer ben Yehudah ben Kalonymus -- called רוקח -- wrote book by that name. Was halachik book, with devotional beginning -- and after this, no halachik book (even Turim and ש"ע) was written without some devotional or ethical introduction, if only a sentence from אבות, for example.

In רוקח the transcendent character of Jewish piety reached a climax. The חסידים had special attitude toward prayer and worship. They had their special סודות התפילה -- they understood there existed a hidden esoteric meaning underneath the wording, not discoverable by mere philological investigation. There were special ways of finding the true meaning -- גמטריא, etc. This mystic lore came from Babylonia through Italy to southern Germany -- 9-10th c. In his commentary to the prayer book רוקח looked for these special meanings -- used methods of permutations of letters, words, numbers, etc.

Thus the custom of praying with כוונה acquired special significance of attempting to pierce the meaning of prayer. Hence the danger exists that the inward piety depends upon the purely casual external fact of the number of letters, words, etc. The inwardness is based on an outward condition -- and when this outward condition varies from community to community, the danger is obvious. If זוכרנו is written מלא or חסר there is a big difference. The effect of the prayer depended on the right way of praying, and this meant that the casuistry and strictness of the liturgy was even more binding. In the older books there are instructions how to make up for the omission of any certain prayer -- by doing thus and such, etc. Codes and commentaries on the prayer book became over-bulky. רמב"ם תפילה contains 430 pages.

2) This was a power now dominating Jewish liturgy. And the same was true of the Spanish cabbala. The influence of the German school reached Spain, and the same methods were accepted -- notarikon, divine names, permutations, etc. The Zohar combined all features of the Cabbala -- the metaphysical part and the practical part. Through cabbalists, prayer gained emphasis and prestige. Prayer becomes transcendent union with God. But the Zohar was esoteric, confined to circle of elite, and did not influence masses -- until after Spanish expulsion, when Zohar moved east to Turkey and Safed.

There, grew a community devoted to problem of absolving sins and praying for Messiah -- a new order after the persecutions. Cabbalistic term -- עולם התקון -- world was rotten, corrupted -- had to be reformed so that they should really be worthy of Messiah. The cabbalists had society of חסידים ואנשי מעשה, whose intention (through confessions, flagellations, etc.) was to rid selves of impurities and wait for Messiah.

Highlight was רמב"ם 1534-72, short but full life. He himself wrote nothing, but his pupils wrote, and these various accounts agree in general. Central point of his teaching was also עולם התקון. Salvation means nothing but restitution,

reintegration of the original whole, יְהוָה (Sholem, Mysticism, p. 265).

Lurianic cabbala is victory for anthropomorphism.

From the אֲדָמָה went forth missionaries to convert Jews to his ideas. They influenced prayer -- to storm the heavens -- they created whole load of devotional literature.

Elbogen

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

6/18/42

The יְהוָה restores the unity of God's name. By the doctrine of הַשְׁמִיטָה Luria means using prayer as the vehicle to union with God. But this is high doctrine, and tough discipline.

The disciples of Luria carried his doctrine to all countries, and introduced the Golden Age of devotional literature.

Following Luria's tradition was Moshe Hayim Luzzato and the Baal Shem Tov, who were contemporaries -- then the whole Chasidic movement. One of the main objectives of Chasidism is prayer. Genuine, devout prayer must influence the world and transcend it. Human being must push soul toward God. New aspect of Chasidim was their connection with nature. R. Nachman Bratslav was great composer of prayers, as well as being story-teller.

God -- being an Introduction to the Science of Metabiology --
J. Middleton Murry Jonathan Cape, London, 1929.

"We have contended and done our best to show that the life and death of Jesus was a real happening in the natural order. This life, regarded as belonging wholly to the natural order, revealed an extraordinary and deeply satisfying coherence of a kind which we might describe as organic. But since we must suppose that, for the science of Biology, all human lives possess organic coherence, it is obviously insufficient to describe the coherence in the life of Jesus as merely organic. It is organic on a higher level than the pure biological. We will call this level the metabiological, and say that the life of Jesus manifests metabiological coherence as well as biological, which is exceedingly rare and striking.

... This metabiological coherence in the life of Jesus is far more potent and enduring when he is regarded as natural phenomenon rather than supernatural...

But there is one condition absolutely necessary to our regarding Jesus as a coherent and beautiful natural phenomenon. It is that we must regard the mystical experience, not necessarily as valid, but as real and decisive -- as a motive of human life, let us say, as natural as passionate love, and far more potent. Unless we admit the mystical experience as a valid and mighty and noble human motive, there is no coherence to be found in the life of Jesus as a natural phenomenon. He becomes, inevitably, a deluded fanatic. That conclusion, to me, is no less impossible and infinitely more repulsive than the conclusion that he is 'divine.' The origin of what we have called the metabiological coherence of Jesus, regarded as natural phenomenon, lies in his unwavering obedience to the mystical certainty of an all-pervading unity."

"We can't believe in God and we've got to believe in God." -- Newman.

This is from man born in God. He illustrates thesis that the only beginning to the understanding of God is the understanding of the difficulties in the way of belief.

"Ten thousand difficulties do not make one doubt."

The whole thing rests on the willingness to believe, without which no proof will satisfy, and with which the doubts can be overcome.

If you believe that a mathematics problem has a solution, even though you may not be able to find it, that doesn't mean it isn't there.

James, Newman and Montague say we believe because we've got to believe. The doubts and difficulties are there but don't destroy belief.

The facts in the world are not for God -- they show a blind welter, with a "faint and broken" indication of some sort of purpose. These facts brought ^{France?} James Thompson to be an atheist -- brought James (and this is Jewish attitude) to belief in finite God, whose influence for the good is minute in the world -- and brought Newman to talk of Original Sin (he is theologian) because either there is no God or man has fallen away from God. This latter is the theological point of view -- God is not in the world but does exist. World because of aboriginal calamity becomes out of joint with purposes of Creator.

This answer on part of Newman is accidental -- due to the accident of his training. He argues like any modern -- like James. His mind is sharp and he realizes all doubts and difficulties.

Religious problem is problem of evil -- how can a man believe -- yet how can he not believe?

Next doctrine is that of visible church and authority.

5/15/42

Very often best reasoning is implicit -- where the chains in the argument are covered over. In all reasoning, the ultimate premises, if you can uncover them, never suffice for the conclusions. Problem is where do we get our assumptions, what is their validity? In axioms, we start with one set, but could just as well start with another. In axioms we have all the limits and arbitrariness of our minds -- but also all our creativeness.

In religion, it is stated that the premises don't stand, but this is countered by saying that they are an act of will, commanded by the heart vs. the intellect. This is true in mathematics as well as religion. Primary assumptions are due to practical needs.

(Ultimately, all faith, in science as well as religion, depends on an act
(of will, an act of desire. Premises never support any conclusion, -- you can
(have probability and that's all. Most ultimate premise -- that good is better
(than evil -- is certainly an act of will -- you can't prove it -- you simply
fight the fellow who doesn't believe it.

There are two states -- reasoning and arguing. One can arrive at conclusions by implicit reasoning, yet not be able to argue it. And a thorough course in logic need not necessarily make a man a better reasoner. Arguing is to reasoning as a critic is to the poet.

19th c. -- agnostics held that nothing must be believed, as a matter of intellectual conscience, without having adequate evidence. But this is so artificial -- because in practical matters, even, in science, the conclusions go way beyond the premises. James argues this question vs. Huxley. The devotion to truth of the religious skeptic is in itself an act of faith. What is truth, that a man should worship it?

All great reasoning is implicit -- not all implicit reasoning is great. Two strains in implicit reasoning -- intellectual, and moral or value or basic assumptions. Implicit reasoning is creative.

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checked with
notes



Irony is masked form of polite superiority.

Kierkegaard represents element of fear. He was probably manic-depressive with strain of melancholia, over-erotic and under-sexed.

Possible to approach any problem in two ways -- psychology thereof (dealing with mood, time, place, etc. of origins) and validity thereof (which has nothing to do with origins). James is a combination of both -- psychologist and religionist. The latter is the only possible approach. What if Wagner and Jeremiah were epileptics? Maybe God has chosen this type (as N.T. says -- God chose fools to mock the wise men) to be his vessels.

So what if Kierkegaard was hopelessly manic-depressive? His life is irrelevant in comparison to the value of his works. Supposing, by irony, psychiatry determines that we are all a little crazy --

His moods were boredom, melancholy and fear. Each is the secret of the other -- secret of fear is sinful fear -- we are afraid because we're sinners -- sense of guilt.

Man must bridge this by belief in God -- means to be employed are conscience and ideal -- they will overcome the moral nihilism.

Life is divided into three stages -- esthetic, ethic, religious. Between esthetic and ethical there is irony. Ethical -- Religious metaphysics describes sudden and complete introduction of the good into life -- not slowly evolving idea of goodness.

Kierkegaard was Danish, the model of Ibsen's Brand. All abstract philosophy is bad -- important things are concrete, existential.

Which is more responsible for sin -- the body or the soul?

Modern psychologists say the soul. Christians say the body.

Jewish viewpoint says that both are equally responsible. There is a psycho-physical unit. This is true unity -- cause of action. The soul-body, body-soul. Any division is untrue, from a moral viewpoint. The true unit is soul and body together -- the total man -- the embodied soul.

And the newest psychology agrees to this unity. The psychiatrists look to both components of this unity.

As a matter of fact, when you make the false abstraction -- you find that the blame is all on the soul, because the body has merely appetites -- while all the lusts belong to the soul. Animals have only body -- and they don't sin. They fulfill normal appetitive needs. But take man -- who has a soul. He exercises lusts -- in food, sex and all other desires.

But the abstraction is false -- responsibility really rests on the total unit.

One sheep is scattered

----- notes had B - I believe meant this is word is it?
אֶחָד מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים - שֶׁהָיָה בְּיָסְרָאֵל

Israel is compared to single sheep. Strike at one place and all the rest of the sheep suffers. (Sympathy -- suffer with) Strike Israel at any place and all the rest suffers -- because Israel is a single person. All humanity also is a single person. If this is visionary now, קל וחומר at time of Midrash.

Collective responsibility is a pre-ethical point of view. Then Jeremiah discovered the individual -- and made him responsible for his own actions. But deeper and beyond ethics is again this old viewpoint reasserting itself. It is mystic -- it says that all humanity is a single body and justice calls for universal recognition rather than individual. This post-moral collectivity is different from the pre-moral -- in that it is now religious. Real religion involves a trans-ethical viewpoint -- we are responsible not only for ourselves but for everyone else.

10/13/42

History Seminar

I. How Jews came to settle in Europe.

(Grayzel, Solomon -- Jews and the Church 1150-1250

- (1. Read the book
(2. Make 40 min. report
(3. Make original contribution -- i.e. arrange material in individual
(manner.

Settlement in Europe was a slow process. Hellenization spread ^{Jews} only as far as Egypt. Pompey prepared way to Rome -- and Bar Kochba's revolution sent others westward. 2nd C. large immigration.

Natural economic development of Europe drew Jews more than political or military upheavals. Trade led to establishment of colonies. In the first seven centuries C.E. Europe was a "new world" to the old Near Eastern lands.

Jews settled first in three peninsulas -- Balkan, Apennine and Iberian -- the majority in Italy. Catacombs reveal large community of Jews in Rome. Network spread over southern Italy.

Jewish colonization was interrupted by spread of Christianity, barbarian invasions, and rise of new Empires of Franks and Gauls. Harsh rule of Christian rule forced Jews out into provinces, but Christianity chased them as the Goths accepted it. Franks were won over also. Church conquered Europe except for the Jews.

Jews were declared enemy of the Church and Christ. There was even competition -- to the extent that some barbarians, in Lyons especially, preferred Judaism. This infuriated the Church. Agobard of Lyons in 9th C. was the first "anti-Semite." One of the attractions of Judaism was the medical ability of its doctors.

New empires inherited Roman legislation, which was evolved, as for instance the Justinian code, after Rome turned Christian -- hence there was included in the legislation many anti-Jewish measures. These laws were taken over by the Church. When the Church accepted Roman law, it still survived after the destruction of the Roman Empire in the form now of canon law.

Jewish religion was only tolerated by the Church -- for many reasons -- they were to serve as a witness attesting to the validity and truth of the Church-Christiana veritas.

State was established on church -- whose leaders made state law. Thus there were official laws against Jews, who were considered the inner Jewish menace. Then came in the 8th C. an outer menace, the Moslems, who spread across Africa and into Spain, and even threatened central Europe.

In 711 the Moslems conquered Visigoths and Jews were freed. Autonomous Jewish center springs up -- at first nourished by distant Babylonia, but soon spread on its own. Western Diaspora ceased to be a settlement from the east but soon had its own hegemony. Birth of Rashi is same year as that of last Gaon -- 1040.

Recapitulation

Jews got permission from Caesar to settle in Rome. Later Claudius restricted right of assembly, due to infiltration of Jewish-Christian propaganda -- hence catacombs were used as underground meeting place. Jewish tombstones there serve as practically the only Jewish source material. No writings, only these inscriptions. There is a Roman law in re Jews in Cologne in 321.

1) In Rome the ghetto was on lower side of Tiber. Trade was carried on with Greek seamen. Population consisted largely of liberated war prisoners. Philo writes that Augustus knew that there was a large Jewish district across the Tiber. Great figures visited this section -- Horace, Juvenal. Jews settled in other suburbs -- population estimated at 30,000 in 1st and 2nd century, living in various sections of the city. Each section had synagogues -- the community was called "synagogue", "place of gathering". They had their own cemeteries, in outer limits of the city, and along the harbor. One cemetery was along the Appian Way. Necropolis.

10/27/42[?]

In the catacombs, several rows of niches. Jewish differed from Christian only in inscriptions and carved objects. Text of inscriptions usually brief, but date of death usually missing -- had to be determined by externals. Two-thirds of inscriptions are Greek -- from 3rd C., then Latin ones from 4th C. This gives some clue to date. Few inscriptions in Hebrew -- only word recurring is **אמן**.

Aside from Rome Jewish communities arose in southern Italian ports, north Africa somewhat (Alexandria). Toward end of 4th C. Jews filled high public offices in Naples, Venassa, Capri. Hebrew inscriptions occur more frequently in southern catacombs than Romans -- perhaps due to closer contact with east.

Even under Ostrogoths Jews did all right. Thus at beginning of 8th C. there were important Jewish centers all through Apennines -- north as well as south.

2) Next center is Iberian peninsula. Colonization there, according to legend, was in ancient days of kingdom -- but this unreliable. However, in 1st C. some immigrants went there. Jews from North African communities (Carthage, etc.) moved over Gibraltar into Spain. Tertullian and later Augustine fought against Judaism which threatened the advance of Christianity.

They settled in Cardiz and interior, where Catholicism had not inflamed masses yet (4th C.) Beginning of 4th C. shows contact between Jews and Christians. Council of Cordova in 306 mentions Jews -- this before Christianity became state religion -- still there were several decrees against Jews. Spanish Church took active struggle against Jews because latter threatened to shake faith of newly-converted pagans.

3) About influx of Jews in Balkan peninsula we know little.

4) Since 200, term *Allemagne* used in Hebrew literature to refer to Germany. German writers speak of *Ashkenaz*. This indicates there were Jews living in north central region between Rhine and Vistula. How did Jews get there? We have a gap between catacombs of 4th C., expulsion decrees of Gothic kings in 7th C., few remarks of Charlemagne 8th C., some documents of 9th C. -- and big settlements of 12th C. Practically no documents for Germany -- no catacombs. Sources for Germany begin to flow from 9th C. onwards. Law of Charlemagne about Jews taking oaths. But big sources are from 12th C. onwards -- Hebrew accounts of the Crusades. Three accounts of three separate writers -- luckily supplementing each other.

Jews came in with Romans -- only a few in the army, hence no communities. There are alleged letters from Ezra calling Jews back to Palestine -- and alleged letters announcing death of Jesus. These are false -- but simply indicate that Jews lived there from very old times. Dates on tombstones allegedly dating back to 1st C. are also false.

First historically sound evidence is edict of Constantine in 321 addressed to *Decorinus* of Cologne and handed down in *Theodocian Code*. He entrusted all Jews with municipal offices except two or three -- which meant, not emancipation, but the obligation to assume the burdens of these undesirable public offices. A few Jewish families were exempted from this. We can conclude that Jews of Cologne belonged to that class from which the office-holders were chosen (a financially responsible class) -- and only a few of them were exempted. This shows that such an organized Jewish community was of old standing by 321. Also evident that Jews were Roman citizens -- and shortly thereafter a man of Jewish descent is mentioned in a document as archbishop of Mainz. This shows community beginning to spread. Argument to contrary is that specific decree of Emperor to Jews of Cologne precludes any communities elsewhere.

Whether Rhenish community could maintain themselves during barbarian invasions is not known. Except that Jews were permitted to live within the city walls of Cologne.

(Regensburg excavations show community there dating back to 330 -- when this community was expelled in 1519.)

During barbarian invasions, community was destroyed and resettled again only during 9th C. -- first in Aachen. Then moved across Carolingian Empire -- across the Rhine, settled on both sides of river. Great trade routes all led from west to east -- Rhone to Danube -- and Jewish merchants followed these routes. Also possible, although we know least about it, that Jews moved up through Balkan peninsula into Danube valley.

Abraham ibn Jacob, great traveller, mentioned, 965, merchants from Prague to Hungary. He speaks only of travelling Jews, not resident ones.

In 935, decree of Otto the Great in re the Jews and the merchants living in eastern marches. This date implies, of course, longer previous residence.

Metz first mentioned 888.

Erfurt 1100 -- Thuringia was late.

Despite persecutions of 1096 Jewish population continued to flourish. These persecutions did not last long. In 1103 there was an important law of Henry IV in favor of Jews. In 12th C. settlements on Rhine and Main grew quite large.

12/8/42[?]Kramer -- Inner Jewish Life

Israel Abrahams -- Jewish Life in Middle Ages

- I. Relationship of Jewish to non-Jewish communities
- II. Relationship of Jewish communities to each other
- III. Organization of communities: legislative, judicial, executive

I. Key to this relationship is taxation.

Jews wanted to have right of residence -- had to pay for this. Renewal of grants of tenure occasion for new taxation. Tax was on whole community -- Jewish leaders had to collect it.

Need to create agencies, officials to administer this.

Head of Jewish community either appointed by or endorsed by external government. Jews fought against this state penetration. Jews put in חרם those leaders who accepted state appointment.

II. After fall of Academies no central authority in Jewish life.

Communities aided each other in bribing and ransoming. Rabbis met in synods to discuss religious matters.

III. a) Rabbi, two dayanim, assessor, shamas, auditor. First two had judiciary --

בית דין in every community. Legislative by חקרות, which are different from תשובות. Latter was question involving particular case -- either decided by בית דין or individual rabbi. תשובה might also deal with a theoretical case -- but always one particular case, such as that brought up by sagacious student in school.

תקנות involve more general matters of legal and administrative questions, usually issued by synods, in response to certain dangers to the Jewish community. Or to deal with large matters like marriages.

Government tended to fall into hands of wealthy -- this is natural because they paid most taxes.

Nature of תקנות -- could force tenth man to join סנין; forbade use of Goyish courts; enforced monogamy; anti-defamation, taxing of inheritances.

Voting by general community was on two bases רב הסמן רב המון -- wealth was important.

Severe חרם against reading somebody else's letters; another matter generally accepted was חרם against Jews going to Christian court; חרם against wearing Goyish clothes; against shaving; against clipping manuscripts (parchment was expensive).

III. b) Some punishments were נדוי (short חרם); חרם itself, which gradually lost its effect, because it was used indiscriminately.

III. c) Executive same as legislative. Shamas, sometimes assessor, important Notary.

12/22/42[?]

Saperstein -- Economic Life

Abrahams -- Jewish Life in Middle Ages

Parks -- Jew in Medieval Community

1. Jew as International Trader

2. Jew as Artisan

3. Jew as Usurer

1. In 9th C. there were some Jewish monopolies in international trade: In slave trade from N. Africa to Slav countries. This disappeared from 11th C. onwards.

(Comm. ^{ercial} cities of northern Europe were growing.)

Jews had advantage over Christians because of easier thoroughfare through Moslem-controlled Mediterranean. Other facts: Jewish communities scattered all over -- Jews had international language -- Hebrew.

(Jews had internal trade in lands, had control partially over land routes
(to East, had almost complete control over Mediterranean route.

* * * All this before the Crusades.

But Jews lost their position as international traders.

After 1000-1200 other centers of international trade -- such as northern cities and places like Sicily, Venice, etc., grew up.

What changed the picture was the Crusades. Non-Jews learned how to travel -- went to the East, learned how to trade, in order to supply their armies, etc.

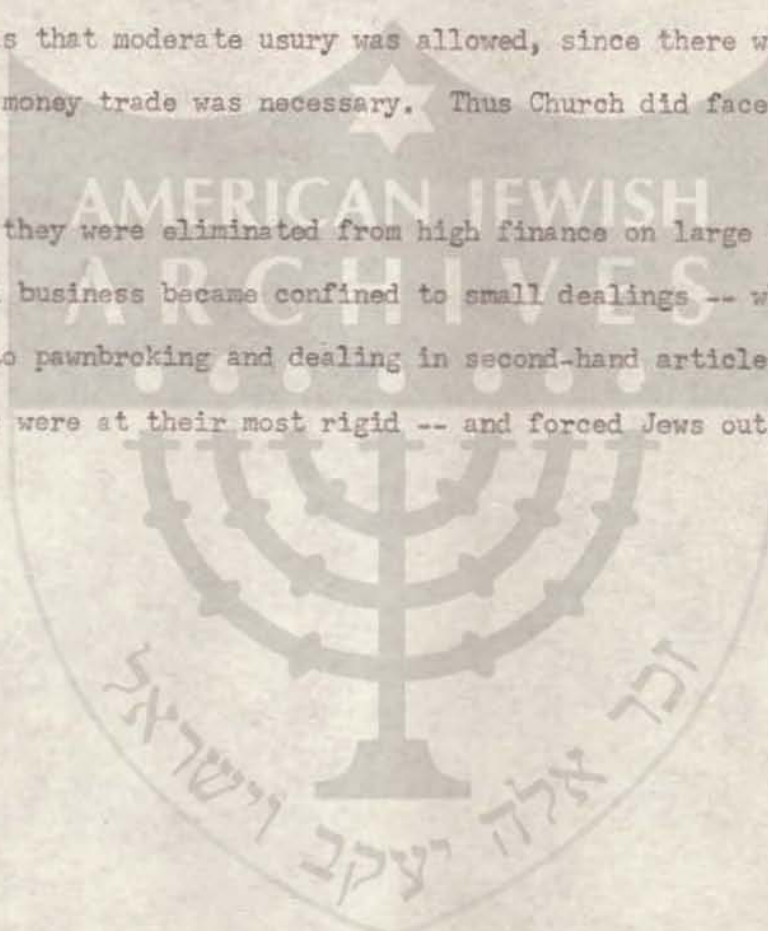
2. Also industry began to develop and craftsmen of Flanders, Holland, etc. were beginning to supply things which Jews heretofore had imported.

Also use of Christian burgher towns with selective charters.

3. So Jews, who always kept cash on hand in liquid shape, turned from international trade -- and turned to "Geld-handeln" -- and developed the modern instruments of trade (with which they were familiar from the Arabs).

The fight of the Church against usury was a denial of a basic need. Money was needed by everyone. Church forbade usury to everyone, Jews included: but the practice was that moderate usury was allowed, since there was an implicit admission that money trade was necessary. Thus Church did face reality of necessity.

4. Gradually they were eliminated from high finance on large scale -- and their financial business became confined to small dealings -- which quickly degenerated into pawnbroking and dealing in second-hand articles. This came when the guilds were at their most rigid -- and forced Jews out of all craftsmanship.



History Assignments

Jewish Emancipation -- Baron, Ency. Social Sciences
Vol. IV

VIII, 394-399

Emancipation under Attack -- ~~Soef~~ ^{Weinryb}

-- intro. by ^{Duker} ~~Anker~~

Graetz, V, ch. 8

Marx, Margolis -- 589-599

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Reform Movement -- Philipson, 1-38

" " " ch. 2, 3

" " " ch. 4, 6, 7, 8 (12)

Hugo Valentin -- Anti-Semitism

1, (2), 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 (10) (17) (18)

Baron II, 38-40

Kisch -- Jewry Law in Central Europe -- Past and Present

Nationalism and Intolerance

p. 211-220 -- on Adolphe Gremieux -- Posner

Graetz V, 13-64

Shunami -- Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies

Jacob Marcus -- Bibliography of Festschriften

10/5/42

Emancipation

Stems from Roman law, where it meant act of voluntary freeing of child from paternal control. Father gave up this power -- thus emancipating child.

In more general sense, the term came to mean any freeing from external power. For Jews it meant removal of certain disabilities. Jewish Middle Ages extends right up to 18th C. Emancipation.

Along with political emancipation went another type -- economic and intellectual. Some rich Jews even became socially emancipated -- before becoming full citizens.

Term first used in relation to Jews comparatively late -- 1831.

10/6/42

Baron says emancipation first means general removal of disabilities, and then more specifically the removal of particular laws and the granting of equal rights and duties.

Jewish Emancipation followed on the more general emancipation of the European, who cast off the feudal system long before he got actual political rights. This was tendency toward democracy -- took time.

Individual Jew had double responsibility -- readjustment toward the world outside as he gained rights in business, professions, etc. And readjustment internally toward Judaism, and their own Jewish group. All this occurred in 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ century. 1789-1914.

One group -- the largest -- what we would now call orthodox -- refused emancipation because of the danger it represented to Judaism -- another group on the other extreme would accept baptism, even more faithlessly than the Marranos -- who at least tried hard to preserve Judaism sub-rosa. In between are varying shades of opinion and kinds of approach.

There are four periods: (Dubnow)

1. First Emancipation 1789 - 1815
2. First Reaction 1815 - 1848 Metternich
3. Second Emancipation 1848 - 1881
4. Second Reaction 1881 - 1914 anti-Semitism

1. Could be called French period -- French Jews were first to get citizenship.
2. The reaction affected all except French and Dutch Jews who suffered no relapses.
3. Austrian-German emancipation -- establishment of constitutional equalities. Also in Russia.
4. This period best called period of rising anti-Semitism, social as well as civil.

After the war there was another period of emancipation -- even in the most backward states. In Russia the situation is as everyone of you knows.

During the 4th period far-sighted leaders realized that movement of nationalism was necessary in order to protect Jews from constant discrimination. Emancipation gave rise to both assimilation and nationalism. Dialectic of history.

10/19/42

Jewish Emancipation began to be centrifugal -- away from the center of Judaism -- began to call themselves Frenchmen of Jewish extraction.

Assimilation is the answer to the refusal of Christians to give equality to a people which has a nationalism different from the state in which it resides. They thus refuted their nationalism and turned assimilationist in order to achieve equality. Clermont ^{Tonnerre} ~~Tonnens~~ in French Assembly said -- "Everything must be denied to the Jews as a nation, and everything granted to them as individuals."

11/30/42

Friedlander's main demand was introduction of German into prayer. This was the first reform in worship. Later came Israel Jacobson.

As early as 1786 Friedlander had published translation of תורה and חומש with explanatory notes. Literal translation, into Hebrew letters, however.

When the political situation of Jews in Prussia improved in 1812 -- then the reformers felt that it was time to Germanize the service, especially since after Mendelssohn Hebrew was lost to many Jews. "Worship should be held in language understandable to worshippers." -- F.

Emancipation meant advent of Messiah to German Jews -- therefore they cut out all Messianic prayers. Also this reduced and falsified Messianic idea into mere political achievement, even though possibly temporary.

Love for the Fatherland became a religious command of Judaism.

Reform of the Jewish school. Mendelssohn had Saturday morning gatherings to discuss questions of Jewish education. Young men like Friedlander, etc. went forth as disciples to spread his doctrines.

Aim was that general subjects be taken up more intensively -- not so much time especially on Talmud and other Hebrew subjects. Curriculum was adjusted to general schools, which were generally bad -- lower school education first being made obligatory by Joseph II. Therefore adjustment to general schools meant lowering of Jewish school standards.

First reform school was Freischule in Berlin 1778, organized by Mendelssohn and Wessely and Friedlander, for poorer pupils. In 1781-91 over 500 boys were educated in Freischule, and other schools were founded. These schools prepared people who naturally slid into the reforming movement of the prayer service in the early 1800's.

Wessely in Austria did the same thing. Taught secular subjects in early years when the child was most receptive and Hebrew subjects only later.

12/1/42

Attitude of enlightenment toward Rabbinism -- latter accused of sterility. These objections are unjust.

Rabenu Gershom) represent elite of French-German medieval minds. Their
Rashi)
Tosephists) work was solely Bible and Talmud -- yet they understood
entire Jewish life. Their work was not limited to sheer study -- they were poets --
"bards of national faith" -- and in close connection with the Jewish community.

Naturally there were casuists, etc.

What attitude did traditional Rabbis take toward enlightenment? No organized opinion. David Frankel was favorable. But in general all innovations were rejected.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

*checked against
notes*



12/8/42

German sermon

Reform Movement -- 1st half of 19th C.

Practical Reform of Religious Service.

Political reaction, after Napoleon -- Congress of Vienna and Metternich. Nevertheless, Jews improved their intellectual level -- going to universities.

Then process started to adapt Judaism to external situation. Idea developed that Jews were different only religiously -- otherwise they were part of state.

(Wissenschaft)
Religious reform and literary renaissance were two currents.

Mendelssohn disciples edited prayer-book, cutting out Kabbalistic prayers. Wolf Heidenheim 17 -1823 was Mendelssohn of prayerbook. His attempt to translate prayers was attacked. Sermon in German had to be validated by Zunz.

Israel Jacobson chairman of Jewish consistory of Westphalia -- important financier. Instituted reform -- but not really a reformer because he had no great knowledge. He was practical business leader, interested in impressing the Gentiles, hence changed services especially decorum. Introduced sermons, singing, excluded piyuttim and prayers of mourning. All these were accepted, albeit with opposition. They objected to use of organ. He had first ceremony of confirmation. School sessions on Sabbath afternoon -- junior services in morning.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

*checked against
notes*



Kirsch's criticism

Geiger's principle was arbitrary. A very flexible principle with nobody to decide authoritatively what changes should be made. Imperfect principle because it contains possibility of many mistakes.

Geiger built on two pillars -- scientific history and religious authority to apply this scientific criticism. Naturally this authority is the rabbi. He wanted to create a vital rabbinate as in the past. Thus the weak passive rabbinate of his day met with his complete disapproval.

In this, he created an antagonism which never existed before: i.e. antagonism between lay and priestly or theological element.

He wanted to create this rabbinate by founding a Jewish Theological Faculty.

There are three groups of rabbis:

1. Those who do not understand the times -- preach sin and perdition, and have restricted horizon.
2. Those who know the struggle of the times -- but refuse to recognize it. They lack force and power -- do not enter fray.
3. Those who are diplomats, follow whims of respective congregations. Deserve great reprobation.

This rabbinate is obviously incapable of handling modern problem and struggle which Judaism faces upon emancipation. Therefore necessary to train new rabbinate -- then bring them together for discussion.

(turn page over)

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1/4

He wanted, not change in ritual as did Jackson + Friedlander, but a change in Judaism itself. Instead of tradition, scientific investigation.

Hirsch was father of neo-Orthodoxy. His argument is that Judaism need not be remodelled to the age because it is timeless + universal + immutable in its basis, the Torah.

Torah is divinely given and remains unchangeable in every respect. Torah can be investigated and its laws scientifically explored - but there is to be no change, because there is a point beyond which human knowledge cannot penetrate. Modern Jew can adjust himself to Torah. Torah and Derech Eretz.

Herein is neo- different from ordinary orthodoxy, which is blindly acceptable of everything without asking beyond the fact.

1/11/43

Holdheim 1806

Wrote book on Jewish marriage -- to illustrate attitude.

He wanted to separate all political-national elements from religious elements.

Jewish law abolished in favor of larger codes -- E. Landau persuaded Joseph II in Austria to include Jewish law in general law. Traditional rabbis opposed this.

Holdheim wanted all Jewish affairs handed over to the state. All institutions which conflicted with German customs and practices were to be eliminated. This included the Sabbath, many holidays, etc., which look predominantly religious, but which Holdheim wished to sacrifice.

Blame for allowing extreme reform to catch hold lies with the Orthodox rabbis of the Mendelssohnian period -- who had no sense of approach, no ingenuity, no feeling for compromise with the environment -- but knew enough only to stick to the old-time tradition, which estranged the people looking for a modern evaluation. If the Orthodox rabbis had been smart they could have held Judaism together, at least in some conservative sense.

Four Schools of Jewish Thought

1. Critical — historical, based on Jewish present -- more critical than apologetic -- Geiger.
2. Positive — historical -- based on Jewish past -- therefore as apologetic as critical -- Frankel.
3. Only universalistic -- particularly popular in America -- Jewish mission -- dissolving positive — historical Judaism in the universal humanitarian position -- Holdheim.
4. Ignoring the fact and justification of historical development, it declares --
The collective content of the Jewish past is the authoritatively binding norm for all times. -- Hirsch.
(Divinity of Revelation and unchangeability of the Law)
(Torah includes the entire oral tradition.)

Friedlander -- Jacobson were emancipationists -- assimilationists.

1/19/43

"Wissenschaft des Judentums"

"Science of Judaism"

To bring Jewish culture into harmony with the European required a science -- the science of the historical development of Judaism -- which is in process of evolution and which forms historical and sociological unit.

Zunz -- "Zeitschrift fur die Wissenschaft des Judentums" -- one vol. 1823.

Term came from Gans, renegade.

Society founded 1819 (folded 1823) by Jost, Gans, others. Heine later joined the founders. But activities of the Society were only a few lectures and publication of one volume (above).

2/15/43

French Revolution

1. Are the Jews qualified to be received as members of the French nation?
2. What was the new French concept of nation, as created by revolution?

The crux here is whether the Jews can be made French nationals -- which means assimilation.

The new French concept of nation is connected with Declaration of Rights of Man -- August 26, 1789.

1. basic concept of individualism -- influenced by American Constitution -- frees individual from social restrictions -- he is born free and equal with a basic right to certain inalienable freedoms.
2. collectivistic concept -- influenced by Rousseau -- states principle of people's sovereignty. Statehood and nationhood emanate from the collective individuality. The people are source of sovereignty. This is opposed to previous principle of Divine Right.

This change into democracy caused nationalization. Nation and State became intertwined. Petty states merged -- there developed a confraternity. We are not Bretons or Angevins or Parisiennes -- we are all Frenchmen! This is new concept^{of}/nation.

French Revolution said: All Frenchmen owed first and paramount allegiance to national state. This national state insisted on linguistic uniformity -- even tried to overrule local dialects; took over school system for nationalist education; established principle of nation in arms. New nationalism spread on basis of national self-determination and wished to include Avignon, Nice, Savoy and Belgium.

(Starr
(Lawrence Rogin -- educational director TWU -- Textile Workers Union)
(Milgim -- Workers Defense Council
(I forgot his name -- NLRB

How do the Jews fit into this new concept of Nation?

1. Jews had no share in French national sentiment. Jews had only esprit de corps -- not esprit nationale.

2. National incorporation and emancipation were necessarily connected.

3. The French nation was willing to grant this incorporation to aliens, except Abbe Maury.

4. Jews would have to express their good intentions and conduct. The ordinary procedures of plebiscite or wholesale change of nationality did not apply to Jews. What was accepted as proof of good intentions was large number of petitions for citizenship. Some even went all the way and promised to give up Jewish nationality. These were (Sephardic) Jews of Paris and South -- but (Ashkenazic) Jews in east wished to retain Jewish law, community organization, education, etc. This gave Abbe Maury some grounds for his case against incorporation of aliens.

No doubt that in Alsace there was strong anti-Jewish sentiment. And this fact affected the course of the argument in the National Assembly as to what should be done with the Jews.

September 27, 1791 -- Decree of Emancipation

1. Jews have to take civic oath of allegiance.

Other aliens did not take oath.

2. To show their morality, Jews had to relinquish all debts -- or at least reduce them. This was proof of good conduct and relinquishing of usury.

3/8/43

1806 -- year of Jena and Auerstadt, destruction of Prussian military power.
Peace of Tilsit was degrading for Germany.

Jewish emancipation is to be understood against background of political
change in Europe.

1806-10 -- 400 families -- 2500 people in Berlin. Frankfurt, 4000 people.
Hamburg, 100 Sephardic families, 7000 Ashkenazic people.

Jewish immigration began immediately after downfall of Napoleon -- when old
restrictive legislation was reenacted.

Law of Emancipation for Prussia -- 1812

Jewish problem was viewed differently. Conviction began to prevail that Jew
was not by nature corrupt and vile -- but that the state, by repressive measures,
had shoved the Jew into a disreputable position.

This is view of Dohm, which was now being accepted.

Therefore became necessary to remove legislation -- to give Jews opportunity
to mix in society -- to open new occupations for Jews and thus remove them from
temptations of usury.

Second, to be consistent with general social and economic improvement -- they
had to extend reforms to the Jews. Jews first admitted to municipal rights before
receiving citizenship in state.

Then Schretter decided to grant full emancipation, including the duty of
military service, which was very important in 1808.

- 1) Jews would have to have family names.
- 2) " " " " dress like others -- i.e. cut off beards.
- 3) " " " " use German language in business records.
- 4) " " " " renounce ritual laws.

Wilhelm von Humboldt was for radical emancipation of Jews. Only this was
"just, political and consistent." He saw three points of Jewish individuality:

- 1) *(I didn't leave anything out - there were no further notes here)*

Baron -- Nationalism and Intolerance

Definitions

Nationhood -- nationality -- group united by common destiny and culture.

Destiny is history, past and present.

Culture implies first language, then other (folkways, literature, religion, etc.)

Nationalism -- Common feeling and common sentiment of a group considering itself a nationality.

State -- purely political organization based on coercive power of law within certain territorial limits. (Sovereignty also needed -- when sovereignty is lost, it becomes a political entity, but no state.)

Three kinds of state

1. National Staat

where state and nationality are identical -- minorities not considered.

England, Italy, France.

2. Nationalitäten Staat

state of nationalities, none of which has full majority. Austro-Hungarian Monarchy -- 13 different nationalities -- various ones prevailing at various times. Culturally they are distinct -- being unified only politically.

3. National-teil Staat

where large sections of nationality live outside territorial and political limits of the state.

* * * Status of Jews best in state of nationalities -- worst in national state.

This applies only up to great colonizations of 17th C. -- after that fraught with exceptions.

Jews got citizenship from Roman Empire -- Caraculla - 212.

(Grayzel -- Popes -- Universal Encyclopedia)
Paul Caraffa

4/6/43

Emancipation of Central Jewry

Prussian decree of 1812 -- Wilhelm von Humboldt, brother of scientist. In leading position in Prussian administration. He comprehended problem most thoroughly -- complete and immediate equality of Jews in all their rights.

Radical emancipation -- only just, legal and consistent attitude.

* * * Jews different in three respects:

- 1) Never permanently settled -- changing habitat sometimes under pressure, sometimes voluntarily.
- 2) In their ecclesiastical political constitution.
- 3) In their seclusion from those in whose midst they lived.

His solutions were:

- 1) Rooted settlement
- 2) Destruction of their religious conception of life
- 3) Fusion with their surrounding world

This could not be realized through legislation of a single state. Solution might come about if Jews were placed on equal footing with Christians at once -- rather than a gradually evolving, educational-legislative program.

- 1) State is not an educational institution for its citizens.

Hardenburg said: no law for Jews which does not contain words "equal duties, equal rights." He was author of 1812 decree.

Emancipation of Jews fit in with entire chain of legislative acts of that period.

Hardenburg plan coincided with progressive upper-class Jews -- emancipated salon-Jews. Friedlander and Jacobson influenced Hardenburg.

Frederick William III was reactionary king -- left these laws up to the military administration. Minister of Justice Kirchhausen was anti-Jewish, and postponed civil service status for Jews.

Article I declared that Jews of Prussia be considered natives and Prussian citizens. All residential, vocational, special-tax restrictions were lifted. Jews could live in city or country, buy real estate, contract marriages without special permission. Special community laws of responsibility for individual defalcation were done away with.

At the same time special Jewish jurisdictional courts were disbanded. All matters subject to state court.

Application of this law was to come through honest loyalty and absolute obedience.

They entered the army -- gave lives in Napoleonic wars. Jews became officers -- spent money.

After 1815 these sacrifices were forgotten, and there was reaction of Metternich.

4/12/43

After Congress of Vienna 1815 there was reaction and return to "legitimacy," which meant governments and monarchies status ante bellum. Establishment of "throne and altar," restoration of church to old power with help of state -- these were the motives of the statesmen assembled at Vienna.

The attack was against all the principles of the Revolution. Enlightenment was over. The Holy Alliance was formed -- Austria, Russia, Prussia -- called the "Christian state," also joined with ideal of national state, ^{which was different from Revolutionary ideal of national state.} This was absolute autocracy, under three monarchs trying to restore their legitimate rights. It was imperialism, which they called nationalism.

9/10 of Jews were living in just those three states of the Holy Alliance.

What happened to Jews in Vienna? They were interested in being considered at the Peace Conference -- just as today, we try to figure out how to have a voice at the peace table.

Delegates were sent from city of Frankfurt to Congress with petition on behalf of 3000 born Germans who have fulfilled all duties of citizenship. Community from Hamburg also sent delegation and city council would have liked to retain rights -- but they couldn't, and Lubeck and Bremen wanted to drive out Jews. This caused Hanseatic cities to send common representative -- a Christian -- to Congress. Jews had no access to official meetings, but lobbied in the cloakrooms.

Jewish problem reached agenda of Congress in spring of 1815. After long debates, following compromise was suggested: civil rights would be granted in proportion to assumption of civil duties and wherever constitutions of the land stood in the way of this reform, these would be modified if possible. This is only a vague promise.

~~Nationalism -- Hayes (M.G. as scholar)~~
~~-- Hans Kohn *~~

The new states were Christian-nationalism -- different from ideal of Revolution -- exclusive of Jews. The new historical school taught that the ideal state was of middle ages. This was escapist, romantic conception. Return to medieval knighthood.

(Jewish problem became a question of discussion among the nations, which
(had never happened before.

What followed the Congress of Vienna was very sad. The reaction struck the German Jews very sharply. Teutomania caused desire for political strength of middle ages.

4/13/43

The sacrifices of the Jews in battle were forgotten, while their war-profiteering was remembered.

Striving for reconciliation was useless -- the new state was a Christian, reactionary nationalism. Language is an instrument of nationalism -- and the emphasis was on German language and literature. There was hostility against everything foreign.

The term Judenschule was sign of scorn and derision, referring to disorderly conduct.

The professors were, as a class, reactionary and anti-Semitic -- and influenced whole generation of students, as today. Prof. Russ was notorious. Also professors had very important status in general community -- not only students. Hep! Hep! originated in 1815.

5/3/43

Frequent conversions following these campaigns.

Heine, ^{Borne}~~Borne~~, Gans -- who could have been the leaders of Judaism.

1812-1846 -- 3800 baptisms. Mostly in three large cities, Berlin, Breslau, Königsberg. Total population was 250,000, including eastern provinces.

Edict of 1812 was nullified by administrative measures -- and years of legal rights wiped away. Struggle for emancipation had to begin anew.

This struggle was conducted differently from the struggle of end of 18th C. -- led by Riesser.

General Situation in 1830

Beginning of recession of reaction. People began to oppose the Holy Alliance -- and the accumulation of forces for 1848 began to take place.

Riesser -- 1806, born into family of enlightenment, although grandfather was opposed to Mendelssohn.

He felt debilities of anti-Jewish laws -- great humiliation. Took up pen for the Jews.

"Position of Those Professing Judaism")
"Defense of Claim of Civil Equality")

He didn't demand privileges for individuals -- but full rights for the whole people. Thus -- two great differences between this and First Emancipation -- 1) demanded rights -- morally and legally, instead of begging favors; 2) acted for whole people.

Said that Jewish equality was part of the general struggle for emancipation expressed in 1848 revolution.

He called on Jews themselves for action -- not to relinquish claims, but press them. This is rather different from apologies of Jacobson and Friedlander. His power and fluency in German -- his logic and skill and character won him respect, even among the opponents.

And as for the Jews, his writings strengthened them -- uplifted them -- checked the tendency to baptism and led Jews to fight for their rights which they were becoming convinced were theirs.

* * * This was a significant change in the mental fighting attitude.

He wanted to change Schutzburger to Schutzjuden.

He was a passionate German -- had no other fatherland, simply wanted equality as native-born. We are either Germans or homeless. There was only one baptism -- not of Christianity, but of German nationality and it was a baptism of blood in common defense of fatherland. We place no value on our nationality following the destruction of Palestine.

Riesser created this ideology -- Germans of Jewish religion.

5/11/43

First Emancipation laid the path for an economic readjustment of Jews.

Dubnow gives three reasons:

1. growth of cities (and intermingling of Jews and Christians)
2. emancipation forced them into handicrafts, wholesaling
3. rapid accumulation of capital in hands of Jewish bankers following Napoleonic wars.

Universal social ascent of the Jews through all these elements was very noticeable.

Epoch of Second Emancipation brought these developments into even greater heights. Stock-exchange kings, etc. But there were still great groups of Jewish masses struggling against prejudice.

House of Rothschild (out of Frankfurt ghetto) was at top of capitalist world. Dynasty started by Meyer Anshel.

Roscher -- Role of Jews in Economic History --:

Jews had always to fulfill a certain function in economic life ahead of the trend. In middle ages, when general trade was by barter -- the Jews were already dealing in money. And when money began to be used generally, the Jews started the institution of credit (especially court Jews who supplied the armies of Europe -- and were paid later, if at all).

This is always function of Jews -- to pioneer for new economic forms -- because they were the ones always suppressed and confined in their economic life. They were always on the look-out for new ways, through necessity.

(Edict of Nantes -- full rights to Huguenots)
(
(ca. 1700)

(Chapter 9)

The Emancipation of the Jews in Germany, in Particular the Prussian Jewry --
Edict 1812

I. Survey

a. The transformation of Europe by Napoleon. The year 1806 marks the turning point in the internal political life in Germany. The seeping in of new social ideas and doctrines.

b. The social conditions of the Jews had undergone various changes in the last quarter of the 18th century. The growing influences of Dohim's ideas. The model of the foreign Jewry -- legislation: Joseph's II Toleration Edict; Louis' XVI abolition of the body tax. Lessing's "Nathan the Wise." The spiritual emancipation. The Berlin salons.

II. The Struggle for Reform of the Jewish Status in Germany up to 1806

a. King Frederick William II (1786-1797) appointed a commission for examination of the Jewry-laws. David Friedlander was leading in the movement for Jewish emancipation. The legislative project offered after two years of reform work, was, however, unsatisfactory so that the Jews preferred to remain "in the old condition," established by the Jewry Regulation of 1750. That was in 1789. The year 1790 brought with it even new restrictions.

b. Through the second and the third partition of Poland (in 1793 and 1795) Prussia had an increase of about 53,000 and 71,000 Jews respectively.

c. General - Juden - Reglement fuer g ^{not clear} - und Neuostpreussen.

d. Two more reformatory efforts under Frederick William III (1797-1840) remained without any result.

e. Jewish efforts to obtain emancipation through religious assimilation. The "Open letter to the Honorable Herr Oberkonsistorialrat and Probst Teller in Berlin, from some Fathers of the Families of the Jewish Religion." Its

probably Friedländer is meant
 author: David Friedlagneler. The pastor's refusal, followed by many pamphlets concerning the Jewish question. Schleiermacher's attitude.

f. The "pamphlet-battle" (Schriftenkampf) of 1803-1805. Grattenauer against the Jews.

III. The Passing Emancipation in the Province of French Command in German Territory

a. The six year command of Napoleon in Germany from 1806 to 1812 brought with it for the Jews of those German states, which were directly advised in the French sphere of influence, a temporary emancipation, which, in turn, ceased with the end of the Napoleonic command in Germany.

b. Early the Jews were emancipated in the Kingdom of Westphalia, under Jerome Bonaparte. It had, in 1808, almost 15,000 Jews. With the French system used as a model, a Jewish consistory was established in Kassel, at the head of which stood Israel Jacobson, court agent of the Duke of Brunswick. He strived for the transformation and modernization of the Jewish community in accordance with the French tastes. His various religious reforms.

c. In Frankfort on the Main, the Jews bought emancipation by the payment of the twenty-fold yearly protection tax, amounting to 440,000 florins, in 1811. In November 1813, however, when the combined Russo-Prussian-Austrian army entered Frankfort, the equality of the Jews came to a premature end.

d. Similarly, the Jewish emancipation in Hamburg was of a temporary character only.

e. At the same time, the struggle of the Jews for civil equality remained unsuccessful or almost unsuccessful in Saxony, Mecklenburg, Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg. The alleviations which were granted the Jews were confined within narrow limits. (lifting of body tax)

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