

THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS EMANCIPATION
IN BAVARIA
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,
AS REFLECTED IN THE WRITINGS OF
RABBI SAMSON WOLF ROSENFELD

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Letters, by Hilmar Bruce Ehrmann,
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TO ALL MY DEAR ONES OF THE ROSENFELD "MISHPACHAH"

WITH THE HOPE THAT,

BY THE EXAMPLE OF THEIR ILLUSTRIOUS FORBEAR,

THEY MAY BE LED TO

RENEWED ZEAL FOR OUR ANCIENT FAITH

THREE HUNDRED WORD DIGEST

Samson Wolf Rosenfeld (1782-1862) was rabbi of Uehlfeld, and later of Bamberg, Bavaria. He was a follower of Mendelssohnian ideas of enlightenment, believing that the Jews must become "civilized" if they were to become respected by the Gentile world. To this end, he sought to reform Judaism, in order to make it more attractive to the Jews, who would then be brought more firmly under its good influence; he did this also so that Judaism might become a more respected religion. His reforms, slight enough by modern standards, were always made on the basis of Jewish tradition. His most significant "reform" was the preaching of German sermons, which he began in 1812 or 1813. He was the first Bavarian rabbi to preach regularly in German, and one of the first, or possibly even the very first, rabbis to do so in all Germany. He was the first RABBI of whom I know who was in any way connected with Reform Judaism; after his earlier years were past, however, other rabbis far surpassed him in the extent of their reforms. Ultimately he is perhaps more significant for Conservative than for Reform Judaism.

Rosenfeld was the foremost Bavarian fighter for Jewish emancipation, writing many petitions to the Diet on this subject. He was the first rabbi in modern history to send such a petition to a parliament. He established the first modern Jewish newspaper in the German language, and edited a

large Christian devotional work for Jewish use.

While he was neither as original nor as learned as many of the later German Reform rabbis, yet in his early days he stood head and shoulders above his colleagues, having gained by self-study a considerable secular education, which made him far superior to those trained only in talmudic dialectic.

He was known as the "Nestor" of the modern Bavarian rabbis. In his younger years he suffered for his modernity, being placed under the ban by the Bet-Din of Fuerth because of his attitudes. He did not heed the ban, under which he lived for over forty years, but forged ahead, speaking his mind and acting courageously, becoming a successful and respected rabbi in Israel.

PREFACE

The Bowling Green, Kentucky, "Courier", quoting an item from the Louisville, Kentucky, "Courier-Journal", for a date early in November, 1898, states, in reporting the death of my great-grandfather, Morris Rosenfeld:

... He came of a family of scholars, his father having been the first reformed Rabbi in Europe ...

Morris Rosenfeld was the son of Rabbi Samson Wolf Rosenfeld, the subject of this study. There has always been a tradition in our family that the rabbi was, as the "Courier-Journal" put it, "the first reformed Rabbi."

When I came to the Hebrew Union College, and found that the name of Rosenfeld was utterly unknown, my faith in family traditions was a bit shaken. The present study, therefore, is an attempt (I hope not too biased) to investigate Rosenfeld's career with a view to ascertaining what place, if any, he holds in the ranks of the Reform rabbis. The results, if not anything cataclysmic, may at least prove instructive and, I hope, interesting.

Among others, my thanks are due to Rev. Dr. Max Vogelstein, who has been of inestimable help to me in surmounting language difficulties, and in transcribing manuscripts written in German script. He is chiefly responsible for the interpretation of the material given in Appendix B. I also thank my aunt, Mrs. Max Sabel, of Louisville, Kentucky, for making available

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H. B. E.

Cincinnati

April 27, 1948

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

Bavaria, Germany, in the days of Samson Wolf Rosenfeld's boyhood, during the closing years of the 18th century, was still socially and intellectually a medieval land. The French Revolution (1789) was soon to come, however, and great changes, which would drastically revise man's outlook upon the world and his place therein, lay immediately ahead. During these years Bavaria was an electorate, as it had been for centuries. The elector, Maximilian IV Joseph, who succeeded to office in 1799, and his trusted minister, Max Josef von Montgelas, were to bring a new interpretation to the theory of government, for these were "enlightened" men, who looked upon power as a force to be wielded not for private gain, but for the public good. Under their tutelage Bavaria began to grow from a rather petty state into a power of considerable, even if not of first-rate, significance. In 1803 the ancient bishopric of Bamberg (about which much more later) was annexed by Bavaria, which at about the same time was further enlarged by the accession of other small and hitherto independent Franconian states, such as Ansbach. In celebration of his increased importance the elector, in 1805, had himself proclaimed King Maximilian I. He would have continued to rule in his enlightened but conservative manner, had not the revolutionary influences of the Napoleonic campaigns compelled him to grant a constitution in

1808. The constitution provided for a legislative assembly, but this was never convened: evidently the king was strong enough, after granting this charter, to see that it did not in any way serve to endanger his regal position (1).

Nor were the Jews unaffected by the new spirit, devoted to the dignity and rights of man, which had emerged out of the French Revolution. In the breasts of these downtrodden people, who were in no sense citizens of the state, but rather "Schutzjuden", "protected Jews" - practically speaking, possessions of the Crown - vague stirrings toward the ideal of freedom began to be made manifest. (As early as February 14, 1792, a Jewish petition for emancipation was given to the government by three Jews of Fuerth, Bavaria's largest Jewish community, in the name of that community and the rest of Franconian Jewry (2).) The elector was not entirely unreceptive to such ideas, but he could not go all the way with the demands of this Jewish petition. He evinced his friendliness and good resolves by declaring on January 26, 1801 that to him "the fatherly wish had become intense to make some sort of arrangement for this unfortunate class of people, which is present in considerable numbers in the electoral domains, from which domains they can no longer be excluded without being unjust and inhumane, so that they will gradually become useful citizens" (3).

But it would be a long time before the Jews became citizens in the full sense of the word. However, a beginning was made in

the first decade of the 19th century, a period during which humanitarian idealism blossomed forth in Bavaria, as elsewhere. As a prelude, civil freedom was granted to all Christian denominations on January 10, 1803 (4). The public schools, which for the most part were closed to Jewish children (5), were opened to them in 1804; in 1805 Jews were permitted to enlist in the militia, and in 1808 the Jewish poll-tax was abolished (6). But not until 1849 would a Jew (Morgenstern) be elected to the Diet (7); and complete civil rights were to wait until after Bavaria joined the German Empire, and accepted the imperial constitution of 1872 (8). Only in Bavaria's Rhenish Palatinate did the Jews throughout this era enjoy the civil rights they had attained under Napoleonic rule (9).

Voices from the Jews seeking emancipation increased gradually after the first Fuerth petition. In 1803 Elkan Henle, of that city, published anonymously an article "About the Improvement of Judaism"; in 1811 he had the distinction of being the first Bavarian Jew to publish a brochure on emancipation. This brochure, written in a modern enlightened manner, and dedicated to Montgelas, was called "About the Condition of the Jews in the Kingdom of Bavaria, and their Betterment for the Welfare of the State" (10). But if the Fuerthers had taken the first steps toward Jewish freedom, it was the Munich community (Munich was the capital of Bavaria) which

stood unreservedly for the new humanitarianism, and which played a leading role in this fight which was to last more than half a century. They petitioned the king for equal rights on April 8, 1812 (11). The Jews of Bamberg, which also had a prominent Jewish community, followed Munich's lead with a similar petition, on January 22, 1813 (12).

The government's answer to these requests from Munich and Bamberg was the Edict of June 10, 1813, a document which was supposed to be transitional and temporary, in accordance with the government's theory of "civilizing" the Jews gradually, a document which pleased no one, because it was at one and the same time both encouragingly modern and appallingly medieval (13). Its more important points run as follows:

1. Only those Jews who have legally received the right of residence may become citizens.
2. For the enjoyment of civil rights, Jews must register in the Jewish Register.
3. To this end, within three months all Jews must appear at their local police station and give the following information: address, age, number in the family (14), occupation; and they must turn in their various letters of protection, permits and residence licenses.
4. The police, if they find these papers in good order, are to ask the Jew:
 1. If he has not a family surname already, does he wish to take one, and if so, what surname does he choose?
 2. Whether he wishes to take the oath of citizenship as prescribed in the constitution.
5. Jews are not permitted to choose the names of noted families, or such as are already common. Jews who operate businesses may retain their former name, but must add the new surname to it.
7. The Jew must take the oath of citizenship on the Bible. He is to receive a new document to take the place of his former letter of protection.

9. The Jew must use his new name in all his affairs.
10. Jews who do not comply with this edict are to be treated as foreign Jews.
11. Immigration and settling of foreign Jews in Bavaria is forbidden.
12. The number of Jewish families in the places where such exist must not be increased, but if it is too large, ought rather to be gradually decreased.
13. The right of domicile for Jewish families in addition to the number to be determined by the Jewish Register, or the right of domicile for Jews in places where no Jews live at present, is to be granted only by the Crown, and only on the basis of the following conditions:
 1. to Jews who establish factories or wholesale firms.
 2. to Jews who adopt a suitable handicraft, providing they have master-workmen's certificates.
 3. to Jews who have bought sufficient land to support themselves wholly through agriculture.Exclusions: The purchase of a trifling property, as for instance a house without fields, or a house without adoption of a suitable handicraft, or the establishment of an ordinary warehouse or sales booth, or the pursuit of another, even though permitted, business - - these acts do not suffice to give a Jew permission to receive the right of domicile either in the place where he is living in addition to the "normal count", or in any other place.
14. Jews wishing to get married must give up peddlery for some legally acceptable trade.
15. Various regulations calculated to wean the Jews away from peddling.
20. Peddling is not grounds for receiving the right of domicile. The only Jews who may continue to peddle are those who already do so, and who are unable to learn a suitable trade.
21. The Jewish Corporations are dissolved. (These were the former Jewish bodies politic.)
22. The Jews no longer constitute a separate community, but are one with the non-Jews.
23. Full religious freedom is assured to the Jews, who constitute a private church organization.

24. Wherever there are 50 Jewish families, the Jews may organize a congregation; if, furthermore, there is a police station, then the Jews may have a synagogue, a rabbi and a cemetery.

25. Where there are not enough Jews to constitute a congregation, the Jews may not hold services in their homes; they are permitted only private meditation. Where there is a synagogue, no one other than the rabbi or his recognized substitute may exercise religious functions.

26. When rabbinical positions are to be filled, the members of the congregation will propose some rabbi, who will then be examined by the district governmental authorities. On the basis of this examination he will be either confirmed or rejected. No rabbi is to be dismissed without governmental approval.

27. Rabbinical aspirants must:

1. be royal subjects, enumerated in the Jewish Register.
2. know German, and be well educated.
3. not be usurers or in bankruptcy, and must be of good moral character.

28. The rabbi must take an oath that he will not teach anything detrimental to the state, and that he will not belong to any foreign organization.

29. Points 26, 27 and 28 apply also to all present rabbis.

30. The rabbi no longer has the right to decide cases of law. He shall stick to religion. All laws of the kingdom apply to the Jews, except when these are contradicted by special laws concerning the Jews.

32. Jewish children are to attend the public schools, and are permitted to attend the higher schools if they wish.

33. Jews may establish their own secular schools for their children, provided they employ modern, educated, approved teachers, who must receive a minimum salary of 300 Gulden.

34. Any Jew wishing to be confirmed as a rabbi must have a diploma from a gymnasium (15).

The Edict of 1813 was intended by the government to be forward-looking. They wished to educate the Jews, and have them

enter what they considered more "productive" trades than peddling. But, if Jewish social and intellectual betterment was provided for in the points concerning education of the young, and of Jewish teachers and rabbis, Jewish prestige was crushed by the laws concerning the "normal count" and the "right of domicile" (16). The Jew who was not included in the "normal count" could have no right of domicile. Hence he could not marry, or found a family; he was condemned either to celibacy or emigration (17). Although enlightened, the monarch was not sufficiently modern to permit the Jews to increase their number; the laws against such increase have often been called "Pharaonic". Similar legislation was enacted by the Austrian Crown concerning the Jews of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (18). It was not easy to get a place on the "normal count", and so be able to lead a normal life. If someone within this "count" died, then his place was open for aspirants. The eldest son had the right to inherit his father's place in the "count" (19). If he did not claim this position, others might seek it, but they were often forced to pay up to 1000 Gulden for the privilege, in addition to a 30 Gulden tax (20). (About half of Bavarian Jewish youth, realizing that "only behind the hearse of a certificate-holder could they arrange their own bridal chamber", emigrated to the United States during the years 1813-1850. These were generally the cleverest and most ambitious young people, who, beside depriving Bavaria of their abilities, often took with them consi-

derable sums of money, which proved an incalculable injury to the state (21.)

Nor was it easy for the Jews suddenly to become farmers, artisans or manufacturers, and thus acquire supernumerary positions over the "normal count". The government sought to change Jewish economy overnight; but the Jews, being only human, were unable to make this cataclysmic change. In America, on the other hand, they could pursue their small businesses and their peddling without governmental interference. For the young men in Bavaria, America presented by far the easier and more attractive choice.

Many Jews early appreciated the backwardness of these restrictive decrees, among these Rosenfeld, the subject of our study, who was to battle them throughout his life, and in old age to glory in their removal, in 1861, the year before his death (22). But at the time only a few Jews had a clear comprehension of the good points of the Edict of 1813, and saw how they might be applied beneficially to Jewish life. Rosenfeld was one of these few: as he fought the edict's restrictive decrees, so did he champion the new social and intellectual life which it made possible (23)/

Most of the Jews did not understand the new "spirit of the times" because they lived in a world unto themselves; to them, the world at large was "terra incognita". Not even the rabbis, theoretically the best educated among the Jews, knew much about what was going on: they read the Talmud and the Responsa, but

not the government publications which heralded the "new era" (24). Most of those rabbis who did have an inkling of the changes which the early 19th century was bringing viewed these changes with alarm, and preferred to remain rooted in the past. (25).

As late as the 1840's, indeed, two pillars of orthodoxy, Bamberger of Wuerzburg and Dr. Feuchtwanger of Oettingen, appealed to the king NOT to grant the Jews complete emancipation (26)!

The laity, following the rabbis' lead, were afraid to send their children to the German schools, believing that this would be the first step toward the downfall of Judaism (27). As for the traditional Jewish schools, these were in a very degraded state. "There were no competent teachers or rabbis who understood the difficulties of the age. The rabbis, mostly of the old school, ignorant of the language of the land, fearful of the new world about them, opposed all change for the better...Instructors in the villages were hopelessly incompetent" (28). They were contemptuously called "Lehrer der Rinder und Schlaechter der Kinder" ("teachers of oxen and butchers of children") by Judah Loeb Benzeeb, the Hebrew grammarian, a radical of the Mendelssohnian school (29). Any Jew, therefore, who wished to become educated, either had to teach himself or employ a private tutor. Few of those who did study did so more than superficially; most flitted about from one subject to another. Out of the multitude, a few well educated self-taught men, such as Nachman Krochmal and Salomon Judah Loeb Rappoport stand out. With these must also be reckoned Rabbi Samson Wolf Rosenfeld, to whose life and works we now turn our attention (30).

CHAPTER II

AN OUTLINE OF ROSENFELD'S LIFE

Rosenfeld's father was Hirsch Loew Rosenfeld (1) of the little town of Markt Uehlfeld, in the Rezat district of Bavaria (2). For some 40 years he served as a member of the board of directors of the Uehlfeld Jewish congregation (3), during much of which time he was President (Parnoss) (2). Hirsch Loew was a merchant, and was, unlike most Jews of his day, a rich man, and highly respected. (3). He is said to have been a learned talmudist and a deeply pious man. He was noted in his neighborhood for his clarity of mind and his honesty. Not only was he rich, but he stood out in another respect: he was one of that small minority of Jews who were free of the dark, stifling spirit of Orthodoxy which at the time dominated Jewish life, repressing every modern thought (4). He died in 1822 (4a).

On the maternal side, Rosenfeld's great-grandfather was Rabbi David ben Joel Disbeck (also Dispeck, Dishbeck) (5), (1723-1794) (6). Disbeck was educated at Fuerth, becoming "dayyan" (judge) there in 1767; in 1771 he was rabbi of Mering and the Schwarzwald; in 1778 he headed the "yeshiba" in Metz; and in 1785 he became rabbi of Baiersdorf and Bayreuth (7). He is best known for his "Pardeß David", published in Sulzbach in 1786 (8). Although Rosenfeld's biographer Klein called "Pardes David" a book of Responsa (9), it is in fact a collection of the sermons he delivered in the various congre-

gations of his circuit rabbinate in the Hohenzollern-Hechingen area (probably while he was rabbi of Mering and the Schwarzwald). These sermons are arranged according to the weekly Torah portion (10).

Rosenfeld's maternal grandfather (who evidently married Disbeck's daughter) was Rabbi Salomo Samson (11) who, like his father-in-law, was rabbi of Baiersdorf and Bayreuth, although he took over these positions at an earlier date, probably shortly after 1758. At the beginning of his tenure he lived in Baiersdorf, but moved his residence to Bayreuth some time between 1763 and 1771 (12).

Sara Samson Rosenfeld, the mother of the subject of our study, lived at least until 1819 (13). She was a very clever and pious woman, who took great pride in her well reared children (14). Rosenfeld, even in his old age, still worshiped his mother's memory, feeling that she, as a God-fearing woman possessed of every female virtue, had contributed much to his own spiritual development (15).

The wealthy Rosenfelds had ten children (16), five sons (17) and five daughters. The sons all lived in Uehlfeld for a long time, and were considered the elite of the Jewish congregation (17). ("Thank God", wrote Rosenfeld in 1822, "no one in my family peddles!" (18). One of the sons was Simon Hirsch Rosenfeld, who, by appointment of July 29, 1815, had become a lieutenant in the Neustadt Battalion of the militia, something which was rather an achievement in those days (17).

Of Rabbi Rosenfeld's wife we know little, save that she was from the town of Biedenbach, and that her given name began with "F". She died young in June, 1824, leaving the rabbi to raise her four motherless children. She was very beautiful, and was a pious, virtuous woman. All that we know of her is contained in a poem about her, written by a friend of the family, one Nikolaus Paulus of Oberhoechstädt, on the occasion of her death. Paulus may well have been a non-Jew; if so, this tribute is rare indeed, and speaks well for the Rosenfeld family (19). There is no record of Rosenfeld's ever having remarried, although he was only 41 at the time of his wife's death.

✓ (We know the names of only two of Rosenfeld's four children: Moses and Jette (Yetta). Moses (also known as Max and Moritz, and in the United States as Morris) was born in Uehlfeld on April 4, 1818, and was given a good education. In 1851 he came to Louisville, Kentucky, where he went into business and married Bertha Lieberman, a young woman also from Bavaria. He was President of one of the Jewish temples in Louisville (probably Adath Israel). He died on November 3, 1898, following his wife to the grave by exactly one week. Abram, his son, was my grandfather (20). Jette married Dr. Josef Klein in 1841. Klein was born in Memmelsdorf, and was rabbi of Stolp in Pomerania, and later of Glogau (or Gross-Glogau) in Silesia. He evidently took his rabbinical training under Rosenfeld while the latter was rabbi of Bamberg, and there met and loved his daughter. While a student in Bamberg, he assisted Georg Riegler and Adam Martinet in the preparation of

their Hebrew grammar, "Hebraeische Sprach-Schule". This grammar, published in Bamberg in 1835 by two Catholic professors at the Royal Bavarian Lyceum in that city, was the first book ever published there which employed Hebrew type (21). Another son of Rabbi Rosenfeld is thought to have been a professor, but it is not known where (20).

(Rosenfeld had a nephew, Simon K. Rosenfeld, who died in Philadelphia on August 11, 1854. He wrote an article, just before his death, for Isaac Leeser's "Occident", which stirred up considerable controversy. The article was a severe criticism of Isaac M. Wise's "History of the Israelitish Nation", and was signed by "Sendro Melfonsi", a scrambling of the letters constituting "Simon Rosenfeld". Leeser wrote that Rosenfeld had previously belonged to the Reform party, but that he had, before his death, returned to Orthodoxy (22).) There were numerous other Rosenfeld descendants, some of whom moved to Nuremberg and Fuerth; they are said to have been distinguished by their education and industry (23).

Samson Wolf Rosenfeld was born on December 31, 1782 (24), in Markt Uehlfeld, very near Neustadt-on-the-Aisch, the birthplace of Elijah Levita, the well-known grammarian and instructor of Christian Hebraists, who was born in 1469 (25). As early as his third year, the future rabbi was sent for Hebrew lessons to a Rabbi Simon, or "Shimmele", who used the then current pedagogical method called "An angel throws". The teacher, like an unseen angel, would throw candy over the pupil's head as a reward for attention and good behavior. The boy progressed rapidly, disp-

laying an excellent mind and an insatiable desire to learn (26). At four he was transferred to a Rabbi Jacob, later associate rabbi in Regensburg, under whom he studied Bible translation. This instruction began, according to the advice of the Midrash, with the book of Leviticus, which was considered best adapted to literal translation by the young. Rabbi Jacob was quick-tempered, and did not spare the vinegar-soaked rod, with which he was particularly adept on Thursdays, when, as was customary in the old "chadarim", reviews and examinations were held. Rosenfeld, in his old age, delighted in telling how he never had felt the evil rod. When Rabbi Jacob met him years later, as a boy of fifteen, noting his talmudic ability, he exclaimed: "You'll really amount to something!" (27).

At seven years of age Rosenfeld was sent to Baiersdorf to a Rabbi Ischai to begin his talmudic studies, which started with "Makkot" ("Whippings"). "But I", Rosenfeld used to say, "never received any 'makkot'". In his second week with Rabbi Ischai Rosenfeld so delighted his teacher by a question he had asked that the latter cried out joyfully: "By my life! You have correctly understood Maharsho's (28) 'kashya'!" (Talmudic problem). At nine, the lad returned home to study under a private tutor. His father taught him Talmud and the tutor instructed him in Bachya's "Duties of the Heart" and Maimonides' "Guide to the Perplexed", which he was not only able to translate, but also to understand. He studied the Hebrew text of the whole Bible, something then rare among talmudic students, and he knew

the Psalms by heart. At this time he was already proficient enough in Talmud to work through entire tractates, together with all the commentaries, without any help at all.

(His last home tutor was Rabbi Salomon of Schwabach ("Reb Salme Schwobboch"), later a teacher in Abelsdorf. "Reb Salme" used to consume vast quantities of beer while teaching his charges, and he had the misfortune to die on Purim; whereupon a talmudic wag remarked dolefully: "Shikker the whole year, but sober on Purim!") Rabbi Salomon helped Rosenfeld digest and solidify the learning he had already gained, so that when it came time for his "Bar Mitzvah", he was able to compose, according to the old custom, a Hebrew speech which lasted over an hour (29). Rabbi Salomon now declared, with that modesty which is said to have typified the teachers of his day, that he no longer sufficed for the needs of his pupil.

At the request of the senior Rosenfeld, he took the youth to the talmudic "yeshiba" or high school at Fuerth (30). Rosenfeld, now aged thirteen, made rapid progress in his rabbinic studies at this school, which was then (the 1790's) in full bloom (31). Rabbi Chaim Dispeck, later rabbi in Hechingen, was his teacher and friend, and began to impart his liberal ideas to him, giving him the Mendelssohnian magazine "Hameassef" to read in his quarters. (He would hardly have dared read such a magazine within the precincts of the Orthodox "yeshiba"!) In his spare time he studied the "Bechinat Olam" so thoroughly that even in his old age he still knew it by heart (30). This

work, written in the early 14th century by Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi, who called himself "Penini" ("Dispenser of Pearls"), was a tremendously popular didactic poem, which has been published at least 68 times, and for which many commentaries have been written. Its theme must have influenced Rosenfeld considerably: Do not give in to temptation. Do not blame God for evil, which is man-made, nor try to understand His nature. Instead, worship Him and keep His commandments (32).

While at Fuerth Rosenfeld continued to study Maimonides, whose "Guide for the Perplexed" he continued to study until his old age; he read the philosophers Jehudah Halevi, Joseph Albo and Bachya; but above all, he continued in his studies of the Bible, using every commentary available. He knew the Bible almost by heart (33). He gave particular attention to his Hebrew style, mastering the art of writing in the Holy Tongue. Distasteful to him in the extreme was the mixed Hebrew style then current among the rabbis, which was an ambiguous "hodge-podge" of biblical and rabbinic idioms (33). He continued his talmudic studies with his friend Dr. Hess, later the chief Jewish teacher at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and, before any of his fellow-students, he studied French with Hirsch Berlin, in which he became proficient (34). In 1802, at nineteen, Rosenfeld received his "Morenu" (rabbinical diploma) from the Bet Din (rabbinical court) of Fuerth; then he returned to Uehlfeld (35). Years later, on December 15, 1815, he was presented with a second rabbinical diploma by District

Rabbi Hillel Sontheim of Aschaffenburg, as a token of his esteem (36). An estimate of Rosenfeld's attitude during his formal schooling states that he valued clarity of mind, and sought to attain a clear comprehension of his studies. He was, accordingly, a declared enemy of the "pilpulistic" dialectical methods which were then the pride of the "yeshivot". While he studied everything given him, he was eager to learn only things which were inspiring and made sense (37).

The young rabbi returned home with no intention of taking a pulpit, but rather with the desire of educating himself further. The German language and the elementary secular things he had learned in childhood; now he began to acquire a well rounded general education, while at the same time continuing his Jewish studies, especially Talmud and Hebrew grammar. His hero and mentor was Moses Mendelssohn, whom he had first studied in his years at the "yeshiva". He absorbed Mendelssohnian ideals and philosophy, and taught himself to imitate Mendelssohn's German style, which is everywhere evident in his writings. Rosenfeld's world-view widened, his tastes were refined (38).

Through Mendelssohn Rosenfeld was led to the German classics (39), and to the Protestant philosophers. Christian Wolff (1679-1754), the rationalist who preached that human reason could, by its own efforts, attain to moral truth (40), was his guide (41). He learned to know the German poets intimately, and among the moral philosophers his favorite was Christian

Fuerchtegott Gellert (1715-1769), who had written some of the great religious poems of his time (42). One of Gellert's hymns was used by Israel Jacobson at the dedication of the liberal Seesen temple in 1810 (43). In his various writings Rosenfeld displays a knowledge of Rabbi Azariah's "Meor Enaim", of Nachmanides' "Sefer Haggeulah" (44), of the English language (45), and of the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew (in which he evidently was not too skilled, for he falls into the trap of transcribing "chol" as "chal") (46).

The sum and substance of Rosenfeld's education may be stated in four words: traditional Judaism plus enlightenment. Like the famous reformer Israel Jacobson, he was possessed by this spirit of enlightenment which had been brought to the Jews through the medium of Mendelssohn. The rational, the timely, the esthetic, were almost obsessions with both of these Jewish leaders. To them, enlightenment meant

a common sense philosophy that conceived of the universe and all history as something which can be made quite clear to reason because everything grows out of reason. The adoption of this point of view must "clear up" all mystery, do away with all superstition and illuminate everything by the torch of reason. Knowledge must be made the possession of all people. The mind must be made free and rule every act. Reason is the only road to salvation. Reason which ruled the world of Nature was accorded an almost religious veneration. ... (The enlightenment) proclaimed an exultant belief in an inevitable advance to freedom, dignity and human happiness. It taught a respect for human rights and made popular the words humanity, good will, natural rights, liberty, equality and brotherhood. It was the philosophy of unlimited optimism...(47).

This synthesis of Judaism and enlightenment made Rosenfeld one

of a select group of modern Jews; in his earlier days he was almost the only German rabbi of this type, probably, indeed, the only one in Bavaria.

His educational attainments were respected by those who knew him.

His sharp mind, his inquiring spirit, his love for literature, bound up with persistent zeal and iron application - which qualities he retained his whole life long - raised him in worldly knowledge above his fellow-Jews of the time in Bavaria; and his family, his community and all who, in Bavarian Israel, were interested in the need for up-to-date education, were...proud of him (48).

After the death, in 1808, of the rabbi of Uehlfeld, Rosenfeld was unanimously chosen by the congregation to be his successor. After an examination of his qualifications, he was confirmed on August 13, 1808, as associate rabbi of the little town. In 1815 he was made chief rabbi, and in 1821 his jurisdiction was extended to comprise the whole Neustadt district (49). As rabbi, Rosenfeld accepted neither salary nor fees (50). His father, the richest Jew in Uehlfeld, would surely have had to pay the bulk of his son's salary had Rosenfeld accepted a stipend, and this would have created a rather anomalous situation. Evidently the senior Rosenfeld was providing privately for his son's support; it would, therefore, have made very little difference whether or not the rabbi received a salary. For many years Rosenfeld, in addition to being rabbi, was also President of his congregation (51), an "unbeatable" combination which should cause many a present-day rabbi to turn green with envy!

Markt Uehlfeld, in which Rosenfeld was to work fruitfully as rabbi for nearly eighteen years, was a flourishing and affluent community. He set to work "enlightening" the people. One of his first successes was the establishing, in 1812, of a German secular school for the Jewish children, in which there was one other teacher beside himself (52). This school was certainly on the order of those others established by the early devotees of enlightenment in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, in Berlin (1778), Breslau (1791), Dessau (1799), Seesen (1801), Frankfort (1804), Wolfenbuettel (1807) and Cassel (1809) (53), although it was of course much smaller and more primitive. Yet, primitive though it may have been, it outshone the government schools of the day, for Rosenfeld tells us that his school was regularly designated by the government school inspectors as the best in their district. (Of the curriculum we know nothing, save that Johlson's textbook on "Mosaic Religion" was used to supplement the Hebrew which the children learned in their Hebrew school (54). In its day Johlson's book must have represented quite an advance: Isaac Leeser translated it into English for use in the United States. Rosenfeld, like Jacobson, whom he resembled in many ways, felt that only rationalistic education of the young could stop the "moral decay in Jewry" (55).

Education would fit (the Jew) into his surroundings and prepare him for the emancipation which was sure to come some day. Once the Jew was free he would be in a position to desert the petty trading which had degraded him and to enter into agricultural and industrial pursuits ... An

educated Jew would convince the world that Jews are worthy people and Gentiledom would be so impressed that it would remove the laws that had made it impossible for them to live naturally and properly...(56).

These thoughts, like others which belonged to Israel Jacobson, fit the mind of Rosenfeld precisely.

Religious education, too, as a means of ennobling the Jew and making him thrill to the beauties of his ancient faith, was dear to Rosenfeld, as to Jacobson (57). He had the congregation acquire a special Hebrew teacher, who was well educated, to carry on this religious instruction. For these classes Rosenfeld wrote a Hebrew-German textbook for beginners (58). He also cared for the education of those beyond school age by establishing various organizations. One of these was a young people's group, before which he used to preach special sermons, and for which he provided a library (59). Other activities of his during his career in Uehlfeld will be discussed elsewhere in this study.

In 1818, through the dedication of a new synagogue in Uehlfeld, and in 1819, through his writings to the Diet on behalf of Jewish emancipation, Rosenfeld became a well-known figure in Bavarian Jewry. What sort of appearance did this "new-fangled" rabbi, shortly to become the center of a "cause célèbre", make? We possess a full-face drawing of Rabbi Rosenfeld, made between 1815-1825, most probably about 1820, when he was in the prime of life, a man of about forty (60). He presents a strong, not unhandsome appearance, with his firm,

straight mouth, thin lips, and widely set, penetrating eyes. Although the nostrils are flared, the nose is not "Jewish-looking". He is shaven (but not by a razor! cf. Chapter V), with neither moustache nor beard; he wears glasses. His dress is evidently that of a Protestant minister of the time: he wears a high hat, not unlike that of a church dignitary; from under his tightly buttoned suit-coat there protrudes a white collar which almost encases his chin, and around the collar is a sort of white necktie. Upon both shoulders (and probably extending around the base of the neck) is decorative white lace. He certainly does not look like a rabbi, and probably did not want to; he is the typical enlightened, modern gentleman of the early 19th century, an imposing, self-confident figure, in fact anything but the ghetto Jew which, but for the grace of his father's money, he surely would have been (61).

I have said that Rosenfeld, about 1819, became the center of a controversy which created considerable excitement in Bavarian Jewry. The ultra-orthodox rabbis of Fuerth had for some years been viewing with trepidation (and perhaps with envy) the success and growing popularity of this liberal innovator in a small country congregation, and in their mind's eye they pictured him soon at the head of a consistory. They were awaiting some pretext for taking action against him, to curb the threat which he posed to their time-worn authority and static interpretation of Judaism. This pretext they found in Rosenfeld's "Denkschrift" (see Chapter III), a document he had published and presented to

the first Bavarian Diet in 1819. This "Denkschrift" was a powerful appeal for Jewish emancipation; but the Fuerth rabbis, instead of appreciating the service which Rosenfeld had rendered the Jewish people, used it as a weapon against this "reformer" and "unbeliever" (62). On page 4 Rosenfeld had written: "Just as everywhere else in the great plan of Creation, so also in respect to religion diversity is the Almighty's aim". In these words, perhaps not even original with Rosenfeld (63), the Bet Din of Fuerth found cause to excommunicate him, reading into his words, in their shrewd "pilpulistic" way, blasphemy and sacrilege. They evidently interpreted his words to mean that he acknowledged that there was truth in other religions (which he undoubtedly meant), and that therefore Judaism was in no way superior to them (which he probably had no intention of implying) (64).

The Bet Din now sent a German letter (in Hebrew characters, with many a grammatical error) to the directors of the Uehlfeld congregation, stating that Rosenfeld was not fit to decide questions of law, nor otherwise to exercise his rabbinical functions. A battle of letters began between the congregation and the Bet Din. Rosenfeld comported himself with dignity and presence of mind, seeking advice from educated friends; many advised him to bring suit against the Bet Din, since their action was, according to the Bavarian constitution, strictly illegal. When he consulted the President of the government, Count Drechsel, he replied that if Rosenfeld

brought suit, "there would soon be two laymen who had for a very long time been rabbis in Fuerth". The Fuerthers did not think Drechsel was joking, and growing alarmed, sent further letters and envoys to Uehlfeld in an effort to appease Rosenfeld, who, however, was unimpressed (the ban had not been removed), and continued to prepare his suit. He was also preparing to publish a sort of "White Paper" in Hebrew, giving all of the documents in the case. Finally he was dissuaded both from the suit and the publication by his friend Wolf Heidenheim of Roedelheim, who pointed out to him that the affair would be a "chillul ha-Shem", that it would bring public disgrace upon Jewry. The disagreeable affair continued, however, for some years, until at last it petered out. Rabbi Abraham Stein (father of the Reform rabbi, Leopold Stein), who was Orthodox but not fanatical, and friendly both with the Bet Din and Rosenfeld, had tried in vain to effect a reconciliation. During the whole affair the Uehlfeld congregation had, of course, not heeded the pronouncement of excommunication, and Rosenfeld had continued in his duties, himself viewing the whole thing as an almost laughable proceeding (65).

Some years later, their action backfired on some of those who had perpetrated it. In 1830 (66) Rosenfeld, then rabbi in Bamberg, was a candidate for the Fuerth rabbinate. We do not know how it came about that he was even considered as a possibility, and must assume either that the Fuerthers were apologetic for having put him under the ban, as Klein claims (67),

or that Rosenfeld had proved to be not so radical as had at first been thought, or that the Fuerth community had become a little more modern and tolerant. Perhaps his candidacy was due to a combination of these elements. His opponent was the young Reform rabbi Isaac Loewi (1803-1873), who, when Rosenfeld had gone to Bamberg, had become his successor in the Uehlfeld pulpit (1827-1830). The five directors of the Fuerth congregation had to decide between the two men. Two of them were liberal, and voted for Loewi; two others were Orthodox, and voted for Rosenfeld as the lesser of two evils. The fifth man was Orthodox too, and everyone had presupposed the election of Rosenfeld. But this man was the son-in-law of Rabbi Meshullam Solomon Cohn (also Cohen, Kohn), head of the Fuerth Bet Din, who died there December 17, 1819. Cohn had been the prime mover in Rosenfeld's excommunication. Cohn being dead, it was impossible for the ban on Rosenfeld to be lifted. So, out of respect for his father-in-law's memory, the man who was to cast the deciding vote could not bring himself to vote for Rosenfeld, and he would not vote for Loewi; he therefore invalidated his ballot in such a way that it counted for neither man. This left a 2-2 tie, which the government was called in to break. They decided on Loewi, because he possessed a university education, which Rosenfeld lacked (68).

This decision created a long drawn out controversy between the Reform and Orthodox elements in Fuerth. The Orthodox were violent against Loewi's appointment, and it was necessary for King Ludwig I to issue a special decree instating him on March

2)

10, 1831. His formal installation took place on March 21 of the same year, but he had troubles with his Orthodox members for years to come. The controversy left a schism in the Fuerth community, which led to its gradual decline from its former status as the foremost Jewish community of the kingdom. Thus, - by indirectly being the cause for the saddling of Fuerth with a Reform rabbi they did not want - did Rosenfeld get his revenge on those who had put him without the pale of Judaism (69).

While Rosenfeld was still rabbi in Uehlfeld, overtures were made to him by the Munich community to accept their pulpit; however, it appeared that some underhanded electioneering would be necessary if he were to be chosen, so he indignantly broke off discussions of the matter (70).

Toward the end of 1824 another fine opportunity came to him. The chief rabbi of Bamberg, Josef Gersfelder, had died in 1814 (71), and the associate rabbi, Abraham Mayer Lengsfelder, had likewise departed this life, in 1820. Since that time there had been no rabbi in Bamberg, and naturally the people were eager to find a new spiritual leader, although the government was more interested in seeing that the Jews of Bamberg got a decent teacher for their children. In June 1823 the congregation, under the leadership of the banker Josef Samuel Hesslein, made their desire known to the district government, which, in turn, appointed a committee of congregational members to study the problem. The committee recommended that a rabbi be employed to serve the whole Bamberg area, not just the city; they also recommended that he be given an additional salary grant out

of public funds, a suggestion which was rejected by the government. After some delays, Rabbi Marcus Adler of Muehingen was chosen by the congregation in 1824; but for some reason he was unacceptable to the government, who would not let him procure an immigration permit into Bavaria (72).

Rosenfeld of course knew of the vacancy, and for several reasons decided to be a candidate. His wife had just died (June, 1824), and his father had preceded her to the grave in 1822 (an event which perhaps left him in somewhat straitened financial circumstances), so Uehlfeld was at that time filled with sad memories for him. Then too, he was 41 years old, and felt it was time to work in a larger sphere. Finally, he wished that his children might have the advantages of growing up in a city. On January 3, 1825, three days after his 42nd birthday, he addressed a letter to the authorities of the Upper Main district, setting forth his qualifications, and requesting that they confirm him in the Bamberg position, contingent upon the congregation's electing him. (This interesting letter is given in full in Appendix D). Hesslein's committee went energetically to work, inviting Rosenfeld to come to Bamberg for an interview. He was in that city on February 16, was elected, and received a written contract, which emphasized his duty of giving lectures on the Talmud, and assured him that if the government should appoint him as District Rabbi he would receive a salary of 600 Gulden (73). Rosenfeld's choice by this influential community while he was still under the ban (under

which he lived, indeed, for the rest of his life) reflects most creditably upon him, and shows the high regard in which he was held (74).

But it was no easy thing to acquire a pulpit in those days. Rosenfeld still had to take the examination stipulated by the government in point no. 26 of the Edict of 1813. (75). A number of months passed before he was permitted to take this examination (76), and when he finally did, he had to pay a fee of three Ducats for the privilege (77). It was held in Ansbach (78), where he received the high praise of the examiners (79). The President of the government, Count Drechsel, who had once visited Rosenfeld in Uehlfeld, and had been shown the synagogue and school there, asked Rosenfeld jocularly, upon meeting him shortly after the examination: "Well, how did the examiners fare in their examination with you?"(80). Not until October 27, 1825, was Rabbi Rosenfeld confirmed in his new position. The document of that date stipulated that he was to be provisional rabbi of Bamberg, and that the government reserved the right to appoint him district rabbi at a later date (which they did, evidently within a very short time). He was to receive his dwelling free, the various perquisites, and a salary of 400 Gulden, payable quarterly by the Jewish congregation (81). His perquisites included 1 Kreuzer for each pound of kosher meat slaughtered in the city, 1 Kreuzer for each

young chicken, and 3 Kreuzers for each goose or duck (82). In 1836 he still received his 400 Gulden from the congregation, plus 208 1/2 Gulden from the affiliated country congregations. The rental value of his dwelling was 100 Gulden per year (83). By 1852 his salary from the congregation had still not increased, but he now received 400 Gulden from the country congregations (84). In comparison with other Bavarian rabbis, Rosenfeld fared well. While some few positions paid over 1000 Gulden, most paid only 400 or 500 or less; Ansbach, for example, paid only 300. The flow of young people to America caused the decrease of the perquisites which a rabbi might expect to receive. Rosenfeld, who probably never received less than 600 Gulden, and who often received much more than that, may be considered to have enjoyed a rather favored financial status (85).

Bamberg, today a comparatively small city of 50,000, was, at the time Rosenfeld moved there in 1826, considered one of Bavaria's leading cities, although it then boasted a population of but 17,000. It is on the Regnitz River, near the Main, 39 miles from Nuremberg, in the midst of an area where fine garden vegetables are produced. Bamberg is, and was then, an archepiscopal see of the Roman Catholic Church; the Bamberg region had been an independent archbishopric until it was secularized in 1802, and given to Bavaria in 1803. Bamberg has a famous cathedral, dating from 1004, and many other imposing churches. It had, in Rosenfeld's day (and perhaps still has), a lyceum for the study of philosophy and Catholic theology, the survival of a university which was suppressed in 1803. The city was almost

entirely Catholic; in 1821 there were but 600 Protestants and 270 Jews, who, nevertheless, constituted one of Bavaria's larger Jewish communities. By 1836 the Jews numbered about 500 (86). There were 700 students at the local gymnasium, and 50 at the Teachers' Seminary. The Jewish synagogue was called "the smallest and ugliest of all the churches, ... stuck away in a back alley, much too small for a congregation of 64 families..." (87). The congregation employed, in addition to the rabbi, a cantor, a bass singer, a cleaning maid, an overseer of the bake-oven (presumably for Passover), and police sentries and a night-watchman on Yom Kippur (88). Rosenfeld, as first district rabbi of Bamberg (89), used an official seal, which had the two Tables of the Law as its central motif. The use of this seal was, however, forbidden during the days of the Abel reaction (see Chapter III). An impression of the seal is extant on a family document now in possession of his grand-daughter.

Samson Wolf Rosenfeld moved to Bamberg in March, 1826 (90), "to discharge the duties of his office like a loyal gardener, and to develop a fruitful activity" (91). Here this man, who was continually educating himself further, and who was truly inspired for his sacred calling, found an ample field for his manifold and timely activities (92). With the spiritual and intellectual welfare of his congregation in mind (93), he began to work on behalf of his cherished ideals, taking care to do so gradually, and not too glaringly, so that he would not lose the confidence of his people (92).

However, before he could begin to reform Judaism in Bamberg,

he had to bring order into his congregation, which, for years without a rabbi, was in a chaotic state. Congregational meetings were unable, either because of lack of quorums or through factional strife, to elect a new board of directors. The situation demanded a "whole man", and Rosenfeld was equal to his task. He quickly, resolutely and systematically rallied the educated element of the congregation about himself, and crushed the opposition once and for all. He was, in fact, the organizer of the modern Bamberg congregation. Rosenfeld realized that in the interests of order and discipline the congregation needed a constitution. Congregational meetings on the subject were stormy and futile; but eventually, with police support, he and the modern element succeeded in getting an eight-point constitution approved, on August 15, 1826 (94).

According to this constitution the choice of directors, who previously had been chosen by seven men who drew lots for the privilege of doing the choosing, was now vested in the vote of the entire congregation. The board of directors, which heretofore consisted of three men, who alternated monthly in the presidency, was henceforth to consist of two administrators and two assistants (who were to take over the administration of the congregational charitable organization), and also a Treasurer and a Comptroller. Unfair taxing of the heads of certain families was to cease. Any grievances members might have against the directors were to be brought

before plenary meetings of the congregation, a) so that the city magistrate would not be annoyed by a lot of useless claims, and b) so that the directors would not be haled into court every time some member with a grudge ran to the magistrate. Order and equilibrium came into the congregation as a result of this constitution, which was not published, and which was in practice often deviated from. The first printed constitution, based on that of the Wuerzburg congregation, and consisting of 18 points, is dated March 26, 1837.

This 1837 constitution vested the directorate in two boards: a) the business board, which had three deputies and a Treasurer, and b) a committee of five members, with full power to plan the budget. At least three of these five men had to be chosen from among those members in the seven highest dues-paying categories. (There were sixteen categories.) Those Jews who had no right of domicile, but lived in Bamberg merely on the strength of police permission, and those Jews who had held their right of domicile for less than three months, were considered special members; they paid dues, but could not vote. Attendance at congregational meetings was obligatory. Those who could present no valid excuse for their absence had to pay a 30-Kreuzer fine, which was increased a like 30 Kreuzers with each additional unexcused absence.

When the directors were to discuss religious matters, the rabbi joined them, and presided. A fund for the religious school and the poor was also set up by this constitution. When

a member received his right of domicile in Bamberg he had to contribute 1% of his wealth to this fund; when marriages took place between two Bamberg residents, 1% of the wealth on both sides of the new family had to be contributed. If a Bamberg man or woman married someone away from Bamberg, then the Bamberg parents were to pay into the fund 1/2% of the dowry; likewise widowed persons, on their remarriage, were to give 1/2% of the new increase in their wealth. These sums went in equal amounts to the school and poor funds, and might be devoted to no other use. Actually the fund had been started in 1827, ten years before the constitution provided for it. In 1837 it contained 519 Gulden, and in 1852 3353 Gulden, of which 2200 Gulden were, by special arrangement, diverted to the building of the new synagogue (see this chapter, below.)

On January 22, 1844, this constitution, which functioned excellently, was slightly altered and published in 19 points. This, in turn, was modified on May 5, 1852, because it was unconstitutional in the eyes of the government. Resultantly, the poor and school funds were converted into a fund for paying congregational functionaries; the new fund continued to receive its monies from the same sources as before. A 4-point addition to this constitution was made in 1857, regarding an agreement with the St. Martin's (Catholic) Parish about the discontinuance of surplice-fees. These were evidently fees which the Jews were forced to pay to the Church whenever Jewish marriages, funerals, etc. took place. Again, on December 28,

1859, a new constitution of 22 points contained only unimportant alterations (95). From this rather lengthy exposition of the various constitutions of the Bamberg congregation, it should be evident that Rosenfeld was indeed interested in maintaining law and order, and that even in old age he saw to it that the laws kept abreast of the needs of the time.

But let us return to Rosenfeld and his early days in Bamberg. We have his report to the district authorities, dated June 30, 1828, which is most enlightening. He says that as for ritual reforms, he has, to begin with, employed only palliatives, as preparation for striding on to effect a radical cure. He has authored synagogue regulations which are satisfactory to most of the members; a choir, consisting of the school children and the (Jewish) students at the Teachers' Seminary, directed by the religious teacher, has been established. He uses melodies composed by Christian musicians. There is always a German address to couples being married. As for his German sermons (and he says he was the first in the district, and perhaps the first in all Bavaria to preach in German), these were heard by his congregations with much interest. In the past year he has preached 26 German sermons in Bamberg and 18 in his country congregations. He intends in the future to have German hymns sung, and feels that it would be desirable for the government to order this to be done; such an order would overcome the expected opposition. However, he has scruples about removing from the liturgy Hebrew prayers

which have seen a thousand years' use; this could be done only by a consistory. He recommends that the government call such a consistory into being, to comprise the most intelligent rabbis in the kingdom: this would be the desirable way to prepare for further reforms. Rosenfeld has also had a new hearse built, dignified by solemn black paint, to take the place of the old red hearse which the people were loathe to part with, out of superstitious attachment. He also hopes for a better burial arrangement for Bamberg Jewry (the cemetery was a two-hour journey away; see this chapter, below.)

As for the school (probably the religious school), its progress is already known to the city school commission. (He tells us that the city magistrate's report of April 3, 1828, had said: "The religious school is each year more nearly approaching the goal of perfection".) In the country schools too (probably secular schools), where formerly the children could not understand a correctly spoken German word, astonishing progress has been made. (For supervising these schools Rosenfeld received 10 Gulden from the district school fund.) He has also established a "holiday school" (a special type of "Sunday" school), obligatory upon all Bamberg Jews aged 13-18. This school was inaugurated in the synagogue on April 19, 1828, when Rosenfeld preached on "Religion's Value as Man's Educator". The burgomaster also spoke words of encouragement, which charmed everyone by their sincerity and enthusiasm. Rosenfeld is also projecting a school for adult education. (After the

government decree of September 11, 1825, no one could receive the right of domicile without proving himself to be a supporter of religious education.) He concludes his report, of which the foregoing is but a summary, by stating that he has dedicated new synagogues in the country towns of Hirschaid and Autenhäusen (96). It may be mentioned here that the holiday school was established by Rosenfeld before these were ordered by the government; Rosenfeld himself was a teacher. His visiting of and preaching at the country congregations was confined to his earlier years; in all, he dedicated five such synagogues (97).

The authorities of the Upper Main district sent the city Magistrate of Bamberg their opinion of Rosenfeld's work, based on the foregoing report. This gives an excellent non-Jewish estimate of his activities. The report, dated at Bayreuth, September 25, 1828, sets forth that the rabbi is zealously striving to bring order and dignity into Jewish worship, through the media of German sermons and education of the youth. It is hoped that he will continue to improve matters, little by little, through his wisdom and perseverance. However, Rosenfeld has said nothing about the shocking neglect of the female sex which exists in Judaism. The authorities are not disposed to follow his suggestion about ordering the introduction of German hymns, because they wish to avoid the appearance of interfering in intra-churchly matters, even though such an order would really not infringe upon religious liberty. It is hoped that the Jews will come to use the vernacular in their

liturgy. The magistrate is to bolster the rabbi in his struggles with his opponents, because the rabbi partakes of the character of a public official. There is no objection to the Jews' acquiring a burial place nearer than Walsdorf, as long as they comply with local police regulations. Let them make some proposal to us in this regard. As to the rabbi's remark that education of the young is occasionally shockingly neglected, the religious teacher must be admonished to point out the causes of such neglect, so that action may be taken to curb negligence and absenteeism. Rabbi Rosenfeld is to receive a transcript of this report (98).

Rosenfeld had a real interest in education, and was recognized as something of an authority in this field. Johlson, in the preface to the 3rd edition of his textbook on "Mosaic Religion", tenders him his thanks:

I must especially mention the generally respected Herr S. W. Rosenfeld, city and district rabbi of Bamberg, who possesses a well-rounded education, whose instructive advice contributed much to the improvement of this edition (99).

Rosenfeld had written Johlson earlier:

I learned with pleasure of your intention to proceed to a new edition of your very fine "Instruction in the Mosaic Religion". This book has already found a well-deserved reception everywhere; this is indicated not only by the fact that a 3rd edition has become necessary, but also by the circumstance that excerpts from it were recently incorporated in the "Study Plan for Jewish Religious Teachers and Rabbinical Students", which the royal government of the Rezat district was pleased to transmit, on July 24 of this year (probably 1828) to all the school commissions and district inspectors, for their use. It would be advisable for the new edition to appear without noteworthy alteration ... You will receive in this regard a few suggestions which I have permitted myself to make.

These will be helpful to you in publishing a book on religion, on God, for they assist in the dissemination of truth. Therefore I trust that you will find most of them readily acceptable, especially since they tend toward no essential alteration (100).

In 1827 Rosenfeld was invited by the authorities of the Rezat district to be one of the examiners of aspirants for the posts of rabbi or teacher, which examinations were held at the Talmud school in Fuerth. The government invited him because they "had confidence in his superior ability and honesty" (101).

Rabbi Rosenfeld took a keen interest in his country schools, and was a friend and defender of his teachers. He realized that a mere annual visitation of these schools could accomplish little or nothing, because the teacher, not he, WAS the school. In his dealings with the teachers he would have nothing whatsoever to do with that arrogant priestly manner which looked down upon the teacher as an inferior, and was the custom of the members of the Catholic hierarchy (102).

In 1829 he introduced courses in the Jewish religion into the Bamberg gymnasium and the Teachers' Seminary. The Jewish pupils of the Latin school (this must mean the Teachers' Seminary) were jointly to pay Rosenfeld 18 Kreuzers per hour for this instruction, and those of the gymnasium were to pay 24 Kreuzers, but Rosenfeld refused to accept this pay. The seminarians also received Hebrew instruction from him. He taught at these schools for many years, and at the local commercial school as well (103). The government evidently encouraged

such teaching by the rabbi in the local schools, for they imposed severe penalties on all who gave unauthorized private instruction. For example, Gabriel Krailsheimer, although he had a diploma signed by three rabbis, was fined 10 Reichstalers by the city magistrate for giving unauthorized Talmud lessons. At the age of 56 he was forced to take an examination in Bible translation, exegesis, Jewish religion and Talmud, which was administered by Rosenfeld and Dr. Riegler of the Lyceum (104).

There was some sort of a rabbinical school in Bamberg. It was of little importance, but it is the only one we know by name in Bavaria, besides that of Fuerth (105). Rosenfeld saved this school from being dissolved because of bankruptcy by unearthing a copy of its charter. Evidently it would have been considered taxable by the state had not the charter, declaring it tax-exempt, been found (106). He ordained (107), perhaps through the medium of this school, many local and foreign rabbis, for example Aaron B. Gruenbaum, rabbi of Ansbach from 1841-1892 (108) and Abraham Neumann (1809-1875), rabbi of Riga and, beginning in 1863, of St. Petersburg (109). The probability that he also ordained his son-in-law, Josef Klein, of Glogau, has already been mentioned (see above.) He was evidently very discriminating in whom he ordained. In his newspaper (see Chapter V), "Das Fuehlhorn", he once published a notice (110) concerning one Solomon Wormser, who was falsely claiming that he had received a rabbinical diploma from Rosenfeld; he warns the

public against him, stating that he had refused to ordain this man. Rosenfeld's primary aim in supporting education was that of making the Jews more religious. Secular knowledge "per se" had little value for him. He once published a review (111) of a magazine article which had recommended the teaching of natural science in the Jewish school at Berlin, in which it was declared that such teaching should have, as a secondary aim, the strengthening of the children's faith in God through the wonders of nature. Rosenfeld objects in his review that this should be the primary aim of such teaching.

In 1827 he organized the "Jewish Reading Circle", which was reorganized in 1836 as a group to foster good fellowship (112). On January 24, 1841, the sisterhood was started. (113). Rosenfeld arranged for the accommodation of the Jewish sick in the public hospital, making provision for them to receive kosher food (114).

The old cemetery at Walsdorf, two hours distant from Bamberg, and the communal property of ten congregations, was inconvenient for the Bamberg Jews (115). Rosenfeld, in his report of 1828, had alluded to this inconvenience, but it was not until June 30, 1850 that the congregation began to plan for a new cemetery within the city limits. On July 19 the congregation asked for the city magistrate's approval, and Rosenfeld at that time submitted to him a document, "The reasons which urgently impel the establishment of a cemetery for the Jewish community of this place." The first site

selected was not suitable, but soon another was found. It was dedicated on October 19, 1851, on the occasion of the first interment, with an address by Rosenfeld (see Chapter V) (116). At that time the city permitted the Jews to use the public hearse, after Rosenfeld had first satisfied himself that it bore no Christian symbols (114).

In his report of 1828 he had also complained of the crowded condition of his synagogue (see above), and in 1835 a plan for enlarging it was suggested, but at the time the congregation could not afford it. For years there was much opposition to Rosenfeld's desire to rebuild it, but finally, with the help of Dr. Jakob Dessauer, the congregation's President, it was decided to enlarge and beautify this old synagogue which had been in use since 1694 (117). There followed, despite vigorous minority opposition, what amounted to a veritable rebuilding of the ancient structure, and the new synagogue (Generalsgasse 15) was dedicated on November 5, 1853. But the 70-year-old rabbi who had labored so long for this day was unable to view his handiwork, for he had recently become totally blind. Rabbi W. Cohn (Kohn), the last district rabbi of Baiersdorf, preached an edifying sermon, which has been published, entitled "The Sacred Destiny of the House of God", on the Haftarah text: "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations" (Isaiah 54:2) (118).

Rosenfeld's eyes had, in fact, been giving him trouble for

many years. As early as 1839 his future son-in-law, Josef Klein, had served as his assistant because of this eye-weakness (119). He lost his sight gradually, but did not let his affliction interfere with his work. He seems to have been totally blind by the late 1840's or early 1850's. He continued to preach, however, extemporaneously; sometimes he dictated his sermons to Cantor Ottenstein, who read them for him (120).

Younger rabbis always found a helpful and experienced colleague in Rosenfeld, who did not humiliate them by trying to impress them with his superiority (121). He maintained a friendly relationship with the Bamberg officials and the high clergymen. Duke William of Bavaria (the brother-in-law of King Max Joseph I) gave him in 1837 a long list of questions on the Jewish religion. After Rosenfeld had sent his replies, the duke received him most cordially in his castle, later thanking him in writing, and sending him, in a beautiful box, a valuable silver medallion, bearing his and his wife's portraits, as a sign of his esteem (122).

Rabbi Rosenfeld's decisions in ritual matters always bore an up-to-date stamp, yet he based himself on his thorough knowledge of the sources. Many of his decisions in difficult matters were consulted, especially in his later years, by individuals, congregations, and even by the government, an honor about which Rosenfeld enjoyed telling (123).

As a preacher he sought to make his congregation familiar with the spirit of Judaism; he appealed both to the

heart and the mind. To his influence is accounted the fact that the Bamberg community was well-ordered, receptive to all good causes, and outstanding through its many fine Jewish organizations and institutions. The esteem in which he was held was reflected by his community (124). Higher, however, than his material pulpit, was the spiritual pulpit he erected in the midst of his people. In their hours of loneliness he visited them in their homes like a good friend, consoling them and educating them toward greater virtue and piety (125).

His 80th birthday party (which must really have been celebrated on his 77th or 78th birthday - see Appendix B) was observed fittingly by the congregation, including the teachers and school-children. As a thoughtful gift and token of appreciation, the "Nestor" of modern Judaism in Bavaria was presented with an easy chair, with the wish that he might long enjoy using it. The old man was deeply touched by the many expressions of love and esteem (126). Thereafter his powers of mind and body declined gradually, although he continued to discuss important theological questions with experts until his last days. Though blind, he could always pull pertinent arguments out of the rich treasure-house of his memory. Even on the morning of the day he died, a congregant asked him a question about a difficult passage in the current Torah portion, and, although it was difficult for him to speak, he gave a good, instructive explanation. Thus he lived out his days, happy and satisfied, trusting in God, steeled by many a hard buffet of fate (127).

On Monday, May 12, 1862, Rosenfeld called for his cantor and friend Ottenstein, and asked him to kindle the customary lights (which are lit by the pious just before a man dies), and to bring several members of the "Hebra Kaddisha" (burial society), whom he mentioned by name, to see him, because, as he said with philosophic calm and religious resignation, he would not outlive the day. He spoke the "Shema" at 7 P. M. (128) and died shortly afterward in serene quiet, fully conscious until the end (129). He was 79 years of age (130).

His funeral was held on Thursday, May 15, at 8 A. M. (131). The entire Jewish community, and a host of other admirers, followed the solemn procession, which included many Christian citizens and members of the Catholic clergy. Rabbi Dr. Josef Klein, Rosenfeld's son-in-law, who had been summoned from Glogau by telegraph, and Rabbi Dr. Werner of Burgebrach preached at the grave, giving eloquent expression to the general feeling of sorrow. Rabbi Dr. Traub of Burgkundstadt and Rabbi Dr. Julius Fuerst of Bayreuth also attended the rites (132).

CHAPTER III

ROSENFELD AND EMANCIPATION

The first incident known to us in which Rosenfeld used his pen as a mighty sword in the long battle for equal civil rights for Jews in Bavaria (1) took place in 1817. He had read an accusation in the "Korrespondent von und fuer Deutschland" that the Jews had caused the famine of that year. He sent a signed refutation of that charge to the newspaper, which received attention and favorable comment. His letter brought about the confiscation of a libellous article, "What do the Jews Believe?" by Oertel, a Protestant minister (2). (Probably Eucharis Ferdinand Christian Oertel).

On February 1, 1817, Prime Minister Montgelas had been dismissed because he would not approve the new liberal constitution which the Crown Prince advocated. On May 26, 1818, this new constitution was proclaimed: it provided for a bicameral legislature, the upper house (Reichsrat) consisting of the hereditary land-owners, certain government officials and Crown nominees; and the lower house (Abgeordnetenhaus) consisting of delegates elected on a narrow franchise by the small land-owners, the city dwellers and the peasants (3). Equal rights were granted to all Christian faiths, but for the Jews the new constitution meant equal duties but unequal rights (4). Some few Christians came to aid the Jews. On March 24, 1819, a Catholic priest, Xaver von Schmid, petitioned the first Diet with his "Patriotic Wishes and Proposals for the

Civil Improvement of the Israelites". This brochure answered objections to Jewish peddling, and pointed out the advances the Jews were making (5). A Protestant professor at Erlangen, Alexander Lips, also published a brochure in March, 1819, which was reissued in 1821. It was a violent attack on the Jews (6).

Rosenfeld, who had early seen that the restrictive laws of the Edict of 1813 must be fought tooth and nail, took the first appropriate occasion, the first session of the Diet in 1819, to advance his arguments against them (7). There was a spirit of ill will toward the Jews pervading the sessions at Munich, and the Jews were frightened about what the new constitutional era would mean for them. Accordingly, a group of eminent Jews, including Rosenfeld, from the various Bavarian towns, voluntarily assembled in Fuerth to discuss the situation. At the instigation of Rosenfeld and the Munich representatives it was decided to send a delegation to Munich to work on the spot against the restrictions. The Fuerth Orthodox group worked violently against the possible choice of Rosenfeld as a delegate, and succeeded in electing someone else in his place. He, however, was backed by a minority of 13 votes; and, zealous for the good cause, and urged by many supporters, he decided to go to Munich in spite of the fact that he had not been selected. He appeared there as the representative of Uehlfeld and neighboring towns, and, after arrival, was named chairman of the delegation! While there, he was hospitably received and, in fact, overwhelmed with attention by the leaders of the Munich

congregation; the newspapers carried accounts of his mission. On the recommendation of the assembled Jewish delegation, Rosenfeld wrote his "Denkschrift an die hohe Staende-Versammlung des Koenigreichs Baiern, die Lage der Israeliten und ihre buergerliche Verbesserung betreffend" ("An Opinion directed to the Honored Diet of the Bavarian Kingdom, dealing with the Status of the Israelites and their Civil Improvement"). This was published in Munich on April 15, 1819, and submitted to the Diet for its consideration (8).

Rosenfeld was the first rabbi in modern history to address such an "opinion" to a parliament (9). His "Denkschrift" was the first published article on emancipation written by any rabbi (10). It was written of this memorable brochure:

It certainly had been a long time since a RABBI had come out in public for the civil improvement of his coreligionists, who proved in clear, well-phrased mother-tongue, on the basis of incontrovertible evidence, how inaccurately the status of the Jews was comprehended by those who made the laws, and who showed how these laws must be improved (11).

Jost, the historian writes:

Here was the first time in Jewish history, so far as is known, that a rabbi sent a memorial to a parliament. This alone shows the progress of the times; but this is shown even more by the unrestrained candor with which the author appealed to public opinion, delineated the condition of the Jews, and set forth their wishes (12).

Liberal excerpts from the "Denkschrift" are quoted in the magazine "Sulamith" (13), and a brief analysis of its contents is given by Jost (14). But let us proceed to an exposition of the work itself.

Rosenfeld, addressing the "Denkschrift" to the lower house,

first observes that religious tolerance has been one of the greatest steps forward taken in the 19th century. After men have for thousands of years attempted to force the world into religious unity, they have in our time finally understood that it is easier to conquer other men's countries than other men's ideals, and that diversity is the Almighty's aim in religion, as in other aspects of Creation. This attitude has benefited the Jews who, hated by mankind and living like a shadow and a ghost among them, have now found supporters among their fellow-men, and princes to espouse their cause. Many old discriminatory laws have been set aside.

At the same time we Jews have begun to become enlightened, to revise our opinions of those who hold to other religions, and to assume responsibilities which formerly were not asked of us. But this fine beginning has certainly not come to completion. Many restrictions and laws still remain, bearing the stamp of earlier centuries and unsuited to our times. We recognize gratefully that we are no longer Crown property, and that our children are not only allowed, but compelled, to attend the public schools, and that they are permitted to learn and exercise various handicrafts. But much is still to be done.

The lot of the Jew, still a hard one, must be made easier. In former times, the government paid little or no attention to the Jews, who were on their own resources. Nor did the state, which regarded them as foreigners, require all the regular civic duties of them. Very likely the Jews were originally refused civil rights because they could not and would not assume civic

duties. And so the Jews, quite rightly, were allotted their own courts of justice and their own special businesses, because they did not entirely fulfill the civic duties which non-Jews bore. But the special Jewish privileges have disappeared since the Enlightenment. We have become subject to all civic duties; but we have only PARTIALLY received our civil rights. In duties we are whole citizens; in rights, only half-citizens.

This status of ours is undoubtedly well enough meant. The government did not wish to grant us too much at once, for sudden good fortune can be as disastrous as sudden ill fortune. So the Jews accepted the situation, and waited for further development. They accepted their new duties and awaited their rights. Now progress seems to have been stemmed in its course. Half-way measures do more harm than good. These half-way measures are the reason why public opinion is still displeased with the spirit and businesses of the Jews. If the Jews try to advance, they are hemmed in with restrictions; if people wonder why they do not become nobler people, why, there are the distinctive laws which work prejudicially against them! So the state is not the winner, but the Jew IS the loser.

The Jews expect great deeds from the Diet; especially since no Jew is there to represent them, they hope that the Diet as a whole will bespeak the cause of this absent party.

But so many voices are raised against the Jews! You wise representatives will not allow yourselves to be swayed from

the path of truth by gossip or by passionate writers. You will yourselves investigate impartially, and let the voice of humanity prevail. Shall our time in a trice undo all that has been striven for these thousands of years? Shall we shatter what has been won at the cost of so much blood? NO! We shall go forward. Have we not suffered enough lately, what with war, pestilence and hunger, that we have to have intolerance as well? For if we do have it, then not only the Jews, but all mankind will suffer. Intolerance is like the bite of a poisonous snake, almost unnoticed at first, but which gradually presses upon the heart and causes death.

The Jewish nation is not a stubborn child, but is only lost and backward. The Jews will be receptive to everything good, if only they are handled carefully, and if their slave-like mentality is removed. They have already made unusual progress. A large number now have a pure idea of morality, they have virtue, they are attached to king and country to a degree found among only the upper classes of the peoples of other nations. Their faults they share with the lower classes of all peoples. Even the unlovely shell often contains a costly pearl; there is nobility of soul even in the hut.

One of the most important epochs in their history lies before the Jews. Great things are to be expected of them as a result of compulsory education. But the youth's ACTIVITY as well as his MENTALITY must be taken into consideration.

Before proceeding to my proposals, I shall deal with an

important accusation that is made against the Jews. They are accused of sticking to petty business, and of not teaching their children trades. This is viewed as the source of other evils. But let us examine ere we condemn!

1. How long have the Jews been permitted to engage in trades? They may not even now do so in Saxony¹⁸¹⁹. They have been permitted to do so here only since 1813. How can people be disturbed about the fact that in a mere five years the Jews have not yet thrown off the habits of 1700 years?!

2. Jews have difficulty in finding a master-workman to teach their children. They often have to pay the master 200 Gulden, besides providing for their children's room and board, whereas Christians pay all told a total of only 50 Gulden. Many masters will not take Jews at any price, because of intolerance or self-interest. The craftsman, having a hard time making ends meet because of keen competition does not relish this new competition from a class of people formerly excluded from trades. Even the Jew who is lucky enough to find his training finds similar difficulties in his year as journeyman. Why then should the Jews be eager to learn trades? Furthermore, the Jew is not permitted to reside in most cities and towns, there to ply his trade. With all this, a goodly number of Jews HAVE already gone into trades, and if the restrictions are removed, a great change will be noticed.

3. How can one blame the Jew for sticking to petty business, since this field is the only one in which he can, under present regulations, work profitably? In any event, Jewish petty busi-

ness is a healthy thing: it performs a public service. Those places where small business thrives are better off economically than those where it does not. In the former, transport people, professional men and day laborers are all active; in the latter, idle. Also, the character of Jewish business has improved during recent decades. Often it is no longer a sordid second-hand business, but a fine shop. Sometimes Jews are involved in international commerce which brings profits into the country.

The charge is often made in the newspapers that the Jews will become too rich, or that they have become so already. This is evil and baseless. Most Jews have a hard time just making a living. "By the sweat of their brow they earn their bread". The APPEARANCE of Jewish wealth is due to the amount of CIRCULATION of money among the Jews, because of the nature of their businesses. And, indeed, if a Jew now and then DOES make good, why should he be begrudged what is his? Or would the state prefer to have poor subjects instead of well-to-do ones?

✓ (The present restrictions are the root of all the existing evils. "Menschen werden immer menschlicher, wenn man sie wie Menschen behandelt." ("Men will become ever manlier if men treat them like men".))

The conditions necessary to the full civilizing of the Jews

- are:

1. If not the granting of full rights, then at least the granting of such as will remove from him degradation, scorn and disdain, and will ennoble him and stimulate him to useful activity.
2. His religion should be accorded more respect, for religion is the strongest support of his social and civic virtues.
3. The educational work which has already begun should be tied in with a program of religious instruction. The young people's work after they complete their schooling should be supervised.

Rosenfeld therefore recommends the establishment of handicraft institutions in the larger cities where Jews live. Poor pupils, or those who cannot find a master, can go there. The cost is to be borne by the Jews. Also journeymen who cannot find work will find it in these institutions. A religious teacher is to visit each institution several times a week, especially on the Sabbath, to teach the young people the ethics of their trade, moderation, love of their work, etc. Each institute should have a Jewish commission, to whom the apprentice or journeyman can turn for help as regards securing room and board. Each place should also have a special committee, consisting of the directors of the local congregation and several other members, who are to see to it that no youth falls into slothfulness or idle ways. They are to call the police, if necessary, to keep the youth out of trouble. This plan will be workable if it is proceeded with sufficiently energetically.

For the implementation of his plan, Rosenfeld requests the

Diet to ask the king to call together a committee of Israelites from all districts of the realm. It should have 30 to 40 members; at least 7, or 1/5 of them, ought to be rabbis. One or two royal commissioners should be added to this committee to act as intermediaries in setting up the plan.

We Jews wish to disprove by our actions the accusations made against us, and turn Christian hate for us into love. (We wish to be accepted as citizens not only in the militia, but also in Christian hearts.) In your hands lies the fate of the Jews. If you are reluctant to give us everything at once - for instance, if you hesitate to permit us to occupy high state offices, etc. - then give us at least what humanity demands! i.e., remove the petty restrictive and distinctive decrees. The world will then ask upon you the blessing of that God Whose children we all are, Who permits no exceptions to His law of brotherly love. "Shall the misfortune of this people last forever? Shall it alone be sad, while all the world rejoices? Shall it alone bear burdens, fulfill duties, and receive for this service only insult? No, honored Diet of Bavaria! It is unworthy to permit these conditions any longer, which are a disgrace to mankind. Complete the work which our great and good king has begun! Go forward, to untie the bound, revive the sorrowful and raise up those who are bowed down; then will your noble action be singled out for highest blessing!" (15)

The foregoing is a synopsis of what must have been a strong piece of writing in its day. I am surprised at how modern parts of it seem, particularly where Rosenfeld mentions the appea-

rance of Jewish wealth because of the constant circulation of Jewish money. Of course the laws were not removed, nor were the somewhat socialistic handicraft institutes set up; yet Rosenfeld certainly deserved all the credit he got for his valiant attempt. Well disposed people recognized the service he had rendered Jewry and humanity. Ex-minister Montgelas, who had had a great deal to do with the formulation of the Edict of 1813, to parts of which Rosenfeld was objecting, told him after reading his plea: "Herr Rabbiner! Had I known that Bavaria possessed such men as you, then the Edict of 1813 would have turned out differently!" (16)

But Rosenfeld's work at the Diet of 1819 was not yet finished. An accusation of bad Jewish business practices, which was militating against the Jewish cause, had been presented to the Diet by Burgomaster Utzschneider (of Munich ?) and some wholesale merchants. So, eight days after publishing the "Denkschrift", Rosenfeld, while on a journey, wrote his "An eine hohe Staende-Versammlung des Koenigreichs Baiern. Beleuchtung der von dem Buergermeister und Ritter Herrn von Utzschneider und vielen andern Kaufleuten bestaetigten Antraege in Betreff des Hausir- und sogenannten unberechtigten Handels der Juden" ("To the Honorable Diet of Bavaria. An Explanation of the Accusations set forth regarding the Peddling and so-called Illegal Business of the Jews, by the Burgomaster and Nobleman Herr von Utzschneider and Many Other Merchants"). This pamphlet was not signed with Rosenfeld's name, the author being indicated only as "a friend of humanity,

who wrote in the name of many peddlers." The little work bore the motto "Open thy mouth for the dumb". Like the "Denkschrift" it was published in Munich and presented to the Diet. (17). The "Beleuchtung", hastily written, is not up to the standard set by the "Denkschrift"; Jost mentioned it, but did not think it worth very much (18). Nevertheless, we shall let the "Beleuchtung" speak for itself:

Utzschneider's premises are groundless: therefore his conclusions cannot stand. (The Jew receives no preferential treatment with regard to peddling, which to him as to the Christian, is a generally prohibited occupation, open only to those who were peddlers before 1813, and only to these so long as it is impossible for them to find some other means of support.) Those who now peddle were born and raised at a time when other livelihoods were not permitted them; they had no choice. Few could afford to go into wholesale business, so the majority were forced into peddling, which at that time was as legal and honorable as any other calling. They all used to get their official marriage licenses and domicile permits on the basis of peddling as a legal occupation. No one ever accused the pre-1813 Bavarian government, or the governments of the states which Bavaria has annexed, of being imprudent and weak because they allowed these peddlers to get married.

(Most of the peddlers are honest, and tolerated by the people who live on their peddling-circuits.) If these men who

have peddled for 20, 30 and even 40 years, and are as a result unfit to do anything else, are now deprived of their slim livelihood, they and their families will be totally impoverished, and will become a burden upon the state and humanity.

Utzschneider's accusations are astonishing. Sometimes they can be substantiated by not a single example; at other times they touch only the periphery of the matter. To him the Jews are always "illegal" business-men, their businesses always "illegal" business. But the Jews have their licenses like everyone else; furthermore, their right to peddle is as ancient as their political existence itself.

The charge is made that they get police licenses, which they use to ply their business outside of their own district, i.e., they peddle throughout Bavaria. If so, this is a charge not against the peddlers, but against the police for their laxity. Also, Utzschneider says "the Jews" commit illegal acts: he does not specify this or that particular individual. What must foreigners think of Bavaria if our police are so lax?! At any rate, it is not true that Jewish peddlers do business throughout the land. Their patents are valid only in several local districts (Landgerichtsbezirke). Nor is it so easy to get a peddling license as Utzschneider would have us believe.

The charge is made that the Jew pays no business taxes, but keeps all his profits for himself. A more typical

of the erroneous accusations so often levelled against the Jews could hardly be found. Is there really even a single Jew who does not pay taxes? The accusation that they keep all their profits betrays an ignorance of the peddler's circumstances. Most of them eke out only a meagre living. If they have any considerable amount of money, they stop peddling!

The Jews are charged with buying their wares from foreign countries, with often not paying the customs duties on their goods, and with dealing with bankrupt firms which furnish the goods at a very low price. The accusation about evading the customs can hardly apply, since the Jews mostly buy at the great Bavarian fairs, and also from Christian wholesalers. At any rate, the customs fraud laws apply to the Jews as to the Christians. Hardly a Jew is to be found among the customs fraud cases prosecuted by the government. In this matter the Jews are just like those of any other faith. As to dealing with bankrupt houses: were the accusation true, Germany would have a plethora of such firms, and a paucity of solid concerns!

Incidentally, Utzschneider's proposals are quite unconstitutional. His jealousy reminds us of the parable Nathan told David, in which the rich man lusts after the poor man's lamb (II Samuel 12). It is quite understandable that many merchants are allied with Utzschneider: they wish to assail their competitors.

Our world is indeed sick. The basis of the trouble lies within ourselves; yet we persist in seeking the cause of our

troubles in the present, whereas they are in reality the result of our past mistakes. Many people find that they make things easier for themselves if only they can say to someone else, "You are to blame!" Thus it happens that the Jew, because he is weak, is always made the butt of this reproach. (And so the present bad business year, and the present dearth of money, both the natural results of the recent famine, are blamed on the Jew! But who, we ask, suffers more than the Jew during hard times? And among the Jews, who suffers more than the peddler, "who in storm and rain, in frost and heat, often travels about the whole day long, scarcely realizing enough profit to buy his scanty meal?" They envy THESE people?! THESE unfortunates are worthy of the jealousy of the merchants?!

(In any event, peddling is not so bad an occupation as has been supposed. It benefits the wholesalers. What would the Bamberg fairs be without the peddlers who support them? The public is benefited too. Everyone knows that he can buy more cheaply when the "store" comes to his house than when he goes to the store. In stores people are ashamed to bargain ("handel") to any great degree; this is not so regarding their dealings with the peddler. Also, think of the inconvenience which the country people would feel were it not for the peddler! How much time and money they would lose if they had to go to town for every little thing. Also, the city stores do not readily extend credit, like the peddler does.)

But I have written this apology for peddling not with the intention of trying to alter Bavarian law (i.e. of making peddling open to all), but merely to show Utzschneider how just the government regulations are, and that there is nothing evil about allowing these people to continue in their way of making a living. Our state only permits what many others do, at no detriment to their welfare. This is a business which has existed for many centuries. It is hoped that the Diet will reject the Utzschneider proposals as they deserve. It would certainly be unjust to pass laws prejudicial to the welfare of an already impoverished class of people, laws in fact prejudicial to everyone except the few businessmen who might conceivably be benefited. If the Diet upholds the proposals, then one class, the most well-to-do in the land, will be benefited: if THEY made less money than they do, they would not be forced into a living death, as would be the case with the peddler if HIS earnings were curtailed. May you, therefore, come to your decision on the basis of right, fairness and truth (19).

This "Beleuchtung" was, like the "Denkschrift", well received in enlightened Jewish and gentile quarters (20). Rosenfeld's two documents and those of other forward-looking people were not without effect on the Diet, even though the Utzschneider group worked violently against any betterment of the Jews' condition (21). On May 11, 1819, a revision of the Edict of 1813 was proposed in the Diet (22). On June 10, the Diet

decided 1) on this thoroughgoing revision and 2) on first convening an assembly of enlightened Jews to give the government their advice in making the revision (23). The government declared at the prorogation of the Diet on July 22: "The Ministry of the Interior will busy itself with the matter of revision, and will lay a comprehensive bill before the next Diet ." (24)

Shortly after these felicitous results an emissary of the Munich Jewish congregation brought to Rosenfeld in Uehlfeld as their expression of appreciation a gold snuff box containing 50 Ducats, together with a letter which read:

In recognition of the service which you, through your writings, have rendered to our coreligionists in Bavaria, we take the liberty of sending you this gold snuff box, together with 50 Ducats, which we hope you will be pleased to accept (25).

(The students at Wuerzburg, however, were not pleased with the king's promise to do something for the Jews, and later in 1819 they raised the "Hep! hep!" cry against them.) The anti-semitic movement reached considerable proportions throughout Bavaria, many excesses being committed against the Jews, several of whom were killed. The government had to declare martial law in order to restore order (26). The ardor of both Jews and government was dampened by these outbreaks, and it was not until 1821 that the Jews again dared to appeal for emancipation. In that year the Fuerth Jews sent a memorandum to the king, which proved of no avail (27).

By 1822 feeling against the Jews was high, largely as a

result of Professor Lips' brochure (see above), which had been republished in 1821. In 1822, when next the Diet met, unfeasible and impractical suggestions were made by the Jews; the pamphlets of that year by J. B. Goldschmidt and W. Ney are called "terrible" by Jost, while Rosenfeld's "Mémoire" was considered somewhat better. The anti-semites had not frightened him, and in this "Mémoire" he once again appealed to the Diet for removal of the restrictions against the Jews, and for bettering their condition. It was a longer work than either the "Denkschrift" or the "Beleuchtung", and was printed at the expense of the directors of the Munich congregation, by whom he was later given 25 Ducats as a token of thanks. (28).

The full title of this pamphlet is "Mémoire an die hohe Staende-Versammlung des Koenigreichs Baiern; ueber verschied'ne gegen die Juden gemachte Antraege. Nebst einigen Wuenschen und Bitten" ("Memorial to the Honorable Diet of the Bavarian Kingdom, concerning Various Accusations Made against the Jews, together with Several Wishes and Requests"). It was published in Munich in 1822, and is dated from Markt Uehlfeld, April 11.

The "Mémoire" takes as its motto: "Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; ye shall hear the small and the great alike...for the judgment is God's (Deuteronomy 1:17). Once before, says Rosenfeld, I put my ideas before you. New accusations, including utterances by some members of your chamber, which run through my vital organs like a sword, are the reason why I once again raise my voice on behalf of this oppressed

and misunderstood class of people.

1. Concerning the economic position of the Jews, their wealth and business: From the accusations, one would think the status of the Jews were enviable. What an error! In reality, the envier is more fortunate than the envied. Only a Jew can really understand the true misfortune of his people. When a person who is in possession of all rights, and free to advance his position, complains about hard times, how much more ought the Jews to complain, who generally do not enjoy these rights, and are hemmed in by countless restrictions and difficulties, to which are added hate and persecution. But the Jew does not complain. He is accustomed to suffer and hold his peace.

It is said that the Jews are rich. This is not so. A person who is worth 3000 Gulden is generally considered rich, even though his wealth be in outstanding debts of 5, 10, 15 and 20 Gulden. Surely the poorest farmer, if only he is solvent, is worth more than such a "rich" Jew. Credit is the Jew's life-blood. Jews who therefore seem rich may in reality not be rich at all. There is only one rich Jew for 50 rich Christians, but the Jews are judged "totus pro pars" (all by a few) when it is to their disadvantage (and so people say "the Jews" are rich.) It is not the POSSESSION but the ENJOYMENT of money that makes one rich. The Jews have groans for their first course and sighs for dessert. The more educated they are, the more bitterly they feel the pain of false accusation.

It is bad enough to be unfortunate. It is doubly bad to be unfortunate, but not to be thought of as unfortunate. But to be unfortunate and to be considered LUCKY, and to receive not sympathy but persecution - of such a state of affairs no adequate description can be given!

That the Jew is clever and industrious is the natural result of the oppression he feels. Necessity is the mother of invention. There is nothing in all God's Creation that is superfluous: even fleas and Jews are no exception to this rule. Let people not be surprised that the Jews still cling to business. You cannot throw people out of their element all at once. Gradual progress will lead to the desired goal. Further, it is wrong to think of business as unproductive. Every hand has its value. (Here Rosenfeld quotes from Mendelssohn to prove that business, teaching and the military profession are productive occupations, inasmuch as they satisfy a public need.) Even the lowliest peddler has his worth, not only for the buying public, who can buy more cheaply from him, but also for the wholesaler who depends on him.

Nor does the peddler cause people to become overwhelmed by an ever upward spiralling burden of debt, as has been alleged, because a) the peddler often sells to the same people for 20 years or more and still keeps their confidence in him, b) he seldom complains against his customers, and even more seldom do they lodge complaints against him, c) he generally takes no promissory note, but just makes a memo, under which cir-

cumstances a usurious piling up of debt could hardly occur, and d) most peddlers are poor, and must rely on credit, a condition which disproves the charge that they are getting rich through usury. The only possible legitimate charge against the peddlers is that they tempt people to buy things they do not need, so that the people spend money unnecessarily. But because of the peddler's cheaper prices, the people get more for their money than if they bought in town, so the fact that they buy these extra things is really not an evil; if they bought in town they would spend the same amount of money, receiving, however, fewer goods. Even if the people buy luxury items from the peddler, this is still quite legal: the state, indeed, permits the importation of tobacco into Bavaria, a circumstance which causes great sums of money to leave the country. Why then should the peddler be begrudged for selling a few luxury items which he buys IN Bavaria?

Much more might be said about peddling, in which, by the way, the writer has no personal interest, because, thank God, no one in his family peddles; but truth demands that the writer speak out in its defense, especially where it concerns the welfare or distress of innocent people.

✓ (2. Views on the growing complaints against the Jews and (1822) their increasing in Bavaria: It is said that the Jews are increasing in number (which may well be the case); but the charge is made by the ranting opponents of the Jews, who, at a moment when the Jews are improving their condition, wish to

deliver the "coup de grâce" upon them. Why all this hate against us? It stems from a) the revolutionary spirit of our times, which seeks some outlet, b) people who have a fanatical and mystical temperament, who tend even unto violence, and c) especially from the laws themselves.

At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries hate against the Jews had almost disappeared. This was the result of 18th century philosophy. Jews became like Christians in their speech, mentality, dress, education, etc., and friendly intercourse existed between the two groups, who went forward hand in hand. Jews took an interest in their nation, and became cultured and educated, more so perhaps than their means permitted. They established schools, literary societies, etc. Then came a period of fog and darkness. Evil and intolerance emerged from their dark alleys. Paid hirelings took Jew-hatred from its grave, refurbished it in modern dress, and sent it forth into the world. The fools gaped, while the clever either laughed or cried. Every crime committed by a Jew was committed by "the Jews", and reports thereof were scattered broadcast.

What are the accusations? Is the Jew a murderer, adulterer, arsonist or mutineer? No! Here he sells goods higher than they should be priced; there he cuts the price too low; or he has the nerve to speculate and get rich; or he eats fish! (Rosenfeld adds that he once heard the story of a Jew who was reproached for having eaten fish; to which the Jew replied, "Yes, but of course I removed the bones!")

It is true that we have our usurers and cheats, but only a

few from the lowest class of people. But who hasn't? Ought the whole people to be blamed for a few? If so, every baker should be punished because some sell underweight loaves! There are laws against usurers and cheats, which are invoked upon their violators. This is the proper way to do things in a constitutional state, where right, not passion, must prevail. "The fathers shall not suffer for the sins of the children...but everyone shall die for his own sin".

If the Jews in reality have a greater proportion of cheats and usurers than those of other religions, this is because of their oppression. The Jewish religion does not sanction usury. "Seek the welfare of the city wherein ye dwell", said Jeremiah (29:7). Usury would hardly conform to the "welfare of the state". Whatever may be true in the accusations against us is the result of our treatment; whatever is untrue or exaggerated is the result of hatred. (Here Rosenfeld quotes Kruenitz' "Encyclopedia" to show that when the Christians were a small minority, the very same accusations were made against THEM, to show that Christianity was incompatible with the welfare of the state.)

Hate is caused, particularly, by the existing laws (29). Laws are a greater teacher of men than either school or pulpit. School and pulpit educate in LEARNING; laws educate in LIFE. The school builds the youth, but the laws build the man. As the laws are tolerant and liberal, or intolerant and illiberal, so will the man be. In those lands where Jews have full rights -

France, Holland and England - the people are happy with their Jews, and there is neither complaint nor hate against them.

How strange that people complain that the Jews are increasing at a time when the laws preventing this increase are being so stringently applied! If Bavarian Jewry has increased from 2000 to 49,000, this was not an internal increase: the 47,000 came from the states annexed by Bavaria. With them there also came an increment to the national wealth. This was of especial value, since Jewish money circulates, and is productive, leading to greater taxes for the state, etc. Even with the increase, these 49,000 Jews are still only 1% of the state's entire population. Both nature and religion teach "Be fruitful and multiply". (Rosenfeld now quotes from von Dohm's pamphlet concerning improvement of the Jews' status, to show that large populations are a help to the state. He likewise quotes from Mendelssohn to make the same point.) (He delineates the evils of having to wait for a place on the Jewish Register: a man must marry late, he dies while his children are still young, and they are left without support. Such conditions are against God's will.)

People (e.g. Malthus) say that the world cannot support so many inhabitants. Yet we have survived the recent famine, and once again there is plenty for everyone to eat. The Jews have been limited to a set number for now over 100 years. The general population has increased in that time, yet the Jews are still confined to the same number. This is most unfair.

(He means that if the Jews are to be limited at all, they should be limited not to a fixed number, but to a certain proportion of the total population.)

Is there more good or more evil in the world? "God saw... and it was good". The world would REALLY be good if only men would not spoil their own happiness.

As to the requests and wishes: first, let the Diet not seek a cure for the Jews by multiplying the medicines of restrictive legislation. Second, that the Diet will remove all laws which keep the Jews from the free enjoyment of civil rights. Give us like treatment before the law. Every exception to this leads to hatred. Third, may the Diet not forbid peddlery. This would be no public service, and would ruin the peddlers, who would become bankrupt. A big evil would replace the present small one (if, indeed, it be admitted that peddling is an evil.) Fourth, may the Diet oppose any allegations made within its chambers against the ENTIRETY of Israel. Anti-Jewish utterances, particularly those made in the Diet, lead to repetition by others. In a constitutional state, a citizen ought to be punished only after condemnation, never by passion resembling ancient barbarism. (He now quotes Friedlaender, to the effect that in order to see the potentialities of a bound man, you must remove ALL of his chains, not just a few.)

Why do our Christian brothers delay to free us? Does not their religion demand this of them? Let them come to us with love, and see how receptive we are to this treatment. "Treat

the stranger like the homeborn" (Leviticus 19:34). Shall this verse not be applied, not even after 3000 years? Shall it not be applied to people who, after their long sojourn here, can hardly be considered strangers? Rosenfeld recommends the reading of Mendelssohn's "Jerusalem" to the delegates. May the weed of intolerance be replaced by the noble plants of love, concord, religious tolerance and amiability! If the Diet will work toward this goal, it will reflect creditably on them and on the state. "Love and truth meet; righteousness and justice embrace" (30).

The "Mémoire" was well received, and Rosenfeld was honored as the leader in the fight for emancipation. His advice, we are told, was always accepted by the Jews whenever the matter of emancipation was under discussion (31). But the Diet was in no mood to heed his requests. On May 13, 1822 the government declared that revision of the Edict of 1813 was no longer timely, and the matter was indefinitely postponed. (32). The only good thing which followed was that on January 16, 1823, the Jewish religious schools were brought under closer supervision of the government. (33). This decree was followed on February 28, 1828, with a law compelling the Jews to operate religious schools, and permitting these to be combined with the Jewish elementary schools. Religious instruction was compulsory for all Jews aged 6-13. Instruction for those -aged 13-18 was also to be given, in the synagogue, on Sabbaths and Holidays (34).

With the advent of King Ludwig I as king, on October 13, 1825, things began to be better for the Jews. He was at first liberal, although after the July Revolution in France he was frightened into reaction. The government began to enforce the rules of 1813 concerning the education of rabbis, and Jewish life came under the direction of royal commissioners who were responsible for the approval of suitable rabbis (35).

Bamberg, in the 1830's, was a center of activity for Jewish rights. On December 20, 1830 a committee of five men, including Rabbi Rosenfeld, was organized to work for emancipation. This committee worked with similar ones from other cities. The Wuerzburg committee asked Bamberg to countersign a memorial they were planning to submit to the government, but Bamberg refused on April 27, 1831, saying that they were planning to send their own petition, from which they expected good results (36). In May Bamberg sent this petition to the Diet, where it found a good reception, because the July Revolution of 1830 had purified the atmosphere. Their expectations were justified. The Diet voted unanimously for a revision of the Edict of 1813, and, on December 29, 1831, when the lower house adjourned, the introduction of more liberal laws was promised. To this end the government, in October, 1832, set up a comprehensive inquiry into the Jewish situation, to be conducted by the district authorities (37).

To this inquiry, the rabbi and directors of the Bamberg

congregation replied: The authorities have treated our community decently. However, we now and then feel the deprecations of the populace, even for the most innocent reasons. This is the result of the discriminatory laws, wherein the Jew appears before the public as an outcast. It is especially hoped that the insult of the "normal count" may be removed; or at least that the right of domicile may be enlarged, so that 100 families may have this right in Bamberg. We also recommend the establishment of a Jewish consistory. Finally, we desire that all synagogues in the kingdom should follow the same liturgical service, to be based on the present educational attainments of the Jews; namely, it should include several German prayers (38). Rosenfeld evidently did not feel that this reply sufficed, and he sent the government on January 11, 1833, a detailed memorandum (39).

This memorandum began:

The intention of His Majesty the King to give serious consideration to a revision of the existing laws and regulations concerning the condition of the Jews in Bavaria certainly fills the breast of every Jew with most appreciative joy and hope. Since the majority of the Jews in Bavaria are no longer those of 1813, they now feel too keenly those restrictive laws which have outlived their usefulness and which stand in the way of their becoming truly civilized; they hope, therefore, henceforth to live in a freer, more honorable condition, so that they may with joy and love fulfill the civic duties asked of them, and so that they may continue to live as honest respected children of the Fatherland. Trustingly they look to the justice and kindness of His Majesty the King, and they await from his glorious reign the removal of those disgraceful fetters which enervate the spirit, and men's courage and energy, and which continually make them a laughing-stock and the object of contempt.

If now to attain these ends the royal government seeks proposals from the rabbis and congregational officials with regard to their religious affairs, then the humbly undersigned writer of these proposals will not withhold his conviction that the single most desirable and excellent means of securing the ennoblement of the Jews in religious, civic and moral matters would be their civil emancipation.

(Here Rosenfeld goes on frankly and sharply to criticize various points in the Edict of 1813.) He closes:

May the proposals and wishes here humbly set forth receive a most friendly appraisal and hearing!

(He now includes a paragraph telling of his love for the king.)

The highly placed one who, possessed of most sublime virtue, broke the fetters of the unfortunate people of Greece, and sent them a ruler for their welfare from his high sublime royal house (40), will, in the fullness of his grace and mercy, be no less sensitive of the needs of a deeply bowed down class of people in the midst of his own kingdom, who place their hope and trust in his fatherly kindness (41).

But this government inquiry, and many efforts between 1832-1834, sparked by Baron Jacob von Hirsch of Wuerzburg, led only to the establishment of district synods, whose sole official duty was the collecting of important documents. These synods were held by the government in the first quarter of 1836; from these meetings the government hoped to learn which brand of Judaism was the true one. Needless to say, the meetings were quite without result. Rosenfeld was one of three Bamberg delegates to the synod of his district, which was held in Bayreuth (42).

A minor victory on the emancipation front was achieved in 1835. Until that year reports of robberies, at the request of the city magistrate, had to be read in the synagogue in Bamberg (and presumably in other cities), or posted upon its wall. At

the urging of the rabbinate this nuisance was abolished by the Diet in 1835 (43).

Jewish efforts for emancipation again burst into full flame in 1837. On April 3, the directors of the Bamberg congregation sent a planned petition to Dr. Carl Feust of Fuerth, with the request that he reword it, in a shorter, more readable style. Feust answered: "The plan you sent me seems by its style to be the work of your honored rabbi; the exposition of point no. 30 of the Edict (of 1813) which it contains would do honor to the most sharp-minded jurist." The compliment to Rosenfeld was, of course, not undeserved (44). It is not clear whether Feust reworked the petition, or whether it was submitted in the form Rosenfeld had written it; but at any rate, the Bamberg congregation did submit some petition at this time (45). The plan which was sent to Feust reads in part as follows:

The Jews of the kingdom long more for moral than for material benefits, as regards the removal of the restrictions upon them; for they, in the midst of a free and fortunate people, feel slandered through the manifold restrictions and antiquated laws under which they live. The noble taste for the excellent, the good and the beautiful which, through better education, rearing and upbringing has been awakened in them for some years past, will be almost repressed by such slander, and will smother in infancy; a long delay in the coming of alleviation can be only detrimental, and the good things which the government and people have worked at so zealously for so long a time will once again be nullified.

It ought not escape the excellent intelligence of Your Royal Majesty that the educational development of citizens has its phases, just as the individual goes through various phases. If the boy is kept too long under the rod of correction, or the youth too long under parental tutelage,

very pernicious reactions will result. We Jews of Bavaria, after the passage of 24 years (since 1813), have now completed the phases of childhood and youth. It ought now to be time to treat us like men, since we have the natural intelligence, wherewith the Creator of all things endowed us, with which to work for our own and the state's advantage. We are ready to develop independently, and better and more completely than heretofore. We will not fall back into our former slumber (46).

The Munich congregational directors, on May 29, 1837, invited four other congregations to send delegates to that city to have an audience with King Ludwig himself. Of course Rosenfeld represented Bamberg, and, because of the excellence of the planned petition he had sent to Feust, he was also made chairman of the entire delegation. The delegates were received by the king on either June 23, 24 or 25, 1837, each city's delegation being received separately. In the name of the Munich deputation, an address was delivered to the king. A copy, dated June 23, was filed in the records of the Bamberg congregation, and bore Rosenfeld's handwriting. Perhaps he had authored it himself. (47). Rosenfeld, at this time, delivered his own petition to the king:

"Your Majesty! Commissioned by the Jewish congregation of Bamberg, the most humble undersigned ventures to approach the sublime throne of Your Royal Majesty with the following most submissive statement and request.

One cannot fail to appreciate that the royal Edict of June 10, 1813, dealing with the condition of the Jews in the Kingdom of Bavaria, contained a lot that was good and applicable regarding the civic and religious culture of the

Jews. Nevertheless it must be recognized that it contained many oppressive stipulations, which have become especially irksome since the authorities have interpreted and administered them according to the narrowest and most prejudicial interpretation. It can hardly be doubted that the removal of these restrictions would benefit the whole state. But since they still exist, it would seem to be consonant with the overall character of the Edict, and with its declared purpose, to interpret and apply them according to the most lenient meaning. This is unfortunately not the case, for the laws are always applied in the bitterest, harshest manner. Because of this, Your Majesty's Jewish subjects have become completely disheartened, and the significant progress they have made toward civic and social culture, with the hope of achieving an improved legal status, is unhappily beginning to cease. This forces friends of humanity to take a sad view of the future. The sufferings of the Jews are many; only he who lives among them can understand the constant pain he is caused. He is repressed and legally repulsed in the most common every-day activities, as well as in the higher intellectual spheres. For this reason they sink in the esteem and love of their Christian fellows, whom they would like to approach in a friendly, brotherly manner; instead, they experience from them bitter degradation and insult, even more painful than the material disadvantages. This is felt by the large majority of Jews.

Moreover, today's Jews are not those of 1813. They are as loyal to their sovereign as any other class of people. I am proud to say this. In other respects likewise, they in no way merit such a bitter fate. They have their weak points; they make mistakes; but they are not vicious, nor of criminal disposition. They would constantly become more ennobled and virtuous if the restrictions did not work in so retrograde a fashion. The burdensome points are nos. 12, 16, 17, 18 and 20 of the Edict. Concerning the details, I humbly refer you to the petition recently sent you by the directors of the Jewish congregation in Bamberg. Here I only give an example of how strictly the Edict's provisions are enforced: according to a decree published May 20th of last year in the Information Bulletin (no. 62) of the Upper Main district, a Registry Number is to be declared void if not filled within three months after becoming vacant. Nothing of this sort was mentioned in the Edict. Such a decree is highly prejudicial to the Jew.

Your Royal Majesty! With trustful confidence in the love wherewith you deal impartially with your subjects, the humbly undersigned ventures to implore Your Majesty's pity and grace most abjectly; and humbly requests:

that Your Majesty remove the aforementioned oppressions and nuisances by your wisdom and humanity, by keeping in mind the welfare of your Jewish subjects; and especially by enjoining your subordinate officers to treat the Jews more mildly.

Among the imperishable works of Your Majesty's glorious

reign, may the work of freeing your Jewish subjects from their oppression also be outstanding. Thus will the celebrated name of our king, our father and protector, become a shining example to other rulers and peoples, and the reign of happiness and divine peace on earth will be brought near"(48).

We also have two letters which Rosenfeld wrote to the directors of his congregation while on his mission to Munich. The first, dated June 21, reads:

I humbly take the liberty of informing you that I arrived here safely, thank God, yesterday evening at 6 o'clock on the stage-coach, in which the deputies from Fuerth, Dr. (Wolfgang) Ma(c)k and (Herrmann) Levin were also riding. Immediately after arriving, we sent our credentials to Councillor of Commerce Marx, and asked when we might see him. He met us at 9 this morning; when we appeared, we found Herr Maier from Wuerzburg also there as a delegate. No other delegates from the other places are here, as none were invited. We discussed the projected royal audience, and agreed that we would apply for it today; this has already been done. The result of our application will not be learned until tomorrow at 9 A. M. At the same time it was decided that a very short petition should be delivered to His Majesty, asking for his favor in the matter of granting the requests which have already been sent in by the several cities. I am to hand him this petition, delivering at the same time a short address. We think that the audience may well be held early tomorrow. I will not fail, honored gentlemen, to inform you of all the news (49).

The second letter, dated June 25, shows, if one reads between the lines, disillusionment and resignation (50).

I can inform you, most highly honored gentlemen, thank God, of the pacifying assurance that our trip hither will not, God willing, have been in vain; and that, even if we do not receive complete emancipation, we may, with God's help, hope for and expect an easing of our burden, and milder treatment. I will have the pleasure, within 8 or 10 days, of telling you of this verbally. Only this much can I write you confidentially: that nothing good will come out of the Diet, and that the

government, for its part, wishes to handle the matter in its own way. This I, and undoubtedly all my fellow-delegates, view as the best course of action. Until now I have been extremely busy (49).

While in Munich the delegates also conferred with the Prime Minister and with the Minister of the Interior, but the whole episode was in reality a fiasco. Reaction was in the wind, and within a few months all hopes for emancipation would be quashed (51).

On November 1, 1837 the Ultramontanes came into power in Bavaria, with Karl von Abel as Prime Minister. The Jesuits ruled the roost, censorship was established, and the Protestants and Jews were oppressed. Numerous harsh and intolerant measures were soon enacted, restricting Jewish business (52).

(During the Abel regime, one oppressive measure which Rosenfeld fought was the "knee-bending" decree, which appeared early in 1839. There were parades on the Catholic Feast of Corpus Christi, in which the militia took part. The Jewish militiamen were not excused, and, at the moment when the Host was elevated, they were expected to kneel along with the Catholics. Protestants too were subject to this decree.)

Dr. Zacharias Frankel complained in 1845 that the decree had been lifted for Protestants, but that he had not heard of the rabbis in Bavaria doing anything about it for the Jews. It is not a question of "old" and "new", he wrote; all the rabbis must unite in protest (53). Actually the Bavarian rabbis had taken the necessary steps to protest this decree. It was not their fault that good results were not immediately

forthcoming. The Protestants had not gotten rid of the law right away, either. Rosenfeld was, in fact, the most outspoken rabbi in Bavaria on this question (54).

In Bamberg, when the colonel ordered the Jewish militiamen to be present at the procession, the soldiers told Rosenfeld about it. He not only forbade their being present, but he preached against it in his synagogue, explaining the Second Commandment on the basis of the example of the three Jewish children (Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego) in Daniel 3, who entered the fiery furnace rather than worship the golden image which Nebuchadrezzar had erected. He asked that their example be courageously emulated.

When the colonel threatened to jail those Jews who did not appear, Rosenfeld told the soldiers they should still stay away from the procession, and that they could quote him to the colonel. Finally, Rosenfeld himself went to the colonel, and asked him to stay the order, which he did "just this once". (We do not know what happened during the other years this order was in force.) (Rosenfeld and Rabbi Hirsch Aub of Munich appealed to the government to release the Jews from this order. It was withdrawn in 1845, at the same time that it was rescinded for the Protestants.) The rabbis of Fuerth and Baireuth did not have to take any steps because these were Protestant towns where no such processions were held. There was no rabbi at the time in Wuerzburg (55).

Rabbi Rosenfeld was also active in trying to abolish the

"More Judaico", the Jewish Oath (56). Under this law, when a Jew was to testify in court, he had to go to the synagogue with the judge, the rabbi and ten adult Jews, where he had to don the "tallith" and the "tefillin", and hold the Torah Scroll; then he had to speak a set formula, giving his assurance that he would not seek to have his oath abrogated by a Jewish court, that he would not consider it annulled by the "Kol Nidre", that he did not consider the Christian an idolater, etc. (57). Rosenfeld freely spoke his mind against the glaring reproach which this oath, as prescribed in the Kreitmeyer law-book, contained. He wrote a brochure against the oath, which was given to the government. He was fairly successful in having the oath omitted, in practice, in Bamberg (58).

On January 1, 1843, at a time when, because of reaction, there was no activity for Jewish emancipation, Rosenfeld once again sent a petition to the Diet, entitled "Die Verbesserung des Rechtszustands der Israeliten betreffend" ("Concerning the Improvement of the Legal Position of the Israelites"). He neglected to get a member of the Diet to act as sponsor and advocate, and so the petition achieved nothing (59).

✓ (The Bavarian rabbis worked energetically during the Abel regime against the decree which had ordered the Jewish students in the schools and gymnasia to write on Sabbaths and Holidays.) Rosenfeld, Loewi of Fuerth, Joseph Aub of Bayreuth and his cousin Hirsch Aub of Munich sent a petition about this to the

ministry. In Bamberg, Josef Klein, acting as Rosenfeld's messenger, remonstrated with the professors at the gymnasium, who were decent enough to take no notice, in actual practice, of the decree. Finally, through the mediation of Baron Jacob von Hirsch of Wuerzburg, who had an audience for this purpose with the king at Brueckenau, the decree was lifted (60).

Early in 1846 (61) Jewish petitions from almost every congregation in Bavaria began to "rain" on the Diet. At least 26 were received by the lower house (62). Bamberg's petition, authored by Rosenfeld, was dated January 28, 1846. In addition, the rabbi wrote for his own part a penetrating and passionate brochure of 16 pages, published at the cost of his congregation by J. G. Schmidt in Bamberg, on February 18, 1846; this also was sent to the Diet (63). This brochure, published at a time when the restrictions of the Abel ministry were most severe, and when the most unjust accusations against the Jews were being made in the Diet, was entitled "An die hohe Staende-Versammlung des Koenigreichs Bayern. Gehorsamste Beschwerde ueber Verletzung eines verfassungsmaessigen Rechtes, in Folge unrichtiger Auffassung eines Passus im Numero 30 des Ediktes vom 10. Juni 1813; die Verhaeltnisse der juedischen Glaubensgenossen in Bayern betreffend" ("To the Honorable Diet of the Kingdom of Bavaria. A Most Humble Complaint about the Violation of a Constitutional Right, as a Result of the Incorrect Interpretation of a Phrase in No. 30 of the Edict of June 10, 1813; Concerning the

Situation of the Adherents of the Jewish Religion in Bavaria" (64). At this time Rosenfeld also supported Rabbi Dr. Lazarus Levi Adler of Kissingen (later of Cassel) in his memorandum to the lower house: "Die buergerliche Stellung der Juden in Bayern" ("The Civil Status of the Jews in Bavaria"), published in Munich in 1846 (65).

Rosenfeld's "Beschwerde", of which we unfortunately do not have a copy available, evoked the opposition of Professor Dr. Georg Riegler, a Catholic theologian at the Lyceum in Bamberg, who, except in this instance, seems to have been friendly with Rosenfeld. He published (Bamberg, 1846) a 160-page reply to the "Beschwerde", entitled "Jesus der Messias und der Judaismus. Eine historisch-exegetisch-dogmatisch Abhandlung. Hervorgerufen durch eine Beschwerde-Schriftlein des Rabbiners Rosenfeld zu Bamberg an die Staende-Versammlung in Muenchen" ("Jesus the Messiah and Judaism. An Historical, Exegetical Dogmatic Treatise, Evoked by a Pamphlet of Complaint Authored by Rabbi Rosenfeld of Bamberg, which he Sent to the Diet at Munich") (66). No copy is available.

The Jews were not without their supporters at the 1846 sessions of the Diet (67). Deacon Bauer, a noble Protestant minister, and member of the Diet from Bamberg, sponsored the petitions which the Jews of the country congregations of Middle Franconia had sent (68). Among others, he made a fine appeal for the Jews in the Chamber, in which were included these words:

There are places where people are acquainted only with vulgar Jews. I live in a different milieu. I have learned

to know men of this nation (the Jews) who, in respect to character and spiritual attainment are deserving of the highest honor and esteem.

Undoubtedly, Rosenfeld was one of those whom he had in mind. The Bamberg congregation thanked Bauer and two others for their help, in letters penned by their rabbi (69).

But the parliamentary discussions in May, 1846, were without result. Disillusionment once again followed the Jews' high hopes (70). Although the magistrates of the large cities (including Bamberg) had sent unconditional expressions of their support of the Jews through messages to the ministry and petitions to the king, the Jews themselves had made progress difficult by submitting contradictory recommendations about the future ordering of their religious affairs. In addition, a member of the Diet, Dr. Doellinger, had strongly influenced the Chamber against the Jews; so that at the Diet's prorogation on May 23 it was declared that "ripe reflection" was necessary before proposals for the improvement of the Jews' legal position could be made (71).

King Ludwig's infatuation with the dancer and adventuress Lola Montez brought about the downfall of the Abel regime in 1847, and the Bavarian government fell into a chaotic condition (72). In November of that year the Bamberg congregation sent in another petition, this time authored by Dr. Morgenstern, then a lawyer in Bamberg, who was shortly to become a member of the Diet representing Fuerth. On December 19, Rosenfeld wrote a thorough criticism of points no. 23 and 24 of the Edict of

1813 (73). In his introduction to this critique he wrote:

If it is true that the esteem in which a religion is held by others is capable of raising the self-respect of its adherents, then it will surely be profitable for the Jewish congregations here if the Jewish religion (which already is esteemed because of its great age, and because it is the mother of worthy daughter-faiths) becomes recognized as a PUBLIC religion, and its servants come to enjoy that respect and those prerogatives which are the portion of the officers of other faiths (74).

The king, at about this time, promised measures for improving the civil status of the Jews (75).

(1848 was a year of popular revolution throughout Europe.) There was chaos already in Bavaria, owing to the fall of the reactionary Abel ministry, and by March of that year excitement was at fever-pitch. A flood of petitions voicing "the demands of the time" poured into Munich; the petition of the Bamberg congregation, dated March 13, this time was not merely for "Verbesserung", improvement, as heretofore, but for complete equality. (The magistrates of Bamberg and other cities once again sent in pro-Jewish resolutions, but anti-Semitic excesses broke out in the country regions. Things were particularly bad in Burgkundstadt, whence many Jews fled to Bamberg.) On March 20 King Ludwig abdicated in favor of his son, Maximilian II. Shortly thereafter, the Diet convened, and the high hopes of the Jews were once again quelled with disillusionment, as the excitement subsided (76). All that they received at this time were the rights to vote for candidates for election to the lower house, and to run for this public office. In 1849 two Jewish delegates, including

Dr. Morgenstern, sat in the Diet: henceforth the Jews could speak on their own behalf, and would no longer have to depend on written petitions (77).

In 1850 the government proposed equality for the Jews, to which the lower house assented; but the upper house voted it down. The laws relating to Jewish trade, property and business were, however, removed by the national government, although many local restrictions remained in force. (The regulations about the Jewish Register, etc., remained, although they were tacitly relaxed after 1850 (78).)

Rosenfeld who from 1817-1847 (and perhaps even after 1847) had been a leader in the fight for Jewish emancipation, lived to see his efforts crowned with success. (On November 10, 1861,) the prorogation of the Diet removed, with the king's approval, the evil decrees which had so long hampered Jewish life and growth. (The 78-year-old rabbi gloried in this day, when there was no more "normal count", no more restriction of the right of domicile, no more hindrance to Jewish marriage.) True, certain distinctive Jewish laws remained on the books until 1872 (see Chapter I), but the battle was, to all intents and purposes, won. The outcome was in no small part due to Rosenfeld's exertions. What irony that the seedlings he helped nurture into maturity were so cruelly uprooted by another German government within three-quarters of a century after his death! (79)

CHAPTER IV

ROSENFELD AND REFORM JUDAISM

As soon as Rosenfeld became rabbi of Uehlfeld in 1808, he began to institute various reforms and improvements, because he was greatly troubled by the outward manifestations of the Judaism of his day. He dealt immediately with the matter of decorum in the services, replacing the frequent shouting of prayers with well regulated singing, in which all took part (1). Thus he helped pave the way for that new Judaism which "the spirit of the times" demanded (2).

In his synagogue he did away with many nuisances, such as the "Haman-klopfen" (mock killing of Haman on Purim) (3) and the bringing of sacks and boards into the synagogue on the 9th of Ab. He also had the local cemetery beautified (4).

A man of his "enlightened" and "rational" tendencies could not refrain from trying to wean the people away from the ancient superstitious practices into which they had fallen. One superstition which Rosenfeld fought was the following: When a woman was giving birth a circle used to be drawn around her bed, and a magical inscription was chalked upon the walls or door of her room, reading "Sanvi, Sansanvi, u-Semangeluf, Adam v'Chavah, chutz Lilit" ("Sanvi, Sansanvi, and Semangeluf, Adam and Eve, keep Lilit away"). The three names beginning with "S" were names of angels who were thought to be particularly effective as protection against the female

demon Lilit, who used to prey upon lying-in mothers and their babes. According to legend, she was Adam's first wife. The magic circle, an ancient remedy, was supposed to offer potent protection against her ravagings (5).

The Uehlfeld congregation trusted Rosenfeld implicitly, readily following his advice. He was able to refute those criticisms of his actions which came from outside his congregation by means of his thorough knowledge of the Talmud and the Codes, from which he always sought support for his reforms (4).

His most significant reform, however, was his preaching in the pure German language at a time when the other Bavarian rabbis could neither read nor write that language (6). Not only was Rosenfeld one of the first to preach in German in Bavaria, but he was THE first to do so regularly; indeed, he was one of the first in all Germany to preach regularly in German (7).

The German sermon at that time was an innovation, and was denounced as unjustifiable, if only because it was something new. Traditionally, the rabbis preached only twice a year: on the Sabbath before Passover (Shabbat ha-gadol) and on the Sabbath of Repentance (Shabbat shuvah), between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. These sermons, delivered either in Hebrew or Yiddish, explained the ritual laws concerning the approaching holidays. The first German sermons of which we know were written by Moses Mendelssohn, who wrote three of them. They were preached in the middle of the 18th century,

in celebration of the Prussian victories at Rossbach and Leuthen, and in observance of the conclusion of the Treaty of Hubertusberg, by Chief Rabbi David Hirschel Fraenkel in the Berlin synagogue (8). The first preacher who regularly preached his OWN sermons in German was Joseph Wolf (not, so far as I know, an ordained rabbi), the co-editor of the magazine "Sulamith", who delivered his first German sermon in Dessau, Anhalt, in 1805 (9). Soon Israel Jacobson was preaching in German at Cassel, and in 1815 Auerbach and Guensberg did so at the Beer synagogue in Berlin; in 1818 Kley and Salomon were preaching German at the new Hamburg Temple (10).

Government decrees, beginning in 1817, hampered the progress of German preaching in Prussia and elsewhere; only in Bavaria did it not meet with government opposition. The first rabbi in Bavaria to preach in German not only on special occasions, but also on Sabbaths and Holidays, was Samson Wolf Rosenfeld (11). We have a record of only one, or at most two, German sermons which were preached in Bavaria before he began to preach there in that language. On April 29, 1803, Rabbi A. Josef had given a German sermon at the dedication of a new Jewish school in Illereichen (12), and another was delivered by Rabbi Moses at the dedication of the new synagogue in Floss on August 22, 1817 (13). The Josef sermon certainly preceded Rosenfeld, but the latter had probably been preaching in German before Rabbi Moses delivered his, although the earliest German sermon of Rosenfeld of which we have an actual record is dated March 6, 1818 (some months, by the way, before the

dedication of the Hamburg Temple (14), which took place on October 18, 1818.) There is nothing in Rosenfeld's sermon of March 6, 1818 (to be discussed below) which in any way indicates that preaching in German was something new for him. The probability is that he started preaching in German within four or five years after he took over the Uehlfeld pulpit in 1808. In 1851 it was said of him: "he preached in German almost 40 years ago"(15). 1851 was only 33 years after 1818; had the 1818 German sermon been Rosenfeld's first, the writer could hardly have described 33 years as "almost 40 years". It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that he started his German preaching in 1812 or 1813. The establishment of his German school in Uehlfeld in 1812 (see Chapter II) may well have been the occasion on which he first preached in German.

Rosenfeld's German sermons of March 6, 1818 (there were, in reality, two of them), were delivered in connection with the dedication of the new synagogue in Uehlfeld, which had been built at his instigation (16). A later critic wrote of them: "Although Rosenfeld's sermons are not to be compared with those of the scientifically educated rabbis of our present time (1866), nevertheless they are a monument to the performance of a man who, self-educated, could preach a German sermon at a time when the rest of the Bavarian rabbis WITHOUT EXCEPTION could not write German correctly; and who, when they were forced on special patriotic occasions to preach in German,

had the sermon composed for them by a teacher or other learned layman, who then drummed it into their heads" (17). A contemporary writer also recognized that the occasion was out of the ordinary, writing in "Jedidja" that the "talented" Rabbi Rosenfeld had dedicated his synagogue in the presence of numerous high officials and unprejudiced clergymen, and that he had preached in German so eloquently that "the emotion among his listeners was unmistakable" (18).

Rosenfeld issued a little book containing his sermons of that day, and describing the whole festive affair, on the first anniversary of the synagogue's dedication. (The Foreword is dated February 6, 1819.) It is called: "Die israelitische Tempelhalle, oder die neue Synagoge in Mkt. U(e)hlfeld, ihre Entstehung, Einrichtung, und Einweihung; nebst den dabei gehaltenen Reden" ("The Israelite Temple-Hall, or the New Synagogue at Markt Uehlfeld, its Origin, Form and Dedication; together with the Sermons Delivered on that Occasion"). This was published in 1819, probably at Erlangen, by Heyder (19). It bore the motto from Psalm 48:14-15: "L'ma-an t'sapru l'dor acharon ki zeh Elohim Elohenu olam va-ed" ("That ye may tell it to the generation following, for such is God, our God, for ever and ever.")(20)

In 1818 the rabbi and his school-teacher, Moses Lazarus Kohn, had issued a booklet of hymns for use at the dedication ceremonies. It also was published in Erlangen (21) and was called: "Gesaenge bey der Einweihung der neuen Synagoge zu

Mt. Uehlfeld" ("Songs for the Dedication of the New Synagogue at Markt Uehlfeld"), and bore the motto: "Tov l'hodot ladonai!" ("It is good to give thanks unto the Lord"). This is the earliest of Rosenfeld's printed works which is known to us. Kohn was well educated and liberal-minded; he had been the elementary school-teacher of the Bamberg congregation, but came to Markt Uehlfeld late in 1812, or shortly thereafter (why, I cannot imagine!)(22). The "Gesaenge" received the written praise of the well-known publisher, Wolf Heidenheim of Roedelheim (23).

Let us now, on the basis of the "Gesaenge" and the "Tempelhalle", examine the occasion of the dedication of the new synagogue in Uehlfeld, which was an important day for Rosenfeld (24), and for modern Judaism as well.

The "Tempelhalle" opens with two pages of dedication to Rosenfeld's parents. In the Foreword the author tells us that he is writing this book at the request of many friends, so that the memory of the occasion will be preserved for posterity.

First he writes of the background of the new synagogue. The previous building, which had been in use since 1700 (25), was very small and in a tumble-down condition. Renovation and enlargement were considered impractical, so there was no choice but to build anew. This was decided on at a congregational meeting on the night of November 20, 1814, with but three dissenting votes; a committee of seven was put in charge

of the project, which was approved by the government on March 15, 1815. The plot was purchased, material was procured, and contracts made with the various craftsmen. In April the foundation was laid without any ceremony, wherein, says Rosenfeld, we perhaps made a mistake. Hard times followed (1817), causing the work to be delayed; but in spite of the difficulties it went on to completion. The building cost 13,000 Gulden, a lot of money for such a small congregation; to date, it is nearly paid for. Contributions came from outside the congregation: Rabbi Hirsch Kunreuter of Mergentheim sent money, and Mr. E. Osmund of Baireuth and his family sent money and also a costly "Parochet" (curtain before the Ark). Some Christian friends donated their services gratis. A Christian miller made a contribution of seven Gulden, and a beer-brewer sent over a half-keg of his excellent brew for the dedication ceremonies. The burden of supervision fell upon the President of the congregation, Hirsch Loew Rosenfeld (the rabbi's father), an old man who acted with the alacrity of youth in the furtherance of this holy task.

Rosenfeld quotes from the "Kulmbacher Wochentliche Unterhaltungsblatt" for April 11, 1818, wherein a description of the synagogue was contained. It has a fine site. (Rosenfeld adds that the building's appearance is somewhat spoiled by the nearby structures.) It has a porch in front, edged with a blue and white railing. In the middle of the front is a large arched window, flanked by two smaller windows, under which, in

lily wreaths, are Hebrew inscriptions. (Rosenfeld adds that these merely contain the date, 5577, i.e. 1817.) Under the inscriptions are two doors, the one on the left leading to the women's gallery, the one on the right being the main entrance. This leads to a vestibule, where one encounters an inner wall, in the middle of which is a door bearing the inscription: "Welcome in the name of the Lord" (Psalm 118). Above the vestibule and extending for the whole width of the building, is the women's gallery. (Rosenfeld comments that the gallery extends beyond the width of the vestibule, and overhangs the main synagogue, where it is supported by two pillars. The front of the gallery is curved forward, and in the middle of the gallery's front wall is a shield supported by two lions, bearing the legend in Hebrew and German: "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king" (Proverbs 24:21).) The inner arrangement of the synagogue is what is customarily found, but is very symmetrical, simple, not without good taste, and is very pleasingly executed. It imitates Christian churches to a considerable degree, especially in its handsome marble charity box, in the benches set up on the right and left sides, in the altar which bears the Ten Commandments, etc. The building is rectangular, and built of stone.

Rosenfeld now tells us that the benches have a special peculiarity, in that they are immovable. (Most synagogues of that day had movable reading desks, at which one stood, called "Staender" (26), while one sat at Rosenfeld's new desks.) The

benches all face the East, and are provided with a sliding mechanism to serve as a book-holder during the sitting portions of the service. Each place is provided with an attached candle-holder. There are also nine chandeliers overhanging the main synagogue, and three over the gallery, hanging on intertwined white and blue cord. On the east and west roof-gables there are large inscriptions: on the west side (the entrance), "Adonai nisenu!" ("The Lord is our banner!"), and on the east gable, (inside of which is deposited a scroll containing the history of the congregation) the year of the building's erection is inscribed. The structure is notable for the number, size and beauty of its windows. The "almemar" (pulpit) is too simple, not pleasing to the eye, and cannot be compared with the rest of the building. This is the result of our having been in too great a hurry. The "Aron ha-kodesh" (Ark) is lovely. All around the south, east and north walls there is a continuous ledge, for holding candles, in order to provide for the customary illumination on Yom Kippur. According to the testimony of competent men, this synagogue is among the most beautiful and practical in Germany.

(Rosenfeld's biographer, Kraemer (26), states that this modern building reflected the rabbi's progressive spirit, and says that it provoked considerable interest by its form and dedication. Later it was used as a model for other synagogues.)

The author now proceeds to the dedication itself, which because of its pomp may well be compared to that of the Seesen

Temple in 1810 (27). On January 25, 1818, the congregation decided to hold the festive services on March 6 and 7 next. The government gave permission to have music and singing in public, but there was to be no dancing, as it was the Lenten season. This restriction suited Rosenfeld, who complains that dancing as now practiced has so deteriorated that it is no longer a consecration, but a profanation, of God. The preparations got into full swing, with such excitement as was never before seen here. Everyone wrote his friends and relatives of the impending event; all available lodgings were quickly reserved. The women had their hands full, and these were wonderful days for the tailors and the shoemakers. Everyone was happy, and the excitement intensified as the great day drew near. Various government officials were invited.

March 5, the day before the ceremonies were to begin, had been ordained as a day of fasting, prayer and atonement. On that day Rosenfeld released copies of a program he had had printed, detailing the order of the ceremonies. At evening services he spoke (in Hebrew) on the meaning of this day as a preparation for the great services at hand. The old synagogue was full. As the services ended and the fast-day came to its close, people gathered in happy family groups with the many guests who had already arrived, and made merry until midnight.

Then dawned "Der Tag" (the great day), Friday, March 6,

1818, bright and clear. Charming music, emanating from the courtyard of the old synagogue, gently awakened the sleeping throng. Cannon-fire followed, and happy thrills gripped the soul. The usual morning prayers were earnestly held in the old synagogue; while the service was in progress, the number of visitors constantly increased. A detachment of cavalry, comprising both Christians and Jews, rode out of town, preceded by music, to meet the arriving government officials. At about 10 A. M. a Jewish deputation, comprising Rosenfeld, his father and another member of the board of directors, also rode out in a carriage to greet the officials. They met them about a half hour's journey from town, and after friendly greetings had been exchanged, the procession back to Uehlfeld began. There were three carriages: that of the Jews, and two in which the dignitaries rode. The cavalry also rode in this procession, which got under way with trumpet blasts by the band. All the way back to town solid masses of humanity lined the road. The people were of all classes and all religions. While the procession was ending in the market-place and the dignitaries were alighting from their carriages at the Red Horse Inn, which was to be their headquarters, a uniformed detachment of infantry paraded back and forth.

Immediately the dignitaries went to the home of the President, Hirsch Loew Rosenfeld, and soon additional guests also arrived. At noon they were served a light lunch. At about 1 P. M. all the Jews went to the old synagogue for the last

time, for Minchah (Afternoon prayers.) At the end of the service, Rosenfeld spoke a few words of solace and exhortation with regard to this synagogue. Tears of joy and sorrow were mingled. At the conclusion of the sermonette, the Scrolls of the Law were taken from the Ark, and those who were to carry them took their places in the courtyard. The text of this German sermonette follows:

"In the name of the Lord! Worthy listeners! The holy prophet wrote about those who were to return from the Exile: 'In joy shall ye go forth, and be gathered in in peace' (Isaiah 55:12). Our present frame of mind toward OUR new beginning hardly corresponds with this admonition. We certainly wish and hope, with trust in God Who is supremely good, that we will be brought into our future House of worship with peace and good fortune. Yea, we await that hour with ardent longing. But to depart from here with JOY - this, dear friends, we cannot do.

Just as the hour of dedication joyfully beckons us, so are we sad to leave a place which has been dedicated to the service of God for more than a century, where we and our forbears have so often found a Hearing Ear, comfort and instruction; where we were admitted into the bosom of the sacred religion of our fathers; where we first learned to know the blessedness of public worship; where so often, in brotherly unity, we have raised our voices to God, deriving bliss and cheer on days of festive joy, and comfort and hope in times of trouble and grief.

Great age alone, friends, makes an object deserve our respect. How much more is this the case with holy things. How then can we go from hence with joy?

But let us not grieve, brothers, for our strength lies in the joy of the Lord, Whom we go forth to meet. We have no contempt for the old, the honored, the holy; no, the aim of serving God motivates our steps. We shall go from strength to strength, and appear before God there, in our Zion! We merely exchange this building, much too small, corroded by the teeth of time, and no longer fitting for its high purpose, for a new spacious edifice, well worthy of its high destiny. We may almost surely hope that God's blessing, and that of all honest people, will be upon our undertaking.

'See', once spoke the sainted King David to Nathan the

prophet, 'See! I dwell in a house of cedar, but the holy Ark of the Lord is under a tent.' (II Samuel 7:2)

Thus did he utter his wish to build a Temple for the Lord. This thought greatly pleased the Lord. But David, who had shed much blood, was not to build it, but rather his son Solomon.

Similar sentiments, friends, animate our endeavor. Shall we erect a new building in our midst? Can we not suitably ornament the old one? Richness and luxury grab hold of men powerfully, making them their vassals. 'But', spoke the prophet Haggai, 'it is not seemly that you dwell in panelled rooms while this Temple lies in ruins.' 'Shall our table be well-appointed', ask our sages, 'and that of the Lord be empty?' 'Shall our soul be sad', said the Hebrew poet Bat-raschi, 'while our bodies have done valiantly?'

Such thoughts brought us to our decision, and, with the Lord's aid, to this day of completion. Even though our generation is not so fortunate as to hear the spoken Words of the Lord, we may presume that His pleasure is upon us.

Before we depart from here, friends, let us honor the past by a moment's reflection. Let us ask ourselves whether we have always entered this place, which now we leave, with proper respect, whether the prayers we have said here have been pronounced with sufficient piety. If we cannot answer 'yes' (and I fear we cannot), then we have insulted not the place, but the glory of God, which dwells in holy buildings and commands us to reverence the Sanctuary.

Before leaving, let us sincerely beg God to forgive us; let us bring words in the place of bullocks; let us say: 'O God, Who forgivest all sins, forgive ours, and help us to better our ways.'

Think seriously, brothers, of what it means to offend God. Think, with painful remorse and earnest resolution to improve, so that the All Merciful will pardon us, so that we may go forth purified, and thus happy; so that it may then be said of us: 'Blessed are ye in your going out, blessed in your coming in'. So also may the words of the prophet be applied to us: 'In joy shall ye go forth, and be gathered in in peace.' Amen."

Next came the solemn procession to the new synagogue, which lasted more than an hour. The parade's adjutant and leader was 1st Lieutenant of Militia Simon Hirsch Rosenfeld,

the rabbi's brother. The order in the march was:

1. A band
2. The school-children
 - a) The boys, led by their teacher, Moses Lazarus Kohn
 - b) The girls, led by Mrs. Kohn. They were all dressed in white, with ribbons of Bavarian blue about their bodies and arms.
3. A second band
4. The (visiting) cantors, with a choir
5. Fourteen Torah Scrolls, which were carried in double-file under seven canopies, by the President, the Rabbi, and others. Ahead of them marched the dignitaries.
6. The Jewish men, ranked according to age, and their guests
7. The women, local and visiting
8. The girls above school age. (The youths were either carrying the canopies or serving in the choir.)
9. The master-workmen who built the synagogue
10. A following crowd of spectators of all classes and religions.

Cannon salvos, repeated at intervals throughout the parade, signified the beginning of the ceremony. First a cantor from Sulzbach sang solemnly, accompanied by music. Then the school-children sang "Seyd willkommen", a hymn of eight six-line verses, by Kohn, after which the procession began to move. The adult choir sang the 111th Psalm: after each half-verse and verse the crowd responded "Hallelujah!" The pauses between songs were filled by marches and gay music. When the parade was about half over, the school-children sang "Sey uns gesegnet", another hymn by Kohn, consisting of two verses of ten lines each. Adults joined in the singing, and although the music played more softly, the voices could hardly be heard in the rear because of the great crowd.

Everything went in good order; there were no untoward

incidents. This, says Rosenfeld, was remarkable, considering what a mixed throng was there. He thanks the government, which had sent a few policemen, for the good decorum.

A halt was made in front of the new synagogue. The school-children sang "Dir Ewiger", by Rosenfeld. Its rhyme scheme is a-a-b-b, and it runs as follows in translation:

Unto Thee, Lord, be this House dedicated,
For we are Thy children, greatly happy
To enter here before Thee for the first time,
To adore Thee.

O let us, Lord, enter with joy,
Let joyous thanks and praise now rise to Thee,
May our well-meant stammering, Father,
Be acceptable to Thee.

You important upright men here present,
The thanks of the house of Jacob come forth to meet you;
You have increased the brilliance of this great festival,
You, who are highly honored by God.

May prosperity, good fortune and blessing be your portion,
May the bitter darts of fate never strike you;
May you long enjoy the fruits of virtue
Which you deserve.

May prosperity, good fortune and God's blessing be upon all
Who here in the Lord's name are pilgrimaging to the Temple (sic!),
No matter of what faith they may be; for only noble souls
Are beloved by God.

Ye gates yonder! Be ye opened wide!
For He enters, Who has decided to dwell here,
Yea, He enters, God, the highly honored King,
To give ear to the voice of our praise.

Praise from creatures, who are His handiwork,
Pleases Him, the God of our strength.
Hail! Hail! We praise Him in His House
Unceasingly.

Now came the entrance itself, attended by noisy music and repeated cannon-fire. Police, in order to keep too big a mob

from getting inside, stood at the doors, which had been converted into triumphal arches out of paper of the Bavarian national colors. Unfortunately, many people were kept out who should have been squeezed in.

The service began with the reciting of the "Mah tovu", after which the rabbi recited the "Ha-tov v'hametiv" and the President pronounced the "She-hecheyanu." To the two last prayers the congregation responded "Amen." Those carrying the Scrolls walked seven times around the "almemar", during which time Psalms 29, 30, 33, 84, 26, 100 and 24 were partly sung, partly spoken. At the end of the last Psalm the Torahs were put into the Ark, which up to now had been open, with two burning candles inside. Now Rosenfeld's Dedication Song was sung by all in Hebrew, with musical accompaniment. This is a pleasant rhyming song, written in good but simple Hebrew. The text in "Gesaenge" includes the vowel-points. It is entitled "Kol shochme tevel v'yoshve eretz"; Kohn provided it with a German translation in "Gesaenge". In English it runs:

All dwellers of the world and inhabitants of the earth
Raise their eyes with joyous hearts
Unto Thee, Lord, in the heavens of the sky!
They bring a gift, the work of their hands,
O powerful One! holy One! strong One!
Unto Thee all the living approach in bended posture;
From the rising of the sun unto the setting thereof,
Unto Thee all flesh shall come.

Yea we, Thy sons here,
Are gathered to honor Thy name today,
To thank Thee, Who hast helped us until now,
To complete Thy House of prayer, O awed One!

How great is Thy mercy unto us!
How much good hast Thou worked on our behalf!
Yea, this is the day which we have awaited,
We have found it, yea, we have seen it!

This is the day which our God hath made,
Let us declare His praise in the congregations.
On this day we dedicate a synagogue to our King,
Let us rejoice and be happy in His salvation.
He createth new wonders every morning, great is His mercy;
The children's Father displays His truth,
He will never forsake the generation of those who seek Him,
Those who call upon Him shall never be destroyed.

Since our own inheritance was destroyed of old,
The Temple of God ruined by fire,
The brilliance of the light of our service has been dark;
The priesthood has ceased, the sacrificial fire has been cut off;
But Thy word, O Most High, comforts us!
Thy goodness and Thy mercy are not yet departed.
"Thy sacrifices, O God - a broken spirit;
A contrite heart Thou wilt not despise, O Aweful One!"

O send forth Thy salvation, Father of mercies!
Bless Israel, Thy people.
O spread over them the tabernacle of peace,
Upon this people, who stands before Thee;
Thou art our Father, Who dwellest on high!
Look down from high heaven
Upon the small sanctuary our hands have built;
May Thy favor be upon it and upon us!

Give us a pure heart and an understanding spirit
To serve Thee in truth and in completeness,
So that we neither move nor turn aside to right or left
From the path of Thy Torah, O Rock of Ages!
And if we have sinned, and perverted the right,
Art not Thou full of forgiveness, O our Father?
Behold, we return with all our heart,
Crying: "Take us back, we pray, unto Thee."

Mayest Thou be pleased to bless our king,
The delight of our land, in his royal station.
May his house and his kingdom endure forever,
May his throne, like the heavens, never be moved.
Happy be his princes, his councilors and nobles!
Happy his people, his land and all his servants!
Behold, his princes cleave to justice,
They teach mercy and righteousness to his people.

Pour out the abundant goodness of Thy heavens
Upon all the dwellers of the world, Thy earth,
And upon the community of Uehlfeld and its neighborhood,
For with its welfare, our welfare increases.
Be Thine ear inclined we pray, O Master,
To the prayers of everyone gathered here.
Drive away strife, plague and contention,
May we always rejoice in abundant peace.

Next came Rosenfeld's Dedication Sermon which, because it is so long, is only sketched in this study. It runs to 50 printed pages (albeit of small size), and must have lasted at least an hour and a half. The printed copy is annotated with references to the Bible, the "Yad Chazakah", the "More Nebuchim", Abarbanel, the Talmudim, both Babylonian and Palestinian, Philo, the "Me'or Enaim" and the "Chobot ha-lebabot"; this gives us some idea of the extent of Rosenfeld's erudition. He makes this amazing statement: At the close of the sermon, when he called forth God's blessing upon various dignitaries, as he mentioned each name the band sounded off with a flourish! (And some people today think our rabbis "cater" to the crowd by being too dramatic!) I now proceed to the outline of the Dedication Sermon:

It would be impossible to "serve the Lord in gladness" in more overflowing measure than is the case today. We have long awaited this occasion; now let us "thank the Lord, for He is good, for His mercy endureth forever."

We must become convinced of the importance of the public religious service. Let us turn to its origins and examine them on the basis of two Scriptural texts:

1. From Exodus 25:1-9: "And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 'Speak unto the children of Israel, etc., and let them make

Me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them.'"

2. Deuteronomy 10:20: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God; Him shalt thou serve, etc."

"Serve" in the latter text, say the rabbis, means "pray." We shall therefore consider: I. The importance, aim and usefulness of the services of earlier times, i. e. the sacrificial service, and II. The importance, aim and usefulness of the present-day service, i. e. veneration of God through prayer.

Here Rosenfeld interposes a prayer: If we cannot understand Thy ways, O Father, yet our striving to know them is a worthy aim, pleasing unto Thee. "Send Thy light and Thy truth that they may lead me to Thy holy mountain." Amen.

Part I. The need for services is ours, not God's. He needs the shelter of no house. He has ordained services for OUR benefit. The ancient service was, among other things, a symbol of the first and most important truth taught by revealed religion: what is this truth? was the early service really a support for this truth?

For the answer, we must examine history. The world was then deep in superstition; God had been forgotten. When Abraham preached about Him, his very life was in danger. Idolatry grew by degrees until finally men prayed to wood and stone. The example of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the spectacle of hard-hearted Pharaoh, show how destructive idolatrous error was for civilization. After a long night, finally a ray of truth came with Abraham, who reintroduced the knowledge of a Being Who

created the world and rules it. At Sinai the message that God rules was taught not so much by words as by deeds. "I brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" was impressed upon the people, not: "I created the world." It was, in fact, fairly well known that He had created the world, but THAT HE RULED IT was not comprehended. However, it did not suffice for the nation to hear this but once, at Sinai; there had to be an ever-present memorial of the occasion. This memorial was the religious service. The Tabernacle was to be a continuous symbol of the truth that God rules the world.

The festival of Shabuot was NOT ordained as a reminder of the Sinaitic revelation. It celebrated the wheat harvest. The revelation was not even given on Shabuot, as is thought, but on the day after Shabuot (Sabbath 86b). The true memorial of the revelation is not Shabuot, but the religious service, which commemorates the event not once a year, but every day of the year.

Part II. Our service falls into two parts, the prayers and the Torah reading. It is ordained by God, and what He ordains is good. "We will offer prayers in place of bullocks." Sincere prayer is the strongest support of the religious and virtuous way of life; reason, as well as Scripture, tells us this. There is beauty and joy in serving God. What would we be without religion?

The recent famine is an example of our dependence upon God. It taught us that our prayers are answered if they are proper.

How He answers prayers without having to alter His will must ever remain a mystery to us: "My ways are not thine." Not all our prayers are answered, and this is as it should be, for how do we know whether our prayers are really for our own good?

I omit today any discussion of the Torah reading, because I often have, and God willing, often again will speak of this. I will only mention at this time that our sages were very wise in the choice of Torah passages which they assigned for daily reading.

We voluntarily decided to build this synagogue, and most of its cost was defrayed by voluntary contributions. We were helped by "each one whose heart made him willing." Such a response is a sign that religion is not yet dead! Great were your efforts and your sacrifices! But none the less great is the God we seek! Let us improve our public services! We must not be satisfied with merely improving religion's outer shell (building this structure), but we must bring the outer to completion by beginning to improve the inner. The kernel of our service is satisfactory, but the form lacks what is pleasing and attractive, and must be improved. With services conducted the way they are, it is no wonder that everywhere people are indifferent to religion, and scoff at it.

This is not the place to go into the question of how services "got that way;" in any event, the result is not surprising, in view of the long neglect. When we are sick, we ought not merely cry out in pain: we need to find the REASON for the

illness, and then apply remedies! Judaism is sick because its form has been neglected. Let us have order, harmony and grace. Then we will see the Houses of prayer eagerly visited and highly respected! The spirit of the times demands this! If we ourselves do not complete the work, no matter; we will do enough if we do whatever is in our power, if we make a beginning and gradually progress, at the same time cultivating our spirits and ennobling our hearts.

May this Temple (sic!) inspire us to love our government, to which we are thankful for the religious freedom we enjoy.

Closing Prayer: Protect this House. Be nigh unto us. May God bless the king, the queen, the princes, councilors, etc., down to the various local officials. (As each name was mentioned, the people said "Amen" and the band played a flourish.) May He bless the people of Uehlfeld, the Uehlfeld Jewish community, and all who are here, including the workmen who built this House. Hear the prayers of all who call upon Thee! Amen!

Immediately after this sermon, the choir of young Jews sang Rosenfeld's hymn "Andacht, hohe Himmelsgabe"; many Christians joined in. It has the rhyme-scheme of Schiller's "Ode to Joy", a-b-a-b-c-d-c-d for the verses and a-b-b-a for the choruses.

In translation it runs:

Piety, great heavenly gift,
and the bliss of the religious spirits here
are revived by Thy sweet fountain
in those who today draw near to Thee:

who draw near to experience Thy pleasure
as never before was permitted them,
to discover new joys,
also never before perceived.

Be pious, O God's blessed congregation!
To Thy name we pay homage,
We dedicate this Temple to Thee
Who art our comfort in this earthly vale.

Thou, Who createdst all the world,
and didst remove its chaos; -
Thou, Who, when Thou spake Thy "Let there be ...",
new worlds enjoyed light,
Thou needest no human service,
no sacrifice brought by man;
it is, mankind, to YOUR great advantage
to sacrifice your goods to God.

Thy children, good Father, joyfully would sacrifice,
with determined mind,
their all,
if only it could be lifted up to Thee.

When in transport of sweet joys
our heart is enraptured,
or when, in days of bitter misfortune,
sorrow and pain gnaw at us mightily,
then our glance, God, directed to Thee,
quiets our restless spirits,
frightens away the pains of internal storm,
points out to us the proper goals of life.

Therefore, brothers, let us exult
here, before this altar of prayer;
to God, the eternal Good One,
we dedicate all the days of our life.

Now followed the customary prayer for the king and the government, as on all Sabbaths (28), probably in German (see this chapter, below). It had grown dark, and the regular Sabbath Psalms and prayers were recited. Two Hebrew hymns concluded the service: one which Rosenfeld refers to as "Hochgelobt" ("Highly Beloved"), and "Herr der Welt", undoubtedly "Adon Olam" ("The Lord of All").

The synagogue was now a beautiful spectacle, brilliantly illuminated. At the inner entrance two pyramids of some sort had been set up, which also were lighted, and carried the monograms of the king and queen together with pertinent inscriptions, such as "Be loyal to the king." A Catholic priest from Hoechstadt had sent the congregation a special sign with which to add to the festive occasion. It read in Latin:

AeDes haeC
I(eh)oVae
seXto MartII
ConseCrata

("This chapel was consecrated to Jehovah on March 6th".) It will be seen that if the capital letters, except the initial "A" are put in their proper order as Roman numerals, the sum is MDCCCXVIII, i.e., 1818, the year of the dedication.

All the Jewish homes, especially those near the synagogue, were expensively illuminated in gala fashion, as were those of some Christians who, out of friendship for the Jews, did likewise, just as some Jews illuminate their homes on certain Christian holidays (a precursor of the "Hanukkah-bush"?!!) The visiting dignitaries, after the service, again repaired to the home of Hirsch Loew Rosenfeld, where supper was served amid cordial conversation and gayety. All the Jews had joyous home gatherings, entertaining their friends and guests, who had come from such places as Ansbach, Bayreuth and Bamberg, until late at night.

On Saturday, March 7, the celebration was again blessed with

fair weather, although the days both before and after the dedication were stormy. The President and the Rabbi were conducted to the synagogue to the accompaniment of music. The President spoke a few words concerning good decorum. Then followed the customary morning prayers, after which the Rabbi delivered a Hebrew speech which included a good deal of Talmudic dialectic. The main idea in this sermon was the necessity of combining the two types of worship, the real and the figurative. To pray but not to be an upright person is hypocrisy; such prayer is invalid. On the other hand, no one can long tread the path of virtue if he neglects prayer, and is absent from services. This speech and the one Thursday evening were delivered in Hebrew because of the amount of talmudic material they contained. If enough friends urge Rosenfeld, he may have them published; however people might think him conceited if he took the initiative in this matter, because, says he, they are certainly of no literary value: only the religious ideas they contain, which demand neither too little nor too much of the people, may possibly impart any worth to these sermons.

The children now sang, with the accompaniment of many adults, Kohn's hymn "Der da thront", which also had Schiller's style. There were four verses of eight lines each, and a four-line chorus at the end of each verse. This song received special commendation in the press. Two young girls who sang parts of it (either as solos or as a duet) were especially outstanding. The ritual of marching around the "almemar" with the Scrolls was repeated, as on the previous day.

Otherwise the prayers at this service were the customary ones. The service ended late in the afternoon, because of the frequent repetition of the Torah portion (evidently all the men had to have their turn at the Torah reading). Rosenfeld complains that he would have liked to dispense with this repetition, "which leads more to interruption of the service than to piety," but that, "for certain reasons", he "was obliged to follow the opinion of others." During the late afternoon and evening of this second festive day people once again gathered in family groups to make merry.

No jesters or clowns were permitted at any of the festivities. Let such people pursue their degenerate jokes in places where people know no nobler form of entertainment; they have no place in religion's sphere. It is gratifying that this observation applies today to only a few localities, since the Jews have advanced so rapidly.

The poor of all faiths were provided for at this time, and anyone who saw the crowd of poor Jews who had come to Uehlfeld would hardly have agreed with the accusation that "the Jews have all the money", a favorite idea of many writers. Let those who take their examples from afar look around in their own neighborhoods, and see what an astonishing burden of poverty Jewry bears. Their mistaken notion gains its currency from the fact that money is more visible among the Jews, because it flows in and out daily, which is not the case among property owners, manufacturers, or even among many of the journalists who make the accusation.

In the Appendix to "Tempelhalle" Rosenfeld thanks the newspapers which published accounts of the dedication; the "Kulmbacher Wochentliche Unterhaltungsblatt" and the Jewish "Jedidja" have already been mentioned; another was the "Korrespondent von und fuer Deutschland" for March 19, 1818. He corrects some errors which were made in reporting; these corrections have, for the most part, been embodied in the foregoing sketch. The Kulmbach paper had expressed the hope that the Jews who frequent the new synagogue would there be inspired to forsake peddling for a more upstanding occupation, and Rosenfeld comments that the Uehlfeld Jews have anticipated the writer's wish; most of these Jews already have solid businesses. He objects to people taking for granted conditions which do not exist in reality (29).

I have devoted so much space to this dedication because, to my mind, it was a rather singular affair in its time, and is perhaps not without significance for the Reform movement in Judaism. Marcus writes (30) that the Hamburg Temple, dedicated on October 18, 1818, was "the first synagog outside of Westphalia devoted to a reform service." While the Uehlfeld service was in no way as radical as that in Hamburg, it certainly was anything but a traditional Orthodox affair, what with German sermons, German hymns and music on the Sabbath (although the members of the band were probably non-Jews.) This service, therefore, which took place more than seven months before the dedication of the Hamburg Temple, must have

been one of the very first of a Reform tendency to take place outside of Westphalia. It also must mark one of the first beginnings of Reform in an established congregation, fostered by its rabbi; the other early attempts of which we know were neither sponsored by rabbis, nor did they take place in established congregations, but rather in congregations especially organized for the introduction of reforms.

Let us now examine Rosenfeld's reforms during his years in Bamberg. In addition to what is written here, I refer the reader to Rosenfeld's report (of 1828) to the government, given in Chapter II.

He ordered that at services no one except the "Baal Tefillah" (person leading the prayers) was to wear the shroud, for this custom, which had no basis in the Codes, led only to disorder. In spite of the opposition of considerable numbers, he succeeded in abolishing from the ritual some of the "piyyutim" (medieval poetic prayers which contributed to the extreme length of the service). He introduced choral singing into the services, and reformed the marriage ceremony (31), which at that time was almost everywhere a public scandal. He removed this ceremony into the synagogue, where it was conducted in a dignified manner, bereft of all its unseemly accretions, and attended by a German address to the couple (32).

On September 14, 1827, Rosenfeld issued a list of synagogue regulations, containing what he called "timely improvements of exterior forms." These made no real encroachment on

the traditional liturgical service, and their use was strongly recommended to the congregation by the city magistrate. A twelve-point supplement to these regulations was issued on August 29, 1828.

In 1831 three rabbis of the Upper Main district, Dr. Joseph Aub of Bayreuth, Moses Gutmann of Redwitz and Kunreuther of Burgebrach, drew up a list of synagogue regulations which was decidedly Reform, inasmuch as it excised from the ritual the "Kol Nidre" and all the lamentations for the 9th of Ab. This list, consisting of 36 points, also received the government's approval; but Rosenfeld thought it went beyond the bounds of permissibility. Not only did he not use this set of rules, but he protested violently against it, and reworked his own set of regulations into an extensive document of 47 points, with a view "to the advanced needs of the time." He issued these points piecemeal, up until January 7, 1833. They were welcomed by the majority of the congregation, although opponents were not lacking who drew Rosenfeld into battle. The government, standing firmly for progress, backed up the rabbi, so that he was successful in carrying his ideas. They eventually became so popular that it was made a condition on Rosenfeld's successor, some 30 years later, that he retain them (33).

Some of the points from these regulations of 1833 follow:

5. The school-children shall stand together at the "almemar", under supervision of their religious teacher.
13. The cantor, the school-children with their religious teacher, and the children of non-members who reside here shall constitute a choir, which is to follow the rabbi's directions.

15. The prayers for the king and the royal family, for the congregation, its officers and functionaries, and those offered as a result of charitable donations (Misheberachs), are to be recited by the rabbi in German.

(We have a copy (34) of the German prayer for king and country as used at a later date. It is very similar to our "Fervently we invoke" and is well phrased. It asks God's blessing on the members of the royal family, by name, and upon the whole Bavarian people.)

32. On royal birthdays and anniversaries celebrations will take place in the illuminated synagogue. Everyone must be dressed in holiday best.
35. Confirmation of the school-children shall be celebrated according to special directions of the rabbi, girls at the age of 12, boys at 13. Six weeks before such birthday the parents must inform the rabbi or teacher, so that proper preparations can be made. By neglecting to give such notice, or by not undergoing this ceremony, boys will be disqualified from being called up to the Torah, and girls will not be able to receive their discharge certificates from the religious school.

(Rosenfeld began to hold Confirmation in about 1826, shortly after coming to Bamberg. His views on this subject, and his Confirmation Service are given in detail in Appendix E. Rosenfeld was one of the early rabbis, but not among the first, to introduce this ceremony (35), which was first held in Dessau in 1803, and in Seesen and Wolfenbuettel in 1807. The first time it was held on Shabuot was in 1811, in Seesen. Girls were first confirmed in 1817. By 1831, Samuel Egers, the Orthodox rabbi of Brunswick, had begun to confirm boys and girls on Shabuot. In 1838, under the Abel regime, Confirmation was prohibited in Bavaria, but we have no record of what Rosenfeld did with regard to this decree.)

45. A list of the prayers and Psalms which, on Sabbaths and Holidays, are to be sung is to be handed to the "Baal tefillah" for his guidance; the list is to specify whether these are to be sung as solos, by a part of the choir, or by the whole choir.
46. The right to introduce further German prayers and timely improvements is reserved (36).

We have a list of the Bamberg synagogue regulations which evidently dates from a time after Rosenfeld's death, because

- a) it is printed in Roman type, rarely used in the German printing of Rosenfeld's time, and
- b) no mention of this set of rules, which contains 61 points, is anywhere made in the sources on his life. The service it sets up would seem to be slightly more radical than his, but still, nevertheless, traditional.

These regulations include: the wearing of the shroud only by the "Baal tefillah", laws regulating decorum, the times when services are to be held, the details of the manner of reading the Torah, abolition of the carrying of flags on Simchat Torah, the setting of Confirmation on the 2nd day of Shabuot (Rosenfeld had this on the Sabbath nearest the child's birthday), and the inclusion of more German prayers than heretofore. The blessing "Shelo asani ishah" (Who didst not create me a woman") is retained (37).

We are told that Rosenfeld advocated his principles of enlightenment and progress at the Synod of Baireuth, which was held for the district of Upper Franconia beginning on February 8, 1836. Present were 29 lay deputies, 22 teachers and 5 rabbis: Rosenfeld, who though he voted "Orthodox", was considered most

liberal as regarded ceremonial reform; Kunreuther of Burgebrach, who was confused in his ideas, and voted "Orthodox"; and Dr. Joseph Aub of Baireuth (rabbi there from 1829-1852, and later in Berlin), M. Gutmann of Redwitz and Leopold Stein of Burg- and Altenkundstadt (later of Frankfort-on-the-Main), all of whom voiced the reform viewpoint. The synods were supposed to fix a permanent Jewish ritual. (Reports of what the synods were to do are contradictory; cf. Chapter III, where I have reported that they were only to collect important documents.)

All the rabbis, except Kunreuther, voted, with the concurrence of the vast majority of the other delegates, to remove from the prayers all messianic passages (38) which did not admit of a purely spiritual interpretation. The government thought this too liberal an idea, and did not sanction it.

The rabbis at the Synod voted to permit civil servants and pupils at the gymnasia and universities to write on the Sabbath, on the basis of some rabbinic authorities. Only one rabbi dissented, but we do not know which one it was; it must, of course, have been either Rosenfeld or Kunreuther, very likely the latter. One might think, since Rosenfeld protested during the Abel regime against the decree ordering the Jewish pupils to write on the Sabbath (see Chapter III), that he would have been the one to vote against the proposal in question. But since the Reform Joseph Aub was also to protest the Abel decree, we see that even the Reform rabbis opposed the government's ordering the students to write. But at Baireuth they permitted

this! Aub certainly would have been consistent: he would not, in 1836, permit students to write, only to refuse such permission a few years later. Rosenfeld, from what we know of him, also seems to have been consistent. The answer must be that Aub was willing to PERMIT students to write on the Sabbath, but was against their being COMPELLED to do so, and Rosenfeld may well have held the same view. Knowing that Kunreuther was "confused" - (he voted FOR the radical synagogue regulations of 1831, but "Orthodox" at the Synod) - we may logically conclude that he, and not Rosenfeld, was the one who opposed permitting the students to write (39).

On December 21, 1836, Rosenfeld extended to the Jews of his district permission to abstain from the observance of certain fast-days (40), because of the plague in Munich. The sanitary conditions in Bamberg, he says, are not too good, and, by fasting, we might develop a receptivity to the scourge, which, thank God, has not yet come too near our region. These fast-days are only kept by custom, and not by law; (furthermore, rabbinic authorities show that one does not fast in a time of epidemic.) The wealthy may give alms instead of fasting, and the poor can postpone their fasts until a time when the danger is past. What God really desires anyway is not fasting, but a contrite heart (41). I do not suppose that the foregoing can, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered a "reform"; it merely indicates Rosenfeld's liberality with regard to Jewish customs. These particular fast-days were observed only by the very pious.

A similar matter was Rosenfeld's work for the improvement of the "mikvot", the women's ritual baths. These he furnished with rain water, an improvement, we are told, that can only be appreciated by those who recall the unsanitary conditions of the old cellar-spring bath-houses. Many a Jewish woman had died because of the cold and filth of these breeding-places of disease, especially in the small towns, where often the water was changed but once a year. Some had heat, but no place for the smoke to escape. Such a "mikvah" was the one in Bamberg before Rosenfeld did something about it. He had two tubs set up on the first floor of the congregation's community house, and had rain-water piped to them by means of a gutter leading in from the roof. While one tub was in use, the other could be emptied and cleaned. There were curtains between the two. His arrangement satisfied even the strictly Orthodox, and was emulated in other communities (42).

Rosenfeld wrote a newspaper article in defense of his action, entitled "Der Brauch der Frauenbaeder" ("The Custom of Women's Baths") (43). He presents his arguments to quell any doubts about the legality of his improvements. A glance at the laws of "Mikvaot" in the "Rambam", the "Tur" and the "Shulchan Aruch" shows that what is really meant is rain-water, not spring-water. The only question is: is bathing in vessels, especially in wooden vessels, allowed? Now vessels are forbidden; but they are permitted if they have a hole in the bottom. He goes on to show that wood, also, is permissible. He mentions the clean-

liness and practicality of his arrangement, which also includes heat during the winter, and a stove where some of the water may be heated, should it be too cold for comfort. Why, he asks, should people do things the hard way, and persist in finding difficulties with my system, when none exist? "Dra-cheha darche noam!" ("Its ways are ways of pleasantness!")

The great rabbinical conferences which shaped the future of Reform Judaism were held at Brunswick (June 12-19, 1844), Frankfort-on-the-Main (July 15-28, 1845) and Breslau (July 13-24, 1846). There had been an earlier conference, at Wiesbaden in 1837; Rosenfeld was not there, although other Bavarian rabbis such as Aub, Gutmann, Loewi and Stein were. I cite this merely to point out that Rosenfeld, as a Bavarian rabbi, could have gone to Wiesbaden had he desired.

But he was not permitted to attend the three great conferences. The reactionary Abel ministry had no love for innovations, and refused to let the Bavarian rabbis attend. We are told that Rosenfeld regretted the fact that he could not go to Frankfort; had he been there, however, I suspect that he would have walked out with Frankel and Schott. His son-in-law, Josef Klein, at the time rabbi of Stolp in Pomerania, did attend the Brunswick conference, and Rosenfeld probably would also have liked to have been there.

The Brunswick conference evoked a great written protest on the part of the Orthodox rabbis of Germany, France and Hungary. It aroused as much commotion as had the conference itself.

It declared that all of the resolutions passed at Brunswick, except that which defined the political attitude of the Jew to the state, and that which stated that a Jew's oath was inviolable, were opposed to Judaism. This document was originally signed by 77 rabbis (ultimately the number of signatures reached 116), including some Bavarians, among whom was Seligman Baer Bamberger of Wuerzburg. Rosenfeld opposed the "Protest of the 77", preaching against it and against the violent attitude of the ultra-Orthodox, who were so quick to accuse others of heresy. In his sermon he pointed to the example of the Hillelites and Shammaites, who sought to be reconciled with each other.

I have said that had Rosenfeld been at Frankfort, he probably would have withdrawn from the conference, as did Schott and Frankel. At this time, Rosenfeld was in his sixties, no longer a reformer. Not that he had changed, but that others had far outstripped him in their interpretation of Reform, and in their zeal for it. Leopold Schott of Randegg attended the Brunswick and Frankfort conferences; Zacharias Frankel of Dresden was present only at Frankfort. Both were representatives of the "rabbinical" party: that is, they were not ultra-Orthodox, but neither could they go all the way with the reformers. Frankel, on July 17, 1845, withdrew from the Frankfort conference when he realized that he was in hopeless disagreement with the other members; Schott followed his lead, and also left (44). Frankel is looked upon as the founder of Conservative Judaism.

Now Rosenfeld seems to have been rather close to Schott, for Schott had been a frequent contributor to, and an ardent supporter of, Rosenfeld's Jewish newspaper, "Das Fueellhorn" (see Chapter V). "Das Fueellhorn" was not the sort of paper to carry views contrary to Rosenfeld's own; therefore, I am led to believe that he and Schott (and probably Frankel) were spiritual brethren. And so I restate my conviction that Rosenfeld, had he been there, would, with Frankel, have left the Frankfort conference.

We have a few other bits which point out Rosenfeld's respect for biblical and talmudic tradition. In commenting on F. Nork's book, "Brahmins and Rabbis, or: India the Land of the Hebrews' Origin", he calls it "an abominable, execrable work which offers a miserable reprehensible hypothesis" (45). This shows how unwilling he was even to consider allowing his faith in Scriptural history to be shaken. Again, he writes gleefully that the excavations at Karnak depict King Rehoboam, together with the inscription "Jeoudah Melek" ("King of Judah") in hieroglyphics, thus proving the historicity of Shishak's siege of Rehoboam (I Kings 14:25, II Chronicles 12:2) against those who opposed Scripture as a true historical source (46). Finally, we have an article he wrote on the problem of the beard:

"The beard was considered holy in the Orient (Psalm 133:2, Isaiah 18:2), and still is thus considered (references to Niebuhr and Faber). The Cabbalists go furthest in this matter, and on their side is the elder Scaliger, when he says: 'The beard is the most beautiful and godliest part of man.' Cutting off the beard was, in the ancient Orient, a sign of deepest sorrow or contempt (references to Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezra). The messen-

gers of David had half their beards cut off by Chanun the king of Ammon, and terrible vengeance followed this misfortune (II Samuel 10). The corners of the beard must, according to Mosaic law, not be cut off (Leviticus 19:27). According to talmudic tradition, this prohibition applies only to shaving WITH A RAZOR. This modification of the Law seems to be based on the word 'thaschchith' which Scripture here uses. That type of cutting the hairs of the beard which does not result in a completely smooth face is customarily indicated by the word 'giluach'.

Maimonides seeks the reason for this law in a heathen idolatrous connection ("Yad Chazaka", on Idolatry, part 12). The juxtaposition of this law with the other laws in the aforementioned biblical passage would seem to justify Maimonides.

But others find the reason for the law to be the avoidance of sex-disfigurement and sex-confusing. The outer, public sign of sex difference which God put into nature in order to prevent immoral mixture, and which therefore only appears with the onset of manhood, ought not be entirely removed. (cf. R. Eliezer ben Nathan in "Mamar haskel".)

That the Mosaic law takes into account the matters of sex-disfigurement, confusion and mixture is evident from Deuteronomy 25:5, where females are forbidden to wear the raiment of a man, and vice versa. It is also possible that the legislation had several goals in mind in this one law (Sanhedrin 34, "More Nebuchim" 2:31).

The result of all this is that those Israelites who do not follow the talmudic teaching, but profess to observe only Mosaic law, can only fulfill their obligation by refraining to shave the corners of their beards AT ALL. In this matter, as elsewhere, Tradition deserves the fullest belief" (47).

Even though Rosenfeld's "reforms" seem mild enough to us, and though he often appears as what we should call a Conservative or even a neo-Orthodox Jew, yet he was poles removed from the Orthodoxy of his day. In his time he was bitterly attacked by the ultra-Orthodox for his reforms; yet, by his superior rabbinic knowledge he was able to silence their objections. His reforms were imitated in many quarters, even by

the ultra-Orthodox themselves, which was a greater tribute to him than we can imagine (48).

His piety stemmed from his inmost conviction of the Divine truth of Judaism, of the reality of Revelation, and all that that implies. He was an opponent of rash reform tendencies, especially in those men who espoused Reform in order to receive the superficial applause of the people. Their antics disgusted him. Like Mendelssohn, he told those who were too hasty: "Don't hurry"; and to those who were dissatisfied with slow forward progress he said: "Don't despair." Yet he worked ceaselessly for the enlightenment of his coreligionists; throughout his whole life he remained true to his moderate principles, and even in old age, blinded as he was, every timely idea which was in consonance with his viewpoint found in him an advocate and promoter (49). Whatever he enriched and bettered in Jewish ritual was solidly grounded on his knowledge of the rabbinic writings, especially those of Maimonides, by whose spirit he was, in many ways, guided. He was also conversant with the most diverse Responsa (50).

In his religious views, as in many other points, Rosenfeld was very close to Israel Jacobson. (51). Yet here, more perhaps than elsewhere, lies the basic difference between the two reformers. Jacobson reformed in order to make "civilized" people out of his Jews; Rosenfeld did so for this same reason, AND ALSO for the sake of Judaism itself, which, he felt, demanded such change. Jacobson, perhaps without realizing it, had broken

with rabbinic tradition; not so Rosenfeld, who proves himself a firm follower of Tradition, or at least of what he considers Tradition. Jacobson (52) had a lack of deep, inner religious feeling; Rosenfeld did not suffer from this dearth of sensitivity to the more profound overtones of his faith. This was surely because Rosenfeld was a trained rabbi: had he lacked this training, he would have been even closer to Jacobson. On the contrary, had Jacobson been a rabbi, had he warmed spiritually to the message of his faith, who can say what Reform Judaism would have become? The chances are that early Reform would have been far from that cold, spiritless code of ethics into which it evolved.

Marcus has written of Jacobson: "I do not find that he absorbed any new idea after his 20th year" (53). Change "20th year" to "30th year" (this would be 1812, the year Rosenfeld established his German school), and I think we have a fairly true picture of Rosenfeld. Thus, in his youth he was a radical reformer, and was banned from his rabbinical office; but, by 1845 it could be written of him: "In Upper Franconia, EXCEPT FOR ROSENFELD, the Nestor of the German-educated Bavarian rabbis, the Reform tendency is championed everywhere" (54).

The truth is that the times outstripped him. What was radical in his youth was generally accepted twenty years later. The younger rabbis, who in 1831 adopted synagogue regulations too radical for Rosenfeld, had already far surpassed any reforms he was ever to make. Yet, in his first years, up until he was, say, forty (1822), he was indeed a radical; the name of no other

similarly minded RABBI is known to us during this period. In this sense Rosenfeld may well be considered to have been the "first reformed rabbi in Europe", mentioned in my Preface.

CHAPTER V

ROSENFELD THE RABBI

Samson Wolf Rosenfeld became known beyond his immediate neighborhood by his homiletic, political and inspirational writings (1). It is my purpose in this chapter to present some of this material, which does not belong within the purview of the other parts of this study.

In 1858 there was published, presumably in Dutch, at Rotterdam, a two-volume edition of excerpts from the sermons of the early Reformers, most of them being by Salomon, Plesner, et al., edited by S. J. Muscoviter, and entitled: "Leerredenen voor Israëlieten van de meests beroemde Kanselrednaars, benevens stichtelyke Overdenkingen van S. W. Rosenfeld en andern" ("Sermons for Jews by the Most Famous Preachers, together with Edifying Comments by S. W. Rosenfeld and Others") (2). This set of books is not available to me.

On patriotic holidays and extraordinary occasions, such as the outbreak of the cholera epidemic, Rosenfeld used to effuse in Hebrew or German poems and addresses. Much of this material existed either in print or manuscript as late as 1866 (3). His few printed sermons, says one critic, would not satisfy the demands of "our" time (1910) (4), an opinion with which I must concur, although these sermons were not without high religious idealism. But their form certainly is not suitable for our age. Rosenfeld left behind several hundred carefully written sermons, which, according to his son-in-law Rabbi Dr. Klein, have been

lost (5). He, unlike Jacobson, did not refrain from using rabbinic quotations in his sermons (6), but like him he was imbued with the ideas of Deism, the "religious counterpart of Enlightenment." Deism preached "rational metaphysics, God, immortality and freedom of will"; it stressed the "human and humane", and it told men that "the way to honor God ... and achieve happiness ... is to lead a virtuous life", that "in the world to come He will work out the inequalities of this life so that virtue may ultimately be rewarded" (7).

We have a sermon which Rosenfeld preached before the "Hebra Kaddisha" (men's burial society or "brotherhood") of Bamberg, at the Jewish cemetery in Walsdorf, on the eve of the new moon of the month of Ellul in 1836 or some previous year (8). An outline of this sermon follows:

Exordium. The sight of graves sets us thinking about what we and our lives mean. We know that we too will one day die, and we ask ourselves, "What is our life?" It would be sad if we could answer this question only in its relation to the physical world. But we are ruled by a good Father, Who did not create us that we should suffer, Who did not place us above the animals in order to make us more unfortunate than they. We are not perishable, but are children of eternity. "The spirit returns to God, Who gave it." But we shall not experience blissful eternity unless we merit it. Our conduct is the measuring-rod of our future bliss.

Text. "Consider your ways" (Haggai 1:5).

I. The necessity of such consideration. Religion is fraught with many dangers. Only a few people perceived the One

God before the Sinaitic revelation. The Revelation, with its attendant miracles, must be as real to us as to those who were eye-witnesses. Today many people do not have faith in Scripture's teachings; or they give these teachings interpretations inconsistent with the truth. How can we expect to live with God in eternal bliss if our belief in Him is vague? if we doubt His righteousness, goodness, omniscience and omnipresence? How can we be with Him THERE if we are not with Him HERE? Without belief in God, there is not life, but death. We lead only a physical animal life if the soul is dead. How shall they live with God, who have killed the God-like in themselves?

Every error in belief leads to errors in living. But even when belief is correct, error lurks nearby, because "Man's evil inclination daily seeks to wield more power over him" (Talmud). Only those are really pious who not only know the truth, but have the power to withstand the enticements of sin, and who not only know the good, but DO it always.

II. How to further this consideration. a) by industrious daily reading of the Scriptures. Just as we care for the body, so must we care for the soul, which in our days often goes without nourishment for months at a time. Our reading must not be mechanical, but we must constantly apply Scripture's teachings to our daily lives.

b) by pious prayer. Nor may we omit THANKS in our prayers.

(Psalm 145:18).

c) by making a daily mental reckoning of our deeds. We think over the day's MATERIAL business - our profits and losses - each evening; why not also our spiritual business? (Psalm 4:5).

d) by directing our soul and outlook toward death and eternity. The material is of benefit only in prolonging our stay on earth, where we prepare for eternity. All our deeds must be done with eternity in mind. Whatever is inconsistent with such preparation, we must not do.

Conclusion: O that we might heed the heavenly call! Let us never stray from the path of true faith. Be Thou our support. But you, members of the Brotherhood, rejoice in the Lord! You stand by your brethren in their last hours, pray for the peace of their souls, and perform the last earthly services for their bodies. You will surely receive your reward from God, Who bountifully repays every good deed.

Wilt Thou, O Lord, protect us all in the cover of Thy wings. Accept our prayers today, and crown the new year with grace and charity, so that peace, tranquillity, health, righteousness and blessing may prevail. Let all the earth turn unto Thee, and recognize and honor Thee alone in truth. Amen.

We are fortunate also in having what was undoubtedly a sermonette, on the text: "Hatzur tamim poalo, ki chol drachav mishpat; El emunah v'en avel, tzaddik v'yashar hu" ("The Rock, His work is perfect; For all His ways are justice; A God of faithfulness and without iniquity, Just and right is He") (Deu-

teronomy 32:4). The translation follows:

"God reveals Himself in two ways: in space and in time. By the first we understand the productivity of all visible nature, and the qualities inherent in created things; by the second we mean the events in the world, especially those concerning mankind. Everything in the first category is clear to us. Wherever our eye turns we are wondrously reminded of the might and wisdom of God, especially of His goodness and love. "O consider and see that the Lord is good" (Psalm 34:9) we say with our every step and glance. Here is a fine field, which provides the bread necessary for our sustenance, there a spring to refresh the parched and thirsty people. Or we walk in the midst of vineyards, which offer us drink, to pour joy and strength into our veins; everywhere we see trees, bushes and plants laden with the most variegated fruits, which are beneficial and nourishing to us. Here pretty blooms and blossoms delight our eyes and refresh our souls with the fragrance of balmy perfume, there we are filled with delight by the simple natural songs of the birds of the air. Everything points to a wise, most highly good Father, Who has created so many things for the needs of His children, and for their innocent pleasure and delight. This is no secret, no riddle: everything is revealed and comprehensible to us.

It is otherwise when we direct our glance to the workings of God in time, to the events regarding men. This is often like a manuscript which we cannot read. There is so much that is not understandable, incomprehensible: we see our wise and good Father apportioning the gifts and bounties of His goodness so differently and unequally, that we completely lose our way. We see many a good child of God starving, sunken into trouble and poverty; while an evil, destructive profligate person, overwhelmed with material possessions, has great good fortune.

So we say with David, regarding God's work in space: "Thy righteousness is like the mighty mountains" (Psalm 36:7); but as regards His works in time we must say: "Thy judgments are like the great deep" (Psalm 36:7). Here God cannot, and it seems He wants not to be understood: "The Lord hath said that He would dwell in the thick darkness" (I Kings 8:12). We can only submit, with believing humility, to the fact that we have an incomplete conception of Divine wisdom and righteousness, in the manner of the Psalmist, who said (119:30): "I have chosen the way of faithfulness."

Herein we find the surest peace of mind, and with good reason. Let us be convinced with certainty that the God Who shows Himself so wise and good in His creation will also not fail to equalize His bounties according to a righteous measuring rod.

Whether He equalizes here or there, sooner or later - that is a matter for His wisdom. The God, Who is so wise and good in His works and His Creation cannot be otherwise than just. One can only be wise and good if one is also just.

In the synthetic parallelism which exists in the verse from Moses which serves as the title of this address, we find opposite the two subjects "poal" and "derech" the two predicates "tamim" and "mischpat". The word "poal" finds its best application to the works of God in space, in nature, in Creation, just as the word "derech" is better suited to the workings of God in time. The predicates "tamim" and "mischpat" excellently justify these interpretations.

The sense of the verse now seems to be the following: "Hatzur tamim paolo" - "Perfect is God's work in space"; which leads us to conclude that "Ki chal (sic!) derachav mischpat" means that His works in time are just, although it appear otherwise to our finite minds.

Moses, the man of God, was impelled to state this truth at the climax of his prophetic song, which, in amazing brevity, tells the history of the Israelites from the beginning of their existence to their future restoration. This the song does in a strong and powerful manner, with incomparable depth and warmth of spirit, for the purposes of vindicating God and comforting the suffering nation" (9).

In 1841 Rosenfeld delivered his "Mispad Tamrurim. Rede bei dem feierlichen Trauer-Gottesdienste wegen des Ablebens Ihrer Majestaet der Koenigin Karoline von Bayern, gehalten in der Synagoge zu Bamberg am 6. Dezember 1841" ("Bitter Lamentation. Address at the Solemn Memorial Service, which Took Place in the Synagogue at Bamberg on December 6, 1841, because of the Death of Her Majesty Queen Caroline of Bavaria"). This sermon was published in Bamberg, probably in the same year, and is cited by Maybaum in his "Juedische Homiletic" (10) under the category "Patriotic Addresses." An outline is presented herewith:

God and Father, Who orderest concerning life and death, we

ought to worship Thee when our hearts suffer. We do so now: our honored and virtuous queen has died. She has exchanged her earthly perishable crown for an eternal heavenly crown with Thee, Who lovest the pious. So lead us in Thy ways that we may get us a heart of wisdom, and reflect on our own end. May the example of this blessed transfigured one call forth our emulation, so that we too may go hence in peace, assured of Thy grace in the future life. May this address lead us toward that desirable goal.

"He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds, each one that walketh in his uprightness" (Isaiah 57:2). We come before God to pour out our lament, to draw refreshing comfort. He was pleased, on November 13th, to take away our esteemed widowed queen in the 66th year of her life. Her life is so well known that to sketch it would be superfluous. Rather shall we direct attention to her good deeds and benefactions. No one's prayer did she ignore; no sufferer ever came to her in vain. She died assured of her future, because of her good deeds.

We shall attempt to demonstrate that an active, pious life, friendly toward mankind, is the best preparation for a peaceful death. We could surely honor her memory in no better way than by becoming convinced of this truth, and exemplifying it.

1. Of what is such a life constituted? It comprises three parts: a) the desire to help others, b) doing this zealously and c) doing this as obedience to God, out of love for Him.

Carelessness, selfishness and indifference are inconsistent

with such a disposition, which must come from a sincere heart. He is no cold spectator on the human scene who takes an interest in those beyond his narrow circle, who works for the betterment of humanity. If we really care about the welfare of men, then each hindrance to it must fill us with indignation, each annoyance to it must fill us with pain, each means of helping it along must fill us with hope, each improvement of it must fill us with joy. We dare not be indifferent, seeking the welfare only of our own. Abraham worked even on behalf of the wicked people of Sodom. Moses was ready, if necessary, to absorb the sins of those who worshiped the golden calf. And so the Queen helped all, whether they were near to her or far, of whatever faith or parentage they were. So ought we to do.

But we cannot stop with mere feelings. We must act. Deeds which tend toward improving human welfare are the surest sign of a lover of mankind. Not only must we not harm others, but we must help them with all our power, as the queen did.

Everyone does some good deeds; he who does none is not deserving of the name "man." Most of us do good, with occasional evil, depending on which inclination prevails. But to do good, and never evil, throughout one's whole life - this is a fate which would glorify even angels, and this fate Caroline deserves! The only evil she ever did was by dying, and leaving us without her.

Every good deed must be done with God in mind. "Love thy

neighbor as thyself: I AM THE LORD THY GOD." Such an attitude gives the highest worth to our good deeds. The queen took this viewpoint: she acted not out of desire for fame, but quietly and without display.

2. The adoption of this life is the best preparation for the future: Woe to him whose conscience condemns him when he is on the brink of the grave! We must seek peace of mind if we are to prepare for our end. We can do this in no better way than by an active religiously motivated humanitarianism. Then in our last hours we can peacefully reflect on our good deeds. Thus did the queen die.

But we ought also to be of this nature so that we can leave a blessed memory behind us. It would be horrible to have to admit on one's death-bed that he would soon be forgotten by everyone, or even worse, that he would be remembered for disgrace and malediction. We can only avoid this fate by good deeds. How can the memory of our life disappear if we leave behind many whom we have served well? Every other means of securing posthumous fame is in vain. A blessed memory will follow Queen Caroline.

We cannot hope in God unless we obey Him through good deeds. Nor can we hope in Him unless we love Him. Nor can we love Him unless we also love man. Be holy, as the Lord your God is holy. He who does this may confidently await God's grace.

The virtuous life leads to immortality. What other possibility exists? So the queen has gone hopefully and joyfully to

meet her destiny in the future world. There she will receive a fulness of joy not granted here below even to queens.

Now let us look to our Recompensor and pray: may she find her rest with Thee. Take her into Thy holy protection. Let her receive that heavenly peace of which she received a presentiment on earth through her good deeds and righteous conduct before Thee. Amen (11).

Rosenfeld, in 1854, published another such address, "Trauerrede auf das Ableben Ihrer Majestaet der Koenigin Therese" (Lament on the death of Her Majesty Queen Theresa") (12), but no copy is at hand.

We possess the "Address at the Dedication of the Jewish Cemetery in Bamberg" (cf. Chapter II), preached on October 19, 1851, published by Hesslein in Bamberg, 1851, and again by Kayserling in his "Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner" in 1870 (13). The translation follows:

"Honored listeners!

We are here assembled in order to dedicate, whilst we inter a departed brother in the earth (Mr. Isaak Kolb, who was distinguished for his numerous charitable gifts), an institution which has great interest for us. With its establishment a new era for Bamberg's Jewry begins.

At this moment, dim memories from the past come to mind. According to the records, a Jewish cemetery once existed here, in times long since forgotten. The intolerance of people of bygone centuries was not sated by persecuting the living Jews; their hate was poured out on those long dead and sleeping in the grave. Their graves, their grave-markers, were desecrated.

The living, years ago, were permitted to return to Bamberg, and received a friendly welcome; but when they died they were forced to wander into exile, to seek their resting places in a spot remote from those they left behind. For a very long time

this sad state of affairs continued; but soon force of habit decreed that this inconvenience was not even felt, its degradation and wretchedness not even perceived.

Finally however, the Lord above, Who, for the sake of our true welfare, imposes upon us many sorts of temptations and trials, sent a ray of enlightenment into the hearts of the people and their rulers. He activated in them a feeling for humanity and tolerance, a feeling which told them that God, the All Righteous and All Good One, takes no pleasure in persecutions, no matter against whom they are perpetrated; and that uprightness, goodwill and love are alone the means of bringing and maintaining God's kingdom on earth.

Our highly revered king, Max Joseph I, was the one chosen by Providence to begin to rend the bonds of intolerance in Bavaria. As a result of his efforts, the Jews were permitted, according to the Edict of June 10, 1813, to establish burial grounds wherever they comprised a community of at least 50 families.

But, while evil always progresses across a land with giant steps, good, on the other hand, advances only at snail's pace, and in its advancing must fight hindrances of many kinds. Thus was the case here in Bamberg: 38 years have passed since the Edict's promulgation, but only today is the authority which it gives us being brought to actuality and fulfillment.)

Yes, even though late, the work is now completed. For this, brethren, let us thank the Lord our God. Let us thank Him with all our heart, and all our soul. We are no longer forced to banish, as it were, our loved ones from our neighborhood. No longer are we compelled to take leave of them with but a small funeral procession, with a scanty escort of three or four persons, as was heretofore the case.

We are now, on the contrary, in the position of being able to confer upon them, with God's help, an honorable interment, as befits honorable people. Now we may visit their graves as often as we like, here where they lie to renew their memory in our hearts, and to send a prayer for them to Heaven. These are priceless gains for our sense of self-respect. For you must know, friends, that the honor in which we hold the dead, and the honor ~~with~~ which we, by deeds, show them, is the yardstick of our own religious and ethical attainment. The man who can be indifferent to the dead does not understand the true worth of human life. For this is an undoubted truth: man's life has worth only when we think of it as bound up with a higher other-worldly Life. This is no imaginary idea, no fanciful conceit manufactured by our own egoism.

Reason and Revelation lead us by their brotherly hands to the belief in the continued existence of the soul, and the greatest and most pious men of all times have often sealed this truth with their death. Indeed, friends, we might reproach our good and wise Creator for having granted us the power of thought (which He has bestowed on man exclusively) if it were at all possible for us to conceive of such a thing as eternal death and complete annihilation.

No, brethren! God does not act this way with His gifts. He does not bestow them upon us in order to make us suffer. To make us happy, to bless us - these are His Divine motives. Therefore, dear friends, let us not fear; for even if the earth with all its wonders should pass away, we know that the Lord of Hosts is with us: He is with us in life, He is with us in death, and His mercy endures from age to age. "Yea, though I walk in the valley of the shadow of death, I shall fear no evil, for Thou, Lord, art with me." This I say with King David, who was inspired by God.

Yes, we would be guilty of high treason against God, of high treason against humanity and against ourselves, were we to deny an eternal continued existence. Yea, without life after death, our earthly life would already be death. O man - tremble before this frightful thought! For it undoes your peace of mind, it confounds your most beautiful and noblest joys, at one blow it crushes your worth and your hope! But, on the other hand, through tender handling of our dead we profess our faith both in the worth of man and in his continued existence after death. At the same time, we tacitly imply that man is a being whose outer wrapping contains the image of God within, an image which never, neither before nor after life, can be destroyed unto annihilation.

Therefore, dear coreligionists, I must ask you henceforth to continue to attend funerals in large numbers; to frequent funeral processions, and bestow upon the dead all fitting honors; and to shun everything which would be repugnant to the respect which we owe the departed. Scanty attendance at funerals, as at all of life's critical junctures, is an insult to the dignity of the solemn occasion. It amounts to depriving the deceased of the last worldly honor due him, and it violates the precept to comfort, with our sympathy, those dear ones whom the deceased has left behind. As early as the Talmud (Sabbath 127a), respectful accompaniment of the dead was extolled and recommended as one of the holiest of tasks.

This short reminder should suffice to keep the above-mentioned indignities far away from us, especially since now, what with the nearness of the funeral parlor, the matter assumes an entirely different shape.

Brethren, after expressing our thanks to God, the All Good, and after having mentioned with thankful recognition that we are obligated for this new institution to the Bavarian royal house (and we add the request that the Lord our God will bless this royal house with His beneficent protection, and that He especially will bless our universally beloved king and sovereign Max II, who often, by his requests to the Diet, has let people know how strongly he feels that his Jewish subjects ought to have greater civil rights) - after thanking these, we are also duty bound to mention here our sincere thanks to the honorable city magistrate, and to the worthy city commission, who, in their customary pleasant, humane and tolerant manner have so helpfully aided the development of this project. May dear God bestow upon them, and upon all the inhabitants of the good city of Bamberg, His heavenly blessings, in rich measure!

To Thy holy care, O All Good God, we now commend this institution. May it ever serve to increase our love toward Thee and toward our fellow-men, and to cause our hearts to take active interest in everything good and noble. Amen" (14).

Two unpublished works of Rosenfeld are also known to us: "Katechismus der israelitischen Religion fuer den Schulunterricht" ("Catechism of the Jewish Religion for School Use"), which was given to the Bamberg city school commission in 1831; and "Pflichtgebote fuer das israelitische Frauengeschlecht" ("Obligatory Duties of Jewish Women") (15).

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an examination of two of Rosenfeld's major literary efforts, the "Stunden der Andacht" and the newspaper "Das Fuellhorn."

The literary history of the "Stunden der Andacht" is confused and incomplete in the various sources; however, I believe that I have almost completely straightened the matter out.

Johannes Heinrich Daniel Zschokke (1771-1848), in early life a Protestant pastor in Magdeburg, settled in Switzerland, where he became a statesman, historian, novelist and religious

writer. He was noted for his saying "Volksbildung ist Volksbefreiung" ("Mankind becomes free through education"). From 1808 to 1816 he issued each Sunday, anonymously, a religious essay or meditation. After 1816 he had these collected and printed, atill anonymously, as "Stunden der Andacht zur Befoerderung wahren Christenthums und haeuslicher Gottesverehrung" ("Hours of Devotion for the Furtherance of True Christianity and Love of God in the Home"). Not until 1842 did Zschokke unmask himself as the author of this popular work which, beside going through 36 German editions, was translated into many languages. It was condemned by the Catholic clergy as Satan's doing, but, even in Catholic lands, it found great popularity. The orthodox Protestants, too, condemned these meditations, which were more appreciated by the laity than by the clergy. They are free of dogma, and display a rationalistic Christianity (16). The work contains 413 essays.

In 1833 the Walther publishing firm of Dinkelsbuehl, Bavaria, published the first of four projected volumes of selections from Zschokke's work. This had been adapted for Jewish use and was, like the original, published anonymously. (17). It contained 35 essays, which had, in fact, been prepared for the press by the book-dealer and fighter for Jewish emancipation in Wuerttemberg, Isaak Hess (died October 6, 1866). A second edition of this volume, bearing Hess' name as the author, and including his biography, was published in Ellwangen in 1867, containing the very same essays. Both volumes, as well as Rosenfeld's

first edition (see below), were called, with but little change from Zschokke's title: "Stunden der Andacht fuer Israeliten zur Befoerderung religioesen Lebens und haeuslicher Gottesverehrung" ("Hours of Devotion for Israelites for the Furtherance of the Religious Life and Love of God in the Home") (18).

For some reason, Hess did not continue with the work. After the first two essays of the second volume had been printed, Rosenfeld was asked by the Walther firm to bring the volumes to their completion (see Rosenfeld's Introduction, below). We do not know who edited the first two essays of this second volume; it was not Rosenfeld, and probably it was not Hess either. Had it been Hess, then these two essays should have been included in the 1867 edition of Hess' work; but they do not appear there. So, with the exception of these two essays, Rosenfeld was the editor of volumes 2, 3 and 4 of the "Stunden der Andacht", published by Walther in Dinkelsbuehl in 1834. Rosenfeld's name appears on these three volumes as their author. The entire work includes 140 essays, of which Rosenfeld was responsible for 103 (35 being by Hess and 2 by the "Unknown"). All of Hess' essays and the 2 by the "Unknown" bear titles that are the same or almost the same as Zschokke's original essays.

The entire Jewish work was recommended by the Bavarian government. By decree of November 24, 1834, Jewish congregations were urged to purchase the set (19). Rosenfeld had undertaken his work with loving care; it found a deserved

reception, not only in Germany, but even in Poland and Russia (20). He had rendered the essays in a restrained rationalistic manner, so that they had a wide appeal to the Jews of the time (21). Rosenfeld's word in these "thoughtful meditations and beautiful poems" has been called "healing medicine for sick souls" (22). (Most of the essays are preceded by poems.)

A second edition of Rosenfeld's three volumes was published at Dinkelsbuehl in 1857 and succeeding years under the title; "Stunden der Andacht fuer Israeliten beiderlei Geschlechts" ("Hours of Devotion for Israelites of Both Sexes"). Only the first of these three volumes appeared while Rosenfeld was still living (20), and it is only this volume which I have been able to consult. (There is a possibility that volumes 2 and 3 never did, in fact, appear.) Volume 1 of this second edition contains only essays which were found in the 1834 edition, although this volume draws on essays from all three of the original volumes, and is not identical with the original volume 2, the first volume which Rosenfeld had edited.

Fifteen of the essays in the 1833-4 edition were translated into Hebrew by Menahem Manus Bendetsohn (23) (1817-1888) of Grodno, the son-in-law of the cantor of the Reform synagogue in Breslau. He was a teacher in the Jewish schools at Grodno, and one of the best neo-Hebraic writers, having a style considered second only to that of Abraham Mapu. His adaptation of the "Stunden" appeared in Vilna in two volumes (only the second has been available to me), the first in 1856 and the second in 1862,

under the title: "Higgayon la-ittim" ("Timely Meditations") (24). Bendetsohn, in the introduction to his second volume, acknowledges his debt to Rosenfeld, but says that he has so completely changed the material that it has become his own (25). There are eight essays in this second volume (and presumably seven in the first). Of these eight, four are recognizable as being taken from Rosenfeld, one is from Hess, and one is from the "Unknown". Identification of the other two essays would be a large task, beyond the purview of my study.

What were the alterations which Rosenfeld made in order for Zschokke's work to be proper and fitting for Jews to use as a devotional book? Again, I consider it outside of the scope of this paper to make a minute study of Rosenfeld's 103 essays, comparing them word for word with their counterparts in Zschokke. I shall, therefore, include only a few observations based on a general perusal of the volumes.

The noun "Christian" is generally changed to "Israelite", occasionally to "Jew" (26). "Jesus" and "Christ" become "God" or "Lord". The adjective "Christian" becomes "religious". Suitable Old Testament quotations replace those from the New Testament. References from the Talmud, Maimonides and various other Jewish sources are frequently inserted. Occasionally entire paragraphs have been rewritten, but generally only a word or phrase here and there is altered; whole sentences and paragraphs often run with no changes whatsoever. Old Testament stories are used instead of New Testament ones, where these

appear. The titles of a few of the essays have also been slightly changed. The work of transformation has been so dextrously accomplished that one would never suspect it to be the reworking of a Christian book.

Rosenfeld himself was so pleased with his results that he often had his teachers use the essays from "Stunden" as their sermons in the country congregations on Sabbaths and Holidays.(27). (A precursor of the U.A.H.C. "Sermon Tracts", so dear to the young H.U.C. student?!) I quote a few of the titles of these essays: "On the Beginning of the New Year", "Dissatisfaction with Reality", "The Way to Become Successful", "Gradations among God's Creatures", "Leisure Time", "Live in the Present", "The Existence of Angels", "Respect for the Property of Others", "Feelings on an Autumn Day", "Self-Control", "Broken Friendship", "God's Greatness in Little Things", "The Newlyweds" and "The Evening".

Of the 103 essays edited by Rosenfeld, all, or almost all, are taken directly from Zschokke. However, five essays cannot easily be located as being among Zschokke's 413; they bear titles not found in his work, and, although the probability is that they ARE taken from somewhere in his ten volumes, there is also a possibility that they, or some of them, are original with Rosenfeld. This is not a matter of great importance anyway; whatever the case may be, I deem it worthwhile to present outlines of these five essays (plus a sixth which I know to be from Zschokke) because, even if they are not Rosenfeld's own product,

they certainly reflect his attitudes accurately. First, however, I present a translation of Rosenfeld's Introduction, as found in the 2nd volume of the 1834 edition:

"At the request of the publisher, I took over the revision of the three volumes of this work which are yet to appear.

I admit that I undertook this work with trepidation. I am aware of the habit (not a very nice one) of my coreligionists who, whenever a book appears authored by one of their number, direct their attention only to what is faulty therein (and no work is entirely faultless), while they do not notice the good it contains, even though the good preponderate by far over the faulty. And when one revises an already existing book, there are certain to be so many distorted judgments, spiteful opinions and remarks, and, on the contrary, so few prospects of receiving recognition, that the reviser has few pleasant results to look forward to. In my case, moreover, the fact that one volume of this work had already appeared (by another, unknown to me), before I received the request, was not a matter of no consequence.

I would, therefore, gladly have refused the publisher's request had not consideration for the usefulness and necessity of such a work of instructive edification made me decide to accede to his request. I make no claim concerning literary merit, and so I can have nothing to fear from the sting of the critic in this regard. That I have fixed my eye firmly upon the religious system of Mosaism, in its broader sense, and have likewise taken into consideration the customs, habits and disposition of the Israelites - the experts will not fail to observe this. This attitude of mine will be as little condemned by them as the fact that most of my statements are proved by examples from Holy Writ, or here and there from the Talmud, where this seemed advisable.

I have often given the translation of biblical passages according to my own interpretation, as true to the meaning as possible. Providence be thanked that in this matter we are not handcuffed or bound to any particular author; it is undeniable that even the Church versions have their good points in many a passage!

Astronomic hypotheses and postulations, which many people rebel against, especially if they seem to conflict with the letters of Scripture, and which are little suited for instruction or for awakening piety, I have generally sought to remove.

Now I must call the honored reader's attention to the fact that the first two essays of this volume were already printed before I took over the work; these, therefore, cannot be imputed to me.

Finally, I add this well-meant advice for those who read this work with the intention of educating themselves. They must not read too much at once - at most, 3 or 4 essays weekly, and never more than one a day. Overloading works to the detriment of the contents.

May the All Good One bless this work, so that it bring forth very many good wholesome fruits! This would be my most beautiful reward, my most worthy and most pleasing joy, which would brighten my soul in days of affliction, and permit my spirit to look happily upward to God.

Bamberg, Shebat 18, 5594 A. M.

Rosenfeld" (28).

Now I come to the outlines of the five essays which may possibly be original with Rosenfeld.

1. Cleverness and Wisdom (29)

The cleverest and most religious people may err. Most people think only of their own welfare, and not of that of others. We are often indifferent as to the means by which we achieve our goals. Do you think this is not important? He who once betrays another is never trusted again. By your cleverness, you lose God. Your cleverness is only folly. It lacks the main ingredient: wisdom. "Where there is no fear of God, there is no wisdom." You need both cleverness and wisdom. Wisdom will make you charitable; but without cleverness, you might bestow your alms on an undeserving tramp, rather than upon the really needy poor. There are times when truth ought not be spoken, as its utterance would cause harm. We should trust in God; but this does not mean we should be inactive. He will help us, but we must first help ourselves.

Cleverness without wisdom is "uncleverness". Virtue without cleverness is "unvirtue". Cleverness works to its own advantage; wisdom is guided only by virtue. God has given us both, for our own good. It is better to be a fool in the eyes of the world than impious before God.

2. Man's Help, God's Help (30)

"It is better to take refuge in the Lord than to trust in princes." Do not expect thanks or help from people; most of them think only of their own selfish interests. Everything outside of themselves they regard only as a means to achieve their own ends. Do not trust too much in man's word or promise. Changeableness is part of human nature. Trust more in your own ability than in that of others. Perhaps you do not know your own strength. But God, Who neither slumbers nor sleeps, is our truest support.

3. Leisure Time (31)

"Let each one of my moments, O God, be valuable and dear unto me." The years fly by before we know it. The wise man will not waste his leisure hours. God wishes His children to be happy. But happiness is only a means for cheering the spirit, for strengthening our health. It is not the goal of life. Dissipation has horrible effects on the home and on society. Our pleasures should be innocent ones. Woe to him who finds his pleasure at his brother's expense! A game which sharpens the wits is proper; but cards and dice, which awaken greed and avarice, are bad for one's peace of mind. It is no longer

amusement if the game inflicts painful losses, and robs one of what he has worked for. A little drink is harmless; but it is very easy to overstep the bounds between pleasure and wild abandon! Play games with your children and your friends; read good books; enjoy Nature's beauties; and derive pleasure from helping the poor.

4. Our Joyous Ascent to the Lord (32)

Where are the carefree days of my youth? My friends are either dead, or have become strangers to me. What has become of my fond dreams, my hopes for the future? That future has now come and gone. The goals I once sought are not those I now seek. I am not master of my fate; fate masters me. I must bid "goodbye" to my former dreams, and make my peace with my lot; for soon I will be in the grave.

Was my life worth its pains? of what use was my existence? Yea, life would be a vanity were it not for eternity, heaven and God. Therefore let us think of God as our life's goal, and joyously prepare for our ascent unto Him.

5. How Ought We Defend Our Rights? (33)

"Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart...love thy neighbor as thyself." You must be calm before you can deal with an unpleasant situation. Do not act in anger. You must not hate the person who wrongs you, but the evil thing. Show your opponent that you honor him as a man in spite of what he has done. In a calm way, point out your own innocence in the

matter. You are brothers! If you have done your utmost, and have failed to make peace, then go to the law-court: it is for this purpose that God has created judges. Act only legally. You still have no right to hate your opponent. If you make bitter remarks about him, then you yourself become worthy of being blamed.

The last essay I shall outline is taken by Rosenfeld from Zschokke. I only give space to it here because it so well illustrates Rosenfeld's attitude toward reforms.

Prejudice For and Against the New

"O make my heart from prejudice free,
That Thy Word my light on my way may be."

There are people who are filled with opposition against everything which bears the mark of novelty. There are others who deny any worth or utility to anything old, displaying devotion only to that which is new. Both categories are in error, inasmuch as they allow themselves to be ruled by prejudice, by prejudice for or against the new.

There are many people who love the new just because it is new, or who espouse it in order to sparkle through it, so that they may stand out from the great masses; some favor the new in order to give the impression of being unprejudiced, of possessing an open mind. But these people, in fact, are just as prejudiced as many of their opponents. I must examine before I judge and choose; yea, I must examine insofar as it is within my power. I will accept the good, the better, be it new or old, come it from where it may (34).

There can be no doubt that Rosenfeld performed a considerable service to his coreligionists by making these fine meditations available to them in an acceptable form. The fact that "Stunden" ran to a second edition and was translated into Hebrew is proof sufficient of the esteem in which it was held. Although 90% of the credit must be given to Zschokke, yet Rosenfeld's service was noteworthy. Indeed, some thought the editing of the "Stunden" to be his outstanding accomplishment. Isaac Leeser, when he once referred to Rosenfeld in his "Occident", identified him for his readers as "the author of the 'Hours of Devotion'" (35).

Now we come to Rosenfeld's Jewish newspaper, "Das Fuellhorn" ("The Horn of Plenty"). This was a four-page weekly (36) in German, published by Humann in Bamberg (37), which appeared every Friday from January 1, 1835 (38) to December 23, 1836, when, for "various reasons" Rosenfeld was compelled to "suspend publication indefinitely" (39). At least 104 issues were published (40). I have available for study only the last 26 issues (July - December, 1836); this amounts to one-quarter of the total number of issues published (41).

Rosenfeld rightly understood that the Jewish monthlies and yearlies of his time were generally accessible only to the rabbis and teachers, and did not penetrate down to the mass of the people. He realized that these learned journals were not for them, that the only form which they would understand and appreciate was the newspaper form (42). And so, with his

penchant for education, he published "Fuellhorn", which,

with the object of furnishing instructive, useful and entertaining reading matter and of discussing Jewish events of interest, furnished a new type of paper (43).

Others have followed him (44) who, with greater journalistic ability and talent, have found more success; but Rosenfeld's is the credit of having founded the first Jewish newspaper of the modern type. In this way he created a new path leading to the goal of popular Jewish education (45). If "Sulamith" (which, incidentally, did not always appear regularly) was the first German-Jewish PERIODICAL (46), "Das Fuellhorn" must be known as the first German-Jewish NEWSPAPER.

How many copies circulated, or how wide the scope of this circulation was, we do not know. It did have readers, however, as far away as Trieste (47), where it was favorably received. Concerning those issues which are not available to me, we know of the following contents: an article, "God - a Friend of the Pursued" (48); an article by Rosenfeld on synods (49), possibly identical with his "Ist fuer die Israeliten in Bayern eine oberste Kirchenbehoerde nothwendig, und welche Form waere fuer sie die beste?" ("Is a Supreme Church Authority Necessary for the Israelites in Bavaria, and What would be the Best Form for Such an Authority?") (50).

What of the contents of those issues we have? The masthead carries a suitable verse, usually biblical, sometimes rabbinic. There are a few advertisements; frequently there is a literary miscellany, or a miscellany of current or historical Jewish

facts. There are aphorisms, anecdotes and religious "thoughts." There is one "Letter to the Editor"; a memorial mention of a deceased philanthropist; and a few notices from the editor are to be found. Quite regularly there appears a list of contributors to a fund Rosenfeld was raising to help the Jews of Walldorf, who had undergone a severe fire; there are lists of current books on Jews and Judaism. But chiefly there are the news items, the special articles (rarely original), and always there is an inspirational poem.

Much of Rosenfeld's material in "Fuellhorn" has been mentioned or quoted elsewhere in this study. He contributed, at one time or another, to virtually every department of the paper except "Letters to the Editor." He reprints in "Fuellhorn" some of his own articles and poems, e.g. "The Last Will" from "Stunden", a passage from "Mémoire", and one of the Uehlfeld dedication hymns from "Gesaenge". He often adds footnotes or remarks to the material contributed by others. Worthy of special mention are his "thoughts", in issue no. 50:

Herein is the true art of life: that one understands how to unite the necessary and the beneficial with the pleasurable.

Who is wise? He who habitually treats the folly of others with forbearance.

We see here below only half of Being: we see only half of our terrestrial globe, half of the heavenly vault, and also, only half of our life (an allusion to immortality.)

Josef Klein, then a rabbinical student, also was a frequent contributor: he once edited the literary miscellany; he wrote on Abraham ibn Ezra; he translated an article from Rabbi Isaac

Samuel Reggio's "Iggerot Yashar", entitled "Concerning Prophecy"; also another article of Reggio's, "The Fate of the Holy Vessels in the Jerusalem Temple." Reggio (1784-1855) was the "Mendelssohn of Italy", the liberal founder of the rabbinical seminary at Padua, who was persecuted by many of the German rabbis because of his religious liberalism (51). Klein also included in "Fuellhorn" two poems: "God is One and All" and "The One Faith."

Rabbi Dr. Leopold Schott of Randegg included: a translation (from the Italian) of an Austrian law about the Jews of Mantua; a translation of an article on the Jews in Jerusalem; and he also once edited the literary miscellany.

Poems also appeared as follows:

By S. Steinhard:

"Israel's Comfort"

"Outer and Inner Fortune"

"Song for the Day of Atonement"

"Moses Mendelssohn to His Coreligionists on His 100th Birthday"

"Song Before a School Examination"

By J. or I. Rosenfeld (perhaps the rabbi's daughter Jette?)

"Prayer"

"The Dream of the New Year"

"The Wanderer and the Bird"

"Pious Deeds"

"Resurrection of the Spirit"

By S. Maas:

"The Kingdom of the Messiah"

"The New Year's Day"

"The Feast of Tabernacles"

By Thomas Moore: "Miriam's Song"

By Rabbi Dr. Mayer of Hechingen: "The Two Spirits"

By Lord Byron: "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus"

By "Achim" (a male):

"Sonnet to the Authoress of the 'Fuellhorn' Poems" (very likely this "authoress" was Jette Rosenfeld.)

"The Eternal Yet Lives"

By Henriette Ottenheimer:

"Moses' Deliverance"

"Joseph's Elevation"

"Joseph's Pardon"

From the "Bayr. Landboetin" (probably a newspaper):

"The Sorrowing Rabbi"

In a footnote addressed to "Achim", Rosenfeld asks him to reveal his name, and to send in news from his area. He says that "Achim's" suggestion that "Fuellhorn" carry a poetic supplement cannot be accepted, as this is not necessary since each issue has a poem anyway (52).

Other major articles in these issues of "Fuellhorn" were: on the Jews in Algeria, by Thomas Campbell (from "Ausland", 1836, no. 101); on the Allegories of Rabba bar bar Chana, by Julius Fuerst; on emancipation, from "Iggerot Zafon"; on "Proverbs", by Prof. Dr. G. F. Seiler; on the Jews in Malabar; on Baruch Baschwitz, from "Didaskalia", no. 289; a "thought", from Waldhaeuser; Freiherr von Dalberg on the Jews; "Civil and Religious Conditions of the Jewish Community in Dresden", by Dr. Beer of that city; "Explanation of the Proposal of the Religious Teachers of the Rezat District that They be Appointed to Deliver German Sermons on the High Holidays in the Country Congregations", signed by "K" of the city of "A" (could this be Moses Lazarus Kohn, Rosenfeld's teacher in Uehlfeld, now risen to a more prominent position in Ansbach?); on the Jews of Cochin, from "The Travels of Rabbi David de Beth Hillel", published in

Madras; "The Peaceful Day - A Parable", by Dr. Krummacher; "Israel and Its Holy Scriptures", from Herder's "Letters pertaining to the Study of Theology"; and "Proposed Outline of a Pension Plan for the Widows and Orphans of Rabbis and Teachers in Bavaria", by M. M. Goldmann, a teacher.

(The news items in "Fuellhorn", frequently "borrowed" from other newspapers, and often bearing comments by Rosenfeld, are generally from two to four weeks after the event. Items appear from the following places: Marseille, Hesse, Frankfurt, London, Vienna, Hannover, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Kassel, Petersburg, Smyrna, Jura, Paris, Silesia, Baden, Saxony, Posen, Holland, Berlin, Prague, Kurhessen, Leipzig, Bamberg, Mainz, Cairo, Rhenish Hesse and Munich.

The items deal with such subjects as: emancipation, Jewish scholarship, Jews who have received notable honors, the rabbinical shifts in pulpits, the building of new synagogues and Jewish hospitals, etc. There are numerous articles on the doings of the Rothschild family, including one from the "Allgemeine Zeitung" ("Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung"?) on the death of Nathan von Rothschild. From the same paper there is an article on the condition of the Jews in Russia.

There is an interesting bit about a Prussian regulation which prohibited the Jews from giving their children Christian first names, and the later rescinding of that order. In this connection Rosenfeld comments on the folly of giving children non-Jewish first names, and on the even greater folly of name-

changing. There is an account of the Jewish service in Prague in honor of the coronation of Kaiser Ferdinand I. This was the first time organ music was used in the Prague synagogue.

A dispatch from Leipzig says that Dr. Zacharias Frankel of Dresden had delivered a wonderful sermon there. (This sermon was probably preached at the "branch" Reform Temple which the Hamburg Temple had founded in 1820 to reach the crowds of Jews who came to the yearly Leipzig fairs (53). There is an announcement of a dinner meeting to honor Dr. Gabriel Riesser, the greatest fighter for German-Jewish emancipation, to be held at Karlsruhe. Also there is a report of the fine "prophetic" sermon delivered by rabbinical student Josef Klein on Genesis 18:18-19 in the Bamberg synagogue. He touched the hearts of all who heard him, among whom were many strangers, in Bamberg for the fair. There is a news item announcing the publication of "The Names of Jews", by Zunz; and finally, a Bamberg item about the prayers which were held in the synagogue for averting the cholera epidemic. These Hebrew prayers, says Rosenfeld, will be printed within a few days, and may be purchased from him for 3 Kreuzers, the proceeds to go to the poor. The local poor will receive free copies.

Lastly, there are a few advertisements. One announces the publication of twelve songs for a trio, for use with Hebrew text; another announces the appearance of the second part of the Riegler and Martinet "Hebraeischen Sprachschule", entitled "Tifereth Yisrael, oder Hebraeische Chrestomathie" ("The Crown of

Israel, or Hebrew Chrestomathy"), by Dr. Adam Martinet, Professor at the Royal Lyceum in Bamberg (54).

We have completed our survey of "Das Fueellhorn". Although it can easily be seen that this first attempt was in many ways a rather primitive affair, yet Rosenfeld is to be commended for having charted a new path in Jewish journalism and Jewish education.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

"My aim", Rosenfeld once wrote in estimating his own work, "was to promote among my coreligionists the goals of the state and of human civilization" (1).

What have others to say in evaluating the life and work of this interesting rabbi? A travelling correspondent for the (Allgemeine) "Zeitung des Judenthums" wrote in 1851, after a visit to Bamberg:

The local rabbi, Herr Rosenfeld, the Nestor of our academically trained Bavarian rabbis, is a very interesting personality. In his former position, almost 40 years ago, he preached in German, reformed and did literary work; he has evinced a heart dedicated to the spiritual welfare of our coreligionists. Because of this interest, and because of many public utterances, for example, "Diversity in religion is God's aim", he incurred the ban of the Fuerth rabbinate, under which he still lives. This experience did not harm the man at all, for, unbowed in body and soul, he remains in Bamberg, now an old man but possessing a youthful freshness of spirit and an open mind toward all modern endeavors, and esteemed because of his past (2).

The view of a non-Jew, Archbishop Michael von Denlein of Bamberg (3), is evidenced in a letter he wrote to Klein in 1859:

I had not known that your wife was a daughter of the generally esteemed, old, and truly beloved Rabbi Rosenfeld of Bamberg. He bears his blindness in full resignation, for God's sake ..." (4).

His own community of Bamberg thought well of him. When he died, they wrote:

Samson Rosenfeld, who since 1826 has occupied the rabbinate in our city, died in old age after a blessed period of service (5).

Again, on the day of his funeral, they wrote that he was the first and worthiest Bavarian fighter for Jewish civil rights, the Nestor of the modern Bavarian rabbis; that he always worked peacefully for the spiritual and ethical welfare of his congregation; that he combined a noble character with worldly wisdom and practical knowledge, and that he had astonished many highly educated men by his sharp intellect (6).

Others have written of him: that he was a leader in the battle for emancipation (7); that he was the first rabbi who, in German mother-tongue and with loud uplifted voice repeatedly appealed to the Diet and to public opinion on behalf of the rights of his coreligionists, and that he was a leader in this battle, a fact well enough known (in Bamberg), even if not sufficiently appreciated; that he inspired the leaders of his congregation and the best people in Bavaria to help in achieving these rights (8). He had the zeal of youth, less its rashness. He wanted to be an educator of the people, to work for their civic and religious betterment, to make Judaism respected. He lived during the beginning of the Reform era, but belonged to neither party, hewing the middle road, but progressing slowly and circumspectly. The dignifying of religious services was one of his aims: he was one of the first rabbis of this modern type in Bavaria, and sought to overcome his opponents (9).

Again, we learn that he was the first Bavarian rabbi to preach in German in the synagogue, that he attracted attention

by the dedication of the synagogue in Markt Uehlfeld, and that moderate reform tendencies found a true advocate in him (10). His biographer Kraemer calls him an important figure for Reform in Bavaria (11), and further declares, in reviewing his life, that he was the first Bavarian rabbi who gained a general education, in addition to a talmudic one, doing this by self-study; that he was the first in Bavaria to preach German sermons in the synagogue, and publish them; that he was the first Bavarian rabbi who set his reforming hand on the outmoded religious services, and persevered in this activity until his death; that he was the first rabbi who, armed with spiritual weapons, entered the field of the press, there to work with success for the defense of Jews and Judaism, and for the protection of Jewish rights; and that he was the first to found a Jewish newspaper, thereby bringing us a new means of popular education (12).

Finally, what did the American Jewish press have to say about Rabbi Rosenfeld? Leeser's "Occident" for 1862 does not mention his death. I have not been able to obtain Wise's "Deborah" for the needed date. Rabbi David Einhorn carried a brief German notice in his "Sinai": "Bamberg. On May 12 died here the Nestor of the Bavarian rabbis, Samson Wolf Rosenfeld, mourned by his entire congregation ..." (13).

The notice in Isaac M. Wise's "The Israelite" contains a very disconcerting element, but is otherwise complimentary:

Bamberg. - The Rev. Mr. Rosenfeld, Rabbi of this city, for so many years, died lately in the 80th year of his age. He was the oldest rabbi of Bavaria. The charges against his private life are somewhat grave, but a public man, he was the first in Bavaria who had the moral courage to speak against the injustice of the government done to our persuasion, and the benighting spirit of a false orthodoxy then holding our brethren in an iron grasp. He had the moral courage not to care for the voice of fanaticism coming from the Beth-Din, of Fuerth, and pursued his own path. Long before Dr. Levy (i.e. Loewi), of Fuerth, Dr. Aub, of Beyreuth, or Dr. Stein would say a word, Mr. Rosenfeld raised his voice in striking arguments. He was the forerunner of reform and progress in Bavaria (14).

To which he might well have added that Rosenfeld was one of the first RABBINICAL forerunners of Reform and progress in all of Europe. What the "charges" Wise makes against Rosenfeld's private life are will probably never be known. Perhaps they concerned an "affaire d'amour"; if so, they certainly would not have been discussed in print. It would have been remarkable, indeed, for any man of less than Wise's stature even to allude to the matter.

At any rate, we are here studying Rosenfeld not so much as a man as in his role as a rabbi in Israel. In that capacity, he fulfilled his duties in accordance with the highest traditions of his sacred calling.

His contributions to Judaism may be credited to his ability as a human being; where he fell short of doing what he might have done is due to the fact that he, like Israel Jacobson,

lived in a transitional age, between a mediaeval autonomous Jewry and a modern enfranchised Jewry in the secular state, and was hence torn between two emotions (15).

"Zecher tzaddik livrachah!" May the memory of the righteous be blessed!

APPENDIX A

MAIN SOURCES FOR ROSENFELD'S LIFE

The chief sources for Rosenfeld's life and works (in addition to his own published writings) are three: Rabbi Dr. Josef Klein's "Rabbiner Samson Wolf Rosenfeld", in the "Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums" for 1863; Simon Kraemer's "R. Samson Wolf Rosenfeld", in "Achawa" for 1866; and Rabbi Dr. Adolf Eckstein's "Die Jsrael. Kultusgemeinde Bamberg von 1803-1853: Festschrift zur Einweihung der neuen Synagoge in Bamberg", published in Bamberg in 1910, on the occasion of the dedication there of the new synagogue on the Herzogmaxstrasse on September 11, 1910. This whole book is useful, but especially helpful is the chapter "Samson Wolf Rosenfeld und seine Gemeinde."

Klein, Rosenfeld's son-in-law, wrote lovingly of the rabbi, but incompletely and sometimes inaccurately. Kraemer, a teacher from Altenmuhr, Bavaria ("Achawa", 1866, p. xv), and a writer of popular material and material for young people ("Achawa", 1865, p. 141), seems to have known Rosenfeld personally; he also wrote enthusiastically of the rabbi's career. He writes, he says (p. 15), from "the best sources" and from personal experience. He thanks Klein, Cantor Ottenstein and Rabbi H. Selz of Uehlfeld for their help.

Unfortunately for the accuracy of Kraemer's article, but fortunately for the writer of this study, Kraemer was unable to avail himself of Klein's article (p. 16); thus, we have

two more or less independent studies. Frankel, who edited the "Monatsschrift", wrote somewhat caustically in reviewing the Kraemer article:

We regret that Mr. Kraemer, according to his own admission, had not read that article (Klein's). Had he done so, he would have directed his pen with somewhat less enthusiasm ("Monatsschrift", 1867, p. 319).

I am unable to determine from the German, however, whether Frankel meant that Kraemer would have written less enthusiastically in what he said about Rosenfeld, or that he would have been less enthusiastic about undertaking his task, seeing that it had already been done by another. Perhaps Kraemer does portray Rosenfeld as more of a reformer than does Klein, but Kraemer seems to have more detailed information at his disposal, and stands generally on firm ground.

Eckstein (p. 62) has, of course, availed himself of both the Klein and Kraemer articles. He mentions that Klein's needs correction in several points (so, for that matter, does Kraemer's, and even Eckstein's, the most accurate of the three). Furthermore, Eckstein has used a mass of unpublished material, not used by the earlier biographers, which was in the records of the Bamberg congregation.

There is also a good statement of Rosenfeld's career in Kayserling, "Bibliothek juedischer Kanzelredner", Berlin, 1870; and brief notices in the "Allgemeine deutsche Biographie", by Nehemiah Bruell, and in the "Jewish Encyclopedia." Some of his works are listed in Julius Fuerst's "Bibliotheca Judaica", generally inaccurately, and in Volkmar Eichstaedt's useful

compendium (produced under Nazi auspices), "Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Judenfrage."

All of the writers have understood Rosenfeld's importance for the emancipation struggle, and all have likewise emphasized his influence on the Reform movement in Bavaria; but none seems to have compared him with the other German rabbis of his early days, or to have drawn the logical inferences about his importance for Reform as a whole, as one of the very first rabbis to have been in any way identified with the Reform of Judaism. Rosenfeld's name is not even mentioned in Philipson's "The Reform Movement in Judaism."

APPENDIX B

THE DATE OF ROSENFELD'S BIRTH

The exact date of Rosenfeld's birth is certainly not very important, but, since we have conflicting information, it is an interesting task to try to determine the proper date.

Klein (p. 202) gives January, 1780, i.e. Tebeth 26, 5540. The "Jewish Encyclopedia", obviously following this information, figures out that Tebeth 26, 5540 is identical with January 4, 1780 (vol. X, p. 476).

Kraemer (p. 16) says that, according to Hirsch Loew Rosenfeld's record-book of circumcisions, the rabbi was born in January, 1782. The "Allgemeine deutsche Biographie" (vol. XXIX, p. 207) gives this same date.

Eckstein, probably the most correct, says January, 1783 (p. 61).

To aid in solving the problem, we are fortunate in having among the Rosenfeld family documents a birth certificate for Rosenfeld, issued by H. Selz, rabbi of Uehlfeld, on May 10, 1846. This states that according to the records of the Uehlfeld congregation, he was born on December 31, 1782.

If we accept December 31, 1782, as correct, how are we to account for the three other dates, January 1780, 1782 and 1783, as given by Klein, Kraemer and Eckstein, respectively?

Incidentally, December 31, 1782 was Tebeth 26, 5542. Now the month of Tebeth almost always falls in January. Although the early days of Tebeth sometimes occur in late December, it almost never happens that a date as late as Tebeth 26 falls in December; one would be 99% safe in assuming that Tebeth 26 comes in January.

Eckstein, knowing that Rosenfeld was 42 years old when he wrote his letter of January 3, 1825 (see Appendix D), and knowing from Klein that his birthday was Tebeth 26, subtracts 42 from 1825 and gets 1783. Without bothering to check exactly, he naturally assumes that the proper birth-date was January, 1783.

Kraemer correctly knew that Rosenfeld was born in Tebeth, 1782. He assumes that Tebeth, 1782, was January, 1782; whereas actually Tebeth was in December of that year.

Klein, as a member of the family, would be correct about the date Tebeth 26. He also knew that Rosenfeld lived for about two years after his "80th" birthday party. Therefore he supposes that Rosenfeld was 82 when he died; and 82 from 1862

3/1/82

would be 1780; again, he would think Tebeth 26 to have fallen in January. (Incidentally, Kraemer also says that Rosenfeld lived for about two years after his "80th" birthday. But if, as Kraemer thinks, Rosenfeld was born in January, 1782 and died in May, 1862, Rosenfeld could have been only 80 and four months when he died. How does Kraemer account for the missing period of a year or more?!)

The obvious answer is that the "80th" birthday was celebrated two, or possibly, three, years early. Rosenfeld may have been failing, and the people therefore may have wished to honor him before his demise; or he himself may have become confused in old age, believing himself to be 80; or perhaps people simply were not sure of his age, and decided that it was about time for him to be 80. If the party took place on his 77th birthday, then he would have celebrated two more birthdays before his death, as Klein seems to have thought; if on his 78th birthday, then he would have lived another year and a half (equals "two years"), as Kraemer thought. Either 77 or 78 seems possible; had the party been on the 79th birthday, he would have lived for only a few months afterwards, and the view that he lived another "two years" could never have been entertained. Isaac M. Wise was undoubtedly correct (see p. 162) when he wrote that Rosenfeld had died "in the 80th year of his age." Even in minor details, the "Founder" knew whereof he spoke!

APPENDIX C

MRS. SAMSON WOLF ROSENFELD

The following poem, taken from an ancient family document, gives us the only information we have on Rosenfeld's wife. Its title has been partially obliterated by time, but has been almost completely reconstructed. First I give the German, and then the translation. Archaic spellings have not been changed.

Trauer-Ode auf den Tode Frau F. Rosenfeld's, Herrn (S. W.) Rosenfeld, Rabiner zu Mrt. Uhlfeld im Leben liebgewessnen, liebwerten (or "und verehrten"), welche am Samstag den ... Junius nach einem sanften Tod zu Gott in die frohe Ewigkeit eingegangen. Zu einem geringen Denkmal gesetzt von einem guten Freund Nikolaus Paulus zu Oberhoechstädt Anno 1824.

So ist der Schluss, Sie geht von hinnen
Die Freundin von so aedlen Sinnen.
Es nimmt Abschied von diesser Welt
Die beste Freundin Rosenfeld.

Aus Biedenbach, da Sie gebohren
Hat zur Gemahlin Sie erkohren,
Zur Ehehaelfte Sie erwaelte
Der Herr Rabiner Rosenfeld.

Er hat Sie freudig heimgefuehret
Und recht anstaendig Sie tractiret
Und nach der Ordnung sich vermaehlt
Mit seiner Braut, Herr Rosenfeld.

O wie viel angenehme Stunden
Hat Sie im Ehstand nicht empfunden!
Derselben hat Sie viel gezaehlt,
Die nun verblichne Rosenfeld.

Mit Jedermann - auch mir schon lange
War angenehm stets ihr Umgange -
Weil Jedem Ihr Umgang gefaelt,
Der tugendreichen Rosenfeld.

Wohl dem der fromm fuer Gott stets wandelt.
Und auch rechtschaffen fuer Ihm handelt,
Und seinen Bund und Zeugnis haelt
Wie die entschlafne Rosenfeld.

Die Redlichkeit hat Ihr fuer Allen
Wie die Rechtschaffenheit gefallen;
Sehr richtig war Ihr Herz bestellt
Der sehr rechtschafnen Rosenfeld.

Sie war beflissen in der Jugend
Sich schon zu widmen in der Tugend,
Die liebte Sie viel mehr als Geld
Die tugendhafte Rosenfeld.

In der Ausuebung Ihrer Pflichten
Wusst Sie es also einzurichten
Dass Sie des Zweckes nie verfehlt
Die oeconomisch Rosenfeld.

Nur Schade dass Ihr junges Leben
Sie hat so bald von sich gegeben
Und nicht viel Jahre hat gezaehlt
Die liebenswehrte Rosenfeld.

Die Allerschoenste ist verblichen
Die Schoenste, deren Wangen glichen
Den Rosen in dem Rosenfeld
Der ehemals schoensten Rosenfeld.

O Schade! dass Sie nun verblichen
Vor unsern Augen hier thut liegen
Ihr schoener Koerperbau entseelt
Der sonst so muntern Rosenfeld.

Sie stuerbe viel zu frueh, und hinter-
Lies einen Wittwer und vier Kinder! -
Vergessen wird Sie nie Uhlfeld,
Die stets geachtet Rosenfeld.

Der Tod bleibt stets bey der Methode
Und bey der laengst gewohnten Mode;
Er kommt gar oft unangemeldet
Wie man das sieht an Rosenfeld.

So schlaefet Sie nun an der Seite
Des Schwiegervatters; und die Beyde
Herr Rosenfeld, - Frau Rosenfeld
Stehn auf dereinst zu Markt Uhlfeld.

Sie ist nunmehr eingegangen
Wo jedes menschliche Verlangen,
Ins hoherhabne Sternen-Zelt
Die nun verklaerte Rosenfeld.

Daselbst thut Sie fuer allen Dingen
Das Lied des grossen Moses singen;
Wo es Ihr ewig wohl gefaelt
Der hoechst beglueckten Rosenfeld!! -

- - -

Nimm dieses hier, nun Herr Rabiner!
Von mir, als einem treuen Diener,
Dieweil mir hoechstens wohlgefaelte
Das ganz Geschlecht der Rosenfeld.

Translation:

Ode of Mourning on the Death of Mrs. F. Rosenfeld, in life loved and esteemed by Herr S. W. Rosenfeld, rabbi of Markt Uehlfeld, who, on Saturday, June ..., after a gentle death entered into blissful eternity with God. As a modest memorial erected by a good friend, Nikolaus Paulus of Oberhoechstadt, in the year 1824.

It is the end, she goes from hence
The friend of such noble mind.
She takes her departure from this world
The best friend Rosenfeld.

In Biedenbach, where she was born
Herr Rabbi Rosenfeld
Selected her as his spouse
He chose her to be his better half.

Happily did he bring her home
And right properly did he treat her
And according to the ritual he married
His bride, did Herr Rosenfeld.

O how many happy hours
Did she not experience in married state!
Many such did she count
This now departed Rosenfeld.

With everyone, and for long with me
Her associations were always pleasant -
Her company pleased everyone, the company
Of this very virtuous Rosenfeld.

Happy the one who always piously walks before God
And also behaves righteously before Him
And keeps His covenant and His testimony
Like the deceased Rosenfeld.

Honesty, like virtue
She loved above all things
Very correctly was her heart disposed
The heart of the virtuous Rosenfeld.

She was intent even in her youth
To consecrate herself to virtue
Which she loved more than gold
This virtuous Rosenfeld.

In the performance of her duties
She well knew how to plan
So that she never missed her goal
This economic Rosenfeld.

What a shame that her young life
She had to give up so soon
Not many years did she count
This estimable Rosenfeld.

The most beautiful one is dead
This beauty, whose cheeks were like
The roses in the rose-field,
The cheeks of the formerly most beautiful Rosenfeld.

O pity that she now, dead,
Lies here before our eyes,
Her lovely body lifeless,
The body of the once so active Rosenfeld.

She died much too soon, leaving
A widower and four children!
Uehlfeld will never forget
This always honored Rosenfeld.

Death always has his own method,
His long-accustomed way;
Often he comes unannounced
As one could see in Rosenfeld's case.

So now she sleeps by the side
Of her father-in-law; but both,
Herr Rosenfeld and Frau Rosenfeld
Will some day live again in Markt Uehlfeld.

Now she has entered
As every human desires to do
Into the sublime starry pavilion
This now transfigured Rosenfeld.

There in the presence of all creatures
She will sing the song of great Moses;
There she will be eternally happy
This highly blessed Rosenfeld.

- - -

Take this here, now Herr Rabbi
From me, a true servant,
For most highly pleasing unto me
Is the whole Rosenfeld family.

APPENDIX D

ROSENFELD'S APPLICATION FOR THE BAMBERG PULPIT

The following translation is taken from Eckstein, "Die
Jsrael. Kultusgemeinde Bamberg ...", pp. 57 - 59.

January 3, 1825

Royal Government of the Upper Main district
Office of the Interior

Information reaches me that the rabbinical position in
Bamberg, vacant for a long time, is shortly to be filled again.
Cognizant of the well-known graciousness of the government, I
most humbly venture herewith to present myself as an aspirant
to this position.

I am now 42 years old. I was, through decree of the former
Royal Prussian War and Domain Office in Baireuth, on August 13,
1808, accepted as Associate Rabbi of this town, after a sear-
ching examination of my abilities, and with the consent of the
Jewish community here. I have held this position since then,
holding the title of Chief Rabbi since 1815, to the perfect
satisfaction of my congregation and of the royal authorities.

My efforts, which have always been directed to the civic
and moral culture of my religious denomination have not, God
be thanked, missed their target; many fine beginnings have been
brought to fruition. For instance, there was organized, at my
instigation, a German-Jewish school here, at the expense of the
congregation, which has lasted now for more than twelve years,
and which has continually been designated as a model school, and

as the first in the district, by the school inspectors in the course of their routine examinations. The Hebrew-religious instruction, carried on by a well-educated teacher, likewise progresses well, and is much aided by the use in the German school of J. Johlson's "Textbook of Mosaic Religion." Also, in 1818, a synagogue was built, which has received favorable mention for its symmetry and interior arrangement. At the time of its dedication, an improved liturgical service was arranged and introduced. For this occasion there were issued the two brochures, which I most humbly enclose: a) "The Israelitish Temple-Hall, etc."; b) "Hymns, etc."

The Jews here have been favorably mentioned for their awakened interest in industry, in good business and in handicraft. There are already five master-craftsmen living here, and several others are striving to emulate their accomplishment. By far the larger proportion of the Jews here couple agriculture with the pursuit of their solid simple businesses, and more of them have put their real estate into active and useful production than was formerly the case. Thus was my aim - one of promoting among my coreligionists the goals of the state and of human civilization - crowned with most pleasing results.

Since 1821 my rabbinical sphere has been extended to the entire congregation of the Neustadt-on-the-Aisch region. That I possess the confidence of the high royal government of the Rezat district may be seen in this criterion: **They** have deigned to lay before me for my decision many questions relating to the Jewish religion.

I must also mention, as regards my literary works, in addition to those cited above, several pamphlets, of which I humbly venture to enclose two: a) "Opinion", etc. ("Denkschrift"); b) "Mémoire", etc. In both of these I had in view the bringing of greater rights for my coreligionists in Bavaria, rights which I consider necessary to their improvement and full civilization. At the moment, I am engaged in writing a Hebrew-German textbook for the first religious lessons, which many pupils, especially now that the schools are beginning to be improved, will find very welcome.

The education of my children (I have 4), which is a subject very close to my heart, makes it very desirable for me now to exchange my rural home for one in the city, and leads me to the following humble request:

that the royal government of the Upper Main district may most graciously deign to confer upon the undersigned the appointment to the above-mentioned rabbinical position in Bamberg.

Through such most gracious conferral the opportunity will be given me to work more advantageously and extensively than heretofore for the education and culture of my coreligionists, and will consequently correspond to the goals of the national government.

Lest, however, I take office against the will of the congregation, a circumstance which would render most difficult the fulfillment of the duties of my spiritual profession, I ask, without meaning to be demanding, that such gracious conferral shall occur only after the choice of the entire congregation of Israelites in Bamberg, as indicated by the will of the majority.

Awaiting your most gracious compliance to this, my most heartfelt request, I remain, in deepest respect,

Samson Wolf Rosenfeld
Rabbi of Markt Uehlfeld

APPENDIX E

ROSENFELD ON CONFIRMATION

The following is the translation of an article by Rosenfeld on Confirmation, taken from "Das Fueellhorn", 1836, no. 51.

One has argued much in recent times over the introduction of Confirmation among the Jews. Certainly it is bad if it exists merely as an attempt to imitate foreign institutions by taking over their forms. The religious and ceremonial life must have as its basis its OWN principles, and must certainly not surrender its own character if it is to keep from degenerating into an insipid, meaningless but novel performance, which can bring to positive religion not benefit, but only injury.

If, however, Confirmation is based on our own religious ideas, if the forms connected with it move within the circle of those ideas, then its introduction would appear to be not only permitted, but indeed a sacred duty.

That a girl after her 12th birthday, and a boy after his 13th, are religiously of age and accountable for their deeds, and enter formally into the obligations of the Divine Mosaic Law, is evident from many passages in the Mishnah and the Gemara, and firmly founded on Jewish tradition.

That the entrance into their new state is of great importance

for boys and girls is very evident. It is our responsibility to impress them with every means at our command with the importance of this entrance, and to make them remember it by making a lasting impression upon them. We must show them in a way appealing to soul and mind that they should consider this moment as good fortune, yes, as highest good fortune, as a very special gift of God, upon which their eternal bliss depends.

We must at this time seek to imbue them, with all our powers, with love and joy for their religion, particularly because OUR religion is subject to so many attacks and hindrances. Confirmation understood in this way, and carried out with suitable forms - who could consider it bad?

In former times also people were concerned with this matter. Parents made the Sabbath next after their son passed his 13th birthday a festive joyous day, in which customarily relatives and friends took part. The youth read in the synagogue a Sedra or Parasha from the Torah, and at the festive meal gave some sort of speech ("Drusch"); this sufficed for the edification of the youth, considering the circumstances then pertaining, and its worth certainly ought not be denied.

But in our time these formalities alone do not suffice, considering the metamorphosis in education and instruction, and, we cannot deny, considering the growing levity toward religion. One must now seek to work on the youth and adults alike, upon their hearts and souls, with all energy, in a way suitable to modern educational standards. We must do this if benefit and love for religion are to be instilled. In this regard, now, more than formerly, attention must be paid to the female sex.

With this in mind, I have now, for some ten years, since not long after assuming my duties here in Bamberg, conducted a Confirmation ceremony in the following manner:

The ceremony is begun by me with a short address to the youth on the Sabbath next after his 13th birthday, in which, among other things, the importance of the day for him is impressed upon his heart. Then follows an examination covering the most important beliefs and duties of the Mosaic religion. After this examination, the youth is questioned by the rabbi:

Rabbi: "Are you inwardly convinced of the truths of our holy faith?"

Youth: "I am inwardly convinced of the truths of our holy faith."

Rabbi: "Do you know that you are bound to continue in this faith as long as you live?"

Youth: "I know that I am bound to continue in this faith as long as I live."

- Rabbi: "Do you wish lovingly to live according to this faith, and to die in this faith?"
- Youth: "I wish lovingly, etc."
- Rabbi: "Are you determined faithfully to fulfill all duties which this faith lays upon you?"
- Youth: "Yes, I am determined faithfully to fulfill all duties which this faith lays upon me."
- Rabbi: "Now declare your heart's feelings, your prayers and desires, here before the omnipresent God, before your estimable parents, before this noble assembly, and call on your All Good Creator for His gracious support."

The youth now speaks the following words, standing in a suitable attitude, with upraised eyes:

"With Thy help, O Lord, the course of my childhood has ended. With my heart filled and moved with thankfulness, I look to Thee today, merciful Master of my fate, Who called me into life and sustained me therein and protected me throughout the many perils which attend childhood, and cared for me until now by means of good parents, who provided me with shelter, sustenance and clothing and life's other needs, and who caused me to be instructed by teachers who strove for my benefit to teach me Thy holy religion and other needful things.

If I have sinned in the past, if I have offended Thee, righteous God, or my parents, teachers or fellow-men, thus repaying Thy bounty with evil, then it happened out of childish thoughtlessness or ignorance; I regret it now; and Thou, good Father, hast indulgence for the inevitable weaknesses of Thy children, and forgivest them.

I come now to the years of religious majority, and from now on am answerable for my dealings, my commissions and omissions, to Thy righteous, omniscient seat of judgment. I have learned to know Thy holy will; it has been told me what is right and good, what is wrong and wicked. I have, through freedom of the will, wherewith Thou hast, for his benefit, distinguished man, the power to do good and shun evil. Thou Thyself hast admonished us in Thy Holy Scriptures to chose the eternal good. O, so strengthen me, loving Father, in these resolutions which now, omnipresent One, I declare before Thee, that I follow Thy divine counsel, and, instead of acting and living according to my own evil inclinations and desires, always follow Thy will, which is so wholesome for us, yea, Thy laws and precepts.

I was born into the house of Israel which Thou, Lord, hast chosen to spread Thy glorious Name and for making known Thy unitary, all-powerful Essence. Thou didst name Israel a kingdom of priests, and Thou didst covenant with them to lead a particular holy way of life. I recognize this unusual bounty with deep feelings of thankfulness. I recognize also my duty, stemming

from the indissoluble covenant which Thou didst establish with our fathers, of recognizing Thee as Father of all, of honoring Thee alone as Divine, of extending Thy fame, and of living in accordance which Thou, O Father, didst reveal through Thy true servant Moses.

the laws

The true fulfillment of this holy duty, upon which our bliss depends, shall always be before my eyes. This shall be my goal in life, my comfort and hope in death.

Yes, I am Thine, O God! and always wish to remain so. I wish always to love Thee as our only God and heavenly Father, to love Thee with childlike love, to have Thine omnipresence a real fact before my eyes, and to let my whole life be governed by fear of God. I will also love my fellow-men according to Thy Divine mandate, will live with them in peace and unity, will do no wrong unto them, but will do good to them insofar as I am able, for this is a holy pleasing service unto Thee.

Strengthen me in these resolves, All Good One! Protect me from all perils which could sever me from Thee, and grant me wisdom and strength to withstand temptations and to triumph over all worldly and human corruption. Let Thy goodness, Lord, always lead me, so long as I cleave unto Thee, so that I, while here on earth, will never forsake the path of religion and virtue, and one day will be a sharer in the unending blessedness of the kingdom of eternity, which Thou hast promised to them that honor Thee. Amen."

After the end of this speech, which always evokes extraordinary feelings, to the point of tears, the rabbi bestows his blessing upon the youth, with a few short reminders and with laying on of hands; therewith the ceremony is ended.

The parents are also permitted to have the youth read a Parasha from the Torah in the synagogue. Girls, after passing their twelfth birthday, are paired with the next boy who will undergo the ceremony. In this case, or when it happens that several youths celebrate their "Bar Mitzvah" together, each participant speaks but a portion of the foregoing speech, and "I" is changed to "We". In the country synagogues I have the religious teachers take care of this matter. Gratifying is the ready acceptance which it finds there, and the good impression which it makes everywhere.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. EB III, 234
2. Eckstein, KJE, 2
3. EJ III, 1176f
4. Eckstein, KJE, 3
5. Klein, SWR, 202
6. JE II, 604; EJ III, 1179
7. JE II, 604
8. EJ III, 1181
9. EJ III, 1180
10. Eckstein, KJE, 15
11. do.
12. Eckstein, KJE, 22
13. Eckstein, KJE, 22f
14. Evidently only the heads of families were required to register.
15. Ueber die Emancipation, 51-60
16. Klein, SWR, 204
17. Eckstein, JKB, 36
18. JE V, 335f; EJ VI, 918
19. EJ III, 1180
20. Eckstein, KJE, 23f
21. Klein, SWR, 205
22. Eckstein, JKB, 36

23. Kraemer, SWR, 18
24. Eckstein, KJE, 8
25. Eckstein, KJE, 14
26. Kraemer, GJB, 146
27. Klein, SWR, 202
28. Marcus, 64
29. Kraemer, SWR, 17; Marcus, 54
30. Klein, SWR, 202

CHAPTER II

1. According to no. 4 of the Edict of 1813, the name "Rosenfeld" was probably not adopted until that year. cf. Kraemer, SWR, 16
2. Rosenfeld, Tempelhalle, iii; Eckstein, JKB, 61
3. Kraemer, SWR, 16
4. Klein, SWR, 202f
- 4a. Kraemer, SWR, 16
5. Eckstein, JKB, 61; Klein, SWR, 203
6. EJ V, 1127, under article "Dischbeck"; other less probable dates given are: 1715-1793 (EJ III, 979) and JE IV, 614, which states he was born ca. 1744. He died in Baiersdorf.
7. EJ V, 1127; JE IV, 614
8. JE IV, 614; Kayserling, 414; Fuerst I, 209
9. Klein, SWR, 203
10. Fuerst I, 209; JE IV, 614
11. Kraemer, SWR, 16, where, however, he is called Rabbi Samson Selke. Kraemer evidently confuses Salomo Samson with Samson ben Judah Selke, who was rabbi of Baiersdorf and Baireuth for a period ending 1687 (JE II, 609). Selke

could hardly have been Mrs. Rosenfeld's father. Rosenfeld himself tells us his mother's maiden name was Samson, making no mention of the name "Selke" (Tempelhalle, iii).

12. EJ III, 979; Kraemer, SWR, 16
13. Rosenfeld, Tempelhalle, iii
14. Klein, SWR, 203
15. Kraemer, SWR, 16
16. Klein, SWR, 203
17. Kraemer, SWR, 16
18. Rosenfeld, Mémoire, 13
19. See Appendix C
20. From private records of the Rosenfeld family
21. R and M, ix; Eckstein, JKB, 62
22. The Occident XII, Sept., 1854, 315ff; XII, Oct., 1854, 401ff
23. Kraemer, SWR, 16f
24. For a discussion on the date of Rosenfeld's birth, see Appendix B. For a discussion of my sources, see Appendix A.
25. Klein, SWR, 202
26. Kraemer, SWR, 18f; Klein, SWR, 203
27. Kraemer, SWR, 19
28. "Maharsho" is Rabbi Samuel Idlis, a talmudic commentator.
29. Kraemer, SWR, 20
30. Kraemer, SWR, 20f
31. JE X, 476; Klein, SWR, 203
32. JE II, 625f
33. Klein, SWR, 203

34. Kraemer, SWR, 21
35. do.; Eckstein, JKB, 60. He may have been only 18 (cf. Klein, SWR, 203). Kraemer (this reference) says he stayed only 2 1/2 years in Fuerth, and left in the 'nineties. According to this theory, he would have had to return several years later to receive his "hatarah", which seems improbable.
36. Eckstein, JKB, 60; Kraemer, SWR, 21
37. Klein, SWR, 203
38. Klein, SWR, 203f; Eckstein, JKB, 61; Kraemer, SWR, 21
39. Kayserling, 415
40. EB XXIII, 697
41. Klein, SWR, 204
42. do.; EB X, 92
43. Marcus, 71
44. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 52, footnotes
45. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 30, footnote
46. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 43; cf. Marcus, 88
47. Marcus, 8
48. Kraemer, SWR, 21
49. Eckstein, JKB, 57f; Kraemer, SWR, 21; JE X, 476. The statement of Kayserling, 415, that he became rabbi in Uehlfeld in 1817, and that of Klein, SWR, 205, that he took this position shortly before 1819, are erroneous.
50. Klein, SWR, 205; Kraemer, SWR, 21; Eckstein, JKB, 61f
51. Kraemer, SWR, 21; JE X, 476
52. Kraemer, SWR, 22; Eckstein, JKB, 57f; Klein, SWR, 205. The supposition of Klein that the school existed before Rosenfeld became rabbi is erroneous.
53. Philipson, 18f

54. Eckstein, JKB, 57f
55. Marcus, 19
56. Marcus, 21f
57. cf. Marcus, 46f, 64
58. Eckstein, JKB, 57ff; Kraemer, SWR, 22. We do not know whether this book was ever completed or published.
59. Kraemer, SWR, 22
60. The picture is in my family's possession. To the best of my knowledge it has never been published.
61. A later picture contained in Eckstein, JKB, opp. p. 88, (it is a small photograph) shows Rosenfeld aged 60-70, and is not nearly so striking. It is too small to be of much help. Incidentally, he wrote, according to the only specimen of his handwriting we have (in the family), dated 1840, a clear, firm German script. After the custom of his time, he signed his name in our western script, simply as "Rosenfeld."
62. Kraemer, SWR, 25; a further account of this affair and the Loewi controversy is found in Stein, 1853, 184. See also Kayserling, 415.
63. Klein, SWR, 210, believes the phrase was Mendelssohn's. Jacobson held a similar view: "...all faiths which honor an Eternal Being are in reality sisters..." (Marcus, 58).
64. Kraemer, SWR, 25f; Klein, SWR, 210
65. Kraemer, SWR, 26f; Klein, SWR, 210
66. Stein, 1853, 184, says 1829.
67. Klein, SWR, 210
68. Kraemer, GJB, 118; JE VIII, 196. Eckstein, JKB, 82, errs in stating that Rosenfeld was first chosen by the directors, and then rejected by the state.
69. JE VIII, 196; Klein, SWR, 212; Eichstaedt, 114
70. Klein, SWR, 212
71. Eckstein, JKB, 49

72. Eckstein, JKB, 55f
73. Eckstein, JKB, 59
74. Kraemer, SWR, 27
75. JE X, 476; Klein, SWR, 212; Kraemer, SWR, 23; Eckstein, JKB, 59
76. Eckstein, JKB, 59
77. Eckstein, JKB, 60
78. Klein, SWR, 212; Kraemer, SWR, 23; Eckstein, JKB, 59, says Bayreuth.
79. Klein, SWR, 212
80. Kraemer, SWR, 23
81. Eckstein, JKB, 59f
82. Eckstein, JKB, 59
83. Eckstein, JKB, 65
84. Eckstein, JKB, 107
85. ZRIJ, 356
86. EB III, 14; Ersch-Gruber, art. "Bamberg"; Eckstein, JKB, 64
87. Ersch-Gruber, art. "Bamberg."
88. Eckstein, JKB, 63
89. EJ III, 1011
90. Klein, SWR, 212
91. Eckstein, JKB, 61
92. Kraemer, SWR, 27
93. Klein, SWR, 212
94. Eckstein, JKB, 61f; Kraemer, SWR, 28
95. Eckstein, JKB, 62-68; Kraemer, SWR, 28
96. Eckstein, JKB, 78f

97. Kraemer, SWR, 27ff
98. Eckstein, JKB, 79ff
99. Eckstein, JKB, 81f; Johlson, viif
100. Johlson, viii
101. Eckstein, JKB, 82
102. Kraemer, SWR, 29
103. Eckstein, JKB, 81; Kraemer, SWR, 29
104. Eckstein, JKB, 81
105. Jost I, 132
106. Kraemer, SWR, 28
107. Kraemer, SWR, 30
108. JE I, 616
109. JE IX, 236
110. Rosenfeld, Fueellhorn, no. 39
111. Rosenfeld, Fueellhorn, no. 28
112. Eckstein, JKB, 62
113. Eckstein, JKB, 67
114. Kraemer, SWR, 28
115. do.; Eckstein, JKB, 101
116. Eckstein, JKB, 102f
117. Eckstein, JKB, 111; do., 109; Kraemer, SWR, 28
- 117a. JE II, 455; EJ III, 979
118. EJ III, 1011; Eckstein, JKB, 113
119. Eckstein, JKB, 113
120. Kraemer, SWR, 31; Eckstein, JKB, 107. Ottenstein, formerly of Gunzenhausen, was elected teacher and "baal tefillah" in Bamberg in August, 1854.

121. Klein, SWR, 212
122. Kraemer, SWR, 30; Klein, SWR, 213; Eckstein, JKB, 82
123. Kraemer, SWR, 23, 30
124. Klein, SWR, 213
125. Eckstein, JKB, 82
126. Kraemer, SWR, 31
127. Klein, SWR, 214; Kraemer, SWR, 31f
128. Kraemer says 8 P. M.
129. Klein, SWR, 214; Kraemer, SWR, 31f; Eckstein, JKB, 113; AZJ, May 15, 1862, news item from Bamberg.
130. The sources say 80 and 82. See Appendix B.
131. Kraemer says 9 A. M.
132. Klein, SWR, 214; Kayserling, 416; Kraemer, SWR, 32; AZJ, ref. as given in note 129.

CHAPTER III

1. Eckstein, JKB, 83
2. Kraemer, SWR, 24
3. EB III, 234
4. Eckstein, KJE, 31; Klein, SWR, 204
5. Jost I, 114; Eckstein, KJE, 35
6. Eckstein, KJE, 35; Jost I, 123f. Eckstein surely errs in stating that Lips wrote IN FAVOR of the Jews.
7. Klein, SWR, 205
8. Kraemer, SWR, 24f; Klein, SWR, 205f; Eckstein, KJE, 35; UJE II, 119. It was reprinted in Jedidja II, 243-265. Fuerst III, 169 erroneously says the "Denkschrift" was published in Erlangen, and adds, perhaps correctly, that it was reprinted in Munich in 1839.
9. Kayserling, 415

10. Klein, SWR, 209
11. Klein, SWR, 206
12. Jost I, 113
13. Sulamith 1819 (5th yr., 12th pamphlet), 413ff
14. Jost I, 113f
15. Rosenfeld, Denkschrift, 3-24
16. Klein, SWR, 209.
17. do.; Kraemer, SWR, 24. Fuerst III, 169, erroneously states it was published in Fuerth. Liberal quotations are given in Sulamith (same ref. as note 13).
18. Jost I, 116
19. Rosenfeld, Beleuchtung, 3-16
20. Kraemer, SWR, 24; Klein, SWR, 210
21. Klein, SWR, 210. He errs, however, when he states that the efforts of the Jewish delegation were in vain.
22. Eckstein, KJE, 36
23. Jost I, 116
24. Eckstein, KJE, 36; Jost I, 116f
25. Klein, SWR, 210; Kraemer, SWR, 24
26. M and M, 635; Eckstein, KJE, 36
27. Eckstein, KJE, 36
28. Jost I, 123f; Klein, SWR, 210f; Kraemer, SWR, 24f
29. cf. Marcus, 33, 39, 62
30. Rosenfeld, Mémoire, 2-43
31. Kraemer, SWR, 24; Klein, SWR, 210f
32. Jost I, 124; M and M, 636
33. Eckstein, JKB, 52f
34. Jost I, 132f; Kraemer, GJB, 119. Kraemer dates the decree JANUARY 28th.

35. Klein, SWR, 211; EB III, 234
36. Eckstein, JKB, 86
37. Elbogen, 42f; Eckstein, JKB, 87
38. Eckstein, JKB, 87
39. do.; Eckstein, Emanzipationsbestrebungen, 260
40. Otho, son of Ludwig I had, in 1832, been made king of the new Greek kingdom. cf. EB, art. "Greece."
41. Eckstein, Emanzipationsbestrebungen, 260ff
42. Eckstein, KJE, 50; Eckstein, JKB, 89f. See further, Chapter IV.
43. Eckstein, JKB, 90
44. do.
45. Eckstein, KJE, 59
46. Eckstein, Emanzipationsbestrebungen, 265f
47. Eckstein, JKB, 90; Eckstein, KJE, 62f
48. Eckstein, KJE, 59ff
49. Eckstein, JKB, 91
50. Eckstein, JKB, 92
51. do.; Eckstein, KJE, 63f
52. Eckstein, JKB, 92; Eckstein, KJE, 64; EB III, 234
53. Frankel in ZRIJ, 25, 236
54. Klein in ZRIJ, 313; Kraemer, SWR, 29
55. Klein in ZRIJ, 313f.
56. cf. Marcus, 60
57. Philipson, 215
58. Kraemer, SWR, 29
59. Eckstein, KJE, 70; Eckstein, JKB, 93

60. Klein in ZRIJ, 314
61. Eckstein, JKB, 94, probably errs when he states 1845.
62. Eckstein, KJE, 78
63. Eckstein, JKB, 94; Kraemer, SWR, 29; Eckstein, KJE, 78; Eichstaedt, 116. Fuerst III, 169 errs when he states this was published at Fuerth.
64. Eichstaedt, 116; Klein, SWR, 211
65. Klein, SWR, 211
66. Eichstaedt, 116; Eckstein, JKB, 94.
67. Kraemer, SWR, 29, is undoubtedly confused when he says Rosenfeld's 1846 petition failed for lack of a member of the Diet to sponsor it. He must have been thinking of the 1843 petition, with which this was indeed the case.
68. Eckstein, Emanzipationsbestrebungen, 474; Eckstein, KJE, 81
69. Eckstein, JKB, 95f; Eckstein, KJE, 82
70. Eckstein, KJE, 82; Klein, SWR, 211; Eckstein, JKB, 95
71. Eckstein, KJE, 82f; Elbogen, 11
72. EB III, 234
73. Eckstein, JKB, 96
74. Eckstein, JKB, 96f
75. Elbogen, 11
76. Eckstein, KJE, 85-98; Eckstein, JKB, 97; EB III, 234
77. Eckstein, KJE, 101
78. Elbogen, 12
79. do.; Klein, SWR, 211; Eckstein, KJE, 125

CHAPTER IV

1. Kraemer, SWR, 21f; cf. Marcus, 75
2. Kraemer, SWR, 21

3. Kraemer, SWR, 22; cf. Marcus, 76
4. Kraemer, SWR, 22
5. do.; Trachtenberg 36f, 101, 169, 280f; JE I, illustrations on p. 549 and opp. p. 548.
6. Kraemer, SWR, 22; JE X, 476
7. Zunz, 471n
8. Philipson, 23
9. Philipson, 24; in JQR XV, 491, he says 1808; JE VI, 456, says 1806; Maybaum, 17, says 1808; Zunz, 475, says 1812. cf. Joseph, 125
10. JE VI, 456; Philipson, 49
11. Kayserling, 414; Zunz, 480f, errs when he states that Rosenfeld preached only occasionally in German (cf. this study, p. 34); but he correctly cites Rosenfeld as one of only a handful who, even at that later date (1832) were preaching in German.
12. Kayserling, 414
13. Zunz, 476n; Kayserling, 414
14. Philipson, 43
15. Quoted in Eckstein, JKB, 103
16. Zunz, 476n; Kayserling, 415, errs in saying this was 1819.
17. Kraemer, SWR, 23
18. Jedidja I, 113; also quoted in Tempelhalle by Rosenfeld, p. 98f.
19. Eichstaedt, 189; Fuerst III, 169. Both are incorrect in giving 1820 as the year of publication. That it was not published at Uehlfeld, as indicated in the H. U. C. Library catalogue, is evident from the publisher's notice (Rosenfeld, Tempelhalle, 100) where it is stated that Rosenfeld was not at the place of printing.
20. Rosenfeld, Tempelhalle, ii
21. Rosenfeld, Tempelhalle, 24; not in Uehlfeld, as stated in the H. U. C. Library catalogue.

22. Eckstein, JKB, 23; 51f
23. Kraemer, SWR, 23
24. I do not suppose the rabbi's wife enjoyed all the excitement, since she was eight months pregnant with my great-grandfather at the time!
25. EJ III, 1191, says it was built in 1696.
26. Kraemer, SWR, 22
27. cf. Marcus, 70f
28. cf. Marcus, 76
29. Rosenfeld, Tempelhalle, passim; R and K, passim
30. Marcus, 95f
31. cf. Marcus, 75
32. Kraemer, SWR, 27f
33. Eckstein, JKB, 74ff; Kraemer, SWR, 29
34. Rosenfeld, Mispad, 18
35. EJ X, 243; JE IV, 219; Marcus, 78
36. Eckstein, JKB, 75f
37. Syn-Ord, passim
38. cf. Marcus, 90
39. Jost I, 143; Kraemer, GJB, 127ff; Kraemer, SWR, 27; JE II, 609
40. So-called "SHOBBIM TeT", which means the Mondays and Thursdays of the weeks when the following Torah portions were read: Shemot, Va-era, Bo, Beshallah, Yitro, Mishpatim, Terumah and T'zaveh.
41. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 52
42. LO, no. 20, 307f; AZJ, 1840, no. 25, 366ff; no. 29, 420f; Kraemer, SWR, 28
43. LO, no. 25, 389-392

44. Kraemer, SWR, 30; Kraemer, GJB, 135; Eckstein, KJE, 69; JE IV, 211f; Philipson 202, 206, 225ff, 232, 268, 271
45. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 30
46. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 41
47. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 48
48. Kraemer, SWR, 28f; cf, Marcus, 100
49. Klein, SWR, 213f; Kraemer, SWR, 27; Kayserling, 415
50. Klein, SWR, 214
51. cf. Marcus, 50ff, 66ff, 81, 84, 90, 96
52. Marcus, 15, 102
53. Marcus, 13
54. ZRLJ II, 356

CHAPTER V

1. Eckstein, JKB, 82
2. Fuerst III, 169
3. Kraemer, SWR, 23, 30
4. Eckstein, JKB, 82
5. Kayserling, 416
6. cf. Marcus, 69
7. Marcus, 9f
8. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, nos. 35, 36, 37
9. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 43
10. Maybaum, 373
11. Rosenfeld, Mispad, 3-17
12. Eckstein, JKB, 84
13. Eckstein, JKB, 103

14. Kayserling, 416-418
15. Eckstein, JKB, 83
16. ADB XLV, 449ff; RPTK XXI, 730ff
17. Klein, SWR, 213
18. Kayserling, 415f; Hess, both eds., passim
19. Eckstein, JKB, 83; Klein, SWR, 213
20. Klein, SWR, 213
21. Kraemer, SWR, 30
22. Eckstein, JKB, 83
23. Not Bendelsohn, as in Eckstein, JKB, 83, and Klein, SWR, 213.
24. JE III, 4
25. Bendetsohn, 6
26. cf. Marcus, 93
27. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 30
28. Rosenfeld, Stunden II, 1834 ed., iii-vi
29. Rosenfeld, Stunden II, 1834 ed., 105-118
30. Rosenfeld, Stunden II, 1834 ed., 178-191
31. Rosenfeld, Stunden III, 1834 ed., 88-101
32. Rosenfeld, Stunden IV, 1834 ed., 1-15
33. Rosenfeld, Stunden IV, 1834 ed., 240-252
34. Rosenfeld, Stunden IV, 1834 ed., 30-40
35. The Occident, XII, Oct., 1854, 401ff
36. JE IX, 620, errs in calling it a fortnightly.
37. Eckstein, JKB, 83f, and Kraemer, SWR, 30f, err in saying it was published at Dinkelsbuehl.
38. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 27
39. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 52 (Dec. 23). See also: Eckstein, JKB, 83f; Klein, SWR, 212; and Kraemer, SWR, 30f.

40. A footnote in Fuellhorn, no. 37, refers to an article in no. 52 of 1835.
41. According to the "Union Serial List", the only copy of "Das Fuellhorn" for 1835 to be found in a U. S. or Canadian library is in the New York City Public Library, where one may consult it. It will not be mailed out.
42. Kraemer, SWR, 30f
43. JE IX, 603. JE IX, 620, goes too far when it calls the paper "Reform." "Modern", "enlightened" or "educational" would be more apt.
44. The well-known and long-lasting "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums", first edited by Rabbi Ludwig Philippson, was started in 1837, the year after "Fuellhorn" ceased publication.
45. Kraemer, SWR, 30f; Kraemer, GJB, 126f
46. Marcus, 84
47. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 28
48. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 37; in 1835, no. 52.
49. Eckstein, KJE, 50; in 1836
50. Eichstaedt, 115; in 1836, no. 9 and no. 10; cf. Marcus, 36
51. JE X, 360ff
52. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, no. 29
53. cf. Marcus, 98; Philipson, 49
54. Rosenfeld, Fuellhorn, nos. 27-52

CHAPTER VI

1. Eckstein, JKB, 57ff
2. Quoted in Eckstein, JKB, 103
3. He became Archbishop in 1858. cf. CE II, 245.
4. Quoted in Eckstein, JKB, 98f

5. Monatsschrift XI, 282
6. AZJ, from news item dated Bamberg, May 15, 1862
7. EJ III, 1011
8. Eckstein, JKB, 85
9. Eckstein, JKB, 74
10. ADB, XXIX, 207
11. Kraemer, GJB, 117
12. Kraemer, SWR, 32
13. Sinai VII, no. 7 (Aug., 1862), p. 204
14. The Israelite IX, no. 3 (July 18, 1862)
15. Marcus, 61

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

ADB:	Allgemeine deutsche Biographie
AZJ:	Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums
CE:	Catholic Encyclopedia
EB:	Encyclopedia Britannica
EJ:	Encyclopaedia Judaica
GJB:	Zur Geschichte der Juden in Bayern
JE:	Jewish Encyclopedia
JKB:	Die Jsrael. Kultusgemeinde Bamberg
JQR:	Jewish Quarterly Review
KJE:	Der Kampf der Juden um ihre Emanzipation in Bayern
LO:	Literaturblatt des Orients
M and M:	Marx, Alexander, and Margolis, Max Leopold
R and K:	Rosenfeld, Samson Wolf, and Kohn, Moses Lazarus
R and M:	Riegler, Georg, and Martinet, Adam
RPTK:	Realencyklopaedie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche
SWR:	Rabbiner Samson Wolf Rosenfeld
Syn-Ord:	Synagogen-Ordnung der israelitischen Cultus-Gemeinde...
UJE:	Universal Jewish Encyclopedia
ZRIJ:	Zeitschrift fuer die religioesen Interessen des Judenthums

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