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MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series IV: Writings and Publications, 1952-1992, undated.

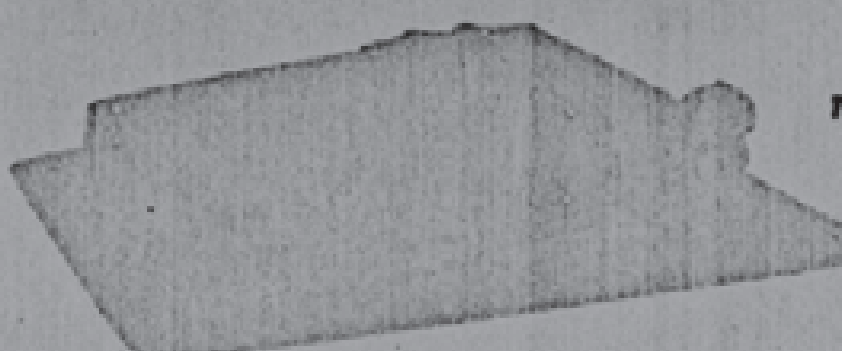
Sub-series A: Books, 1961-1990, undated.

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Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy,
1180-1240, correspondence, newspaper and magazine articles,
1963-1968, 1978.



TEMPLE EMANU*EL

4100 SHERBROOKE ST. WEST
WESTMOUNT-MONTREAL
TELEPHONE: WE. 7-3575

RABBI JAY B. GOLDBURG

November 23rd, 1965.

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver,
Tifereth Israel (The Temple)
University Circle & Silver Park,
Cleveland, 6, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have heard a great deal about your outstanding scholarship and your fine presentations on theology in Judaism. I was therefore anxious to attend the forum in which you delivered a paper at the recent biennial convention. I was impressed by the thoughtful content in your paper.

As you recall, I posed a question regarding an allusion to humanism in your paper. This question has been freely debated at The Hebrew Union College, at McGill University and here at Temple Emanu-El. It is a question posed by those of us who do not possess certitude or absolute knowledge of the truth.

Your rude and ungracious answer to me during the question period was an embarrassing incident. But it was much more than this. Numerous Rabbis and laymen came to me after the forum and told me how embarrassed everyone in the room was by your thoughtless and uncalled-for comment.

Many of us least respect for Rabbi Silver because of your supercilious and undignified manner. I did not refute you nor bring this matter up at the Rabbi's breakfast because I do not believe in humiliating a colleague in public. You also might have considered speaking to me in private if you did not consider my question worthy of an answer.

I want you to know in the privacy of this letter my impressions of this unfortunate incident. I hold no malice toward you and I sincerely hope that we may develop a positive relationship in the future.

Sincerely,


Rabbi Jay B. Goldberg

JBG:hb

November 26, 1965

Rabbi Jay B. Goldberg
Temple Emanu-El
4100 Sherbrooke Street West
Westmount, Montreal

Dear Rabbi Goldberg:

There is an old folk tale among our people that the river Sambatyon would cease raging so that a traveler could cross over to Paradise if the man who put his foot into the torrent were truly a hasid. If he were not the river would suck him into its whirlpool. At the place where travelers came there was the sign "Plunge in at your own risk."

Speakers are notably unpredictable. Who knows what triggers a certain emotional response in us? Perhaps I am only explaining why I have listened and made my own judgments and never spoken or questioned from the floor. To do so is to put oneself at another's mercy.

I am truly sorry that my answer gave you offense. To explain my response is not to excuse it but it had something to do with poly-dox, something to do with the pride among some of our recent graduates in being without certitude, and something to do with a question which could not have been helpful in developing the theme of the morning.

Some day, if you wish, I shall come to Montreal and put my ideas as to the limitations of humanism on the floor for debate.

As a korban hatat I am sending you, under separate cover, a copy of my recent book on Maimonides and a monograph on the Twenty-Third Psalm, which I hope you will find of interest. With all good wishes in your ministry and in the hope that you will allow me to take you to lunch at another Conference so that we can get to know each other, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:ngm



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DEC -8 1965

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle and Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

This is to acknowledge receipt of a \$4.00 fee, copies and applications (A-B Foreign and A-B Ad Interim) for registration of a claim to copyright in the work entitled MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY 1180-1240. Unfortunately, this registration has been delayed.

Because the author of this book is a U.S. citizen, and the manufacturing process and first publication occurred outside the U.S., only an ad interim registration appears possible.

Also, the name of the copyright claimant given on the application is "Daniel Jeremy Silver," while the name of the claimant in the copyright notice on the copies is "E. J. Brill." This variance should be clarified. The name given in the notice should agree with that appearing in the copyright notice.

We have returned a portion of your unacceptable Form A-B Ad Interim and a blank form to aid you in completing a new application.

In your reply, please refer to the date of this letter and to our FOREIGN FILE (S).

Sincerely yours,
Mark A. Lillis
Head, Book Section
Examining Division

By: *MA*

Enclosures:

Appl. (pp. 1-2) ret'd.
Form A-B Ad Interim
Cirs. 38A, 69

December 10, 1965

Mr. F. C. Wieder, Jr.
Director
N.V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij
voorheen E. J. Brill
Leiden
The Netherlands

Dear Mr. Wieder:

We are enclosing two checks in the total amount of \$824.00 to cover your bill.

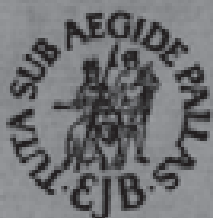
The book is selling well and is being distributed throughout the country to various institutions such as libraries, seminaries, and universities.

We wish you a good New Year, and apologize for the delay in the payment of this bill.

Sincerely,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mga

Encls. Checks



N. V. BOEKHANDEL EN DRUKKERIJ v/h E. J. BRILL

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LEIDEN, December 15 19 65

Dr. Daniel Jeremy Silver,
The Temple,
University Circle at Silver Park,
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Dr. Silver,

Thank you very much for your letter of December 10, with
2 checks in the total amount of \$ 824,-- enclosed.

Yes, your book is selling well here too, and as a matter
of fact we just recently ran out of copies. Orders are coming in
nearly daily and I think it is fully justified, to make a reprint of
this book.

I would prefer to make a photomechanical reprint, which
can be produced in a reasonable short time. If you can agree to this,
will you please let me know by return mail?

Thanking you in advance for your kind cooperation, I am,
returning your wishes for a Happy New Year,

with kind regards, Yours Sincerely,

N.V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij
Voorheen E.J. Brill Leiden

F.C. Wieder Jr.

F.C. Wieder Jr, Director

MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY 1180 - 1240 by Daniel Jeremy Silver, London, 1963; E. J. Brill, 219 p.

Dr. Silver, who is Rabbi of the Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, here presents a thorough and perceptive account of the controversies aroused by the legal and philosophical writings of Maimonides, which led to the burning of the "Guide to the Perplexed" in the early 13th century. Silver treats the historical, religious and sociological background of the controversy, showing the roots of pietists' suspicion of the entire philosophical enterprise: the figure of Maimonides himself; the Near Eastern reaction to his work; the criticism of his legal efforts; the debate on resurrection and other central themes in Maimonidean thought; the controversy over anti-anthropomorphism, and the like. He cites sources, and interprets them carefully; provides a thorough bibliography and index; and repeatedly relates the narrow subject at hand to the broader religious issues contained within it.

His view is that the controversy was rendered more bitter by the growing interest of the Church in Judaism and its beliefs, and that it was particularly consequential because of the growing fear that philosophical interests were, in the end, pernicious to good religion. He holds, "Israel stumbled into a Maimonidean controversy. It was not fear of philosophy nor ignorance of philosophy which precipitated it but a breakdown of faith among certain elements with the western communities . . ."

At the same time, Silver pays close attention to the personal qualities of those involved in the debate, and repeatedly raises the question of why particular men at particular times joined the disputes, trying to account for those who held rationalist or mystical positions in

terms of education and environment. Thus he penetrates the surface - issues, and uses his studies as a means of illuminating broader historical issues.

For instance, he sees, in the eager defense of Maimonides by cultivated Jewish figures high in Spanish society an effort to prove the metaphysical unity of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. "To doubt that Judaism's God was identical with the universally acknowledged philosopher's God was to doubt the rationalization which established Sheshet as an equal in his own eyes."

In all, this is a thoroughly imaginative, sophisticated and comprehensive study, which makes a significant and substantial contribution to knowledge. Rabbi Silver writes in a lucid and graceful style.

I am troubled by his failure to make significant use of Lodore Twerzky's "Rabad of Posqueres, A Twelfth Century Talmudist" (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1963).

While Silver does not list the book in his bibliography, he does cite it occasionally. Yet Twerzky's work on the Rabad's criticism of the Mishneh Torah, a theme to which Silver pays considerable attention, is a masterful and comprehensive account; he devoted more than seventy pages to it, and discussed every possible issue. Silver treats at some length Rabad's criticism of Maimonides' philosophy, but finds it difficult to locate organizing principles within his halakic comments. "The hassagot have never defied categorization, for they touch almost every area of the rabbinic geography and range widely and seemingly erratically." I believe that Twerzky has provided completely adequate "categorization" for these comments, and has organized them as well as they will ever be organized. I hope that in future research, Silver will indicate, at the very least, what it is that he finds unconvincing or inadequate in Twerzky's studies, which, to my way of thinking, are brilliant and definitive, and ought therefore not to be passed over in silence.

In the balance, as I said,

Silver has given us a very good book indeed, one which will long be consulted by students of Jewish philosophy, and the implications of which for modern Judaism are substantial.

It is worth noting, finally, that Rabbi Silver serves a large and distinguished congregation. That he has been able to pursue very serious research in addition is a good augury. I hope that many others, similarly burdened with communal responsibilities will join in the scholarly enterprise, from which no learned Jew is exempted. This is still another work of what a French-Jewish reviewer referred to as "the American Jewish school of scholarship", one which grows by the day, which is enriching our knowledge of Judaism, and which signifies the growing maturity of our community. Scholars in Seminary, rabbinical and university posts, orthodox, reform and conservative alike, are working at the frontiers of Jewish knowledge, not merely repeating in a novel way the information and insights of others, but contributing new learning and new understanding. Their works have yet to find a worthy audience; that Rabbi Silver's book had to be published abroad indicates that there is as yet no satisfactory domestic publisher, or audience, for serious Jewish scholarship. But that too will come.

A WORTHY APPEAL

Rabbi Gershon Winer, Dean of the Jewish Teachers' Seminary and People's University (315 Park Ave., NYC, NY 10022), writes that his academy, which concentrates on teaching Yiddish language and literature, is in dire need of funds.

The Jewish Teachers' Seminary has more than 250 students, forty-five of them in a full-time Yiddish Hebrew teacher training program. There is a course for Yiddish secretaries and stenographers, a Jewish Music Division, and a Graduate School, all of which emphasize the heritage of Eastern European Jewry. This is the main American Jewish institution devoted to transmitting Yiddish culture to American Jewry, YIVO Jewish

met. Borrowing is no longer possible. He turns therefore to all who believe that the Yiddish language should endure in America, and asks for their help. The purpose is to provide scholarships for students from Jewish working families who need free tuition, and for the best qualified, a living stipend as well, so that some can complete a full teachers' curriculum and enter the Jewish teaching profession.

We in Connecticut, who maintain no full-time teachers' training institution whatever, have a special responsibility to help the academies and Seminaries which exist elsewhere, and from which, in time, we shall seek teachers for our children.

I cannot think of an institution, which permits so small an investment to make such a grand difference, as the Jewish Teachers' Seminary and People's University. EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, translated with an introduction and notes by Jacob M. Myers. The Anchor Bible vol. 14. (Continued On Page 2)

THE JEWISH LEDGER

Vol. XXXVII Number 28
December 14, 1965

Samuel Haysner, Founder (1923-1965)
Lee B. Haysner, Publisher
F. D. Haysner, Associate Publisher

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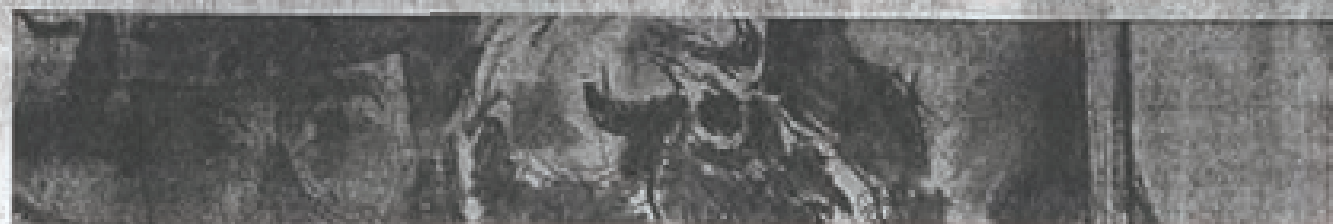
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NATIONAL EDITORIAL
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1965-1966



December 20, 1965

Mr. F. C. Wieder, Jr.
Director
N. V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij
Voorheen E. J. Brill
Leiden
The Netherlands

Dear Mr. Wieder:

Thank you for your letter of December 15. I am, of course, delighted at the sale of the books. You mention reproduction by a photomechanical process. This is what I believe we call photo offset. I know that it can be done well but I am wondering if it would not be possible to run this off the original type. The book sells for a healthy price and at about \$7.50 American money I think people expect a printed book. If I am wrong in that the difference cannot be detected would you suggest where I might see a copy of a book so produced?

With all good wishes,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mga

CONNECTICUT
JEWISH LEADER

December 22, 1965

Dr. Jacob Neusner
Box 164
Norwich, Vermont 05055

Dear Dr. Neusner:

Thank you for sending a copy of the review. I am most appreciative. To my great surprise, the book has already run through its first edition and Brill is making a second run. In any case, many thanks.

Sincerely,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mgm

Incl File

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

CINCINNATI
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JERUSALEM

CLIFTON AVENUE - CINCINNATI, OHIO 45220

December 23, 1965

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver
The Temple
University Circle & Silver Park
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Daniel:

Enclosed you will find the review that I trust represents a fair critical appraisal.

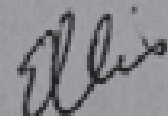
I very much enjoyed the opportunity it afforded me not only to learn from you, but also to rethink my own views. I trust that this book is only the beginning of a very rich and creative scholarly career. So please accept once again my congratulations and extend them likewise to Adele who I know must share your pride and joy of your first fruits.

There were many themes that would have lent themselves to consideration, but because of the limited space I chose to focus on those aspects of the problem where I suspect we most diverge. I hope there will be some occasion in the not too distant future to explore together some of the issues you raise. For the moment I might point out that the Aristotelian position posits the eternity of the universe and not the eternity of matter; the latter would permit creation in time, the former precludes any creation in time.

As for the problem of Abraham Maimonides view of his father's sodot, I do not consider it methodologically sound to utilize any authority outside of Maimonides himself to determine what the sodot were. The problem has to be solved internally by establishing some kind of rigorous objective method that will expose any subjectivist analysis. One of these days I hope to demonstrate how it can be done. In the meantime, however, my Hidden Revolution is well on the way to completion.

Again, with every best wish for a long, fruitful, and creative scholarly career,

Sincerely,



Ellis Rivkin

Encl.

NEUSNER

December 28, 1965

December 27, 1965

Dr. Ellis Rivkin
Hebrew Union College -
Rabbi Jacob Neusner
Dartmouth College
Department of Religion
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Dear Jack:

I have placed both your books for review and although I cannot guarantee what men will say I trust the material will be forthcoming by the spring issue.

I do quote Tversky a few times. After you have plowed the same ground another man's work does not seem as fresh as it does to an outsider. He has written a calm and competent piece and the absence of a citation in the bibliography was simply an oversight.

With all good wishes for the New Year, I remain,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mgm

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mgm

RIVKIN
BOOK
REVIEW

December 28, 1965

Dr. Ellis Rivkin
Hebrew Union College -
Jewish Institute of Religion
Clifton Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220

Dear Ellis:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your kind review. It is much appreciated. With due deference I will stand by my argument that the Maimonidean controversy was one of men and not of communities. I did try to show in the extensive footnotes on Besiers, Montpellier, etc. how their varying political fortunes might have affected their attitude. Beyond this we are, as you say, in the realm of historical predisposition and it is the varying focus of each student which makes history continually exciting.

I must not have made my argument clear on one point. I do not argue that anonymous men heard of Maimonides and then abandoned the halacha, but rather that they used Maimonides to justify their already existing indifference. The root cause lies, in my opinion, in two separate patterns of education. One a holdover from the Arabic world, the other more parochial and unique to Europe. There would not have been a Maimonidean controversy without the catalyst of these men, but if Maimonides had not written these men would have caused a conflict with some other focus within the Jewish community.

I am glad that my review gives you a chance to re-state your thesis. In the reading of the book and review the men will have a chance to make up their own minds. With all good wishes for the New Year, I remain, as always,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mga



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LEIDEN, January 6, 19 66

Prof. D.J. Silver,
The Temple,
University Circle at Silver Park,
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Professor Silver,

May we herewith acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 20 addressed to our director Mr. Wieder who is not in the office at the moment.

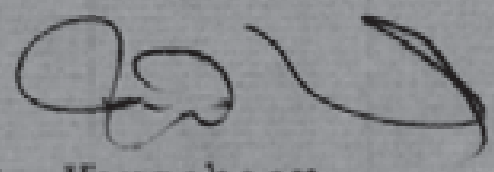
We have taken due note of your various remarks in this matter, and wish to state as follows.

The price of the original edition could only be kept on that level, due to a subsidy having been furnished at the time. In fact it is not possible to run the second edition of your book off the original type, which was solved. So this is not photo-offset, but a photomechanical reprint. And especially thanks to this system of photomechanical reprinting, we are able to maintain the same retail price for the second impression.

We may even add that the price of the binder, in reality, tends to be higher than the binders which are made for the first edition. This is so because of increasing production costs during the last year.

Trusting that this will clarify matters, and asking for your kind understanding, I am, Yours Sincerely,

N.V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij
Voorheen E.J. Brill Leiden


J.D. Verschoor

[Feb 17, 1966]

The College of Jewish Studies



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כז שבט תשכ"ו
17 בפברואר 1966

לכבוד
הרב ד"ר יואל ירמיה פילבר
קליבלנד, אוהיו

הרב פילבר הנכבד :

אפיק לך אמר חורא אפ יואיל לשלוח לי סופס מספרו על הרמב"ם. אנוכי מסרם
מחקר מקיף על הוכחה בין המימוניים והאנטי-מימוניים במשך הדורות והנני מעוניין
בספרו. כמו כן הייתי רוצה לדעת אם אפשר עוד להשיג סופס מספר היובל שיצא
לכבוד אביו ז"ל.

במיטב הברכות ובהוקרה

י. גולדסון

י. כ. גולדסון
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8/19/66

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle and Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

This concerns the work entitled MAIMONIDEAN
CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY 1180--
1240, which was recently registered in this office
under registration number A19969.

Unfortunately, at the time the registration
was made and the certificate issued, we failed to
observe that an excess fee had been charged, and
entered on the application and certificate.

Under the circumstances, we must request that
you return certificate number A19969, in order that
we may make the necessary corrections to our records.
After we have corrected our records, we shall reissue
your certificate, and use the excess fee of \$2.00 as
part of the registration fee for one of your works,
which is short a \$2.00 fee.

We regret that this matter did not come to our
attention prior to registration, and apologize for
any inconvenience we may have caused. A postage free
self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your use.

In your reply, please refer to the date of this
letter and to our FOREIGN FILE (S).

Sincerely yours,

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Herbert O. Roberts, Jr.
Reviser, Book Section
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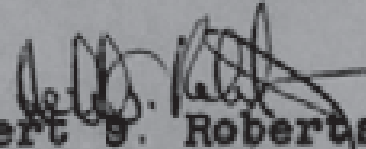
Dear Rabbi Silver:

This concerns the work entitled MAIMONIDEAN
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which was recently registered in this Office under
registration number A1 9969. To date we have received
no reply to our letter of August 19, 1966.

As explained in our letter of August 19, 1966,
we must request that you return certificate number
A1 9969 for the reason pointed out in that letter. We
are enclosing a copy of the letter for your further
examination, and we would appreciate hearing from you
as soon as possible. We are also enclosing a self-
addressed envelope for your convenience.

In your reply, please refer to the date of this
letter and to our FOREIGN FILE (S).

Sincerely yours,


Herbert S. Roberts, Jr.
Reviser, Book Section
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Author Daniel Jeremy Silver

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Statement issued March 15, 1966 Ineffective after August 14, 1970
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Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Abraham L. Kaminstein
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The Temple Bridge Rd.

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(City)

(State)

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In General. The Universal Copyright Convention, which came into force on September 16, 1953, provides another exception to the manufacturing requirements, and one which is much broader than ad interim copyright. Any work which qualifies, and which has been published with the copyright notice provided in the Convention, is completely exempted from the manufacturing requirements; full-term (28-year) copyright may be secured without the need of registration in the Copyright Office.

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Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle and Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Re: MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY
1180-1240

Amount of remittance: \$2.00

Date remittance received: January 17, 1966

Dear Rabbi Silver:

We enclose a refund for the unused balance of the above remittance, which should be cashed or deposited at your bank as soon as possible.

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Sincerely yours,

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HOK

MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY 1180-1240, by Daniel Jeremy Silver (E. J. Brill), Leiden, 1965.

Reviewed by ELLIS RIVKIN

The problem that Dr. Silver undertakes to resolve in his *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180-1240* is of no ordinary complexity. Its demands upon the scholar are truly awesome: He must (1) master the problem-studded writings of Maimonides himself—a staggering task; (2) digest and comprehend both *halachic* and philosophic reactions to these writings; (3) have an awareness of the unique characteristics that differentiated one Jewish community from another; (4) be alert to the impact of changing Islamic and Christian worlds; (5) seek out an intelligible explanation for the waxing and waning of the *intensity* of the criticism and the controversy from texts that are rich in polemic but poor in factual data. In a word, the very posing of the problem, not to speak of the working through to a viable solution, is sufficient to tax not only the erudition, but the ingenuity of the scholar.

Dr. Silver has called upon both erudition and ingenuity, and the results are impressive. He recognizes that Maimonides proved to be an innovating genius in two realms, *halakah* and philosophy, and stirred up criticism and controversy in both. His *Mishneh Torah* aroused the ire of such erudite dialecticians as the *Rabad* who criticized severely his authoritative stance and his failure to cite sources, while the *Sefer Ha-Mada* and especially the *Guide* struck fear in the hearts of faith-rooted traditionalists. Silver charts the circuitous path of Maimonides' teachings: in the Near East where Samuel ben Ali saw in the *Mishneh Torah* a threat to his geonic prerogatives, in the Provence where they were both welcomed and criticized, and finally around 1220, likewise in the Provence and in Spain, where they stoked the fires of a controversy of such extreme bitterness and intensity that the *Guide* itself was consigned by the Dominicans to the flames. This path is well-lighted by Dr. Silver, for he is very much alive to the variations, and he moves from *Halachic* discourse to philosophic speculation with relish. He conveys not only the content of the discussions, but their tonal quality as well, especially in his chapters on "Halachic Criticism," "Jonathan ha-Kohen of Lunel," "The Resurrection Debate," and "The Compass Points of Jewish Culture." By giving the reader faithfully the stuff of controversy, Silver has enabled him to comprehend its content, and thereby identify vicariously with the contenders.

Dr. Silver, however, does not limit himself to a helpful statement of the ideas held by Maimunist and anti-Maimunist, but seeks an historical explanation of why the controversy took on such an extreme form after 1230 that it tore Provençal and Spanish Jewry into two destructively hostile camps. Why did a polemic confined to scholarly debate turn into a civil war? Silver's answer is straightforward and simple: "Restless, rootless anonymous men" of the upper classes, who, having by virtue of their broad secular education become indifferent to their ancestral faith, took hold of what they thought Maimonides' teaching to be to justify abandoning both the *halakah* and literal revelation. "These restless and rootless anonymous men," affirms Silver, "however few they may have been, precipitated the Maimonidean controversy. They presented a serious threat to the security and the safety of the Jewish community." (167). The Church Militant could make use of the apostasy of the faithless to cut the jugular vein of Judaism, for, as he stresses in his chapter "Changing Times and Changing Tensions," the Church in the 13th century had embarked on an oppressive policy of degrading Judaism. Silver categorically denied (p. 149, note 1) that economic, social, or political forces were in

any way decisive. For him the escalation of criticism into controversy was a tragedy because the "best of anti-Maimonists were good, decent, able and pious men. That pressures of survival should separate these men is the tragedy of this history." (p. 198, cf. also the Introduction, pp.1-5.)

Silver marshalls impressive evidence to buttress his thesis. The documents of the controversy certainly support his contentions, for they reveal primarily an ideational struggle between protagonists who, on both sides, tenaciously affirm an undying loyalty to Judaism. The Maimonist David Kimhi was no less stalwart a Jew than the anti-Maimonist Solomon of Montpellier. Indeed the leitmotif of Silver's analysis is that Maimonides was held in veneration by both sides. Those who engaged in the literary debate about Maimonides' teachings were not responsible for the civil war, but anonymous, rootless, and indifferent men who had not even read Maimonides. The bans and counter bans, the burning of Maimonides' writings, the smouldering hostility of the century to follow—all evoked by a small group of men who had fallen away from Judaism because they had believed on hearsay that Maimonides' teachings had given such sanction. Presumably, if they had read Maimonides they would have remained loyal and steadfast and there would have been scholarly debate about Maimonides, but no destructive controversy.

Silver argues his case with vigor and he underwrites it with an appeal to the sources that have survived. But is this enough? Are the sources adequate to sustain his explanation merely because they happen to be the only sources that are extant? Does even a single source offer us a chronicle of events, or must we speculate as to the time and place of even the most crucial events? What, after all, do we know of the history of the Jewries of the Provence? Lunel, Beziers, Montpellier are known to us as great centers of learning, but that is just about it. The *halakhic* brilliance of Rabad's writings cannot substitute for a chronicle of events, nor can they reveal the dynamics of communal change. And what of Spain? If we know a little more about such communities as Toledo and Saragossa than we do of Beziers and Montpellier this little is still next to nothing. Yet this knowledge which we do not have is that very knowledge that we need to determine whether or not other than ideational factors were involved.

The sources that have survived do indeed tell us something, but they by no means tell us all. Would one know from these sources that the Albigensian Crusade had brought devastation and havoc to the cities of the Provence; that in 1209 the population of Beziers was massacred; that the Count of Toulouse and his vassals were beaten down and deprived of their estates; that the French nobility in alliance with the Church denounced heresy to legitimize their expropriating land and wealth; that the jewel-like region of the Languedoc—so creative, so tolerant, so thriving and industrious—was being crushed by greedy counts and bishops? Are we to believe that so brilliant a star could burn out and its light not be missed? Are we to assume that the Jewish communities of the Provence went through the purgatory of the Albigensian crusade without ideational shock and that Solomon of Montpellier's ban against the writings of Maimonides, supported as it was by the rabbis of France, had nothing to do with the triumph of the Church and the king of France? Could it be mere coincidence that the triumph of the Church Militant and the French nobility was accompanied by a determined effort to impose the communal and ideological system of French Jewry on Provençal communities noted for their learnings and open-mindedness? Was Solomon of Montpellier's charge of *halakhah*-breaking and heresy grounded in fact or was it meant to stir the masses to embark on a crusade against anonymous *halakhah* wreckers and equally anonymous godless men? Were not all the Maimonideans with names, such as David Kimhi, *Halakhah*-biding and pious beyond reproach? Must we shrink

back from recognizing that the anti-heretical zeal of Solomon of Montpellier was as much rooted in Solomon's Judaism as in Innocent III's Christianity? Was it fear of the Church that made Maimonides' teachings dangerous or were they frightening enough for a feudally-nurtured Judaism? Is Silver justified in shifting the responsibility from Maimonides' teachings to the anonymous, rootless non-readers of Maimonides, in view of the fact that the allegorical method, the non-corporeal nature of *alam ha-be*, and the primacy of metaphysics over law and ritual are set forth by Maimonides not only in the *Guide* but in the *Safer ha-Mada*.

These and many other questions are raised by Silver's thesis, and they cannot be stilled by an appeal to sources which by their very nature communicate only a restricted kind of data. Had only the ideational polemic waged by the Church against the heretics of the Provence survived, we would have no way of knowing that the Albigensian Crusade was also a plundering invasion that expropriated the vast holdings of the Count of Toulouse and left his proud cities in shambles. The Maimonidean controversy might very well have been both the ideational counterpart of a bitter struggle for leadership and authority within the Provencal and Jewish communities and the agonizing process of ideological adjustment to the reality that the permissive Provencal culture was being liquidated. The new order no longer sustained or nurtured a Maimonidean rationalism, for irrationality had triumphed with Simon de Montfort and Innocent III. Violent passion had gained mastery over reason, feudal disorder over urban integration, and an arbitrary, willful feudal God over a law-abiding deity. The Maimonidean controversy refracts the mortal battle between the old order and the new.

Though such an alternative hypothesis is not without support in the sources Silver pays it no heed. Neither the cataclysmic disruption of the Albigensian Crusade nor the economic and political upheaval that followed in its wake are assigned causal significance in Silver's study. Ideas circulate, scholars debate, and tempers flare; but the physical dismemberment of a flourishing region leaves minds unscathed. Silver has wrestled with the sources, but since they were unable to yield a definitive causal nexus, he had to look elsewhere. He found it in the vagaries of individual choice. And perhaps he is right. But there are those of us who suspect that a struggle so intense and bitter and so long-lived could never have been evoked by ideas unrelated to clashing systems of authority and power.

Much more could be said of Silver's thought-provoking book. He has ploughed not only widely but deeply. He is to be commended for his audacity and courage in probing so grand a theme and tackling so stubborn a problem. That his solution will stir controversy is as certain as that his scholarship will command respect.

"AND THE CROOKED SHALL BE MADE STRAIGHT", by Jacob Robinson
(The Macmillan Company), New York, 1965.

Reviewed by JORDAN PEARLSON

There is a tortoise-hare dimension in the relationship between the journalist and the scholar: the journalist moves swiftly to summarize a recent reality; the scholar plods along, sifting and documenting, until a presentation worthy of his standards has been completed. All too frequently it is the journalist who is heard and remembered; the scholar's victory remains lost and unheralded in the veil of the dust of the encounter.

CHARLES AUERBACH
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
LEADER BUILDING
CLEVELAND
OHIO

MAIN 1-0544

January 26, 1967

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle & Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi:

I hasten to congratulate you upon an excellent review of your book on The Maimonidean Controversy by Dr. Solomon Zeitlin in the October, 1966 issue of The Jewish Quarterly Review. The article written, as only Dr. Zeitlin can and does write, does justice to your scholarly work, which as Dr. Zeitlin points out, is probably the forerunner of other writings by you on the Rambam to follow.

I have often wondered at the unalterable adherence to the Yad and the finality with which orthodox Rabbis, as a rule, accept its decisions. In a recent discussion with a highly learned and respected orthodox Rabbi in this community, who has endeared himself to me, I had occasion to mention to him that as a lawyer I am hard-put to accept The Maimonidean ultimate pronouncements of the law without citation of authority, as though he were the final authority par excellence. The Rabbi answered that every statement in the Mishneh Torah has its origin in the Talmud. This may be entirely correct, even though Dr. Zeitlin aims to prove in his review of your book that the mixing of milk and meat as treated by Maimonides stems in part from the Pentateuch rather than from the Talmud, but as a lawyer, I like to go beyond what we lawyers term "black letter law". We have been taught to read beyond the syllabi, to look to the opinion, to search for the reasoning underlying the conclusion and for the citation of previous authority, if any exists. We are not content to rely upon ultimate assertions without authority, unless none can be found.

Being a great admirer of the Rambam and fully appreciative of the enormity of the man's scholarship and his God-given genius, should prompt me to write with caution, as I do, in any critical vein of this giant in our history. Nevertheless, in consonance with Talmudic teaching, in which I think lies its greatness, even the humblest are permitted to question the pronouncements of the greatest of our scholars, but without bitterness or anger. This, as you so well know, was the cardinal virtue of Hillel the Elder, which made his interpretations of Halakah more generally accepted than the interpretations of Shammai, as our teachers state in Erubin.

As for his Moreh Nebuchim, Dr. Zeitlin points out so well your assertion of "the tragedy of history" which was engendered by the sharp differences of opinion among the Jewish people regarding the guiding principles of the

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple

-2-

January 26, 1967

book. One searches in vain, however, to find in the Guide more satisfying "proof" of God's existence than in other rationalist expositions. Aristotelian influences indeed are present in the Guide and are admitted by Maimonides, his refinements of thought and expression upon anthropomorphism are unequalled, but in my opinion, the Rambam does no more to "prove" God's existence beyond founding his structure on firm faith, than has any other philosopher before or after Maimonides. In fact, I find Ibn Daud's approach in this field of rationalization more appealing than that of the Rambam. This does not detract from the importance of the Guide or its influence, which is as alive and meaningful today as it was in the days when it was first written. St. Thomas Aquinas and Baruch Spinoza may be said to be in the Rambam's debt. It is, therefore, good that a topic such as the Maimonidean Controversy is given the attention it so richly deserves, as witness the treatment of the same subject in abbreviated form by Professor Twersky of Harvard University.

In writing your doctorate thesis, you have rendered a service to those among us who wish to know, and Dr. Zeitlin has contributed greatly to acquaint those of our public, Jewish and non-Jewish, who love learning with your splendid volume.

With fond regards, I am

Sincerely,



Charles Auerbach

CA/evm

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AUERBACH

January 31, 1967

Mr. Charles Auerbach
Attorney
Leader Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Charles:

I want to thank you for your most kind note of the 26th. Needless to say Zeitlin's review was most flattering and encouraging. I am now beginning to do my homework on a biography of Nachmanides. He was an interesting man and I think you will enjoy it when I get it done.

With all good wishes,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mgm



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LEIDEN, March 4, 1966

Rabbi Dr. D.J. Silver,
The Temple,
University Circle at Silver Park,
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Dr. Silver,

You must excuse my delayed answer to your kind letter of December 20. I have been away from my office in that time, and on my return there was so much urgent work to be done, that I only now come to the answer to your letter.

With regard to a reprint edition of your book, I regret to say that it is not possible to use the original type because this has been melted, and used for other work.

However the photo-offset process is I think, very suitable. I know why you are hesitating, many printers in the photo-offset process deliver poor work, but we are lucky to have found a printer here in Leiden who delivers this work in a first class quality.

I am sending you under separate airmail cover a copy of the book of Lady E.S. Drower, The Mandaeans of Iraq; with the exception of the plates, this book has been printed in photo-offset from the original text of the Oxford University Press. I hope you agree with me, that the quality of this work is perfectly acceptable for a book like yours.

If you would kindly let me know that you can agree with a reprint of your book in this quality, we shall be very happy to take the matter in hand immediately. Further orders for your book are coming in almost daily, and it is certainly justified to keep the book on the market.

Thanking you for your kind cooperation, I am, Yours Sincerely,

N.V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij
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F.C. Wieders

F.C. Wieders Jr., Director

P.S. I now see that on January 6, my assistant Mr. J.D. Verschcor, has sent an answer to your letter, but since we did not get any answer from you, I fear that it has been gone lost.

March 9, 1966

Mr. F. C. Wieder, Jr.,
Director
E. J. Brill
Postrekening 13921
Leiden, Holland

Dear Mr. Wieder:

In reply to your letter of March 4, I have no objections to the photo-offset printing. Having faith in the work of your house I know it will be done clearly and carefully.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mgm

MIDSTREAM

January 6, 1966

Mr. Shlomo Katz
Editor
Midstream
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Katz:

Some months ago Emanuel Neumann told me that he had spoken to you about a review of my book "Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180 - 1240 ." The book is currently going through its second printing and now would be an appropriate time for this review to appear in Midstream. I would hope that it will not be too long delayed.

With all good wishes on your new project, I remain,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mgn

THE JEWISH SPECTATOR

250 West 57th Street

New York 19, N.Y.

We shall be pleased to receive a copy of

MAIMONEDEAN CRITICISM AND CONTROVERSY--Silver

for review in this magazine.

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DR. TRUDE WEISS-ROSMARIN
Editor

midstream

A Quarterly Jewish Review

515 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022

Gentlemen:

We should very much appreciate receiving a review copy of the following book(s), and will, of course, send you two copies of any review which we publish:

Silver, Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean
Controversy

Thank you for your cooperation.

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*The Editor presents his compliments to the
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Maimonidean Criticism and the
Maimonidean Controversy,
1180-1240,

by

D. J. Silver,

*and begs to state that he would be
happy to review this work in his pages,
if a copy be sent to him for the purpose.
A cutting of the review would be sent
immediately upon publication.*

Sent 2/1/66

*IOWE MIRIAM A BOOK OUT OF
OUR STOCK. mem*

midstream

A Monthly Jewish Review

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SHLOMO KATZ
Editor

February 14, 1966

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver
The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I regret to say ^{that,} most probably through an oversight on his part, Dr. Neumann had not mentioned your book to me.

I will now take this matter under advisement.

Sincerely yours,

Shlomo Katz
Shlomo Katz

SK/daf

.E.Shmueli
20 Desota
leveland 18,

Feb 13/66
March 2, 1966.

Dear Dr.Silver,

I congratulate you on your book. It fills very aptly a gap in our systematic knowledge. I think you found the real place, historically and systematically, for this controversy. There is of course much to say about the importance of the topic and the very effective manner you deal with it.

Last week I had the opportunity to discuss your book in the class which deals with the history and problems of Jewish identity.

I wonder whether you can spare a copy. You will receive very soon my new book in which Dr.A.H. Silver is mentioned a few times and his leadership appreciated.

Cordially yours

Spindel p. 12/10

Sent 3/3/66 mgm

March 3, 1966

Dr. Herman Hellerstein
2182 Chatfield Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Herman:

The enclosed came in the mail and I know of your interest in Maimonides as a Doctor. I thought you might be interested in glancing through it. I would appreciate its return when you are through.

With all good wishes, I remain,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
DJS:mga

Encls.

IN GERMAN - MAIMONIDES THE DOCTOR

est un acte, non seulement de justice, mais de courage qui autorise de grands espoirs.

Comme on le voit par ces derniers chapitres, l'ouvrage est d'un genre littéraire assez varié. Sans être jamais trop technique pour le grand public qu'il vise, il a des développements fondés sur une sérieuse information scientifique (ch. iii et iv, et la Bibliographie commentée des pp. 154-158); mais en d'autres endroits (ch. v et vi) il adopte un ton familier et personnel qui contribue à lui donner de la chaleur. Ce faisant, il ne s'abaisse jamais au niveau d'une polémique passionnelle. Avec beaucoup de dignité, l'auteur professe à maintes reprises sa foi juive : d'un judaïsme non orthodoxe mais réformé, précise-t-il, « pour qui le légalisme rabbinique ne suscite qu'un intérêt d'archaïsme » (p. 83). Il respecte Jésus et le christianisme sans parvenir à les comprendre, il leur reconnaît une valeur qu'il s'abstient de juger; pour lui, il est satisfait de son judaïsme. C'est bien cela : il ne comprend pas le christianisme. Oserai-je ajouter sans impertinence qu'il ne comprend pas le judaïsme dans toute sa profondeur? Il y voit au fond un moralisme religieux, qui en vaut bien un autre. Or il y a plus que cela, non seulement dans le christianisme, mais déjà dans l'Ancien Testament. Le chap. iii est à ce sujet révélateur. Toute la dimension mystique de l'incarnation et de la rédemption chrétiennes ne s'expliquent pour lui que par un apport grec. Il insiste outre mesure sur la notion de Logos, si secondaire au fond dans le Nouveau Testament. Il ne paraît pas connaître ces thèmes de la Parole, de l'Esprit, de la Sagesse si essentiels dans la théologie de l'A. T., où ils illustrent chacun à leur façon le grand thème central du « Dieu qui vient » parmi les hommes. Et quand il déclare la doctrine de la mort rédemptrice incompréhensible pour un juif, il oublie apparemment le Serviteur souffrant d'Isaïe, prophétie méconnue en effet, voire étouffée, dans le judaïsme rabbinique. Ce n'est pas dans l'hellénisme mais dans la révélation biblique de l'Ancien Testament que le christianisme plonge ses plus profondes racines, et c'est par cette voie seulement que Juifs et Chrétiens pourront se rencontrer. En attendant cette échéance désirée, il est réconfortant de voir un croyant juif de bonne volonté adopter à l'égard de Jésus et du christianisme une attitude ouverte qui veut être compréhensive : c'est là un premier pas que les chrétiens doivent faire de leur côté, et qui peut mettre sur la voie de rapprochements plus profonds.

P. B.

L'œuvre de Moïse Maïmonide (1135-1204), notamment *Mishneh Torah* et *Moreh Nebuchim*, a suscité de vives controverses parmi les Juifs, déjà de son vivant et surtout après sa mort, un peu en Orient et davantage en Occident¹. Là-bas querelle avec le Gaon Samuel b. Ali; ici critique de halachistes tels que Moses ha-Kohen de Lunel et Abraham b. David de Posquières, avec ripostes de partisans tels que Jozathar ha-Kohen de Lunel. Le débat s'aggrave en Espagne avec Meir b. Todros Abulafia de Tolède qui attaque violemment les vues de Maïmonide, notamment sur la résurrection, et à qui répondent Aaron b. Meshullam de Lunel, Simson b. Abraham de Sens, Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarhi, Sheshet ha-Nasi b. Isaac de Saragosse. La querelle rebondit avec Samuel ibn Tibbon contre Moses b. Hisdai, et atteint son sommet en 1232 quand le *Moreh Nebuchim*

¹ Daniel Jeremy SILVER, *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy, 1180-1240*. In-8° de 219 gp. Leiden, Brill, 1965. — Prix : rel. 28 Corins.

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est brûlé à Montpellier par l'Église catholique sur la dénonciation de Juifs que l'on prétend être, à tort semble-t-il, Solomon b. Abraham de Montpellier et ses disciples; ceux-ci sont excommuniés par les partisans de Maïmonide, qui appellent à leur aide David Kimhi; mais les adversaires de M. résistent, avec l'appui de Nachmanide de Gerona. On trouve dans l'œuvre poétique de Meshullam b. Solomon un reflet passionné de l'opposition espagnole à Maïmonide.

L'enjeu de la querelle est, d'abord et en partie, les décisions halachiques de Maïmonide, que l'on qualifie d'arbitraires ou qui heurtent des coutumes locales. Plus profondément il atteint des points de doctrine, tels que la connaissance de Dieu, ses attributs, sa providence, la réalité du miracle et de la prophétie, la nature des anges et des esprits, la résurrection corporelle et le mode de la rétribution future. Il y va d'une question de méthodes : interprétation littérale ou allégorique de la Bible, foi ou raison, enseignement traditionnel ou renouvellement par la science et la philosophie. Les gens des *yeshivot* s'affrontent aux esprits plus modernes qui, à la suite du génial Maïmonide, veulent intégrer les connaissances scientifiques et philosophiques à la culture religieuse. Et les premiers n'ont pas entièrement tort de résister, sinon au célèbre docteur, du moins à son influence posthume, dans la mesure où ils voient des esprits libertins, et qui au fond le connaissent mal, se réclamer de lui pour autoriser un scepticisme qui va à détruire la foi. D'où l'intérêt pour nous de cet ouvrage de D. J. Silver (fils de Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver) : non seulement il fait revivre avec érudition les péripéties et les protagonistes d'une crise importante dans l'histoire de la pensée juive médiévale, mais encore il rejoint à travers elle une évolution cruciale de la pensée religieuse en général, dont nous retrouvons sans peine des analogies dans le développement de la théologie chrétienne, soit dès les premiers affrontements du message évangélique avec la philosophie grecque, soit lors du renouveau aristotélicien par la scolastique (S. Thomas suit de peu Maïmonide et l'utilise), soit dans la crise du modernisme. C'est ce qui donne à cette monographie bien documentée la valeur d'une leçon d'histoire qui donne à réfléchir.

P. B.

THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

Published by
The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning
BROAD AND YORK STREETS
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19132, U. S. A.

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December 13, 1966

Doctor Daniel J. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

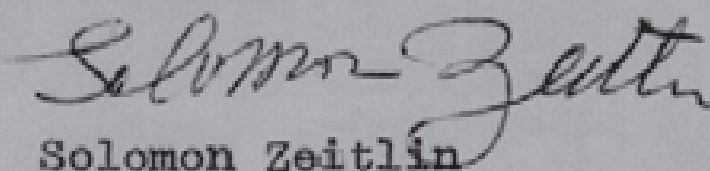
Dear Doctor Silver:

I trust that all is well with you
and your family.

Enclosed is a short review of your
excellent book, "Maimonidean Controversy",
which will appear in the October issue of
the "Jewish Quarterly Review". If you wish
reprints please let me know. Let me hear
from you at your earliest convenience.

With warm wishes to you and your
dear mother, I am

Cordially,


Solomon Zeitlin

The Drake, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

REPRINTED FROM:

THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

EDITED BY

ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN AND SOLOMON ZEITLIN

VOL. LVII, NO. 2 OCTOBER 1966



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE DROPSIE COLLEGE
FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING

BROAD AND YORK STREETS, PHILADELPHIA, PENNA. U.S.A.

THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY

NO WRITINGS IN THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS have evoked such controversy as Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* and his *Moreh Nebuchim*. The controversy was bitter on both sides. Both the Maimonideans and the anti-Maimonideans fought each other zealously. The Jewish communities in Provence and northern Spain were divided into two hostile camps. The *Moreh Nebuchim*, "The Guide to the Perplexed", was burned by the Dominicans. The Jews argued about the *Moreh Nebuchim*, but the actual condemnation and burning of the book was done by the Church.

The writings of Maimonides, and particularly the *Moreh Nebuchim*, were the main contention of the bitter strife. The *Moreh Nebuchim* was considered a source of heresy by its opponents. However Maimonides was not the first Jew to write a theological book in which faith was identified with knowledge and rationalism, and Aristotelian thought was brought into harmony with Judaism. Before Maimonides, Abraham ibn Daud in his book *Emunah Ramah* endeavored to demonstrate the incorporeality of God by making use of the Aristotelian principles. Abraham ibn Daud had also endeavored to harmonize Aristotelian rationalistic ideas with Judaism. Why, then, was such bitter ire aroused against *Moreh Nebuchim*, and why did the Christians consign the book to the fire?

Furthermore the *Mishneh Torah*, which is a collection of halakot, was also opposed by many rabbis. There had been a number of compilations of halakot before Maimonides' time, for example that of Isaac Alfasi, who lived before Maimonides and called his compilation the *Small Talmud* or the *Book of Halakot*. Why, then, the great opposition to the *Mishneh Torah*?

Dr. Daniel Jeremy Silver, in his erudite and challenging book *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180-1240** has succeeded with great ingenuity in resolving the complex problems surrounding the Maimonidean controversy and in explaining the reason for the burning of the *Moreh Nebuchim* by the Dominicans.

In his introduction Dr. Silver writes;

We shall study both criticism and controversy; those who wrote and who soberly criticized, those who wrote and bitterly assailed, and those who wrote and who patiently defended. We shall be led down many

* *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180-1240*, by Daniel Jeremy Silver, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1965.

byways, but when we have emerged, hopefully we will have gained a renewed appreciation of the breadth of mind of the greatest medieval Jewish thinker and a new appreciation of the tensions which contorted the western Diaspora at this stage of its historical pilgrimage.

Dr. Silver has thoroughly explored the historical background behind the extreme bitterness of the controversy, and has marshalled impressive arguments and explanations for the burning of the *Guide to the Perplexed* by the Dominicans.

In the chapter "Changing Times and Changing Tensions", Silver developed his thesis for the origin of the controversy and the burning of the *Guide*. He constructs the theory that up to the thirteenth century the Church strictly followed the theology of *apartheid*, separation, towards the Jews. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Church became greatly concerned about the religious books of the Jews and particularly about the Talmud. In 1239 Gregory IX ordered William of Auvergne to seize all books of the Jews and to deliver them to the Dominican and Franciscan control on the first Saturday following Lent. In 1247 Innocent IV ordered the bishops to examine all the codices of the Talmud to ascertain "if they brought injury to the faith of Christ". In the first half of the thirteenth century, disputations were ordered by the Church between Jews and apostate Jews, the latter having charged that the Talmud contained many blasphemous passages against the founders of Christianity. To fully comprehend the attitude of the Church towards the Talmud and other religious books we must also keep in mind the Albigensian revolt. It was not only a liberal revolt against the Church but also a social and economic revolt against the feudal aristocracy. In 1215 Innocent III crushed the Albigensians and declared war against all heretics. The nobility again came to power. To legitimize the expropriation of land, the nobles entered into an alliance with the Church, pledging themselves to denounce heresy and seek out heretics and seize their property.

The Albigensian revolt and its collapse had a deep influence on the Jews of southern France. The conservative element, who were generally the wealthy group, became the dominating power in the Jewish communities. In Toulouse, Beziers and Montpellier, where the Albigensian revolt had occurred, a liberal element had formerly prevailed among the Jews, but after the revolt was crushed this sentiment was reversed. The Jews of southern France feared that any heretical ideas would bring severe retaliation from the Church, particularly after the Fourth Lateran Council, when all who were suspected of containing heretical views were persecuted and destroyed.

Thus, to come back to the influence of Maimonides the Jews were fearful that Aristotelian ideas expressed in the *Moreh Nebuchim* would be sufficient cause to bring under suspicion all their religious books and perhaps to cause their destruction. It must also be borne in mind that there were Jews who maintained that the Torah was to be interpreted allegorically and who denied the historical existence of some biblical figures such as Abraham and Sarah, believing that Abraham represented matter while Sarah represented form. Many of these Jews also did not observe the Jewish precepts, a situation which alarmed many rabbis of southern France.

In Aragon and Castile there was no revolt against the Church, so there was no organized movement for the suppression of heresy. In northern Spain the Jewish population at that time was divided into two opposing factions, which Dr. Silver calls two opposing *weltanschauungs*. One group accepted the Bible literally and observed the Jewish precepts. Among the second group were men who were trained in Greek logic and who interpreted the Bible allegorically. They were certain that Maimonides, who had explained some passages in the Bible allegorically and had interpreted the precepts rationally, would have sanctioned their actions. For their views and their conduct they found support in the *Moreh Nebuchim*. Maimonides had written the *Moreh Nebuchim* to encourage and sustain the faith of men "troubled by the incongruity of their religious and secular training". These people considered the *Moreh Nebuchim* "as an apologetic for their spiritual indifference and their religious indifference". Maimonides, unlike his predecessors who wrote on theology, was the greatest authority of his day on the halakot. The support of the liberals of the *Guide to the Perplexed* caused fear in the hearts of those who desired to protect Judaism in the tradition of their ancestors, and who were apprehensive that the conduct of the liberals would bring about division among the Jewish people. This fear of schism brought about the bitter controversy which led to excommunications and counter-excommunications. Dr. Silver correctly said, "The best anti-Maimonists were good, decent, able, and pious men. The best of the Maimonists were good, decent, able, and pious men. That pressures of survival should separate these men is the tragedy of this history".

Davis Kimhi accused Rabbi Solomon of Montpellier of being the informer to the Dominicans who ordered the burning of the *Moreh Nebuchim*. Dr. Silver presents convincing evidence to discredit this accusation. He holds that "restless and ruthless anonymous men" were responsible for this act.

The *Mishneh Torah* was also severely criticised. The first part,

Sefer Ha-Mada, the Book of Knowledge, aroused bitter criticism of its theological views. While it was well received by many rabbis as a fundamental halakic work, it was censored by many sages. Jewish law had always been elastic and by compiling it into a code it was considered that Maimonides had made it static. Furthermore, he gave no sources for his decisions in the *Mishneh Torah* and he was accused of attempting to dispense with the Talmud. Many of his halakot do in fact contradict the Talmud. To give one example: According to talmudic law it was not permissible to eat milk and meat together. This law was based on a verse in the Bible which forbids the seething of a kid in its mother's milk, a prohibition which is repeated in the Pentateuch three times. The sages of the Talmud deduced from this injunction thrice repeated, three separate rules: One must not cook meat and milk together; if one has cooked them together one must not eat thereof; nor may one derive any benefit therefrom. The rabbis considered these three prohibitions as deriving from the Pentateuch. (Hulin 10.) Maimonides accepted only the first two as such, but not the last. He regarded the prohibition of cooking meat and milk together as well as the eating of it as pentateuchal but rejected the talmudical prohibition of deriving any benefit from meat and milk cooked together as pentateuchal. In this decision Maimonides followed the Targum of Jonathon, Deut. 14. 21.

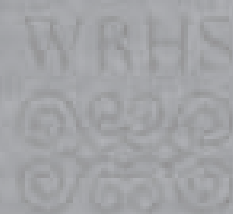
The controversy which raged between the anti-Maimonists and the Maimonists took place in the countries of the Christian world and after the death of Maimonides. A sharp attack was made against him while he was still living in Egypt, an Islamic country, by Samuel ben Ali, who accused Maimonides of denying resurrection and of not being an authority on talmudic law. Maimonides was moved to reply by writing an essay on resurrection and an epistle on the Sabbath, in which he dealt with the problem of whether it is permissible to travel on the rivers Tigris and Euphrates on the Sabbath. Dr. Silver has convincingly demonstrated that Samuel ben Ali's accusations were "an attempt to discredit Maimonides in Moslem as in Jewish eyes". Samuel ben Ali and Maimonides entertained different conceptions of Judaism. As the spiritual leader of the Jews of Babylonia, Samuel ben Ali maintained that the leadership of the Jews should be vested in a man of spiritual authority. Maimonides, on the other hand, felt that the leadership of the Jews should be vested in the exilarch, the political leader. Samuel ben Ali thus saw in Maimonides a serious rival in scholarship and influence. He feared that his prestige was in danger of being eclipsed, and sensed in Maimonides a threat to his ambition to abolish the institution of the exilarch. By accusing Maimonides of denying belief in resurrection, Samuel ben Ali hoped

to undermine Maimonides' prestige and influence among the Moslems. In his challenge of Maimonides, of faulty interpretation of the laws of the Sabbath, Samuel ben Ali sought an opportunity to show the Jews that Maimonides was not a great talmudist nor even an observing Jew.

Dr. Silver has made a great contribution to our understanding of the Maimonidean controversy. In this book he demonstrates a vast knowledge of the sources and literature of this period. He reveals a keen perception in dealing with complicated historical documents. He is to be congratulated on his remarkable accomplishment and it is to be hoped that he will devote himself to the study of this important period and fulfill the promise of his first book.

Dropsie College

SOLOMON ZEITLIN



December 27, 1966

Dr. Solomon Zeitlin
The Jewish Quarterly Review
Dropsie College
Broad and York Streets
Philadelphia, Penna. 19132

Dear Dr. Zeitlin:

I am most grateful to you for your very warm and kind review of my book. It has been very well received and I am, of course, delighted.

I would very much like to receive a few dozen copies of the offprints of the review, if these are available. I will, of course, defray the expense.

I am presently involved in writing a piece on the Nachmanides' Commentary on Job. This is the first step of a long-range program to write Nachmanides' biography. Perhaps I can work up a piece for the Jewish Quarterly Review along the way.

With all good wishes for the New Year, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

DJS:mgm

vraient pas du premier coup d'œil, que « les articles de foi selon Maimonide » imprimés, p. 103, d'après un ouvrage de vulgarisation, ne sont pas une version française des « treize principes » consignés par Maimonide dans son commentaire sur la *Mišna*, mais la traduction de l'hymne *Yigdal*, versification postérieure du texte maimonidien.

Bref, le livre de M. Zac, initiation « valable », comme on dit aujourd'hui, à la lecture de Maimonide théologien, est décevant en tant qu'aperçu sur l'état de la question, et encore moins marque-t-il du progrès dans les études maimonidiennes.

Georges VAJDA.

Daniel Jeremy SILVER. — *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy, 1180-1240*, Leyde, E. J. Brill, 1965 ; in-8° de 219 pages.

L'ouvrage de D. J. Silver étudie la première période du conflit autour de Maimonide sous ses deux aspects : l'opportunité de codifier la loi rituelle sans indication de sources, la polémique fidéiste contre la philosophie envahissante. S'étant intéressé particulièrement au second aspect, l'auteur de ces lignes écrivait à ce propos, dans la préface d'un livre paru à l'automne 1962, mais resté ignoré de M. Silver :

« ... Les recherches dans ce secteur se tiennent trop souvent à la surface. A peu d'exceptions près il s'agit de la description externe, bibliographique et historique (mais surtout 'événementielle') des controverses suscitées par l'enseignement théologique de Moïse Maimonide et des réactions 'orthodoxes' devant les abus de l'exégèse allégorique à tendance philosophique pratiquée par nombre d'épigones de ce dernier. Les érudits du XIX^e siècle et du nôtre ont fourni des contributions capitales à l'inventaire des sources ; ils ont retracé le déroulement des débats souvent passionnés et marqués de quelques incidents graves ; en revanche, ils n'ont étudié que très sommairement ou très incomplètement les aspects doctrinaux du conflit. Du moins a-t-il été reconnu [...] que la plupart des adversaires de la philosophie de Maimonide ou de la philosophie tout court appartenaient à l'un ou l'autre courant du puissant mouvement mystico-théosophique qui a radicalement modifié, au cours du XIII^e siècle, le visage doctrinal sinon institutionnel du judaïsme. » (*Recherches sur la Philosophie et la Kabbale dans la pensée juive du Moyen Âge*, p. 7).

Cette longue citation dont nous nous excusons veut seulement motiver l'intérêt avec lequel nous attendions le présent ouvrage dès l'annonce de sa prochaine publication. Disons sans tarder que malgré ses incontestables mérites, il n'a pas entièrement répondu à notre attente.

Les réserves appelées par le travail de M. Silver sont d'ordre tant général que particulier.

Nous remarquerons d'abord que l'auteur opère volontiers avec des demi-vérités dont il ne laisse pas de tirer des conclusions parfois hâtives ou franchement erronées, surtout quand il s'aventure hors de son domaine, victime, à l'occasion, de guides peu sûrs auxquels il se fie sans discernement. Sa documentation présente de graves lacunes, qu'il s'agisse de sources anciennes ou de travaux modernes. Par surcroît, il n'a pas tiré, loin de là, tout le parti souhaitable de maints documents signalés au passage mais non pas étudiés avec tout le soin requis. Enfin, des erreurs de détail, en nombre excessif, jettent quelque doute sur le sérieux dans la vérification des textes consultés d'après la bibliographie.

L'idée qui commande toute l'étude de M. Silver est que la réaction anti-

mables sur Spinoza, avait acquis, dans son enfance est-européenne, semble-t-il, des connaissances hébraïques suffisantes pour entreprendre, sans la connaissance de l'arabe et sans une formation spéciale de médiéviste, un exposé de la pensée de Moïse Maïmonide. Il faut dire que dans l'ensemble, son travail, de toute façon incomparablement supérieur au petit volume de vulgarisation vraiment effarant dont M. Henri Sérouty s'est rendu naguère coupable envers son public pour ne pas parler de Maïmonide, correspond assez bien au but de la collection qui est d'offrir « à l'étudiant, au professeur, à l'amateur une somme condensée de connaissances indispensables à la compréhension de la doctrine d'un grand philosophe ». Nous dirions plutôt, pour préciser notre opinion, que M. Zac a composé un ouvrage d'initiation qui facilitera, sans répandre ou perpétuer des erreurs majeures, une première prise de contact avec un bon nombre de thèmes importants de la pensée de Moïse Maïmonide, en même temps qu'il mettra à la disposition des débutants ou des amateurs un choix assez judicieux d'extraits de ce dernier.

Ce qui est en revanche moins satisfaisant dans le livre, c'est que portant le millésime de 1965, il date considérablement. Certes, sa « Bibliographie sommaire » (partant, arbitraire et incomplète, mais ceci n'est point un reproche) contient des références dont la plus récente, le *Livre de la connaissance*, concerne une publication de 1961. Mais le lecteur un peu averti de l'état des questions se convaincra rapidement que l'exposé de M. Zac ne synthétise en fait que ce que l'on pouvait déjà extraire d'une lecture attentive, mais peu approfondie du *Guide* traduit et annoté par Munk, des *Huit Chapitres* traduits par Jules Wolf et du *Séfer ha-Maddâ'*. Nous restons en somme au même niveau qu'avec le livre, compilation fort acceptable en son temps, de Louis-Germain Lévy, qui date de 1911. Les travaux plus récents, dans la mesure où ils ont apporté du nouveau, n'ont pas été assimilés. Nous n'en voulons pour preuve que l'omission presque totale de l'aspect « politique » de l'idéologie de Maïmonide, alors que déjà les travaux de M. L. Strauss cités dans la bibliographie et les « Quelques réflexions sur Maïmonide... », de M. S. Pinès, mises en tête du *Livre de la connaissance* auraient dû amener l'auteur à étoffer quelque peu ses analyses sous ce rapport. Chose encore plus étonnante, M. Zac ignore la nouvelle traduction anglaise du *Guide*, par M. Pinès, précédée d'une étude préliminaire, discutable certes, mais très suggestive de M. Strauss et d'une introduction magistrale du traducteur. Cette publication capitale date de 1963, et un compte rendu paru ici-même, t. CXXIII, janvier-juin 1964, pp. 209-216, en a mis en évidence la signification et l'importance pour l'histoire de la pensée juive. A propos de la bibliographie, nous noterons encore un fait curieux. M. Zac a enregistré plusieurs travaux de M. H. A. Wolfson, qui se trouvent être exactement les mêmes que ceux relevés dans notre *Introduction à la pensée juive du Moyen Âge*, parue peu après la guerre, en 1947 (voir p. 231), mais M. Zac a omis de copier les deux indications complémentaires (p. 241), sans parler d'autres études, plus récentes, du même auteur. Il y aurait aussi beaucoup à dire sur le choix des publications retenues dans la bibliographie ; on y trouve notamment quelques ouvrages de seconde main, en hébreu, qui ne rendront guère service au public auquel le livre est destiné, alors que des études importantes, en langues européennes, n'y figurent point ; pour ne donner qu'un seul exemple, l'article capital de M. A. Altmann, « Essence and Existence in Maimonides », dans *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXV, 2, mars 1953, pp. 294-315.

Nous n'insisterons pas sur la bizarrerie des transcriptions fort incohérentes infligées par M. Zac aux vocables hébraïques qu'il lui arrive de citer. Nous signalerons en revanche, à l'intention des lecteurs qui ne s'en aperce-

maïmonidienne eut pour ressort principal la volonté de survie d'un judaïsme menacé dans son existence par le raidissement de l'Église catholique à son égard au cours du XII^e siècle, raidissement avec lequel alla de pair la détérioration de la situation sociale des minoritaires. Que la situation du judaïsme, surtout franco-allemand, soit allée s'empirant au XII^e siècle, est un fait, dans lequel il faut cependant voir non pas une conséquence de la position doctrinale de l'Église vis-à-vis du judaïsme, mais de l'idéologie des Croisades et de la naissance d'une bourgeoisie citadine. Sur le plan théologique, les relations entre deux religions étaient marquées depuis toujours par une irréductible hostilité (la courtoisie, d'ailleurs exceptionnelle, de certaines controverses ne doit pas masquer cet état de choses) ; à ce point de vue, les considérations de l'auteur qui ignore, soulignons-le en le déplorent, les travaux de M. Simon et de B. Blumenkranz, ne laissent pas d'être précieuses. Du reste, un tableau même exact de la situation du judaïsme dans le monde chrétien d'Occident ne contribuerait guère à expliquer l'existence, en pays d'Islam, d'une opposition anti-maïmonidienne qui s'y est bel et bien manifestée aussi bien sur le plan de la *Halakha* que sur celui des idées. Nouveauté de la méthode du « Code », conceptions dangereuses ou prêtant à un rationalisme abusif, dans la partie spéculative de l'œuvre de Maïmonide, crainte de voir ébranlées des situations acquises (gaonat-exilarchat croupion de Bagdad, juges rabbiniques en Espagne), impression d'étrangeté qu'éprouvèrent devant l'œuvre du grand Séfaradite un certain nombre de rabbins français qui vivaient, malgré la communauté de la foi et de ses documents, en un univers mental, disons même spirituel, fort différent du sien, ce sont là, plus que des pressions, réelles ou redoutées, de l'extérieur, les ressorts de la polémique anti-maïmonidienne. Tout cela est d'ailleurs bien connu et si M. Silver le redit d'une façon souvent heureuse et imagée, conforme, nul ne lui en fera reproche, au goût du lecteur américain dont la langue et le style du livre quêtent visiblement l'audience, il n'y a en tout cela que peu d'apports neufs à la recherche.

Nous trouvons ainsi dans le volume des analyses utiles des missives contenues dans le recueil édité jadis par Yehiel Bril (avec un seul *l*) sous le titre de *Kitaḇ al-Rasa'il*, des textes de Méïr Abulafia publiés par H. Brody, des pièces intéressant la controverse dans le divan de Mešullam Dapiera, des matériaux mis au jour par Kobak dans le quatrième fascicule de son *Ginzei Nislārōl*, et d'autres encore.

Mais en face de cette contribution positive, les lacunes sont graves. Ainsi je ne vois pas que M. Silver ait utilisé la source qui livre la seconde polémique de Méïr Abulafia contre la doctrine des fins dernières chez Maïmonide : son commentaire sur Sanhédrin (*Yad Rāmāh*, Salonique, 1798 [?]) où nous lisons (fol. 92 b et suiv.) un résumé de la « réponse » faite par Maïmonide à la question qui lui avait été adressée au sujet de cette doctrine, autrement dit, le *Ma'amar tēlūyyat ha-mētim* ; à l'époque de son échange de lettres avec les savants de Lunel et Simson de Sens, Abulafia ne connaissait pas encore ce traité, dont il juge avec sévérité la version hébraïque ; en possession du texte, il en soumet à une critique serrée les thèses centrales : distinction de la résurrection et de la vie éternelle, et inutilité des organes corporels pour les bienheureux jouissant d'une félicité exclusivement spirituelle. Il est également regrettable que l'auteur n'ait pas connu la thèse de Jérusalem, non imprimée, mais ronéotypée de son compatriote L. Berman, *Ibn Bajjah and Maïmonides* (1959), où le problème de la résurrection selon Maïmonide est traité, pp. 163-171 du texte hébreu, pp. xxv-xxiv du sommaire en anglais.

L'un des facteurs déterminants de la réaction hostile contre l'idéologie

de Maimonide ou celle dérivée de son œuvre fut l'appartenance de plusieurs de ses censeurs à l'une ou l'autre tendance de la mystique juive. M. Silver le sait, et il connaît quelques-uns des travaux de MM. Scholem et Tishby qui touchent à cette question. Malheureusement il traite on ne peut plus superficiellement ce point sous son aspect polémique et il semble ignorer totalement l'utilisation sans aucun esprit d'hostilité de plusieurs données philosophiques puisées chez Maimonide par des représentants aussi éminents de l'école de Gérone que 'Ezra-'Azri'el et Jacob ben Šešet : le commentaire de 'Ezra sur le Cantique des Cantiques, celui sur les *aggadōt* du Talmud par 'Azri'el, le *Séfer ha-emunāh weha-biḥḥōn* mis sous le nom de Nahmanide, mais composé en réalité par Jacob b. Šešet restent en dehors de son champ de vision. Ces lacunes sont, à l'heure actuelle, difficiles à justifier chez un auteur qui prétend avoir écrit une étude de première main sur le sujet qu'il s'était plu à choisir. Je ne lui reprocherai pas de ne pas avoir lu le *Mēilb Debārīm Nēkōḥīm* encore inédit, du même auteur ; il aurait cependant pu trouver des indications qui concernent son enquête en consultant le livre paru plus de deux ans avant le sien, que nous avons cité au début de cette recension (pour ne mentionner qu'un seul exemple, la question des angélophanies, traitée fort légèrement p. 194, a été serrée de plus près dans *Recherches...*, pp. 80-88, 90 et suiv.). Chose plus grave, M. Silver ne s'est pas davantage donné la peine de se reporter à l'article, publié dès 1936, de M. A. Altmann, « Das Verhältnis Maimunis zur jüdischen Mystik », *MGWJ*, LXXX, 1936, pp. 305-330. Pour revenir à la bibliographie récente, on a le sentiment qu'il y a eu un intervalle considérable entre l'achèvement de la rédaction du livre et son millésime de publication. Cela expliquerait, entre autres lacunes ou omissions, que la monographie de M. Is. Twersky sur le Ra'bad (voir le compte rendu de M. Ch. Touati, ici-même, CXXIII, 1964, pp. 217-220) visiblement utilisée dans le corps de l'ouvrage, soit absente de l'appendice bibliographique. Nous ne savons que trop combien ces décalages sont fréquents lors de la publication d'ouvrages savants, mais si tel a été le cas pour le présent livre, il était parfaitement possible de le signaler à la fin de la préface.

Un simple regard jeté sur la bibliographie justifiera, et nous le déplorons, notre dernier grief : les références, noms d'auteur, titres d'ouvrage, et non seulement celles en langues autres que l'anglais, renferment un nombre anormalement élevé d'erreurs ; il n'en va pas autrement dans le corps de l'ouvrage, texte et surtout notes.

Des affirmations contestables et erreurs de détail, également beaucoup trop nombreuses pour un livre relativement court et s'écartant peu, en somme, des sentiers battus, nous ne signalons ici qu'un choix.

— P. 31, n. 4, fin : la phrase d'Abraham b. David est mal traduite (« All this is not important ») ; voir *Recherches...*, p. 339, n. 1 ; il ne semble pas que M. Silver ait saisi la portée de la controverse, que Šēmṭōb Ibn Gaon, *Migdal 'Oz* sur *Hilkōt Tēšūbāh*, V, 5 avait déjà fort bien discernée.

— P. 32 : un lecteur attentif du *Guide*, surtout de la III^e Partie, et tant soit peu au courant des travaux modernes le concernant admettra difficilement avec M. Silver que ce traité ne touche guère aux problèmes de morale et de politique ; l'auteur ne connaît aucun travail de M. Léo Strauss.

— P. 33 : qualifier le *Kalām* de « heavily Neo-Platonic theology » c'est prouver que l'on prétend parler d'une question dont on ignore le premier mot.

— P. 35, n. 3 : la charité nous détourne de relever toutes les bévues de cette note de deux lignes et demie ; nous nous demandons seulement si M. Silver a pris la peine de feuilleter le recueil intitulé, d'après l'une des pièces qu'il contient, *Še'elot Ša'al* (non *Shelelot* !) dont nous avons, il y a assez longtemps déjà, extrait, traduit et expliqué quatre observations critiques d'un Kabbaliste (Gikatilia ou non, la question n'est pas simple) portant sur le *Guide* : voir *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 1956, pp. 127-130, et *Mélanges offerts à Élienne Gilson*, Toronto-Paris, 1959, pp. 651-659, travaux ignorés l'un et l'autre par M. Silver.

— P. 36 : les formules d'un style journalistique bien frappé que l'auteur lance pour caractériser le *Guide* sont en réalité déplorablement creuses, comme celle qui fait dire à Maïmonide que les miracles sont « subtleties of the natural process which men do not as yet understand ».

— P. 49, n. 3 : parlant sans autorité de questions dont il est mal informé, l'auteur commet des bévues fâcheuses. Il n'y avait pas de minorité nestorienne en Égypte. Et l'appui officiel prodigué à la *madrasa* n'avait pas pour but de pourvoir l'administration de diplômés, « graduates », musulmans.

— P. 53, n. 1 : l'identité de Joseph Ibn 'Aqna et de Joseph ben Juda ne peut plus être maintenue ; voir D. Z. Baneth, *Tesoro de los Judios Sefardies*, 7, 1964, partie hébraïque, pp. 11-20. Le rapprochement entre cette note et la première de la p. 63 jette d'ailleurs une curieuse lumière sur les méthodes de travail de M. Silver.

— P. 61, n. 7 : les règles concernant la femme en menstrues n'ont rien à voir avec ce que M. Silver appelle « the norms of sexual apartheid and sequestration » (chez les Musulmans ; sur ce point la pratique musulmane est, tout au contraire, moins rigoureuse que la *Halaka* juive, voir *Journal Asiatique*, 1937, pp. 67-70). Il est également regrettable que l'auteur se soit fié aux élucubrations fantaisistes de M. Mazahéry.

— P. 64-65 (les démêlés de Maïmonide et de ses partisans avec Samuel b. 'Eli et ses sectateurs) : on cherche en vain ici des renvois à l'étude d'Harkavy, *ZFHB*, II, 1897, et à S. Poznański, *Babylonische Genim*, Berlin, 1914, pp. 24, 30, 34.

— P. 72, n. 1, cf. 114, n. 3 : dans le second passage, l'auteur note avec raison que le *Séfer ha-Yašar* [traité d'éthique] de « Zerahyah ha-Yevani » a été « pendant quelque temps attribué par erreur à Rabbenu Tam » ; dans la même note, il indique l'édition dont il s'est servi, Vienne, 1811 (également dans la bibliographie). Mais dans la première note, d'ailleurs vague et discutable, il renvoie à « F. Tam, *Séfer ha-Yashar* (Venice 1811) », sans s'apercevoir qu'une fiche mal rédigée (à moins que ce ne soit le manque de contrôle du travail de quelque collaborateur négligent) lui a fait commettre l'erreur combattue dans la seconde, avec en plus une fausse indication du lieu d'impression : il n'existe pas d'édition de Venise, 1811, ni de l'un ni de l'autre des deux ouvrages halachiques du tosafiste français, éthique de X (Zerahya ha-Yéwāni est un personnage insaisissable, sinon une fiction), qui portent le même titre sans avoir autrement rien de commun. De plus je ne vois pas pourquoi « Zerahyah ha-Yevani » est qualifié (p. 114) de « the early 13th century scholar » ; dans la mesure où son texte se prête à des approximations chronologiques, il suggère plutôt la fin du XIII^e siècle.

Quant à Zerahya ha-Lévi, auteur du *S. ha-M'dôr*, M. Silver s'obstine à l'appeler « Zecheryah » (p. 73, n. 4 et d'autres passages, énumérés à l'index, également sous ce nom), quand il ne l'appelle pas « Zarhiya » comme dans la bibliographie, p. 207.

— P. 84 : j'ignore sur quoi l'auteur se fonde lorsqu'il affirme qu'Abraham bar Hiyya alla s'établir vers 1130 au nord des Pyrénées. Du texte cité (n. 2) du *Séfer ha-'Ibbâr* on ne peut pas conclure qu'il a pris résidence définitive en *Şarfat*.

— P. 115 : l'auteur mêle indûment à la controverse sur la résurrection au ^{xiii}^e siècle Joseph Albo dont l'apparente souplesse en matière de dogme est largement commandée par ses préoccupations bien connues d'apologiste anti-chrétien.

— P. 140, n. 6 : « Bisselheim » au lieu de Bislichtes ne peut reposer que sur la lecture hâtive d'un copiste qui a confondu, entre autres, un *samek* avec un *mem* final. D'autres exemples de mauvais travail de secrétaire non contrôlé (car je n'oserais imputer à M. Silver une ignorance aussi grosse) sont le titre *Yâ'ir Nâtib (v)* lu *Yi'rei Netiv* en p. 143, n. 2, et *ha-Hayohasot* pour *ha-meyuhasot* en p. 193, n. 4¹.

Georges VAJDA.

J. B. SERMONETA. — *La dottrina dell'intelletto et la « fede filosofica » di Jehudah e Immanuel Romano*. Extrait de *Studi medievali*, 3^e série, VI, 2, 1965 ; 76 pages.

Formé d'abord en Italie, son pays natal, par le Professeur Bruno Nardi, éminent spécialiste de l'histoire de la pensée du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance italienne, puis à Jérusalem, M. Sermoneta obtint son titre de docteur à l'Université de cette ville par une thèse volumineuse et fort importante sur Hillel ben Samuel de Vérone. Ce travail verra bientôt le jour, tout au moins partiellement, et nous aurons alors l'occasion d'en reparler ; son caractère provisoirement inédit nous a détourné jusqu'à maintenant de le présenter, quoique nous ayons eu l'honneur de figurer parmi les commissaires chargés de l'examiner.

L'Italie juive comptait cependant, entre 1250 et 1350, d'autres représentants des disciplines philosophiques que l'auteur du *Tagmuley ha-nefesh*, nourri non seulement de Maimonide, mais aussi de Thomas d'Aquin, fait connu depuis longtemps, et redémontré par M. Sermoneta avec plus de précision que par ses devanciers : sans parler de Jacob Anatolio, Provençal et attaché à la cour de Frédéric de Hohenstaufen, on constate, à partir de 1277 approximativement, la présence à Rome du Juif barcelonais Zerahyah b. Še'alti'el Hên, qui y tint école pendant une quinzaine d'années et contribua grandement par ses versions hébraïques à la diffusion des écrits d'Averroès. Il composa également des commentaires scripturaires de caractère philosophico-allégorique et se trouva être ainsi l'initiateur de tout un mouvement d'idées qui culminera après peu d'années dans l'œuvre de Juda ben Daniel de Rome, maître à penser de son cousin, le célèbre poète Immanuel.

1. Signalons, au sujet de l'ouvrage recensé, l'excellent compte rendu de M. J. Dan (*Tarbiz*, XXXV 1965, 6, pp. 295-300) dont les conclusions rejoignent les nôtres.

TRADITION: A Journal of Orthodox Thought

Reading Malin's book, in spite of its unquestioned importance, is no complete joy. In his critical discussions the magic somehow evaporates from the magic barrel. He chooses to cover a great deal of material, and of necessity he devotes much space to the retelling of plots, much of it in a clumsy, hackneyed and colloquial fashion. Often he fails to transmit the mood of the works he is talking about. Perhaps he was in a hurry to finish his book and to get it on the market while times were propitious. One could have wished that he had given his critical pre-

sentation as much care as he gave to thinking about his writers. At the danger of being called a stickler, this reviewer mentions even the many printing mistakes in the book, one of them a howler that contributes to a special kind of Jewish humor: "When her fiancé goes into the army, she simply exchanges him for another" (p. 88). Perhaps the stylistic inadequacies are to be symbolic of the alienation that Mr. Malin's writers are troubled with, but even there an attempt at transcending it would have been in order.

Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy, by DANIEL JEREMY SILVER (Leiden: E. J. Brill Co., 1965).

Reviewed by Irving A. Agus

At the beginning of the second quarter of the thirteenth century there erupted among the Jews a serious controversy of immense proportions: a protracted dispute characterized by intense bitterness and biting viciousness, the likes of which the Jews of Europe had not witnessed for five hundred years. It arose mainly in the communities of the Provence, whence letters and appeals by the partisans of both sides were dispatched to the Jews of Northern France and to those of Spain. The authors of these letters heaped accusations at their adversaries, asked for sympathy and for active support, and thus embroiled an ever-widening circle of communities in bitter dispute and serious contentiousness. Special agitators were dispatched

by both sides, and the awesome weapons of *niddui* and *cherem* (excommunication and anathema) were freely brandished and mercilessly hurled even against scholars and saintly individuals. Jewry was again threatened with a serious and permanent split, similar to the one that had isolated the Karaites.

The controversy centered on the philosophic ideas of Maimonides in his *Guide for the Perplexed*, and in the first section of his *Mishneh Torah*, entitled *Sefer ha-Mada*. Already before the year 1200, R. Meir b. Todros ha-Levi Abulafia had written a letter to the scholars of Lunel criticizing sharply Maimonides' ideas on Resurrection and the Incorporeality of God, expressed in the *Mishneh Torah*. But his was an isolated voice. When, however, Samuel Ibn Tibbon translated the *Guide* from

TRADITION: A Journal of Orthodox Thought

and critics of the *Mishneh Torah*, and then launches upon a detailed analysis of the heated controversy that was aroused by the *Guide*. Sharply does he project the idea, first emphasized by Prof. Zeitlin in his book, *Maimonides*, that it was the proven greatness of the *Mishneh Torah* as an halakhic work of the very first calibre that caused the philosophic writings of its author to be taken so seriously both by the admirers of philosophy and by those who feared its destructive influence. With fair accuracy and scholarly detachment does he describe the views of those who feared the deleterious effects of the *Guide*, as well as the indignation and the anger of those who felt that their great hero was belittled and besmirched. He does not criticize nor condemn either party to the controversy, but tries impartially to elucidate and explain their views, attitudes, opinions and actions.

The author took his task very seriously. His fair mastery of the language and the categories of thought of the pertinent sources, and his thorough knowledge of the modern literature on the subject, point to unusual devotion and many years of concentration. It is true that his knowledge of Talmudic Judaism and the rabbinic idiom leave a great deal to be desired; and his understanding of Jewish life

and scholarship, especially of Ashkenazic Jewry, is somewhat limited. Statements such as "Maimonides' sources were not always familiar, available or acceptable; something of a bibliophile, Maimonides had enjoyed collecting textual variants . . . [p. 57]," as if this method of textual criticism was not widely used by Franco-German scholars; or "Maimonides' answer was equivocal . . . [p. 71]," when in reality that answer was crystal clear and quite emphatic — obviously point to serious limitations in the author's preparation for understanding rabbinic literature. Another example: In *Bava Batra* 16a, several *Amoraim* criticize sharply some bold and heterodox expressions of Job. In reference to one such detraction by the Amora Raba, the author writes (p. 115): "The traditional treatment of resurrection was anything but consistent. Raba had insisted that Job 7:9 indicated a *Biblical denial* of the entire doctrine [*italics mine*]." One could cite a number of such misinterpretations. His grasp of the subject, however, and his penetrating analysis of much of the pertinent data connected with the controversy, are indeed worthy of praise. Nevertheless, the basic cases and the true nature of this controversy are still as much of a problem as ever.

Sheilat Yeshurun, by GEDALIA FELDER (New York, 1964).

Reviewed by Morris S. Gorelik

There are essentially three forms of rabbinic literature which embody the major areas of halakhic

development. First, the *Talmudim* and the commentaries and sub-commentaries contain the bulk of discussion, evaluation, enactment and formulation of principles.

Book Reviews

Arabic into Hebrew, and especially when Judah al Charizi produced a bolder and freer translation, a sharp dispute arose over the question of whether Maimonides had treated too cavalierly the basic dogmas of Judaism, whether he had revealed many secrets of faith that were best kept hidden from the masses, and whether it was dangerous to Judaism to allow indiscriminate perusal of books meant only for the elite. The dispute grew in heat and intensity until R. Solomon b. Abraham of Montpellier, abetted by his students R. Jonah Gerondi and R. David b. Saul, took strong steps to discourage the study of the above-mentioned books. Subsequently a storm of indignation broke out in the neighboring communities. The three scholars became the arch-enemies of the admirers of Maimonides, and a most powerful campaign of character assassination was inaugurated against them, a campaign that was pursued with great vigor and unequalled fury.

Modern Jewish scholars have shown great interest in this so-called Maimonidean Controversy. They have discussed it at great length, and have searched out and published many relevant documents and letters. To them the controversy appeared as a Jewish Reformation struggle, as a forerunner of the Haskalah movement of their own day, as an altercation between the obscurantists and the "enlightened," and as a wrangle between the admirers of sweet reason and exalted philosophy on the one hand and the traditionalists and fundamentalists on the other.

The subject was therefore a highly favored one; and the greatest historians, from Heinrich to Itzhak Baer and Solomon Zeitlin, have dealt with it at great length.

Nevertheless, the treatment of the subject remained superficial. No one attempted a truly critical analysis of the sources. No one went beyond the surface recriminations and accusations and tried to discover the true reasons for the fantastic acrimony and bitterness of the pro-Maimonists. In the face of the claim of the chief victim of this campaign of hate, R. Solomon b. Abraham, that grossly falsified letters of his had been circulated by his opponents—the writings of these opponents have not been subjected by modern scholars to rigorous criticism, but were taken at face value. The vindictiveness of these writings, and their sharply abusive characterizations directed at outstanding Talmudic scholars—in an age when such scholars were most highly honored by all Jewry—received but scanty attention. The basic reasons and causes of the unusual bitterness of the admirers of philosophy—and therefore the true nature of the controversy—have so far not been explained.

The book of Dr. Daniel Jeremy Silver, entitled *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy*, is a fresh attempt at a study of the impact of the works of Maimonides on the Jews of his day, and of the criticisms and controversies these works have engendered, both in Europe and in the East. With fine penetrating insight the author describes first the commentators on

B O O K S

A NEW WORK FROM THE AMERICAN JEWISH SCHOOL OF SCHOLARSHIP

JACOB NEUSNER

MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY 1180-1240, by DANIEL JEREMY SILVER, Leiden, 1965: E. J. Brill. 219 p.

Dr. Silver, who is Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, here presents a thorough and perceptive account of the controversies aroused by the legal and philosophical writings of Maimonides, which led to the burning of the *Guide to the Perplexed* in the early 13th century. Silver treats the historical, religious, and sociological background of the controversy, showing the roots of the pietists' suspicion of the entire philosophical enterprise; the figure of Maimonides himself; the Near Eastern reaction to his work; the criticism of his legal efforts; the debate on resurrection and other central themes in Maimonidean thought; the controversy over anti-anthropomorphism, and the like. He cites sources, and interprets them carefully; provides a thorough bibliography and index; and repeatedly relates the narrow subject at hand to the broader religious issues contained within it.

His view is that the controversy was rendered more bitter by the growing interest of the Church in Judaism and its beliefs, and that it was particularly consequential because of the growing fear that philosophical interests were, in the end, pernicious to good religion. He holds, "Israel stumbled into a Maimonidean controversy. It was not fear of philosophy nor ignorance of philosophy which precipitated it but a breakdown of faith among certain elements with the western

communities . . ." At the same time, Silver pays close attention to the personal qualities of those involved in the debate, and repeatedly raises the question of why particular men at particular times joined the disputes, trying to account for those who held rationalist or mystical positions in terms of education and environment. Thus, he penetrates the surface-issues, and uses his studies as a means of illuminating broader historical issues. For instance, he sees in the eager defense of Maimonides by cultivated Jewish figures high in Spanish society, an effort to prove the metaphysical unity of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. "To doubt that Judaism's God was identical with the universally acknowledged philosopher's God was to doubt the rationalization which established Sheshet as an equal in his own eyes."

In all, this is a thoroughly imaginative, sophisticated, and comprehensive study, which makes a significant and substantial contribution to knowledge. Rabbi Silver writes in a lucid and graceful style.

Twersky's Rabad of Posquières

I am troubled by his failure to make significant use of Isidore Twersky's *Rabad of Posquières, A Twelfth-Century Talmudist* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962). While Silver does not list the book in his bibliography, he does cite it occasionally. Yet Twersky's work on the Rabad's criticism of the Mishneh Torah, a theme to which Silver pays considerable attention, is a masterful and comprehensive account; he devoted more than seventy pages to it, and discussed every possible issue. Silver treats at some length Rabad's criticism of Maimonides' philosophy, but finds it difficult to locate organizing principles within his halakhic comments. "The hassagot have ever defied

categorization, for they touch almost every area of the rabbinic geography and range widely and seemingly erratically." I believe that Twersky has provided completely adequate 'categorization' for these comments, and has organized them as well as they will ever be organized. I hope that in future research, Silver will indicate, at the very least, what it is that he finds unconvincing or inadequate in Twersky's studies, which, to my way of thinking, are brilliant and definitive, and ought therefore, not to be passed over in silence.

In the balance, as I said, Silver has given us a very good book indeed, one which will long be consulted by students of Jewish philosophy, and the implications of which, for modern Judaism, are substantial.

Scholarly Research and a Pulpit as Well

It is worth noting, finally, that Rabbi Silver serves a large and distinguished congregation. That he has been able to pursue very serious research in addition, is a good augury. I hope that many others, similarly burdened with communal responsibilities, will join in the scholarly enterprise, for which no learned Jew is exempted. This is still another work of what a French-Jewish reviewer referred to as "the American Jewish school of scholarship," one which grows by the day, which is enriching our knowledge of Judaism, and which signifies the growing maturity of our community. Scholars in seminary, rabbinical, and university posts, Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative alike, are working at the frontiers of Jewish knowledge, not merely repeating in a novel way, the information and insights of others, but contributing new learning and new understanding. Their works have yet to find a worthy audience; that Rabbi Silver's book had to be published abroad indicates that there is as yet no satisfactory domestic publisher, or audience, for serious Jewish scholarship. But that too will come.

THE GAMES GOD PLAYS

ALAN W. MILLER

BEYOND THEOLOGY, by ALAN WATTS, Pantheon Books, New York, 1964, 236 p.

Some years ago at a London presentation of the play *No Room At The Inn*, the actress who was cast as the villainess, a particularly nasty female concoction, was so convincing in her role that when the curtain fell the audience began to boo her; one woman in particular began to hurl some choice epithets across the footlights, threatening, even, to become violent. The incident took place some time ago and I cannot remember all the details, but we all know what happened. People simply forgot that they were watching a drama on a stage, with prompters and stand-ins. They took the illusion for reality.

The distinguished theologian and philosopher Alan Watts, whose many learned books encompass the wisdom, ancient and modern, of East and West, suggests in his recent *Beyond Theology* that some such confusion takes place in the minds of Christian, Jew and Moslem when they take their respective religions too seriously. Each of these religions, Watts claims, if regarded as a real description of man, God and nature, can only lead to the most hopeless of antinomies, paradoxes and contradictions. The Christian has to swallow the notion, for example, that the blessed in Heaven will view the eternal torment of the wicked in Hell as a rightful part of the Divine Scheme. The Jew has been given a Law which he can never really obey and St. Paul's stricture in this regard ("The good that I would, I do not; but the evil that I would not, I do") applies as much to Christianity as to Jewish religion. ("What more has Christianity to offer than Judaism if it is as hard to believe truly in Jesus as to do the works of the Law?" p. 95). The very impossibility of being "orthodox" must lead to a transcending of "orthodoxy."

MIDSTREAM

January 24, 1967

Dr. Emanuel Neumann
515 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Dr. Neumann:

I am in receipt of correspondence from one Pnina Ohrenstein of Hasifria Hazionit. She speaks of a publication on Dr. Silver in Hebrew and I wonder what information you have on this project.

You may be interested to know that the first volume of Dad's collected addresses and sermons will be off the press by the end of February.

I was disappointed not to find a review of my book in Midstream at any time in the past year and one-half.) ✓

I hope this note finds you in good health. With all good wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mgm

EMANUEL NEUMANN

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

February 2, 1967

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver
The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Daniel:

Having just returned from Israel I have found your letter of January 24th, which I hasten to answer as follows:

As a result of conversations that I have had at various times with vi lerie, head of the Jewish Agency's Organization Department, Masifria Barionit, which is under his supervision; it was decided to publish an Abba Hillel Silver volume in Hebrew to contain translations of some of your father's Zionist addresses and also some articles concerning him. As I recall they want to use Harold's essay which appeared sometime ago and also asked me to write a new introduction to the volume.

They have asked me to send them some copies of your father's published books which I did. I spoke to Mr. Scharf who is connected with the Central Zionist Archives, and who, I understand, is responsible for getting the material together. Among other things I was told that the translations into Hebrew would be made by Yehuda Yaari.

I am very pleased to learn that the first volume of your father's collected addresses and sermons will be off the press by the end of February. Am I correct in assuming that the first volume will consist of his sermons - or at least some of them?

I am sorry that MIDSTREAM has not as yet carried a review of your book. I will look into this matter again.

Did you get to Israel last summer as I think you had planned?

The Herzl Institute has made arrangements for the annual Abba Hillel Silver lecture, to be given this time by Rabbi Freehof on the subject of "Before Judaism and Jewish Nationalism." It is scheduled to take place February 19th, with Dr. Julius Marks presiding. Special efforts are being made to secure a good audience - numerically and qualitatively - and I think we have reason to hope for a successful evening. I don't suppose that you would undertake the journey to New York to be on hand for this occasion; but if it should fit in with your plans, it would be wonderful!

I saw mother on the occasion of the funeral services for your Uncle Maxwell, and I am happy that she seems to be in good health.

My warmest regards to her and all your dear ones.

As ever

Cordially yours,

EM:BW

Emmanuel Neumann

P.S. I expect that Freehof will produce a really worthwhile paper on the important subject he has undertaken to discuss, in a form suitable for publication.



February 7, 1967

Dr. Emanuel Neumann
515 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Emanuel:

Thank you for the information contained in your letter of February 2nd. I feel much more comfortable now about the translation project.

The first volume of Dad's anthology will contain mostly sermonic material dealing with basic religious and personal themes. The second volume will be biblical and historical, the third political and social and the last the Zionist materials.

In this connection, we are still hunting down photographs, etc. I notice that a large number of pictures which we have of New York affairs seem to have been taken by a man named Archer. Is he still in business?

Adele, the children, and I spent a most pleasant six weeks in Israel. We headquartered at Herzlia. Drove everywhere and enjoyed K'far Silver and avoided officialdom. We got a real sense of the land and of its people.

I am delighted that Sol Freehof is speaking at the Herzl Institute. I hope for the sake of Dad's memory that the meeting has a setting and public worthy of his stature. I still recall with a sense of dismay my own participation in this program. Mother is well as are we all.

Sincerely,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

DJS:rvv

March 7, 1968

Mr. F. C. Wieder, Jr.
Director
E. J. Brill
Postrekening 13921
Leiden, The Netherlands

Dear Mr. Wieder:

Rabbi Silver would appreciate at least ten copies of his book, Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180-1240. Please send them immediately to:

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver
The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Also enclose the bill, and a check will be forwarded upon receipt of same.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

MGM:mgm

(Miss)Margurite G. Mihok
Secretary to Rabbi Silver

June 21, 1968

E. J. Brill
Leiden, Netherlands

Gentlemen:

Your invoice No. 2926, dated 14-5-1968, is submitted in the amount of 288.50 Guilders = U.S. \$80.59, for 10 copies of Dr. Silver's book, Malmonedean Criticism... billed as Cloth at 28.00/280.00, plus 8.50 for postage, and a total as stated above of 288.50. We are questioning this amount since the last shipment of 10 copies of the same book, billed under invoice No. 1737 dated 18.3.68 was quoted as "At Cloth 28.00/21.00/210.00, plus postage, 8.50 a total of 218.50 guilders = U.S. \$61.04."

From all appearances the first billing included a discount price of 21.00 guilders per copy, whereas, the second shipment and billing in the amount of 288.50 Guilders did not include a discount price.

We ask for a reconsideration of your billing on invoice No. 2926, dated 14-5-68. An early reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

MGM:mgm

(Miss)Margurite G. Mihok
Secretary to Rabbi Silver

cc: Encls.



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The Temple
University Circle at Silver Park
attn. Miss M.G. Mihok,
Secretary to Rabbi Silver,
CLEVELAND, Ohio 44106
U.S.A.

Your reference

Our reference

V/H/1625-68

LEIDEN,
(Netherlands)

July 2, 1968.

Dear Madam:

May we herewith refer to your letter of June 21, 1968,
ref. MGM:mgm, regarding our invoice no 2926 dated May 14,
1968, in the amount of Gld. 288,50, for 10 copies of
Dr. Silver's Maimonidean Criticism.

We let you know that we now send you our credit note 3881
dated July 1, 1968, completely cancelling our invoice 2926
which was made out in the name of the Temple. We now are
enclosing herewith our new invoice for 10 copies at Gld.
218,50, invoice no. 3882 dated July 1, 1968. This invoice,
however, is made out in the name of Rabbi Silver.

We cannot allow any discount to library or universities. We
can only give a discount to an author on a purchase of
copies of his own book. We urgently request you, in possible
future orders, to mention expressly that these copies are
destined for Rabbi Silver. In this way misunderstandings of
this kind may be avoided.

Trusting this will meet with your requirements, we are,

Yours faithfully,

N.V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij,
voorheen E.J. Brill, Leiden.

J.D. Verschoor.

July 9, 1968

Mr. J. D. Verschoor
E. J. Brill Ltd.
Leiden, The Netherlands

Dear Mr. Verschoor:

The corrected invoice number 3882, dated July 1, 1968 has been received and we thank you for the credit note number 3881 which cancels the previous billing and invoice.

It is unfortunate that our Temple librarian did not know of your discount policy regarding books. I am sure she would have submitted the order in Rabbi Silver's name since she handles the sale of books for him here at The Temple.

In order that the entire transaction will be cleared at the proper price it is necessary that our check in the amount of \$80.59 be cancelled through Barclays Bank of New York City (or voided) and a new check issued in the amount of \$61.04, the corrected billing, your invoice number 3882. We shall, therefore, take the initiative with Barclays Bank about our check dated June 21st in the amount of \$80.59. This may bring about a delay in receipt of payment, but we trust you will understand and bear with us.

To reiterate: We intend to, (1) Write to Barclays Bank (2) Void our check in the amount of \$80.59, (3) Issue a new check in the amount of \$61.04.

Sincerely,

MGM;mgm

(Miss)Margurite G. Mihok
Secretary to Rabbi Silver

From
Maimonides ^{Blk} Fund

July 9, 1968

E. J. Brill Ltd.
c/o Barclays Bank D.C.O.
120 Broadway
New York, New York 10005

Gentlemen:

The enclosed copy of a letter to E. J. Brill Ltd. and revised billing under invoice number 3882 as well as credit note number 3881, indicate a change was made in the amount due for purchase of books.

A check was forwarded to your bank dated June 21, 1968, in the amount of \$80.59, issued from the Dr. Daniel Silver Maimonides Book Fund for payment of E. J. Brill invoice number 2926, dated May 14, 1968, & will have to be voided and a new check issued in the amount of \$61.04. May we ask for the cancellation of this check dated June 21st (or voiding)

Please indicate the department of your bank to which we should address our future correspondence and new check for the corrected amount and invoice of the E. J. Brill Ltd.

Sincerely,

MGM:mgm

(Miss) Margurite G. Mihok
Secretary to Rabbi Silver

CK# 26 sent 11/11/68 mgm

„tiberisch“, „palästinisch“ und „babylonisch“ zu bezeichnen sind und deren historische und geographische Wirksamkeit er in einer aufschlußreichen Tabelle verdeutlicht. Ihr Inhalt sei hier kurz wiedergegeben.

Die tiberische Tradition, über deren Charakter m. E. Paul Kahle immer noch das Richtige gesagt hat, herrschte bis zum 12. Jh. nur in Tiberias sowie in kleinen Gelehrtenkreisen Nordafrikas, Ägyptens und anderswo. Die palästinische Punktation, deren Beginn unsicher ist und den Verf. vermutungsweise ins 8. Jh. setzt, existierte in Palästina, in manchen Gebieten des byzantinischen Reiches, in Süditalien sowie an einigen Orten Ägyptens und Nordafrikas außerhalb der Gelehrtenverbände. Im 10. Jh. (?) verdrängte die palästinische Masora die babylonische in Spanien, während sie in Deutschland bis zum 11./13. Jh. herrschte¹. Die babylonische Aussprachetradition dagegen war das Idiom Babyloniens, Persiens, Arabiens und babylonisch-jüdischer Gemeinden außerhalb dieses Gebietes bis zum Ende der geonäischen Periode. Außerdem dominierte sie in Nordafrika und Spanien vom 8. bis zum 9. Jh. (?), wo sie anschließend durch das palästinische System abgelöst wurde, sowie in Jemen, wo sie bis heute nachweisbar ist.

Das hier kurz skizzierte Schema darf wohl – über alle Einzelergebnisse zur Laut- und Silbenlehre hinaus – als ein entscheidender Ertrag der tiefgründigen Untersuchung angesehen werden, wie weit damit Endgültiges gesagt ist, muß die künftige wissenschaftliche Diskussion zeigen. Richtig ist vom Verf. ohne Zweifel gesehen, daß das tiberische System ursprünglich Sache eines kleinen Gelehrtenkreises in Tiberias gewesen ist und daß die tiberische Aussprache auf kleine gelehrte Gruppen beschränkt blieb. Und wenn er sagt, daß das tiberische Punktations- und Akzentsystem zwar allgemein übernommen wurde – für das Jemenitische sei auf das oben Gesagte verwiesen –, aber die palästinischen und die babylonischen Ausspracheformen als Grundtypen hierdurch nicht verdrängt wurden (S. 289), so verdient diese Feststellung größte Beachtung.

Zum Schluß sei nur noch angemerkt, daß man das interessante Buch mit dem Wunsche aus der Hand legt, daß es aus dem Ivrit ins Englische übertragen werden möge, damit es einem möglichst großen Kreis von Sprachwissenschaftlern – über den engen Bereich der Hebraisten hinaus – zugänglich werde.

Böhm, Franz, u. Walter Dirks [Hrsg.], unter Mitarbeit von W. Gottschalk: *Judentum. Schicksal, Wesen und Gegenwart. I. und II.* Wiesbaden: Steiner 1965. XIV, 466 S. u. VI, S. 467–953 gr. 8°. – Bespr. von E. L. Ehrlich, Basel.

Mit diesem Buch ist beabsichtigt worden, das vielgestaltige Phänomen des Judentums in Ge-

schichte und Gegenwart nach möglichst vielen Seiten hin zu erörtern. Das Werk ist in folgende Hauptteile gegliedert: 1. Die Geschichte der Juden. 2. Das Wesen des Judentums. 3. Leistungen des Judentums. 4. Judenfeindschaft. 5. Die gegenwärtige Situation der Juden. Die Betrachtung der jüdischen Geschichte reicht von der biblischen Zeit bis zur Verfolgung durch die Nationalsozialisten. Im Kapitel über das Wesen des Judentums wird die Religion der Juden, die Beziehung zu Christentum und Islam sowie die Frage abgehandelt, ob der Jude religiös, national oder gar rassistisch zu definieren sei. Dieses Buch hat aber keineswegs nur historische Probleme zum Inhalt: In zwei Aufsätzen ist auch von den Juden nach 1945 die Rede sowie vom „deutschen Antisemitismus nach 1945“, der von einigen Geisteskranken sowie von politischen Manipulatoren immer noch am Leben erhalten wird. Die meisten der insgesamt 23 Artikel sind kundig verfaßt und flüssig geschrieben. Da die Geschichte der Entstehung dieses Riesenwerkes jedoch volle 12 Jahre währte, konnte nicht alles auf den letzten Stand gebracht werden, zumal einige der Autoren inzwischen dahingegangen sind. Sie mögen hier ausdrücklich erwähnt werden: Oberrabbiner Prof. Dr. Kurt Wilhelm, Rabbiner Dr. Adolf Kober, Prof. Dr. Alfred Weber, Prof. Dr. Karl Thieme. Die einzelnen Beiträge sind im Umfang sehr verschieden: Neben dem Koberschen Aufsatz über die Geschichte der Juden in Europa bis zum Beginn der Emanzipation (133 Seiten) steht ein Essay von H. J. Schoeps über „die Religion der Juden“ von nur 29 Seiten.

In mancher Beziehung, keineswegs in jeder, ist dieses Werk mit dem Handbuch der Monumenta Judaica (Köln 1963) verwandt, wenn dieses sich vor allem auch nur mit dem rheinischen Judentum beschäftigt. Beide Unternehmen ergänzen sich jedoch recht gut, so daß ein Hinweis auf jenes Handbuch am Platze ist.

Das vorliegende zweibändige Werk vermag in den meisten Artikeln durchaus wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen zu genügen; es wird im deutschen Sprachgebiet für längere Zeit ein Standardwerk sein. Die Sorgfalt in der schwierigen redaktionellen Gestaltung verdankt der Leser der hingebungsvollen Arbeit von Prof. Dr. Walter Gottschalk (Frankfurt), der weitgehend dafür gesorgt hat, daß dieses wichtige Buch in einer so ansprechenden Form hat erscheinen können und das seit langem geplante Vorhaben schließlich durchgeführt werden konnte.

Silver, Daniel Jeremy: *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180–1240.* Leiden: Brill 1965. IX, 219 S. gr. 8°. Lw. hf. 28.—. Bespr. von R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, Jerusalem.

The long drawn out controversy provoked by the philosophical and theological doctrines of Moses Maimonides (1135–1204) was not only a *cause célèbre* but also a major event in the cultural history of 12th and 14th cent. Jewry. The polemical

¹ Das Aschkenasische scheidet nach dem Verf. im Anschluß an H. Ya'qon als selbständige Aussprachetradition aus, da es eine Sekundärtildung darstellt, die sich unter dem Einfluß der jiddischen Umgangssprache entwickelt hat (S. 287f.).

violence engendered by, and the calibre of the personalities engaged in, the debate show that this was more than a storm in a theological tea-cup. A new critical and analytical account of the controversy, taking into account the results of recent research, ought therefore to be welcomed by all interested in the subject. It is, perhaps, because the subject-matter raises such high hopes that Dr. Silver's book leaves the reader with a sense of dissatisfaction.

The book is written in a language which, across the Atlantic, is occasionally held to be English. Already in the introduction (p. 1) we hear of "roiling controversies" as a result of which the work of Maimonides ("whom all had homaged" for his piety and learning) was "bonfired". The intellectual tradition of the Arabic-Jewish world had been "transshipped" westward in the 12th century which witnessed "a rash of world voyagings" (p. 22). Authors are said to have "edited" books (p. 30 and passim) where the obvious intention is to say that they wrote the works in question. We are said to "control" (i. e. to possess) texts, and the letters Q. E. D. repeatedly appear at the beginnings of sentences, apparently as synonymous with "therefore". Maimonides is said to have "stipulated" when, in fact, he ruled something in his Code, and reference is made to his statements *in situ* (which, presumably, means in their context). At any rate the legal Code *Mishneh Torah* (which the Karaites, we are told, did not "catalyze") was "elemental" — whatever that may mean. Frequently the term "existential" is used for what would normally be described as the social or internal affairs of the Jewish communities. No rules of transliteration seem to have been observed, the Hebrew letters ן, ץ and װ being transcribed indiscriminately (e. g. Zachrenu (!), More Nebuchim, Mi Kamoha, Minhah, Nachmanides, Halakhah, Shelocha Ma'amarim). Alongside the Sephardi type of pronunciation we also find *tallis* and (p. 77, n. 6) *vel*.

The book does not appear to have had the benefit of any proof-reading: Agobart, Tu'meat ha-Met, Gotein (for Goitein), Shelelot (p. 35), Issus Karet (p. 81, n. 2), *pūce justitative* (p. 42), Fara'id al-Aulub (p. 86), Zecharyah (for Zerahya, p. 92), in media res (p. 93), Alfaquim ("physician", p. 128), Arugat ha-Boshen (twice on p. 138), holoistic (p. 124) — these are a few samples only, chosen at random. The misprints and linguistic deficiencies are not mentioned in order to condemn the book but are meant to serve the more apologetic purpose of explaining why this reviewer could not but experience a sense of mounting irritation as he continued reading. The great 18th cent. Talmudist, Kabbalist and bibliographer Hayyim Joseph David Azulai appears on p. 78 as "the 18th cent. scribe Hayyim Joseph b. David Azulai". On p. 139 reference is made to Abraham ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Hayyim*. Abraham ibn Ezra wrote no such book (though it is true that Moses of Taku, in his *Kethab Tamim*, erroneously ascribes this anonymous work to Ibn Ezra). On p. 114 the *Sefer*

ha-Yashar is ascribed without further ado to the otherwise unknown Zerahya ha-Yevani, omitting to mention that R. Jonah of Gerona (who is discussed at length, albeit inadequately, later in the book) has been proposed as a possible author of this tract. On p. 27 the term *Ma'aseh Merkabah* is translated "eschatology" (sic).

But let us not be pedantic or finnick about details. Dr. Silver's book has some real merits, but it is in its merits that its weakness resides. By giving as full as possible an account of Maimonidean criticism and controversy, Silver has conclusively shown (what everybody had suspected before) that there is no connection at all between the halakhic criticism, by various Talmudists, of Maimonides's Code, and the controversy sparked off by his philosophical and theological doctrines. Rabbinic scholars could be extremely sharp in glossing each other's work (cf. Zerahya ha-Levi's *Sefer ha-Ma'or* and Nahmanides's *Milhamoth*) without casting any theological aspersions. This being so, Dr. Silver has really written two distinct books — one ending on p. 108 and describing the halakhic criticism, and one beginning on p. 109 and dealing with the theological controversy. The two parts have really very little in common, except an unfortunate tendency to posit facile pseudo-sociological correlations (or even causal relations) and to disregard the inner laws of halakhic logic (as regards the Code) and the evolution of 13th–14th cent. Jewish *Geistesgeschichte* (as regards the philosophical issues). Thus the statement (p. 63 n. 5) that by basing the precept of circumcision on Lev. 12: 3 rather than on Gen. 17 Maimonides intended a polemical dig at the Muslims, simply overlooks the fact that according to the rabbinic jurists the divine law as given to Moses derived its authority and binding force from the act of divine legislation on Mount Sinai. Similarly it may be doubted whether Maimonides really sided with the "political" arguments of the Babylonian exilarch (p. 59). It is far more plausible that Maimonides, whilst keeping apocalyptic messianism at a safe distance (as a theologian), endorsed (as a rabbinic lawyer) the legitimacy of the claims established by the Talmud, on the basis of Gen. 49: 10a, on behalf of the Davidic dynasty of which the Babylonian exilarchs were held to be descendants. It is a truism to say that Jewish thinking on the attributes of God and the nature of monotheism was stimulated by Arabic philosophy and Muslim theology. But to go on from this commonplace to the assertion that the reason for Maimonides's insistence on the utterly non-anthropomorphic "otherness" of God must be sought "in the field of interreligious relations" seems to be an unfortunate intrusion of 20th century American jargon. Similarly Silver's main thesis that "the Maimonidean controversy was a statement of fear" (p. 3) — i. e., fear provoked by the Church's growing and militant interest in Jewish internal affairs in general and in the Talmud in particular — may be capable of proof by careful and detailed

historical research, but so far no evidence has been produced to substantiate this thesis. To say that "the issue was survival" (p. 4) means nothing at all, since every theologian fighting for the purity of the faith is convinced that survival depends on his brand of the true doctrine. There is no evidence to suggest that the participants in the Maimonidean controversy actually thought in terms of a response to a new threat to survival posed by the new policy of the Church. Sociology and social history are not quite that simple!

Since the second part of Dr. Silver's book is the more interesting one for the student of Jewish history, it is a pity that the author limited himself to the period 1180–1240. The philosophico-theological controversy began long after 1180, but continued throughout the 13th and well into the 14th century. One suspects that the author's choice of his *terminus ad quem* was determined by the first climax of the Maimonidean battle – the burning of the *Guide* in 1232. Whilst this reviewer inclines to agree with Dr. Silver that this burning actually took place, one cannot help registering surprise at the author's failure to discuss the problem more fully and critically. There is no getting around the awkward fact that we possess but one single testimony – and a second-hand one at that, though probably reliable – to this effect. But the really decisive events, reflected in the Maimonidean controversy, belong to the sphere of internal Jewish *Geistesgeschichte*. The times are passed when historians (like e.g. Graetz) would reduce the controversy to a clash between obscurantist *Stocktalmudisten* on the one hand, and enlightened philosophic minds on the other. The author is aware of the fact that different types of religiosity were struggling within Judaism, though I doubt whether the formula "the issue was one between speculative mysticism and religious mysticism" (p. 36) is really adequate. The author is also aware of the significant fact that the main protagonists in the anti-maimunist attack were the adepts of the emerging kabbalist schools in the Provence and in Northern Spain. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that the most important source for our knowledge of the school "which grew in the shadow of the pious mystic R. Isaac the Blind" – R. Azriel's *Perush ha-Aggadoth* (ed. Tishby, 1945) – is not mentioned at all, and that the author was apparently unaware of the fact that G. Scholem, in his *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbalah* (1962), devoted some penetrating pages (pp. 358–366) to the role of the kabbalists in the Maimunist controversy.

These deficiencies, however, should not blind us to the chief merit of Dr. Silver's book which consists in his collection (in translation) of the main texts (glosses, epistles, polemical poems etc.) of the controversy up to 1240. Since not every medievalist or historian of religion is also a Hebraist, the collection and translation of these texts in one volume should be welcomed by students of the period.

Haywood, John A.: *Arabic Lexicography. Its History, and its Place in the General History of Lexicography*. Leiden: Brill 1960. VIII, 141 S., 3 Taf., 1 Tab. gr. 8°. Lw. hfd. 15.—, Bespr. von A. Spitaler, München.

Wir haben eine nicht ganz geringe Anzahl von wichtigen, z. T. sehr umfangreichen national-arabischen Lexika im Druck zur Verfügung, übrigens mit Ausnahme der Teiledition von Našwān al-Himyarī's *Šams al-'Ulūm* durch K. V. Zetterstéen zwar nur in orientalischen, oft unübersichtlich gedruckten, aber durchaus brauchbaren Ausgaben. Vieles liegt jedoch noch in den europäischen und orientalischen Bibliotheken vergraben, ist also praktisch unzugänglich, anderes ist bis auf weiteres überhaupt verloren. Eine Geschichte der arabischen Lexikographie zu schreiben, ist daher bislang nur mit gewissen Einschränkungen möglich. Den ersten Versuch, ihre Entwicklung zu skizzieren hat F. Krenkow in seinem oft zitierten Aufsatz *The Beginnings of Arabic Lexicography* in *JRAS*, Centenary Supplement 1924, 225–270 gemacht. Auf ihm weiterbauend begann J. Kraemer in *Oriens VI* (1953) 202–238 seine Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie, die über eine sehr gehaltvolle chronologisch geordnete Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten arabischen Lexikographen und ihrer Werke bis zum Tāg al-'Arūs hinauszuführen ihn leider ein vorzeitiger Tod verhinderte. Dann erschien 1956 in Kairo eine Studie von 'Abdallāh Darwīš, al-Ma'āğim al-'Arabiya ma'a 'tinā' ḥaṣṣ li-Mu'gam al-'Ain li-l-Ḥalīl ibn Ahmaḍ, und im gleichen Jahr schrieb Ahmad 'Abd al-Gafūr 'Attār aus Anlaß der von ihm veranstalteten fünfbändigen Neuausgabe von Gauharī's *Šihāḥ* eine über 200 Seiten starke (allerdings recht raumverschwendend gedruckte) Einleitung, die weitläufig auch die Geschichte der arabischen Lexikographie bis zum *Šihāḥ* (und dessen Nachwirkungen) behandelt.

1960 nun brachte John A. Haywood, Lecturer in Arabic an der Universität Durham das hier zu besprechende 141 Seiten umfassende Buch über die Geschichte der arabischen Lexikographie und ihre Stellung in der allgemeinen Geschichte der Lexikographie heraus. Haywood bekennt sich als teilweise der Arbeit von Darwīš verpflichtet, die er ein *pioneer work* nennt (p. 10), er hat sich aber auch selbständig in der Primär- und Sekundärliteratur umgesehen¹, wie die Bibliographie p. 133

¹ Einige wichtige, z. T. neuere Textausgaben scheinen Haywood unbekannt geblieben zu sein. So erwähnt er 44¹⁰ nur die (1958 von 'Abd as-Salām Ḥārūn besorgte) Kairener Ausgabe von b. Duraid's *K. al-Istiqāq*, aber nicht Wüstenfeld's Erstausgabe von 1854. 105³⁷ zitiert er nur den undatierten Kairener Druck des Ibn Ya'īš, ohne auf Jahns Ausgabe 1882 bis 1886 hinzuweisen, von der übrigens ersterer nur ein, wenn auch mit einem handlichen *šawāhid*-Kommentar versehener, Nachdruck ist. Von b. Ġinnīs *Ḥaṣṣ* kennt er 39²² und 800²³ nur den alten Druck des 1. Bandes, nicht aber die dreibändige Gesamtausgabe von M. 'Alī an-Nağğār Kairo 1371–1376. 97¹⁸ erwähnt er nur Sachau's unvollständige Erstausgabe von Ġawālīq's *Mu'arreb*, nicht aber die jetzt unentbehrliche, weil auf drei vollständigen Hss beruhende Ausgabe von A. M. Šakir Kairo 1361. Ferner läßt sich aus

God who acts, to wit: creation, providence, and reward and punishment—in this world or in the world-to-come. One finds this in Jewish literature as well as in Ghazzali's *Destruction of the Philosophers* and in the Paris condemnation of Siger of Brabant.

Two phases in the religious history of Israel in which these problems came to the fore have been treated in two recent important scholarly works.* The one is the first phase of the Maimonidean controversy, analyzed by Daniel Jeremy Silver in *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy, 1180-1240*; the other is the problem of Spanish Marranism from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, dealt with by B. Netanyahu in *The Marranos of Spain*.

II

THE IMBROGLIO KNOWN AS the Maimonidean controversy, which flared in the Near East and on the European continent, has been in need of careful restudy for some time. The principal issue—that of the propriety of the study of philosophy—has, of course, been treated extensively in monographs and general historical works. Yet other issues of considerable importance have been neglected or glossed over.

The controversy has, for one thing, been discussed from a somewhat parochial point of view. The Midi and its contiguous areas, the major theater of action, were embroiled, at the time, in a battle over not only Averroistic tendencies within Christianity but also over the Catharist heresy which set itself against the Catholic Church, introducing an oriental dualism in the place of orthodox monotheism. This rebellion grew to such proportions that neither disputation nor *auto-da-fé* could contain it, and a full crusade against the heretics was instituted which had important political as well as religious implications. Both Judaism and Christianity knew of the internal dissensions within the ranks of the other, and it may safely be said that the sensitivity of the Roman Church to heresy of all kinds in this period lent the controversy over the writings of Maimonides an importance which it otherwise might not have had.

Dr. Silver has undertaken an analysis of this one among other aspects of this chapter in Jewish history. In so doing he has had to come to grips with some tenacious but rather facile generalizations consistently found in the literature on the subject. Perhaps the chief of these is the notion that two distinct camps, one of enlightened rationalists, the other of benighted obscurantists, stood arrayed against each other in battle. In elucidating this point, the author has succeeded in drawing a better character-portrait of the antagonists than has been done in the past. Recognizing that "the tendency within Jewish life has been to avoid biography and to argue the logical rather than the emotional issue" (p. 135), he demonstrates that the anti-Maimonideans were not obscurantists who were hostile to rationalist learning, but rather that they had their own intellectual tradition, different from that of their antagonists. In this manner, he has shown that the terms "rationalist"

* *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy, 1180-1240*. By Daniel Jeremy Silver. S. J. Brill, Leiden 1965.

The Marranos of Spain. By B. Netanyahu. American Academy for Jewish Research, New York 1966.

and "anti-rationalist" are hardly applicable. The one side maintained an Aristotelian tradition as developed by Maimonides, while the other represented "not the absence of philosophy but another philosophic tradition largely neo-Platonic . . ." (p. 162). In point of fact, as the author indicates, the leaders of the anti-Maimonideans were members of the nascent school of Kabbalists which then appeared in Catalonia and Languedoc. This fact, which has been documented by Gershom Scholem in his *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala*, an expansion of his earlier *Beginning of the Kabbalah* (Hebrew) of which Dr. Silver has made use, might have been further developed by the author. A fuller study of the historical and ideological role of the Kabbalah in the controversy in general, as well as some consideration of a figure such as Jacob ben Sheshet, might have helped to round out the picture somewhat. In addition, while the author correctly discerns that two traditions, the Aristotelian and the proto-Kabbalistic neo-Platonic, were operative, the distinction between the two may not be quite accurate. It cannot be maintained that, according to the latter, "the Bible presumes God's otherness, not the negation of all attributes implicit in the philosophic category of Pure Existence" (p. 162). Explaining or explaining away of divine attributes was as much the concern of one tradition as it was of the other.

A second important question raised by Dr. Silver concerns the episode of the betrayal of the *Guide for the Perplexed* to the Christian ecclesiastical authorities. In this act, one can see the makings of an informal but nonetheless real Jewish inquisition, which "relaxed" a heretical work to the Inquisition of the Roman Church for lack of formal machinery of its own. This act, with all its overtones of *malshinut* (informing), is serious enough; it is, to the author, almost incomprehensible when ascribed to such figures as R. Solomon ben Abraham, R. David ben Saul, and especially R. Jonah ben Abraham Geroni. Their alleged responsibility for this act, based on the testimony of R. David Kimhi, has generally gone unquestioned. Dr. Silver presents some very cogent arguments concerning the character of these three men which would make it appear quite unlikely that they would have engaged in such activity. In addition to serving as character witness, the author also opposes the testimony of David Kimhi with that of the chronicle of Abraham and Judah bar Hisdai, which attributes the act to certain unnamed "people" (*anashim*). For this reason, Kimhi's testimony, which was second-hand, is held to be unreliable, thereby exonerating R. Solomon and his disciples. Concerning this conclusion, it may be observed that, while the testimony of Kimhi is not confirmed by the Bene Hisdai document, neither is it conclusively refuted. (Cf. Y. Baer, *Toledot ha-yehudim bi-sefarad ha-notzrit*, p. 484 ff., n. 60.) The fact that the principals involved were pious and saintly men does not preclude the possibility that they would have recourse to non-Jewish authorities. Such occurrences are known to have taken place in Eastern Europe in controversies between the Hasidim and their opponents. Further, it would appear that the profound grief felt by R. Jonah Gerondi, which caused him to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and prostrate himself on Maimonides' grave, may well have been prompted by an act of a rather serious nature such as the one in question.

Nevertheless, the conclusion reached by the author in this matter is significant in the light of his attempt to prove his contention that

"Maimonides was the *context* of the quarrel, not its *content*" (p. 173), for he demonstrates that all the scholars involved, in either party, evinced profound respect for Maimonides personally. In this connection, Dr. Silver has surveyed the place of the *Mishneh Torah* and Halachic criticism of Maimonides in the conflict. The notion that criticism of Maimonides the Halachist stems from hostility towards Maimonides the philosopher has little more than hoariness to support it. Relying principally on the writings of two masters, Moses ha-Kohen and R. Abraham ben David, Dr. Silver correctly demonstrates the general objectivity of their criticism of the *Mishneh Torah*, which was not one of the factors in "that *Kulturkampf* which historians label the Maimonidean controversy." It might be suggested, however, that the author could have made more constructive use of the studies of Isadore Twersky, which represent the most recent stage of scholarship on this subject.

Some minor questions may be raised concerning this volume. Firstly, the author's statement that Maimonides' introduction to his commentary on *Perek Helek* is never mentioned in the literature of the period of the controversy (p. 32) may be doubted. Nahmanides at the end of the *Sha'ar ha-gemul* apparently made some use of it. Secondly, David Kimhi was not a translator (p. 100), although his father was; nor is there evidence that he tried to "win over" Nahmanides (p. 175).

III

THE PROBLEM OF SPANISH MARRANISM HAS, to a greater degree than that of the Maimonidean controversy, prompted a continuous discussion in scholarly literature. Recent trends in that literature, especially those originating in Spain, have had as their object the vindication of the Spanish Inquisition and the consequent condemnation of the Marranos. These tendencies in themselves represent a reaction to the negative attitude of the great American historian H. C. Lea, as well as to the writings of the nineteenth-century *afrancesado* Llorente, who imputed everything he considered negative in Spanish civilization to the Inquisition and attributed the existence of the latter to greed for the money of its victims. To controvert this point of view, such writers as Nicolás López Martínez, like their German predecessors Schaefer and Baumgarten, saw a treacherous Fifth Column among the Marranos. Thus the phrase *el peligro de los conversos* (the Marrano danger) is not infrequent in their writings, and every heterodoxy, including Lutheranism, is laid at the feet of the Marranos, while credence is lent to all alleged Jewish atrocities. Jewish scholars, too, from quite a different standpoint, of course, have concurred in the general verdict on the Inquisition. Foremost among them is the distinguished Israeli scholar Yitzhak Baer, whose view as cited by Netanyahu is that "conversos and Jews were *one people*, bound together by ties of religion, and fate, and messianic hope."

Prof. Netanyahu's volume attempts a reconsideration of this entire problem in the light of a careful examination of references to the conversos in Hebrew sources from the last decade of the fourteenth century through the period following the Expulsion. The author has concerned himself with responsa, philosophical and polemical writings, and homiletic and exegetical literature. On the basis of the statements in this literature concerning the Marranos, he concludes, as he did in his volume on Isaac Abarbanel,

that 1) "the overwhelming majority of the Marranos" at the time of the establishment of the Inquisition were not Jews, but "detached from Judaism," or rather, to put it more clearly, Christians; 2) that in seeking to identify the whole Marrano group with a secret Jewish heresy, the Spanish Inquisition was operating with a fiction; and 3) that "it was driven to this operation by racial hatred and political considerations rather than by religious zeal." (p. 3)

To prove his thesis, the author has brought to bear has considerable erudition and command of the pertinent sources. Expecting, "apart from fair criticism, that opposition which seems to be a part of every new idea" (p. 6), he demonstrates his awareness of the complexities of the problem by anticipating a number of possible objections to his thesis. In surveying the author's presentation, it might be well to review some of these objections and his own approach to them.

Perhaps the most critical issue is the nature of the evidence cited. Concerning this, Prof. Netanyahu remarks:

... we have gathered by deduction the course followed by Marranism after the "second decade," and to this extent we relied here on what may be regarded as indirect evidence. Does the philosophic and polemic literature also offer us direct evidence on the developments in the later period? Since we now enter the realm of elusive language, deliberately vague, curtailed, or symbolic, our answer must necessarily be guarded and reserved. We find no additional statements in this literature that refer to the Marranos ... in a clear and open manner. We do find in it, however, a number of assertions, views and data concerning "heretics," converts and conversionist agitation which, in our opinion, can be safely construed as referring to the Marrano camp, or to parts thereof. However veiled, ambiguous and incomplete, these statements reflect views and conditions that offer some answer to the question posed above. (p. 121 ff.)

The question which the author raises concerning the philosophic and polemical literature may be extended to the other genres with which the author has dealt as well. The indirect character of the evidence, especially in the responsa, is evident, since several of the authorities lived outside of Spain and were not familiar with the problem directly. A second difficulty is the fact that this literature is not without its internal contradictions.

Much is made of the fact, for example, that Solomon Duran would not accept the testimony of a Marrano concerning matters of ritual law, since "today when all of them violate the Sabbath publicly [even when left to themselves], they should not be trusted at all" (p. 49). Now, while Rashbash apparently reports Sabbath desecration as an established fact though not knowing the situation directly, his son Zemah, visiting Majorca, "gained the impression that there were still 'many among the Marranos who preserve the laws of Sabbath'" (p. 51). Further, Rashbash himself discusses Marranos "whose hearts are towards Heaven" (see below) and who were concerned about Passover observance. It is possible that there were then those who were lax in Sabbath observance but strict with respect to leaven on Passover, in which case, as today, Sabbath observance would not be the *sine qua non* for recognition as a faithful Jew. Or it might be that Rashbash had simply overgeneralized in his statement concerning Sabbath observance. In either case, his statement comes into direct conflict with the testimony of the Marranos found in the inquisitorial records. According to the latter, the Sabbath was

Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy (1180-1240). (La critique de Maïmonide et la controverse sur Maïmonide). Leyde, Brill, 1965, 219 p.

L'auteur est le fils d'un rabbin célèbre en Amérique, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, qui consacra plusieurs ouvrages à la renaissance de la vie religieuse dans le judaïsme américain et fut pendant plus de quarante ans le chef spirituel du temple de Cleveland, la plus grande communauté juive libérale des États-Unis. Le fils a hérité de son père « une profonde connaissance du judaïsme et de l'histoire juive ». Il a choisi, dans cet ouvrage, d'étudier le sens exact de la « controverse sur Maïmonide ». Il est étrange en effet de constater que « l'objet de la controverse n'est pas Maïmonide ». Personne ne conteste la vertu de l'homme ou la vérité de ses affirmations. « Aussi bien ses adversaires que ses défenseurs l'estiment ». Il est en réalité devenu « le symbole de la tradition plusieurs fois séculaire qui a lié par un solennel mariage les catégories de la pensée grecque et les catégories de la foi juive ». Il faut donc replacer cette « controverse » dans l'immense cadre des relations entre la foi juive et la philosophie.

Le contexte historique de l'affaire est celui de la persécution naissante du judaïsme par l'Eglise, mais c'est le « vieux judaïsme » du Talmud qui irrite l'Eglise et non le « nouveau judaïsme » de Maïmonide. Or celui-ci, durant sa vie, est reconnu universellement comme un maître par le judaïsme traditionnel, mais, en même temps, tout l'aspect philosophique de sa pensée correspond aux tendances les plus hardies qui se feront jour bientôt dans la théologie chrétienne. L'introduction de l'aristotélisme, tel du moins qu'il était connu par les Arabes, dans la pensée religieuse de l'époque, provoque les mêmes réactions. Saint Thomas d'Aquin, lui aussi, sera condamné avant de devenir le « Docteur Commun ». L'auteur développe successivement l'histoire de la réaction antimaimonidéenne dans le Proche-Orient, dans la Méditerranée occidentale, et dans la région de Montpellier. Il montre que partout il y a dans le judaïsme des défenseurs pour répondre aux adversaires de Maïmonide. Le long chapitre consacré à l'histoire de la « controverse » proprement dite, déclenchée après la mort du maître (p. 148-98), manifeste

très clairement que la cible visée par les adversaires, c'est le principe même de l'introduction de la philosophie dans le corps doctrinal du judaïsme. Ceci était déjà connu, mais D.J. Silver a le mérite d'en reprendre la démonstration en détaillant les faits au maximum. Il semble qu'il aurait pu élargir l'horizon, en montrant qu'il s'agit là d'un phénomène général, qui s'était déjà produit dans l'islam et devait bientôt se reproduire dans le christianisme. Quant à Maïmonide lui-même, on sent chez l'A. une vive sympathie pour son héros, dont il regrette manifestement l'échec. Mais, en réalité, la pensée de Maïmonide n'a pas été vaincue. Bien des signes montrent qu'elle est toujours vivante dans le judaïsme contemporain, où beaucoup essaient de nouveau de réaliser « le mariage d'Athènes et de Jérusalem ».

only two: one on page 158 ("earth" instead of "air") and one on page 369 ("theological" instead of "teleological").

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Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy: 1180-1240. By Daniel Jeremy Silver. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965. Pp. 219, with index. Apply.

The burning of Maimonides' works at Montpellier in 1232 serves as the focal point of this study. Although Maimonides was highly respected by his friends and his foes in the Jewish community, it was believed that someone within that community had denounced his work to the Christian authorities. Silver's book tries to make this event understandable by giving an account of the intellectual and religious milieu within which it occurred.

After a brief report of the attitude of the Christian Church towards the Jews in the 13th century, the author summarizes the life and works of Moses Maimonides and shows that Maimonides' fame was founded upon his *Mishneh Torah*, a monumental compendium of Hebrew law. The controversy which is designated by his name was not, the author insists, over Maimonides himself—but only over Maimonides as a symbol of the union of Hebrew thought with Greek and Arabian learning.

In most of the chapters which follow, Silver develops in great detail the problem of faith and reason as it was encountered in the Jewish community of the middle ages. The Jews of the Near East lived and were educated amidst the religious and intellectual atmosphere of the Moslems. Some of Maimonides' discussions dealt with points on which the Islamic world touched the Jews. When, about 1200, the sophisticated Arab-Hebrew philosophic tradition began to penetrate western Europe, it posed a threat to the Jews who, deeply immersed in their religious tradition, wished above all to safeguard their faith. Discussions on Jewish law and on the doctrine of the resurrection reflected two opposing attitudes.

Silver selects as symbols of the two cultures among thirteenth century Jews, Moses ben Hisdai, who relied on revelation, and Samuel ibn Tibbon, who esteemed reason and Arabic learning. To both of these men faith was important, but some Jews of Spanish and Provençal

origin who were not greatly concerned about faith, invoked the authority of Maimonides in support of their rationalistic position. Silver thinks that it was these "restless ones" who precipitated the controversy.

The chapter on the actual controversy treats of the three men, Solomon b. Abraham, David b. Saul, and Jonah b. Abraham Gerundi, who were thought to have denounced Maimonides' work to the Christian authorities. The author cites evidence to show that no one of them could have been the actual informer. Solomon and Jonah had, however, sought a ban against the public study of the philosophical works of Maimonides, and this provoked a counterban against all who interfered in such study. Many of the Jews were distressed at the open display of their internal disputes before the Christian community. They worried "lest the Torah be split in two," and stressed the need of reestablishing unity.

Silver's book does not provide many positive facts about the burning of Maimonides' *Guide* since some of these facts are beyond historical recall. Nor does the book deal mainly with an exposition of Maimonides' views since Maimonides was "not the *content* of the quarrel." Rather, it shows that there would have been no controversy if western European Jewish life had been culturally of one piece and if the waning faith of some of the Jews had not been of great concern to the larger Jewish community. The principal contribution of this study, then, lies in its documented account of the efforts of mediaeval Jews to preserve their faith in the presence of Greek and Arabian philosophy. The student who has met a similar problem of faith and reason in the history of thirteen century Christian thought should find this work of special interest.

Two suggestions might be appropriate here. The author of the book refers to "the anonymous Parisian *Tractatus De Erroribus Philosophorum Aristotelis, Averrois, Avicennae, Algazelis, Alkindi, et Rabbi Moysis*" (pp. 14-15). He seems to be unaware that this treatise has been definitely attributed to Giles of Rome. He might wish to add to his bibliography the volume containing the critical text of Giles' *Errores Philosophorum*, edited by Josef Koch and translated by John O. Riedl (Marquette University Press, 1944). He might also wish to list the recent English translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* by Shlomo Pines (University of Chicago Press, 1963).

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Novel Thesis Opens New Vistas for Research

MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY, 1180-1240. By David Jeremy Silver. London, E. J. Brill, Cleveland, The Temple, 1965. 217 p. \$7.50.

THE Maimonidean Controversy, under the influence of Haskalah scholarship, has been subjected to a tendentious interpretation. The desire to impose their secularist Weltanschauung on Jewish life led the leaders of the Haskalah to picture the anti-Maimonists as backward and obscurantist.

In order to crush the anti-Haskalah forces Maimonides, the beloved figure of Jewry, became a convenient tool during a critical period of their Kulturkampf. Fortunately, the last few decades have witnessed a reappraisal in the light of new insights of the religious and sociological background of the Controversy.

With this new background, Dr. Silver has painstakingly examined the most important sources and documents bearing on the Controversy of Maimonides' halacha and philosophy which was highlighted by the burning of the Guide for the Perplexed and the Sefer ha-Madab (the philosophical part of his Code).

Contrary to the accepted theory which holds the three chief anti-Maimonist leaders, Solomon B. Abraham of Montpellier, David B. Saul, and Josiah B. Abraham Gerondi, directly responsible for the burning, Dr. Silver surmises that "someone, possibly some converted Jew, aware of the rolling Controversy de-

ounced the Moreh and Mada to a papal mission investigating heresy."

His novel and well-documented thesis opens new vistas for research, for most important in writing the history and philosophy of the Controversy is to emancipate oneself from the accepted theories of 19th century scholarship. This Dr. Silver has accomplished most successfully.

We are inclined to concur heartily with his concluding paragraph: "The best of anti-Maimonists were good, decent, able, and pious men. The best of the Maimonists were good, decent, able, and pious men. That pressures of survival should separate these men is the tragedy of this history."

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הפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם

זאת יוסף דן

D. J. Silver: *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy*, 1180-1240.
J. G. Brill, Leiden, 1965, 219 pp.

שלושים שנה חלפו מאז ניסה י. סאראצ'ק לסקור במונוגראפיה מקיפה את תולדותיו של הפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם בימי הביניים¹, החל משנות חייו האחרונות של הרמב"ם ועד הפולמוסים שבמאה הי"ד. נסיונו של סאראצ'ק לא סיפק את החוקרים, ובעיות רבות צריכות דיון מחודש. י. בער, בסכמו את תולדות הפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם במהדורה השנייה של ספרו "תולדות היהודים בספרד הנוצרית", קבע, כי פרשה זו צריכה בירור וליבון מחודש²; ג. שלום, בשעה שפיאר את מעמדם של המקובלים הראשונים בין המתפלמסים, דרש לחקור מחדש את תולדות הפולמוס וחלקם של המקובלים בו לאורם של הזרמים הרוחניים האמיתיים שרווחו אז בין חכמי היהודים של ספרד ופרובאנס³; ובעיות חדשות, היסטוריות וטכסטואליות, העלה א. א. אורבך, שעודר ספיקות לגבי כמה מן ההנחות המקובלות על תולדות הפולמוס⁴.

מעמדו המרכזי של הפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם בחיי הרוח היהודיים בימי הביניים אינו שנוי במחלוקת. פולמוס זה היתה פרשה דרכים מרכזית בתולדות המחשבה היהודית, שהשפעתו רבה היתה גם על דרכי החיים והגיבושים החברתיים ביהדות ספרד, פרובאנס ואיטליה, ותוצאותיו השתקפו הן ביחסים שבין קהילות ישראל והזרמים הרוחניים שבהן בינו לבין עצמן, והן ביחסים בין היהודים לבין החברה הנצרית ותורותיה. הצורך בחקירה מדוקדקת, היסטורית ורעיונית, של הפולמוס הגדול על כל הסוגיותיו וגווניו נעשה אפוא אחד הצרכים הדוחקים ביותר במדעי היהדות הקשורים בימי הביניים.

משום כך יש עניין רב באפרו החדש של דניאל ירמיה סילבר, "ביקורת הרמב"ם והפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם", המהווה מחקר נשורט על תולדות הויכוחים על כתבי הרמב"ם מראשיתם ועד סיומו של הפולמוס הראשון, בשנות השלושים למאה הי"ג, וניתן היה לצפות שכמה וכמה מן הבעיות המסרידות את חוקרי ההיסטוריה, המפשבה הספרות העברית של ימי הביניים יבוררו בו בצורה חדש, לאור ידיעותינו המתרחבות, וכי ימצא המחקר צועד צעד קדימה באמצעות מונוגראפיה זו.

במבוא ובפרק הראשון מסביר סילבר את תפיסתו בגורמי הפולמוס ודרך התפתחותו: הרמב"ם כתב ופעל בארצות התרבות המוסלמית, ומקורותיו נעוצים בתוך תרבות זו. הפולמוס נתחולל בשעה שהגיעו כתביו אל ארצות הנצרות, שבהן היו התנאים ההיסטוריים והחברתיים שונים שינוי גמור. תפקיד מכריע לגבי תולדות הפולמוס רואה סילבר בעובדה, שהחל מראשית המאה הי"ג שינתה הכנסייה הנוצרית את עמדתה כלפי היהדות ותורתה מעמדה של אדישות וחוסר עניין לעמדה

1. J. Sarachek, *Faith and Feason*. Williamsport, 1935.

2. י. בער תולדות היהודים בספרד הנוצרית, תליאביב תשי"ט, עמ' 481.

3. ג. שלום ראשית הקבלה, ירושלים—תליאביב תש"ח, עמ' 137—133; ועיין ענה בירורו הרחב יותר בספרו: *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala*, ברלין 1962, עמ' 358—366 ועוד. ספר זה לא היה לפני סילבר.

4. "עמדתם של חכמי אשכנז וצפת הצפונית בפולמוס על הרמב"ם ועל כתביו" ציון יב, תש"ו,

הביא בהמשך המאה הי"ג לתופעת הויכוחים הדתיים ולשריפת התלמוד. יחסם של יהודים שהיו קפדניים ומבקרת, המתעניינת בתורתם של היהודים, ובייחוד בתורה שנעליפה שבידם. תהליך זה נתונים בידי מדיניותה החדשה של הכנסייה כלפי תורת ישראל אל כתבי הרמב"ם היה בהכרח שונה מזה של אחיהם היושבים בארצות האיסלם.

כמניע הפנימי העיקרי להתלקחות הפולמוס רואה סילבר את הפחד; פעמים אחדות חוזר הוא בספרו על הקביעה, כי פולמוס הרמב"ם היווה הצהרה של פחד מצד כבברי הרמב"ם, פחד מפני התוצאות של חישוף יותר לעולם הנכרי. הפולמוס היה, אפוא, צעד של התגוננות מפני סכנה גדולה, ומכאן חריפותו וקיצוניותו.

בפתח ספרו (עמ' 38—40) סוקר סילבר את כתבי הרמב"ם ומתאר את אישיותו, כתוך הדגשה של אותם חיבורים ואותן דעות ששימשו מרכז למחלוקת; ולאחר מכן מקדיש הוא שלושה פרקים ארוכים (עמ' 40—108), לבירור מפורט של המחלוקת ההלכית על כתבי הרמב"ם, הן בבעיות היסוד של ההלכה ודרכי הסודיפיקציה, והן בבעיות פרטיות הנוגעות לקביעות הלכיות מפוימות של הרמב"ם. סילבר מביא בתרגום ובפרפראזה את דבריהם של התולקים על הרמב"ם בעניני הלכה, החל מר' חסדאי הלוי, הדיין מאלכסנדריה, ועד השנות הראב"ד ובעלי ההשגות האחרים. בניתוח הביקורת ההלכית מבקש סילבר את היסוד הרעיוני והתיאולוגי, ולרוב מגיע הוא למסקנה הנכונה, כי אין זיקה בין הבקרת ההלכית על הרמב"ם לבין הפולמוס הגדול כל תורתו⁵. להיפך: בעלי הפולמוס התיאולוגי לצד פרעו על סמכותו ההלכית של הרמב"ם, ושני התחומים לא נקשרו קשר הדוק זה עם זה.

ספר "מסנה תורה" עורר פולמוס עיוני רק משעה שעורר ר' מאיר בן טידורס אבולעפיה את בעיית תחיית המתים, וטען כי הרמב"ם כופר באמונת ייסוד זו. הפולמוס על בעיית תחיית המתים מתואר בפירוט בספרו של סילבר (109—135), אשר סיכם ותרגם את רוב הטכסטים המצויים בידינו על פולמוס זה. סילבר מזכיר את הבעיה במלוא היקפה, ונעזר לשם כך גם בחיבורים מאוחרים מבחינה כרונולוגית לעצם הפולמוס⁶. בהכללה המסכמת בירור זה (עמ' 134—135) מדגיש סילבר את מציאותם של גורמים אישיים ורגשיים פרטיים, בצד גורמים חברתיים ורעיוניים, שגרמו להתלקחות הפולמוס דווקא בבעיית זו.

הפרק האחרון בספר הוא המוקדש לתיאור עצם המחלוקת בשנים 1232—1235 (עמ' 148—198). אך כפתיחה לתיאור זו הקדיש סילבר פרק שלם, (עמ' 136—147) להצגה דמויותיהם של ר' שמואל אבן תבון, מתרגם השו"ת, ור' משה בן חסדאי מתקו, בעל "כתב זמים", בתור מייצגי שני הטיפוסים האישיים המבוגדים ביהדות המאה הי"ג, אשר תורותיהם מהוות את שני הקצוות הקיצוניים ביחס להתפתחות התיאולוגיה החדשה ביהדות שבמרכזה עומד הרמב"ם. בין שני קצוות אלה, בין "מאמר יקו המים" לבין "כתב זמים", התנהל הפולמוס ההיסטורי, אף-על-פי ששני אישים אלה לא לקחו בו חלק במישרין.

5. יש עניין במסקנה של סילבר (עמ' 32 והערה 1 שם) שקביעתו הדוממאטית של הרמב"ם בדבר הי"ג עיקרי האמונה לא הותירה הד בפולמוסים הראשונים לא בתחום המחלוקת ההלכית ולא בתחום המחלוקת העיונית. רק בפולמוסים מאוחרים יותר, בסוף המאה הי"ג, התעורר עניין זה.

6. מפליא עד מאוד, אם כן, מדוע הרבה סילבר להביא דברי חכמים מאוחרים לפולמוס בעניין תחיית המתים, ונמנע לגמרי מדיון ב"שער הגמול" לרמב"ן, המהווה הפמודדוף ישירה וגלויה בין תורת הרמב"ם בדבר תחיית המתים לבין תורת מתנגדיו, ובו נרמזה בבירור עמדתו הקבלית של הרמב"ן. יש להצטער גם על כן, שסילבר לא מצא מקום לנתח בפירוט את "אגרת תחיית המתים" לרמב"ם, שרבות בה הסתומות. היה עניין רב לנתח בפירוט כיצד הבינו בני הדור אגרת זו וכיצד פירשוה.

בתיאור המחלוקת ההיסטורית ניסה סילבר לצייר את דמויותיהם של המשתתפים העיקריים בפולמוס משני הצדדים, ולמצוא את הערכים העיקריים שהדריכו את פעולתם. ר' שלמה מן ההר, ר' יונה גירונדי, הרמב"ן, הרד"ק, ר' יהודה אלפאכר ואחרים זוכים לתיאור אישיותם ולנסיון לקבוע את מניעי פעולתם במסגרת הפולמוס. קוצו היריעה לא איפשר לסילבר להביא את אגרות הפולמוס בשלימותן או בעיקרן, כפי שנהג בפרקים הקודמים, הוא מסתפק בתיאור השלבים העיקריים בפולמוס ובהבלסת הנימוקים המרכזיים לתמיכה בתורת הרמב"ם ובהתנגדות לה. אין סילבר מזניח את הפרטים הכרוכים במעמד האישי של משתתפי הפולמוס ובתנאים החברתיים המיוחדים ששררו בקהילות שונות אשר השפיעו על יחסם של מנהיגים ושל קהילות לחרמות ולחרמות-שכנגד. הוא מציג את טענותיהם של שני הצדדים בנאמנות רבה, ומסכם את ספרו בקביעה: "בסובים ביותר שבין מתנגדי הרמב"ם היו אנשים טובים, ישרים, בעלי יכולת וחסידיים; הסובים ביותר שבין המיימוניסטים היו אנשים טובים, ישרים, בעלי יכולת וחסידיים. לחצו של הכרח הקיום הוא שהביא למחלוקת ביניהם, וזו הטרגיות שבפרק זה של ההיסטוריה" (עמ' 198).

ב.

יש במבנהו של הספר הנידון סידה מרובה של דיס-פרופורציה: ההכללות ההיסטוריות והרעיוניות שבפרקי הפתיחה ובתוך הפרקים השונים מתייחסות כולן לפולמוס הרעיוני על "מורה נבוכים" ועל הנסיון למיזוג הפילוסופיה היוונית עם תורת ישראל. לעומת זאת, רק רבע מן הספר בכללו מוקדש לבירור פרשה תוספנית זו, ומידת המיצוי והפירוס שבבירור זה נוסלה בהרבה מן שבפרקים הקודמים, הדנים בפולמוס ההלכי על "משנה תורה" ועל מחלוקת תחית המתים. נראה כאילו מלכתחילה נתכוון המחבר לדון במחלוקת הרעיונית בלבד, אך טרח להקדים לכך מבוא על ביצני המחלוקת שקדמו לפולמוס הגדול; מבוא זה נתארך והלך, ובסופו של דבר נעשה העיקר לספר — טפל. שמו של הספר, "בקורת הרמב"ם והפולמוס על הרמב"ם" משקף את מבנהו הנוכחי של הספר, בעוד ההכללה ההיסטורית שבתוכו משקפת עדיין את המבנה האחר, שבו הפולמוס הוא עיקר. ראוי אפוא להתייחס אל הספר כאל מבוא לפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם, הן מטעם זה שצויין, והן משום שפולמוס הרמב"ם לא נסתיים ב־1235; אדרבא, בכל הנוגע לזיכוח הרעיוני אין האגרות של שנות 1232—1235 אלא פתיחה למחלוקת עיונית ארוכה ומקיפה, שהתסיסה את הספרות והמחשבה במאה ה־יג כולה, ובראשית המאז הייך נתלקחה שוב לכלל מחלוקת היסטורית פלוזה חרמות. עובדה זו כמעט ואינה ניכרת בספר; חתימתו היא כתימתה של פרשה, בעוד שהספר כולו אינו אלא מבוא לפרשה זו.

יש יסוד לפקפק בחלק מהנחותיו ההיסטוריות של סילבר. הוא עצמו נדחק דחק כרינולוגי בשעה שהוא מנסה לקבוע את שינוי יחסה של הכנסייה לתורה שבעל־פה כגורם עיקרי לפולמוס, שכן תוצאותיו של שינוי זה ניכרות ברבן המכריע זמן ניכר לאחר הפולמוס. ואולם פגם יסודי יותר הוא בכך, שסילבר בנה את תיאור כולו, הן בפרסיו והן במסקנותיו הכלליות, על עובדה אחת: עובדת שריפתו של "מורה נבוכים" במונסלייה ב־1232. המלשינות על כתבי הרמב"ם כפני שלטונות הכנסייה היא היסוד העיקרי שעליו ניתן לבנות בניין זה של תיאור הסתד כפני הפעניינותה של הכנסייה בתורת ישראל. בכל חלקי הספר חוזר סילבר ומדגיש כי תוצאתו ההיסטורית של הפולמוס היתה שריפת כתבי הרמב"ם, ובודק הוא וחוקר את אישיותם של מתנגדי הרמב"ם כדי לברר אם יכלו אנשים כאלה לתת ידם למלשינות אם לאו. ספק רב אם ניתן לערוך מערכת מקיפה כל כך של תיאור היסטורי על עובדה אחת שרבו עד מאד הספיקות לגביה, ואשר צינה יוצעה לנו אלא מתוך עדות אחת (שיש בה סימנים פנימיים המעידים על מהימנותה), עדותו של הרד"ק, אך אף

היא עדותו של רחוק ממקום התרחשות הדברים ואין לדבריו סיוע ממקורות אחרים.⁷ כל עוד לא יתגלה חומר נוסף בעניין זה, הרי פרשת שריפת כתבי הרמב"ם, וכמה פרשת החרמות של חכמי צרפת, אשר הידיעות עליהן עקיפות הן, צריכות דיון זהיר ואין כל אפשרות לבסס עליהן בניין היסטורי שלם.⁸

דומה שהפגם הרעיוני העיקרי בתיאורו של סילבר הוא הצגת הפולמוס על כל הסתעפויותיו בפולמוס בין חדשנים לבין שמרנים. אמנם מעיר הוא מפעם לפעם כי לחכמי ספרד המקובלים היתה תפיסה מיסטית משלהם, ותפיסה "מיסטית" מייחס הוא גם לחסיד אשכנז, ואולם לגבי הבעיות התיאולוגיות שנתעוררו עלידי הרמב"ם נחלקו משתתפי הפולמוס לחסידים ומתנגדים בלבד. רק בדרך זו ניתן היה לבצדיק את פירושו ההיסטורי, על-פי היחס כלפי השלטונות הנוצריים, להתלקחות הפולמוס. דומה שתיאור נכון יותר, הן מבחינה רעיונית והן מבחינה היסטורית, יהיה תיאור הרואה את הפולמוס כשלב בתוך מסגרת רחבה של לבטיה של יהדות ימי הבניים לסגל את המסורת העתיקה אל המושגים התיאולוגיים החדשים שחדרו אליה מבחוץ. סיגול זה, שניקרו התפיסה הספיריטואלית של החיים הדתיים ותפיסה עיונית בייחודו של האל, משותף הוא לכל הלוקחים חלק במחלוקת ואף לעומדים מחוצה לה — למקובלים, לחסיד אשכנז על גוונים השונים ולבעלי העיון הפילוסופי המתונים והקיצוניים המחלוקת, אפוא, אינה על השאלה האם יש לדמוק בישן בלבד מבלי להוסיף עליו דבר, לעומת גישה חדשנית רדיקאלית; השאלה שעליה נסב הפולמוס, הן זה של שנות 1232—1235 והן כל הבאים אחריו, היא — היכן הגבול, עד היכן ניתן לקבל את הרעיונות החדשים ולכללם במסורת, והיכן טבועה הזרזות בעומקם של רעיונות עד כדי כך שאין כל אפשרות לשלבם במסורת. המאבק אינו בין "ריאקציה" לחדשנות, אלא בין גישות שונות ודרכים שונות המכוונות לפתור את שאלת החיים העיקרית של התאמת המסורת היהודית לאווירה הרוחנית של ימי הביניים. ביסודי מובהק לסטטוס תחומים בעניין זה יש בשימושו של סילבר במונח "אליגוריה". סילבר מתרגם באמצעות מונח זה כמעט כל פירוש של פסוק או מדרש המוציבו ממשוטט, ולרוב מהווה הוא תרגום למלה העברית "משל". עצם התרגום מטשטש כאן את עיקרה של הבעיה: דרכים שונות של פרשנות בוטאו בעברית באמצעות המלה "משל". בתקופה הנידונה, בדרך כלל, יש לתרגמו באמצעות המונח "מיטאפורה", שהוא האמצעי העיקרי, מאז רב סעדיה גאון ועד הרמב"ם ועד בכלל, להרחקת הגשמות מן התיאורים המסורתיים של האל, ואין בינו לבין אליגוריה ולא כלום. הסמל הקבלי מתורגם אף הוא באותה דרך, ואמנם לקוי דיונו של סילבר בפרשה זו יותר מבכל פרשה אחרת.⁹ בעיית הפרשנות האליגורית שימשה נושא חשוב בפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם בשלב מאוחר

7. דומה שעד היום שריר סיכומו של י. בער (תולדות היהודים בספרד הנוצרית², עמ' 484—485), בו שקל את הנימוקים המסייעים לתיאורו של הרד"ק והשוללים אותו. י. בער לא מצא בנתונים הללו אפשרות לפסוק בביתור אם אמנם נשרפו הספרים אם לאו, וסיים בהסתהגות: "העדות הקרובה ביותר היא עדותו של רד"ק, ועל פי דבריו אין לקבוע שהספרים נשרפו ממש".

8. עיין א. א. אורבך, "ציון" שם, עמ' 159—154. ניתן להקשות ע"כ כמה וכמה פרטים בתיאור ההיסטורי של המחלוקת בספרו של סילבר. ידידי מר י. שצמילר גילה תעודות אחדות שאולי ישפכו אור חדש על שלבים אחדים במחלוקת זו ואני מקווה שיפרסמם בקרוב. שוחחתי עם מר שצמילר על קצת ליקויים בתיאור ההיסטורי של סילבר, ולא כאן המקום לדון בהם אלא בניתוח כולל של תולדות הפולמוס.

9. סילבר דן בדרכי המחשבה הקבלית בעיקר בקשר לפירושו לדברי משולם דפיירה (עמ' 194 ואילך). אילו השתמש ב"משנת הוזהר" לי. תשבי, ואילו ניצל את ספרו החדש של ג. שלום על ראשית הקבלה אשר יצא לאור שלש שנים לפני ספרו, היה ניצול מטעוית אלה. הוא משתמש במאמר אחד של י. תשבי כל מקובלי גירונה, ואילו הספר העיקרי של חוג זה — "פירוש האגדות לר' צוריאלי", שיצא לאור על ידי י. תשבי בשנת תש"ה, לא היה לסניו כלל.

יותר, בעקבות דרכי הפרשנות של ר' יעקב אנאטולי ור' זרחיה חן ואחרים, ובפולמוס בימי הרשב"א בעייה זו היא מרכזית. אחת העובדות המעניינות היא שבפולמוס הראשון כמעט ולא נתעוררה שאלה זו. עליידי התרגום האחד טישטש סילבר את הגוונים השונים הן בהסקמותיהם של המיימוניסטים והן בטענותיהם של מתנגדיהם.

עבודתו זו של סילבר מוכיחה, אם אמנם צריך היה הדבר הוכחה נוספת, כי הדרשה העיקרית העומדת כיום בפני המחקר היא הוצאה שלימה ומדויקת של אגרות הפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם, שכן אף אלה שנדפסו בידי חוקרים לא זכו למהדורה בקרתית. בודאי מצויים אוצרות בעניין זה גם בכתביהיד, שכן כבר כבר דור שלם מאז נדפסו תעודות חדשות הנוגעות לפולמוס, ובדור זה נתרבו ידיעותינו על כתביהיד העבריים במידה רבה. סילבר לא ניסה כלל לחפש חומר נוסף, ואף לא קידמנו בבירורו המדויק של החומר הישן, אין ספק שיש לספרו חשיבות רבה כספר מסכם וכמבוא לשלב הראשון של פולמוס זה, וספחותנו המחקרית ענייה בספרי מבוא וסיכום מסוג זה, ואולם קשה לראות בספרו צעד של ממש בהתקדמותנו להבנת תולדותיה של פרשה מכרעת זו בתולדות המחשבה היהודית בימי הביניים.

ג.

אין כל אפשרות להעיר כאן על כל הפרטים הצריכים עיון ותיקון בספרו של סילבר. אסתפק בהערות אחדות לגבי ליקויים בולטים או לגבי ענינים שלא הושם להם לב במידה מספקת :

1. בניתוח בקרתו של שמואל אבן עלי על הרמב"ם קובע סילבר בדיון, שרבות מן הנקודות העיקריות שעורר החולק הן נקודות שבהן פוגע הרמב"ם לא רק במסורת היהודית, אלא גם במסורת המוסלמית (עמ' 64—65). ואולם סילבר מבקש להסיק מכאן מסקנה מרחיקת לכת : "אין ספק שניכרת כאן כוונה לערער את מעמדו של הרמב"ם לא רק בעיני יהודים אלא גם בעיני מוסלמים". קשה מאוד לקבל מסקנה זו ; נראה הרבה יותר לשער, שקביעה הלכית או עיונית המנוגדת למנהג אוני-ברסאלי בארצות המזרח תעמוד במרכזו של מחלוקת יותר מאשר בעיות משניות במעלה. עובדה היא שאותן בעיות עוררו גם חולקים בני ארצות הנצרות.

2. סילבר מביא כאילוטרציה מאוחרת לבעיית תחיית המתים (עמ' 114) מאמר של "החכם בן ראשית המאה הי"ג, זרחיה היווני", והספר ממנו מובאים הדברים הוא "ספר הישר". בהערה מציין סילבר שספר זה "יוחס זמן מה בטעות לר' יעקב בן מאיר, רבנו תם". מפליא כיצד נשמיט סילבר כל זכר לבעייה, שיש לה חשיבות רבה בספרו : האם חיבר ר' יונה גירונדי, מראשי המתפלמסים כנגד הרמב"ם, את "ספר הישר" ? בעייה זו נידונה עליידי החוקרים¹⁰, ואילו זותו של זרחיה היווני אינה ידועה כלל.

3. בתיאור בעיית תחיית המתים קובע סילבר את הבעיות ההיסטוריות והפרשניות שנתעוררו במחלוקת זו, אך נמנע מלהסביר אח עיקריה של הבעייה התיאולוגית. הויכוח לא נבע רק מן השאלה, האם השכר לצדיקים שכר רוחני היא או גשמי, אלא שרשו נעוץ בכפילות הרעיונית שירשו חכמי ימי הביניים מקודמיהם, הכפילות של ציור עולם הנשמות המקביל לעולם הזה לעומת העולם הבא בתחיית המתים ובאחרית הימים. הבעייה היא, אם אמנם זכות הנשמות לשכר רוחני מיד לאחר המוות, כפי שהאמינו רוב בני הדור, מדוע יחזור הקב"ה ויכלא את הנשמה בכלא הגוף הגשמי ובתחיית המתים ? מבחינה תיאולוגית תחיית המתים היא ירידה במעמדן של הנשמות, ולא עלייה. הרמב"ם תירץ זאת עליידי הקביעה שתחיית המתים היא שלב מעבר לקראת שכר רוחני נעלה יותר הניתן לנשמות בלבד ; אחרים, כגון הרמב"ן ב"שער הגמול", בויכוח כנגד הרמב"ם, קבעו כי הגוף¹⁰. עיין : י. מ. טולידאנו, הצופה לחכמת ישראל יא, תרס"ז, עמ' 239 ; י. תשבי, משנת הוזהר ב, ירושלים תשכ"א, תרנו—תרנח.

שיקום לתחייה בעולם הבא יהיה גוף רוחני מווכח, והשכר השלם יהיה אפוא שכר רוחני לרמות הגוף ולנשמה כאחד.

4. תיאורו של סילבר לספר "כתב תמים" לר' משה תקו מוקשה כולו. סילבר קובע, דרך משל, שר' משה כתב תוקף את "ספר חסידים לר' יהודה החסיד (עמ' 140); "ספר חסידים" אינו נזכר כלל ב"כתב תמים", וכנראה כרנתו של סילבר היא ל"ספר הכבוד" של ר' יהודה החסיד. כלאחר יד קובע סילבר (עמ' 139) שר' משה מבקר את דברי ר' אברהם אבן עזרא בפירושו לתורה וב"ספר החיים" שלו; לא שמענו עד כה שאבן עזרא חיבר ספר בשם זה. ר' משה מתקו מייחס אמנם לאבן עזרא ספר זה, ואולם החיבור הנדון הוא חיבור חסידי-אשכנזי המצוי בהרבה כתבי-יד, ואין הוא של הראב"ע¹¹. ללא כל בירור קובע סילבר כי "שיטתו [של ר"מ מתקו] מזכירה ספיקולאציות גנוסטיות", ואין לדבר כל יסוד, וכיוצא באלה. בדרך כלל משתמש סילבר במושגים "מיסטיקה" ו"גנוזיס" בצורה יופפת, ומייחסם לתחומים שבהם אין למושגים אלה כל משמעות. על הליקויים הרבים בתיאור הקבלה והמקובלים כבר הערנו לעיל.

5. לסיום ראוי להעיר על עניין אחד, התור הרבה בדיונים על תפיסה התורה ודרכי פרשנותה, אשר אף סילבר עומד עליו (עמ' 122), והוא יחסו של ספר הזוהר לסיפורי התורה. דברי הזוהר, המתארים את הסיפורים כלבושים חיצוניים של התורה, בעוד המצוות הן גוף התורה והסוד — נשמתה, וקביעתו כי אם העיקר הם הסיפורים — "אפילו בזמן הזה יכולים אנו לעשות תורה בדברי הדיוטות וביתר שבח מכולם"¹², ידועים בתור גילוי יחסו של המיסטיקן אל פשט התורה¹³. ראוי אפוא לציין, שבמקרה זה המקור לציור הזוהרי מקור פילוסופי הוא. בסוף הקדמתו לספר חובות הלבבות מביא ר' בחיי אבן פקודא משל, המתאר את חלקיה השונים של התורה¹⁴. לפי משל זה דומה הקב"ה נתן התורה למלך שנתן לעבדיו משי משלושה סוגים, מעלה בינוני ופחות; החכם יודע להבחין ביניהם, ולהשתמש בפחות כראוי לו ובמעולה כראוי לו, ואילו הכסיל משתמש בשלושת הסוגים כפי שמשתמש החכם בסוג הפחות. הנמשל הוא — הקב"ה נתן את התורה כדי לנסות את הבריות; למשי הפחות מקבילים סיפורי התורה ועניני ההיסטוריה ע"ה, לבינוני — המצוות המעשיות, ולמעולה — החכמה שבתורה. הכסיל רואה את התורה כולו כסיפורי מעשיות, ואילו החכם מניח את הסיפורים ועוסק בחכמה.

קשרים רבים מקשרים בין המשל ב"חובות הלבבות" לבין משל זה של הזוהר. דרכו העיקרית של הזוהר היא למנוח ארבע שכבות בתורה, ואילו בתיאור זה לא נזכרת ושכבה הרביעית. השימוש בציור הלבוש קשור באריגת הבגדים מלווי המשי במשל שב"חובות הלבבות". ההבחנה בין שכבות התורה לעומת סוגי בני אדם אף היא מתאימה בדיוק, והסיווגים משני הצדדים זהים הם. גם המשמעות העקרונית של ולוול מוסלג בפשט התורה משותפת לשני המחברים (והיא אופיינית יותר ל"חובות הלבבות" מאשר לזוהר, שכן הזוהר במקומות אחרים רואה משמעות נסתרת בתוך הפשט, ואילו במאמר זה אין הדבר נזכר; בעל "חובות הלבבות" אינו מזכיר משמעות נסתרת לפשט).

למרות הפיתוח השונה של ציורים אלה בפרשנות הפילוסופיה ובפרשנות הקבלת, יסודם משותף; דוגמה קטנה זו יש בה כדי ללמד על פרשיות רבות במחלוקת הרעיונית סביב כתבי הרמב"ם: נקודות המוצא משותפות הן לעתים קרובות, אף אם המסקנות מרחקות זו מזו מרחק רב.

11. עיין על ספר זה: ג. שלום, בספרו הגרמני הנזכר, עמ' 160.

12. זהר ח"ג קנב ע"א, תורגם ע"י י. תשובי, משנת הזוהר ב, עמ' תב-תג.

13. עיין י. תשובי, שם, עמ' שסח ואילך; ג. שלום, The Meaning of the Torah in Jewish Mysticism, "On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism", New-York 1965, 63-64.

14. מהר"א. צפרוני, ירושלים תרס"ח, עמ' 22-23.

The new citations were extracted from the translations of the talmudic text proper. Although they have neither been singled out as commentaries, nor has the "*Salomonis*" epithet been applied to them, their relation to the source of the extant Rashi Commentary is readily discerned, even after a cursory study. It may thus be shown that the Latin translator not only quoted Rashi verbatim, but actually based his translation on the Rashi Commentary.

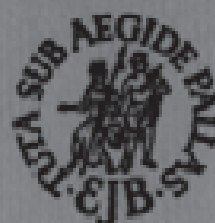
In a short survey of 34 citations from Rashi's Commentary on *Helek*, quoted by Raimundus Martini in his *Pugio Fidei*, the author has arrived at the conclusion that from a general standpoint, no major difference is to be noted between these commentaries and those found in the Paris manuscript.

BOOK REVIEW

D. J. SILVER'S *MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY*

by J. DAN (pp. 295-300)





E. J. BRILL — PUBLISHER — LEIDEN

MAIMONIDEAN CRITICISM AND THE MAIMONIDEAN CONTROVERSY

1180-1240

BY

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

cloth \$7.50

Some 40 years after Maimonides' death, the "Guide To The Perplexed" and the "Sefer ha-Mada" were condemned by an Episcopal Inquisition to the bon fire. Tradition tells that these volumes had been denounced to the Church by some Jewish leaders. This study presents a systematic investigation of Maimonidean criticism, debate and controversy preceding this burning of the books.

Contemporary Jewish reaction to Maimonides' classic synthesis of faith and reason was many-sided and the debate and the criticism and the personalities are analyzed and a continuous presentation of the events is made.

The controversy is found to be full of paradox. Despite its historical title the Maimonidean controversy was not a debate over Maimonides. Both antagonist and defender praised him. It must be seen primarily as a statement of the varying cultural and political conditions under which the widely-separated Jewish communities of the early 13th century existed. What was a functional approach to law and the tradition in Egypt seemed irrelevant in France and, to some in the Provence, actually dangerous. Besides a systematic presentation of the literature and the dispute the author has drawn the cultural tone of these various communities. Not the least interesting element of this study is his conclusion that the three leaders whom history has convicted of denouncing the "Guide" were, in fact, innocent of that crime.

-
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ע"י הוצאת "יבנה" תל-אביב

תש"ל 1973

מאסף זה יוצא לאור בסיוע

„קרן זכרון למען תרבות יהודית“, ניריורק

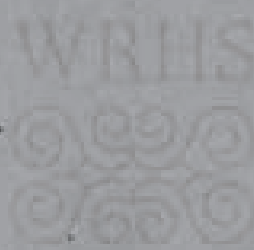
קרן בית הנשיא, ירושלים

משרד החינוך, להתרבות במדינת ישראל

קרן ישראל סך, ניריורק

המרכז לחקר כתבי יד של אוניברסיטת דרופסי, פילדלפיה, וקרן לוציוס נ ליסאור, ניריורק

שמחה זאב ולצמן (ד"ר)



Faith and reason: the conflict over the rationalism of Maimonides (ד) Vol. 1. Williamsport, Penna., The Bayard press., 1935. xiv, 285 p.

חדשה: New York: Hermon, 1970.

תאור המלחמה החריפה בין מצדדי הרמב"ם ומתנגדיו בדבר דעותיו הפילוסופיות של הרמב"ם, שהתחילה עוד בימיו ונמשכה כמה דורות אחריו. בפעם הראשונה ניתן כאן תאור כה מקיף באנגלית.

Jewish Quarterly Review, N.S. 28 (1938), 277-278

ביקורת מאת ש.ו. ציטלין ב- Who's Who in American Jewry, vol. 3, 924; American Jewish Year Book, חיבל: 55 (1954), p. 459

[76]

פילבר, רניאל ירמיהו (קליבלנד, אוהיו, ה' בניסן, תרפ"ח/26.3.1928 -). נולד לאביו ד"ר אבא הילל פילבר, המנהיג הציוני האמריקאי. למד באוניברסיטת הרברד, בהיברו יוניאן קולג' (1952), ובאוניברסיטת שיקאגו (דוקטור לפילוסופיה). פירסם:

Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180-1240. (א) Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965. 219 p.

Who denounced the Moreh? The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Volume of (ב) the Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, 1967, pp. 498-514

ר' שלמה ב"ר אברהם ותלמידיו ר' דוד ב"ר שאול ור' יונה גירונדי אינם אחראים לעלילה בדבר המורה נבוכים וספר המדע ומסירתם לשלטונות הבנוסיה. דברי ביקורת על ספרו:

יוסף דן, הפולמוס על כתבי הרמב"ם, חרביץ ליה (תשכ"ו), 300-295;

E. Rivkin, Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal, vol. 13, No. 5 (April 1966), p. 79-81; S. Zeitlin, Jewish Quarterly Review N.S., 57 (Oct. 1966), p. 154-158; J.I. Dienstag, In Jewish Bookland, Jan. 1966, p. 3

[77]

פרבוס, שפעון (נארול, גליציה המזרחית, י"ו בשבט תרנ"ב/15.2.1892 - ניר-זרק, רמלול תשכ"ט/20.8.1969).

הואמן ע"י גדולי הרבנים בגליציה ולמד באוניברסיטת חיינה ובבית המדרש לרבנים שם. מ' 1931 רב ראשי בפילאנדה, ומ' 1940 בארה"ב. חיבר ספרים על חקר התלמוד ובוסר היהדות. בין מחקריו - מאמרים על הרמב"ם:

(א) ביקורת אגרת תימן להרמב"ם, בקריכת שלמה גולדמן (ע"צ). הדואר, ט"ו כסלו, תשי"א, עמ' 74 = בספרו, חקרי יהדות, ירושלים, מוסד הרב קוק, תשכ"ו, עמ' 172-175.

(ב) יחסו של הרמב"ם ללשון העברית, הדואר, כרך 35, גליון 37 (כ"ד אלול, תשס"ו, עמ' 722-720 = בקובץ: הרמב"ם - תורתו ואישיותו, שבעריכתו, ניר-זרק, הקונגרס

- ג. הנ"ל, בהרצאה מורחבת, בספרו "תולדות העיקרים בישראל", כרך א', אוניסא, תרע"ג, עמ' 3-5; כרך ב', שם, תרע"ט, עמ' 127-161; 178-182.
- ד. תולדות הפילוסופיה בישראל על פי סדר המחברים, כרך שני: חומר וצורה, פילדלפיה, תרפ"ט; הפרק על הרמב"ם, עמ' 341-418; הופיע גם בגרמנית.
- ה. ערכה: "נימורק חושב, שעיקר חידושה של שיטת הרמב"ם היא ביטול היסוד התמרי בוויזיה והעמדת כל המציאות על הרוח. בעיקר הדברים נכונה בוודאי דעתו של נימורק, שעל פיה הוצעו כאן הדברים אם אמנם בשינויים יסודיים..." (יהודה אבן שמואל במבואו למורה נבוכים, חלק א', כרך א', עמ' XLII, הערה 165).
- ביבל: ג. קרסל: לכסיקון ב', 456-457; לעסיקאן פון דער נייער יידישער ליטעראטור 6, 230-231; Isaac Husik: Philosophical Essays, Oxford, 1952.

[74]

- נירנשטיין, שלמה (הארטפורד, קונ. כיה סיון, תרנ"ט/3.6.1899 -).
נולד לאביו ר' אליהו חיים הלוי, ממנו קיבל ראשית חינוכו הממורתי. למד בישיבת ר' יצחק אלחנן, במרינטי קוליג', באוניברסיטת פנסילבניה ובדרופסי קוליג' (ד"ר לפי-לוסופיה, 1922); סיים בית ספר למשפטים באוניברסיטת קולומביה (1924). הורה זמן קצר פילוסופיה בהיברו יוניאן קוליג' (1927-1928). פירסם:
The problem of the existence of God in Maimonides, Alanus and Averroes; a study in the religious philosophy of the twelfth century. Thesis, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, 1924. [4], 60 p. 8°
קוליג'. חדשים מ', (1924), vol. XIV, New Series, Jewish Quarterly Review, p. 395-454.
J[ulius] G[uttman], MfGWJ, vol. 69 (1925), ביקורת על עבודה זו: p. 398; M. Plessner, Orientalische Literaturzeitung, vol. 30, no. 4 (1927), p. 273-274.
ביבל: Who's Who in World Jewry 1965, p. 704-705.

[75]

- סאראטש'ק, יוסף (ניו-יורק, ר' חמא, תרנ"ב/1.7.1892 - לונג איילנד, ב' חמא תשי"ג/15.6.1953).
רכש השכלתו באוניברסיטת קולומביה (ד"ר לפילוסופיה, 1936) ובסמינר התיאולוגי מיטו של שכטר. שימש כרב בבית כנסת שמרני בניו-יורק (1928-1933) ועסק בהוראה.
א. פירסם חיבור מקיף על הרעיון המשיחי בספרות ימי הביניים, ובו מחקר על משנת הרמב"ם בנושא זה: The Doctrine of the Messiah in Mediaeval Jewish Literature, New York, 1932, pp. 126-161; פרסום חלקי הופיע ב-Jewish Forum, vol. 15, no. 10 (Oct. 1932), p. 317-320.
ב. Maimonides on Prophecy, Jewish Forum, vol. 18, no. 4 (April 1935), p. 81-83.
ג. שירים ומאמרים על הרמב"ם ב-The Courier, vol. 1, no. 3 (Feb. 1935), p. 9; no. 5 (April 1935), p. 9-10, 34-35.

Jacob I. Dienstag
15 East 71 Street
New York, New York 10021

February 16, 1978

Dr. Daniel Jeremy Silver

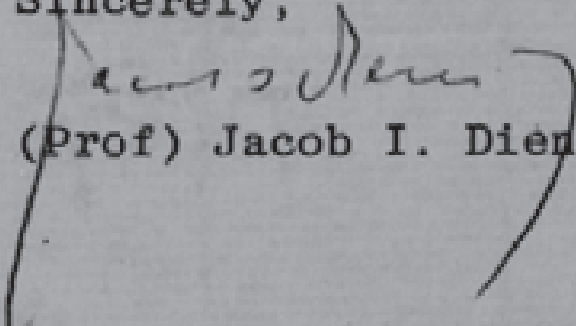
Dear Dr. Silver:

I am editing a volume for KTAV PUBLISHING HOUSE on the Maimonidean concept of Resurrection and would like permission to reprint your excellent chapter on this subject from Maimonidean Criticism, pp 109-135.

As I am not granted any funds for reprinting copyrighted materials, can you perhaps see to it that Brill will not charge me for their permission.

With many thanks,

Sincerely,


(Prof) Jacob I. Dienstag

March 7, 1978

E. J. Brill
Postrekening 13921
Leiden, Holland

Gentlemen:

The enclosed is self-explanatory. I hope you can grant
Professor Dienstag the permission he requires.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.



N.V. BOEKHANDEL EN DRUKKERIJ V/H E.J. BRILL LEIDEN

adres: Oude Rijn 33a
telefoon (071) 146646
telex 33129

Directie VER/EH/259-78

LEIDEN, March 30th, 1978

Dr. Daniel Jeremy Silver, Rabbi
The Temple University at
Silver Park
CLEVELAND, Ohio 44106
U.S.A.

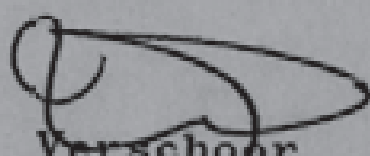
Dear Dr. Silver,

I herewith refer to your letter of 7 March 1978. I confirm that we shall give Professor Dienstag the authorization he requires

Trusting this confirmation will serve you, I am,

yours sincerely,

N.V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij
voorheen E.J. Brill, Leiden



J.D. Verschoor
General Secretary

April 5, 1978

Dr. Jacob L. Dienstag
15 East 71 Street
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Dr. Dienstag:

Following up on your letter of February 15, I am enclosing the permission from Brill which you requested. I would ask only that you send me a copy of the book when it is completed. I look forward to having it in my library.



Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.

Jacob I. Dienstag
15 East 71 Street
New York, New York 10021

April 12, 1978

Dr. Daniel Jeremy Silver
THE TEMPLE
University Circle at Silver Park
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you for your letter of April 5th with the enclosed permission by Brill to reprint the chapter on Resurrection from your book.

The title of the volume will probably be, Eschatology in Maimonidean Thought and will appear in the BIBLIOTHECA MAIMONIDICA series which I am editing for ETAV. The introduction and up-to-date bibliography on this theme, will, I hope, make this compilation a worthwhile reference book.

A copy of this volume will be sent to you as soon as it will be published.

With best wishes for a Hag Sameah, I am,

Sincerely,

(Prof.) *Jacob I. Dienstag*
Jacob I. Dienstag

P.S. I dictated this letter on the 5th day of Nissan. Coincident

Congratulations and best wishes on reaching the half-century mark - ad meah veesrim!