

JEWISH ATTITUDE to the NON-JEW as CONTAINED IN SEFER HASSIDIM.

BY

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To the sacred memory of my mother this essay is lovingly dedicated.

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The writer of this essay is indebted especially to Dr. Guedemann's *Erziehungswesens* for much of the introductory material in this thesis.

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Chapter One.

The General Attitude of the Jew toward the non-Jew.

The Jewish attitude toward the non-Jew as it is found in Jewish literature must be kept in mind when any work which deals with the non-Jew is to be considered. This disposition in general may be said to be very hostile at times toward the non-Jew, and at other times it urges tolerance, respect and love for the Gentile brother. The attitude is never hostile simply because one is born a non-Jew and professes another faith. It is the idolatrous practices bound up with that faith, the character of the daily life in all of its details that govern the biblical and post-biblical decisions as to the disposition which one is to maintain toward the Gentile. The non-Jew as part of the great human family can only be loved as a brother. The non-Jew as an exponent of that which is not moral can only be censured, even as the adherent of the Jewish faith is to be reprimanded when he does not live in accordance with the moral precepts of his religion.

For the continuation of righteousness and morality on earth, the main consideration of all the Jewish writers who are concerned with Jewish ethics, is neither Jew nor Gentile, but observers of the law or non-observers. Most of the regulations and laws concerning the non-Jew are to be explained on this ground, and have their origin not in hatred for the Gentile, but in that which was necessary for the preservation of Judaism itself.

For this reason, human life and Jewish life in particular sometimes necessitated strict rules of conduct for a person who comes in contact with a Gentile; but on the other hand, we cannot fail to note a liberal and kindly spirit to worthy non-Jews in both the biblical and post-biblical literature. In the case of the prophets, for instance, the object of their ideals and aspirations and hopes is not Israel alone, but humanity. Many of the biblical characters, who are exemplary of the highest degree of righteousness and nobility of character, are non-Jews. Moreover there is a growing spirit of friendliness and recognition of the virtues of the non-Jew as the centuries advance. This is probably due to the increasing sense of righteousness in the Gentiles themselves.

We may now consider in more detail the Jewish attitude to the non-Jew before and after the time of Judah Hassid.

A. Before and About the Time of Judah Hassid.

In the earliest books of the bible, we find mention of dealings with the stranger and rules of conduct towards him. The sentiment of Judges 5:31, "Let all thy enemies perish oh Lord," may be taken as an example of an hostile attitude toward one not of Israel. This feeling however grew out of the belief that an enemy of the people was an enemy of the God of the people, a view which Israel shared together with other primitive folk. David sends spoil to the elders of Israel saying, "Behold a present for you of the

spoil of the enemies of the Lord." (I.Sam. 30:26). Deborah's curse is likewise, "Because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." (Judges 5:23). Ezra and Nehemiah felt that the law must be thoroughly observed because the people were in exile. Were they to follow the example of them in whose midst they dwelt, they would sink into idolatry; therefore the stranger could not be as religiously loved as the Jew.

Contrary to this view however, there are numerous instances in the Bible of respect for the non-Jew as part of humanity. He is often spoken of as, "Thy brother", "the stranger", and "one not of thy own people." The cases which admonish love and honorable treatment for the stranger outnumber those which emphasize disregard and oppression of him; so that we have further proof that the non-Jew as part of humanity is to be dealt with fairly and honorably. He is not to be supported only insofar as he is an hindrance to the religion of Israel.

The following illustrations from the Bible may be taken as examples of the merciful attitude that the Jew is to have for the non-Jew: God loves the stranger. (Deut. 10:18 and Ps. 146:9). In the case of the psalm just quoted, we see how God succours the stranger, although he meets out punishment for "the way of the wicked." The native born is required to love the stranger, remembering, "Ye were strangers

in the land of Egypt" (Lev. 19:33-34). There should be one law and one statute for the native born and the stranger, "Ye shall have one manner of law as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country" (Numbers 9:14; 15:16,29; Ex. 12:49).

There are also a number of miscellaneous regulations for the stranger: The cities of refuge shall be for the Jew and the stranger (Numbers 35:15); the stranger is included in the rejoicing of a festival. (Deut. 16:11). The commands concerning Ammon, Moab and their descendants are more rigid because these nations were viewed as persons of illegitimate birth. (Deut. 23).

Many non-Jewish characters stand out as examples of fidelity piety and honor. Eliezer, for example, typifies a man of sterling fidelity, whilst Job stands out as an example of piety. ^{The books of} Ruth and Jona which come from the time of the exile, when Jew and non-Jew were brought in closer contact with one another, show the opposition to Ezra and Nehemiah's standpoint. Ezekiel 47:22 bespeaks a goodly inheritance and safe residence for the stranger.

The preaching and instances of the prophets were applicable to all the peoples of the earth and not Israel alone. Jeremiah was thus ordained to be a prophet to the nations. (Jer. 1:5). Among the teachings of this prophet we find, "Do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger." (Jer. 22:3). Isaiah delivered sermons to Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Persia and other nations of the ancient world. (Is. 56;

16:9; 46:18-21). Ezekiel rebukes those who oppress the stranger (22:7). Zechariah emphasizes a universal brotherly spirit, "Oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, nor the stranger, nor the poor," (Zech. 7:10). Malachi's sentiments are the same:—"And I will come near to you in judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the adulterers and those that turn aside the stranger from his right and fear not me saith the Lord." (Mal. 3:5).

Deuteronomic legislation is also reflective of the same regard for the "stranger". There shall be no work for the stranger on the sabbath, (Deut. 5:14); the tithe for the stranger (26:12); equal treatment for the Jewish and non-Jewish servant (24:14); God loveth the stranger (10:18).

Political compacts were also made with Gentile nations by a number of the kings of Israel and Judah, e.g. Asa and Ben Hadad, Uzziah and Hamath, Pekah and Resin.

The Talmudic teachers show some diversity of opinion in their attitude to the Non-Jew, the severity or leniency of their opinions being probably based on the historic conditions of the time; yet here too in general we find a tolerant attitude extended to the non-Jew consistent with the universality of Judaism itself. Following the chronological arrangement of the Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 5, p. 617ff, we refer to some of the Tannaim and Amoraim.

Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, who maintained a rigid attitude on account

of the persecutions of his own time, cites nevertheless a non-Jew as example of the command to love father and mother. Joshua ben Hananiah calls attention to the righteous among the Gentiles. Eliezer ben Azariah pays a high tribute to a heathen slave Tabi. Akiba who opposed Christianity very much; nevertheless refers to the law of Lev. 19, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself", as the fundamental proposition of religion. Meir said a non-Jew who is versed in Torah attains the rank of a high priest. Simeon ben Yohai, probably due to his own experience, is bitter to the Gentiles; but his saying "Tobh shebegoyim harog", has been modified by later authors.

The Palestinian Amoraim in accordance with the general attitude to the Gentiles, showed respect for the non-Jews as persons, but disdain for their idolatry. Joshua ben Gamliel is typical when he says, "Israel deserves censure for rejecting the good customs as well as adopting the evil ones of the Gentiles."

✓ In regard to post Talmudic opinions, we may say that as the heathen gave up their idolatrous practices, Judaism assumed a more tolerant role towards them, in accordance with the love for all man which their religion engendered. The only distinction lay in the Israelite's obligation to live in accordance with the whole moral and legal law, while the Gentile was only obliged to observe the Noachian laws.

The survival of regulations against the Gentile was due

to continual persecution, barbaric action and intolerance on the Gentiles' part. It was indeed a case of either following the Christian doctrine of non-resistance and suffer eradication in the end, or of asserting some rights which would serve to perpetuate their faith. We shall find the Sefer Hassidim reflective of this viewpoint, and from a period when persecution, at its worst, made some stringent regulations absolutely necessary.

We note also some authorities who lived about the same time as Judah Hassid. Maimonides in the "Yad" wrote:—"It is forbidden to defraud or deceive any person in business, Jew or non-Jew are to be treated alike. If a vendor of goods knows that his goods are defective, he shall inform the buyer." In the Mishnah commentary, Maimonides writes:—"What some people imagine as possible to cheat a Gentile, is wrong. The Almighty instructed us that in redeeming a Hebrew servant from a Gentile, 'he shall reckon to him that bought him', i.e. be careful so as not to cheat the Gentile. This was in Palestine where the Jews had the upper hand over the Gentile how much more at present, when they have no sovereignty over the Gentile. Moreover neglect of precept would desecrate His name."

Moses of Coucy of the thirteenth century also, writes:—"I have been preaching those exiled.... that just because our exile is so prolonged, it behooves Israel to separate from worldly vanities and cleave to the seal of the Holy One."

B. After the Time of Judah Hassid.

Judah Hassid's pupils stand out as the most important of the thirteenth century, and the truths he himself announced deserve recognition on account of the influence they had upon these and later authorities. Thus we note the same ideals he stood for emphasized after his time. For this reason it seems proper to note briefly the attitude in succeeding centuries to the non-Jew, as it is made evident by various writers.

His own pupils Eleazar of Worms, Issac ben Moses, and Baruch ben Samuel reflect his ideas most strongly.

The rabbis of the fifteenth century emphasize love and justice for all men. Joseph Albo in his *Ikkarim* says, "In regard to the biblical verse 'from the stranger thou may'st exact usury', it only means the idolater but not the 'ger Toshab' who keeps the seven laws of Noah. The "Little Book of the Pious", about 1473 states, "One should return to a Gentile anything which he may have forgotten, and one should not remind him of a debt. Any deception shown towards him is worse than eating swine's flesh."

In the sixteenth century Joseph Caro admonishes:—"Modern Gentiles are not reckoned as heathens with reference to the restoration of lost articles and other matters." (J.E.p. 625). "It is forbidden to rob or press any one whether heathen or Israelite". (Hoschen Mishpot 359) Raphael ben Gabriel writes in his *Sea Soleth* (Benedig 1579), "One should

strive after Justice as it says, 'justice, justice should'st thou pursue whether towards the non-Jew or Israelite.'

From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there are very conservative scholars who testify to the care a Jew should have in his dealings with the non-Jew. Eliezer Ashkenazi, for instance, asks recognition for the worthy non-Jew. (cf. Marx p. 27). Moses Rikbes asks a lenient interpretation of the word "Akkum" as far as the modern Christian is concerned. (Hoffmann p. 19). Similar sentiments come from Jair Hayyim Bacharach and Moses Chagiz. Said Jonathan Eybeschütz, "Only the idolaters are not called Adam." (Hoffmann p. 19). Ezekiel Landau declares all the writings concerning theft, fraud etc. make no distinction between Jew and non-Jew. (J.E. Art "gentile").

CHAPTER TWO.

Historical Conditions at the Time of Judah Hassid.

Graetz gives us the information (Vol. 6, Ch. 9) that the Jews stood in the position of "Kammerknechte" to the Kaiser. For this protection, it is true, they paid liberally, but enjoyed a better existence than their brethren in neighboring lands. (p. 270). Although this tax was not so high as in surrounding countries, it was complex enough in its nature to be considered burdensome.

They were allowed to carry weapons and helped at the siege of Worms in the thirteenth century, even fighting on the Sabbath. In Cöln about 1270 the Jews like wise showed bravery according to a verse of Gottfried Hagen. There are similar accounts in the verses of Suezkind von Trimberg. (Güdemann pp. 136, 137.).

The command for the Jews not to have Christian servants caused them to settle more and more in the cities and pursue trades, especially money lending. In 1194 A Jew deranged in mind caused the death of a Christian girl, in consequence of which many Jews were murdered, among them being Samuel ben Natronai. The immediate family of the murderer had to accept baptism as the means of saving their lives; as for the rest of the Jewish community, they were fined heavily for the evil deed, and then fined a second time for further protection. All this was with the knowledge of the local prince. Two years later a similar scene was enacted in Speyer with the knowledge of the bishop there. Similar murderous scenes took place in Wien. Among the homes

that were attacked was that of Eleasar ben Jehudah^{of Worms} author of the Ro-
keach .

The belief that the Jews used Christian blood also led to much persecution. Graetz cites a case where a Christian woman was found dead aboard a certain ship and of the blame and suffering of the Jews in consequence of the same. Moreover for the full support of the crusades, monarchs and bishops levied on the Jews.

Correctly concludes Graetz (Vol. 6 p.275), the Jews of Germany could not develop a favorable culture or pursue peaceful careers. They were deeply religious however, benevolent, hospitable to the stranger, "unterstutzen einander und die zugewanderten Fremden mit allem was sie besassen" (ibid p. 275).

In their religion they found, as they had to find, their comfort; but it was a religious speculation which the oppressed mind and the depressed spirit, found more of an outlet in Talmudic speculation than in creative and original work of their own. Although the crusades proved to be disastrous for the Jews, causing loss of life, forced baptism, and hardships for individual communities; yet Gudemann (p. 128) is able to see beneficent results as far as the religious life of the Jews was concerned. As a natural result their faith in their religion became strengthened, and made them perseverant in spite of restrictions.

When we consider the cause for this almost fanatical spiritu-

spirituality, it can hardly be called a "blessing in disguise". The crusaders, tired of murder, expressed their insolence in continual maltreatment and oppression of the Jews. They had to hide the Mezusas which Christians would destroy if they found them. The crusaders endeavored to make Jewish wine unpalatable in many ways, and manufactured shameful pictures for the amusement of the mob. Even contemporary poets contributed to the disgrace of the Jews. David of Augsburg speaks of them as, "Vervluochten Volkes den ungeslahten Juden." His pupil Bertholdt called them: "Dieben, Reubern, Brennern, Iuden, Heiden, Ketzern, Meineidern." He even states that the Christians only protect them to make them the object of their contempt. (Güd.p.146). In the church hymns, sung in both Latin and German, as well as in the sermons, Jews were made to be objects of contempt. (Güd. p.147). (Cf. also Stobbe p.163 for example of the Austrian poet Helbling).

Baptism was often held out to the Jews as the means of saving their life, and was in some cases purposely brought upon them by certain "informers" or tax collectors recognized by the government. Few would submit, due to their own religious zeal, and the enticement it would offer to their brethren. The Sefer Hassidim is very explicit in regard to this matter, (Cf. Ch. VI, on Conversion).

Another manifestation of Christian hatred came through the distinction of dress that the Jews were forced to observe. Pope

Innocent Third commanded: "qualitae habitus publice ab aliis populis distinguantur", with his reason that it was an act of piety to so regard the Jew. Details of the dress were changed from time to time with the result that the Jews themselves began to regard it as a necessity, and lost their natural carriage of body together with their courage. (Above quotation from Stobbe p. 173).

Naturally the Jews had to look upon their place of residence as "Gelus", and their countrymen as their taskmasters and enemy.

If we accept Graetz or Gross's view that the author of the *Sefer Hassidim* was a resident of Northern France, our historic retrospect does not change in the degree of hardship which the Jews had to endure. On the contrary, conditions in Northern France were worse than what we have found them to be in Germany. (Stobbe p. 182). After the reigns of Ludwig Sixth and Seventh, 1108-1180, the persecutions of the Jews began. At first they were sporadic, but after 1146 frequent, constant and barbaric. (Graetz 175). Peter of Clugny openly urged the king to persecute the Jews and plunder their property at the time of the second crusade.

Again if our author be Moses ~~Sir~~ Leon of Paris we have to consider Graetz's account of the Jews of Paris. The Jews were among those who were expelled from the city and had to find residence elsewhere. Philip Augustus plundered their estates and levied one

fine of 15000 marks (Graetz p. 247). The Jews were treated as mere chattel and subject to all sorts of drudgeries.

The Sefer Hassidim itself reflects the conditions of the time most clearly. One passage (P. 375, no. 1530 ed. Berlin of Wistinetzki to which edition all references are made unless otherwise specified), contains four references concerning Jewish martyrdom: (1) There were those who professed conversion ~~to Christianity~~, but did not submit themselves to be slain. (2) A case is cited of two who tried to commit suicide and when they died from this action, they were buried with those who were already slain as martyrs. (3) There is the admonition not to use a knife found in the grave of those who were slain as martyrs. (4) Do not whitewash a wall where the blood of martyrs was shed.

There are many other hints as to the conditions of the time: care as to what one says is to be observed in relating an instance where a reprimand was given to a non-Jew. (p. 56, no. 101). Several passages comment on the danger to the Jewish community if a Jew robs a Gentile, (p. 26, no. 23); p. 170, no. 634; p. 75, no. 200). Journeys along the highways were dangerous in that robbers attacked wayfarers. Thus a son warns his father not to go with the robbers and thieves, (p. 231, no. 939). Moreover if a Jew sent a Gentile far off, he ought to see that he returns safely, for if he should not return alive, they might blame all the Jews.

They had to be very cautious moreover in transporting a corpse along the highways. (p. 105, no.339). (Cf. also Graetz p.271). In those times a stranger in a town could not ask immediately for sustenance from his Jewish brethren. A certain wise man, for instance, comes to a place and engages in pranks with the children in order to get food from the latter. One time he hears a conversation between the Jewish people and the ~~70~~, but is told to keep quiet and not let them know that he is a Jew. The authorities however, do hear of him, and turn him over to the Jewish community. They mistreat him, but on learning he is a ~~learned~~ man, offer apology to him. (p.224 no.902).

Jews were sometimes captured and held for ransom. A case is noted (p.418, no.1748), as to how high they should go to ransom an ordinary man, or a "zaddik". Another case is cited of a Jew asking a merchant to ransom him from captivity at the hands of the Gentiles. (p.418, no. 1748).

Certain it is that the danger of conversion at this period was one of the greatest causes of the suffering of the Jews and there are numerous laws and regulations concerning this subject in the Sefer Hassidim. What the Jew is to do in case of subjection to conversion, and the advice of the wise men in this matter, will occupy an important chapter of this treatise. (Cf. Thesis Ch.6 pp.54-56).

It was the religion of the Jew that sustained him during these dark hours. The more the Christians were desirous of persecuting them,

the more was their religious zeal enhanced. From the most impartial viewpoint, we cannot designate the treatment toward the Jew as anything else then barbaric. As Stobbe observes, (p.182) "Es bietet kein eigentliches Interesse dar zu verfolgen, wie überall in allen Gegenden Deutschlands und der gesammten Christlichen Welt immer dieselben Greuel von den Landesherren, der Geistlichkeit und dem Pöbel begangen werden, wie immer dieselben Vorwürfe, welche ebenso wie die Anschuldigen, denen in den Hexenprocessen Tausende zum Opfer fielen, das beklagens-werthe Erzeugniss unglaublicher Dummheit und abgefeimter Bösheit sind, gesucht und gefunden werden um das unglückliche Volk zu peinigen und zu martern."

CHAPTER THREE.

INTRODUCTION to the SEFER HASSIDIM.

A. Character of the age.

On account of such conditions as we have just described, we may well judge what the character of the literature of the age would be. The state of feeling resultant from the crusades, the friction between emperor and pope, the secularization and heretical opposition to the same in the church, had its effect upon all classes of people. Men began to look beyond their state of unrest and suffering to a supramundane world, an "überirdische Welt" as Gudemann happily phrases it. The Jews shared this sentiment together with other peoples of the time; perhaps to a greater degree, in that they suffered keenly at the hands of the population sated with mystical ideas themselves. At this time men began to believe in the charms and accomplishments of a mystical life, and their thought and religious speculation was decidedly of a mystical nature. Women formed orders such as the "Begarden" (Cf. Güd.p. 157) in which they devoted themselves among other things to ecstatic visions. Concerning this century Gudemann says: (Güd. p.158) "Ja man kann sagen dass die Geistesrichtungen der Bekenner beider Religionen niemals verwandter und beziehungsreicher waren, als in diesem Jahrhundert, in welchem sie im Leben sich am feindseligsten gegenueberstanden und durch die tiefste Kluft von einander geschieden waren".

In both Christian and Jewish speculation angels and demons

played a prominent role. Eleasar of Worms, a pupil of Judah Hassid wrote in his "Rokeach", that every corner of the world is full of angels and demons and every man has his angel of fate. Their interpretations of scripture were also made in as mystical way as possible. Single words and phrases were dealt with in a similar manner e.g. Bertholdt, (Güd. 164), who made the two o's of the word homo symbolic of man's eyes. R. Abraham of Cöln made the 1 symbolic of the hand stretched out in prayer..

The religious feeling of the time was representative of mystical speculation to the greatest extent, fanatical love of God, extreme humility, trite obedience to demands contrary to ordinary culture and speculation, "over belief" leading to confusion, and all this may be best described by the one word "מית'דן", and of this our Sefer Hassidim stands out as the best example (above remarks from Gúd. 175).

CHAPTER THREE

Introduction to the Sefer Hassidim .

II. Author of the Sefer Hassidim .

We are perplexed at once when we endeavor to ascribe a definite date for Juda Hassid. According to Graetz and Gross, the author died 1224 Guedemann 1216; Jewish Encyclopedia 1214; and Zunz 1217. Both Gross and Guedemann (Ber. Mag. p.173; Gúd. p. 281) assert there is no character over whom there is more association of uncertainty than Judah Hassid. He has been confused with many others and his works were subject to so much quotation, reprinting and loss of the original material that doubt as to his authorship of the works, and as to who he really was, naturally arises.

The one clear fact seems to be that his pupils stood out as the most important men of the thirteenth century. Among these were Eleasar of Worms, author of the "Rokeah", Isaac ben Moses, author of "Or Zarua", and Baruch ben Samuel of Mayence, author of "Sefer ha Hokmah".

The title "Hassid" was applied by his contemporaries and does not mean he was "ueberfromm". There are many other contemporaries who had the same title. Among them we mention, Jacob of Marvege, Jechiel ben Joseph, Pieretz of Corbeil (Gross in Ber. Mag. p. 190)

Owing to the fact that Judah Hassid's views differ in

various chapters of his books, it is also hard to pass judgment as to just what he stood for. Moreover the book has been quoted so much and, as Guedemann observes, sometimes without giving the author of the *Sefer Hassidim* credit for the quotation. We are not surprised to find some scholars who assert the material of the book was originally part of the *Sefer Hakovod*, and others who believe Judah the Pious was from Speyer or Paris and not Regensburg.

The last named is Guedemann's opinion. Graetz states that Judah sir Leon of Paris is the author of our book, basing his claim mainly on the author's use of French words. Professor Gross does not agree with either of the authorities named above but states that the author was Judah the Pious, a native of Speier. He says: (*Gallia Judaica* p. 518, 519) "On a vu que Juda (d.e. Juda ben Isaac or Juda sir Leon) est parfois appele Hassid. Cette epithete accompagne aussi souvent le nom de Juda ben Samuel de Spire, auteur du "Livre des Pieux" ou plutot du *Sefer Hakovod*.....suivis par M Graetz ont confondu Juda de Paris avec son homonyme de Spire et lui ont attribue à tort l'ouvrage sus-mentionne. Notre Juda porte très rarement le surnom de Hassid."

We note also Guedemann's interesting opinions as to the nativity of the author of the *Sefer Hassidim* and his proofs that the author was a resident of Germany. Moreover that the *Sefer Hassidim* itself is an independent work of the author. Dr. Guedemann states: - (Note 4 p.281ffp) "In dem *Buche Rokeach* des Elasar a. Worms, eines

schülers von Juda Hassid, findet sich (sect. 316 end) ein Passus, der
 mit den Worten eingeleitet wird: **עַתָּה מִי הַכְבוֹד שִׁיבֵר הָאִישׁ הַגָּדוֹל רַי יְהוּדָה**.
 Hier glaubt man also ein genaues Citat aus dem Buche Ha-Kabod ז"ל.
 vor sich zu haben, aber in der Mitte des Passus heisst es: **בֶּן שְׁמַעְתִּי**.
 Wie reimt sich das **שְׁמַעְתִּי** mit dem **עַתָּה** ז"ל.
 Die Fortsetzung wird wieder eingeführt mit den Worten **וְעַתָּה** es
 soll also abermals ein Citat mitgetheilt werden, aber woher ist dieses
 genommen? Man ist geneigt anzunehmen, dass es dem Buch ha-Kabod ange-
 höre, denn dasselbe wurde als Quelle an die Spitze gestellt, inswischen
 schliesst der Passus mit dem Worten: **רַבִּי יְהוּדָה חֲסִיד וְבִמְיַח הַכְבוֹד תִּמְצָא רֵאיוֹתָ**.
 Hier wird also wieder ein **מִתְחַבֵּר** als Quelle genannt und auf
 das B. ha-Kabod nur nebenbei Bezug genommen. Jerucham führt dieselbe
 Stelle an, und zwar hat er sie, wie der Augenschein lehrt, aus Rokeach
 entnommen, dennoch thut er des **מִתְחַבֵּר** gar keine Erwähnung, sondern am
 Anfange wie am Ende das B. ha-Kabod schlechtin als Quelle an, wozu er
 doch nach seiner Vorlage gar kein Recht hatte. Die besprochene Stelle
 findet sich auch im handschriftlichen Aussufot 156b. führt sich aber
 hier ein als "מִיִּסּוֹד" des Juda Hassid genommen. Wie verhält sich diese
 "yisod" zu dem "Mehaberes" und wie verhalten sich beide zu dem B. ha-
 Kabod, nachdem letzteres und "letzteres und "mihaberes" ausdrücklich
 von einander unterschieden zu werden? Endlich findet sich diese Stel-
 lung fast wörtlich im "Buch der Frommen" 236, 237, hier aber ist von
 einem Hinweis auf das Buch ha-Kabod, wie ihn das Buch sonst zu geben

pflegt, gar keine Rede. Kann man sich eine grössere Ungenauigkeit Willkür und Confusion denken?"

In regard to his ancestry according to the view that Judah came from Regensburg, he was descended from an old cabbalistic family that settled in Germany (J.E.) His grandfather was a scholar from Speyer and his father, also called "the pious", was president of a congregation in Speyer. About 1195 Judah, bereft of funds and probably due to persecution in Speyer, came to Regensburg where he founded a school.

If ~~Moses~~ sir Leon is to be taken as the author, we have more details as to his ancestry. According to Dr. Gross his father Isaac was descended from Raschi. His father moreover was educated at R. Tam's school at Rameru. His fatherinlaw Ab. ben Joseph was also well known as a talmudic scholar. Juda sir Leon was among those who were first to return when the permission was granted by Philip Augustus to return to Paris. He reopened the school at Paris and it was one of the leading tossafistic schools of that time. (Gross in Ber. Mag. p. 178).

Dr. Guedemann's supposition that the author is Judah the Pious of Regensburg seems the most tenable both from the title "Hassid", which Dr. Gross admits is not usually applied to Moses sir Leon of Paris and from the fact of linguistic usages peculiar to the West German and Rhinelandish authors. The author knew both French and German and used the mixture of French and German peculiar to his environment. Dr. Guedemann also remarks that the mystical notions expressed in the Sefer

Hassidim are characteristic of the Rhine country. (Güd.p. 288).

In conclusion we may say that the author announced truths and ethical doctrines which were far ahead of his time as far as their application was concerned. Though he reflects the mysticism of his age, he has given us many high ethical conceptions which are to be placed ^{beside} similar ideals of later writers. He departed from the usual custom of clinging to halachic authorities. As he says in his introduction to the Sefer Hassidim, the book is directed against learned men who spend too much time in Talmudic speculation. His purpose according to Zunz (Geschichte und Lit. p.125) was: "Das edle in dem menschlichen, das hoechste in dem Israelitischen Thun zur Geltung zu bringen, in den Andeutung der heiligen Buecher die innerste Wahrheit aufzufinden, das schien das Ziel eines Geistes zu sein, in welchem dichterisches, sittliches, und göttliches in einander verschmolzen."

concerning the Sabbath: 639-746, concerning Tefillin, Zitzit, Mezuzot, Books; sects. 747-856, concerning the Study of the Law; sects. 857-929, concerning Charity; sects. 930-970, concerning Reverence for Parents; sects. 971-1386, concerning Piety, Worship of God, Prayer, Visiting the sick etc; sects. 1387-1426 concerning Excommunication and Oaths, and an amplification of matters already discussed.

There are also some fragments of other works incorporated in the Sefer Hassidim: Sect. 30, Isaac Alfasi's "Halakot"; Sadya's "Emunot Vedeot", sect. 36; "Yerushalmi Berakot", 431; R. Nissim's "Megillat Setarim," 30-32.

The Sefer Hassidim clearly reflects the conditions of the time, and is a result of the dire plight of the Jews at the time of the second crusade. It reëchoes the oppression of Philip Augustus, the suffering and discontent growing out of the hatred which was manifested against the Jews. It preaches against asceticism, and aims to establish a life thoroughly moral in every respect, (Graetz p. 256). So there are regulations as to the dignity and efficacy of prayer, the conduct of the moneylender, daily associations and how they are to be carried on in the most ethical way, piety and good deeds, the education of children, writing, borrowing and lending of books, and the relations between the Jew and his Gentile neighbor, which form the chief subject of this treatise.

The Sefer Hassidim portrays the religious, cultural, and

educational life of the Jews of Germany and France of the thirteenth century, and in its very confusion is a clear^{reflection} of the century.

"Erhabenes und kleinliches, Schönes und Abstossendes liegen hier neben- und untereinander, Edelsteine, die unvergänglichen Glanz ausstrahlen, sind unter Gerölle verschüttet, Goldkörner unter Schlacken und Sand verstreut, duftende Blüten spriessen aus Schutt und Moder auf, das Bild frischesten Lebens neben dem^{der} Verwesung und des Todes," (Gud. p.178, 179.

Though couched in the mystical speculation which characterizes that century; though reflective of superstitions which crowded into their lives, the Sefer Hassidim nevertheless emphasizes worthy humanitarian principles, and seeks to widen the narrow Jewish life of the time with the real nobility of laws and regulations, which the author felt formed a part of Judaism.

Any arbitrary list of passages which might stand out as all-inclusive example of what the book contains, would be misleading.

The book is at its best a maze of fine thoughts; as the poet

Longfellow has said: "Varied tints all fused in one

Great mass of color, like a maze

Of flowers illumined by the sun."

The appended list however, may be suggestive of the general contents of the book:-

One's utterances are to be clean, body clean, garments clean, and

the place where one speaks is to be clean, (p.53, no.93.)

A man is known by three things: the eye in anger, strength in battle, and love in the hour of trial, (p.60, no.121.)

All who speak evil of their fellow men fall into suspicion themselves, (p.53, no.93).

Do not send your own son or daughter to one who has lost his own son or daughter, in that this will only remind him of his loss, (p.156, no.103).

Do not call on people when they are eating their meal, (p.56, no.105).

One should be careful about the disposition of his property, the amount to be given to charity etc., before his death, (p.99, no.309).

An old man would rather give his tallith to a poor righteous man, then be buried with it, (p.103, no.333).

Marriage is regarded as sacred, and not subject to any form of deception, such as a father saying: "One offered me so and so much in order to marry his son to my daughter, or to marry my son to his daughter, if it is not true, (p.102, no.388 ed. Bol).

Before you speak you are master over your tongue; after you have spoken, your tongue is master over you, (p.88, no.86).

Do not envy the great or hate the little, (p.82, no.287).

One should be careful about their choice of dwelling place, and not to live among wicked people or quarrelsome families, (p.46, no.57).

Give wine to the poor rather than to wicked men, (p.47, no.61).

One should build first a *בית לעניים*, then a synagogue,

One should endeavor to be buried in their own native land rather than in a strange place, (p.98, no.68).

One good deed deserves another, (p.46, no.46).

To die *ת"ק* wins a place in "Gan Eden", (p.86, no.274).

It is the intention and feeling that characterizes true prayer, (p.42, no.33; p.38, no.36; p.123, no.413.)

One should pray for others besides one's self, (p.119, no.394).

In prayer, such as reading the *תלמוד*, one should not have in his heart at the same time hostile feeling towards any individual, (p.123, no.413).

Teach the "Kaddish" to any one who wants to learn it, (p.100, no.314).

Do not relate bad dreams lest they come true, (p.102, no.325).

The *שמים* have influence over one's speech, (p.187, no.733).

Concerning an old house full of *ממון*, (p.354, no.1461).

If one wants to chase a dog out of the house, he should use a small stick, but not hot water; nor jam him in the door, nor hurt him with a hard club, (p.143, no.589, ed. Bol).

One should be careful to regard books with honor, (p.190, no.903, ed. Bol).

One is not to use books as sun shields, (p.190, no.909 ed. Bol).

CHAPTER FOUR.

The Guiding Principle Underlying the Relations Between Jew and Gentile.
Reasons for Total Aloofness from the non-Jew.

It was made clear in the first chapter of this treatise that the Jew has ever respected the person of the non-Jew. Intolerance has only been shown toward certain institutions of the Gentiles, and certain religious practices which endangered the high ethical standards for which Judaism stood. The Sefer Hassidim offers no contradiction to this feeling: in fact it is most explicit in praise and recommendation of the righteous Gentile. It is just as intolerant however, in its attitude towards their abominable practices, and advises in many cases as we shall see, total aloofness from the non-Jew.

The one guiding principle underlying both intolerance on the one hand, and respect and praise for the non-Jew on the other hand is promotion or interference with the high standard of moral conduct which the Sefer Hassidim emphasizes. This was indeed a standard of moral conduct distinctly contradictory to the actual occurrences which history records of that age; but it was for this very reason that such a man as Judah Hassid looked beyond the actual to the ideal. At the same time he does not fail to consider conditions as they are, and his attitude for the most part, is usually stated after a careful analysis of the sad conditions under which his people lived, and then careful admonition as to how one should conduct himself in view of these adverse conditions. True indeed the mystical and superstitious influence of his age is noticeable in the conclusions he comes to; but when we allow for

this, we do not find him impractical. "Even in the mysticism of the middle ages," as Israel Abrahams remarks (p.153), "a creditable influence is noticeable". It gave power to the imagination and became a spiritualizing force in itself. Thus Judah Hassid's ideal was the absolute preservation of the moral precepts which he felt were associated with Judaism. His interpretations of biblical and talmudic statements, of the mystic-superstitious influences of his age, and of the relations between the non-Jew and the member of Israel, are set forth from this purely basic moral point of view. "This point of view dates from the early middle ages and is easily explained," says Israel Abrahams (p.83) "Judaism demanded devout attention to all the details of life." The home especially was to be kept a sacred place. Chastity of womanhood was ever respected, and they were to be given safe conduct along the highways (I.A.p.94).

When we come to the laws and regulations which urge aloofness from the Gentile, careful analysis of each step which brings them into contact with one another, we shall understand that the rules of conduct are framed so as to preserve the righteous conduct, the high ethical standard of morality for which Judaism stands according to Judah Hassid's interpretation of the same. Israel was to be the "pure seed" referred to. (p. 279, no.1096 fr.Mid.Rab. #1).

Some of these principles which should guide the conduct of the Jew, and which would of necessity make the Jew live somewhat apart

from others of his environment, are noted.

A certain moral responsibility rested on the whole community, therefore particular care must be taken to free the innocent from suspicion as in the cases of theft (p.51, no.73,74). Mistrust of an evil person was looked upon as almost equivalent to the evil deed itself. One must therefore always take care to avoid suspicion:-

לכך לא יביא אדם את עצמו לידי חשד שאם יבא לידי חשד ולא חמא יתיר נענשין
על ידו או ילמדו ממעשיו, וגם לא יקבלו בשיוכח אותם כי יאמרו כך עשית

עליו אתה מוכיח אותו: (p.52, no.78)

When we injure one person, it is as if harm were done to the whole world, even future generations. This truth announced by Judah Hassid from the Talmud (Shabbat 37a.) deserves more than passing attention, for it has been reiterated time and again, and points moreover to a certain premium upon human life which we do not always recognize even in our own day (p. 62, no.131).

Judah Hassid is very precise in his estimation of Torah as a means for elevating human life. He calls special attention to the superior value of Torah in comparison to the dialectics of the Gentiles (p.191 no.752). In regard to such a serious matter as greeting the king, a zaddik should use discretion about interrupting his study. (194, no.772.) Hebrew is viewed as a sacred language. Therefore a case is cited of a certain old man who lengthened his life because he did speak Hebrew with wayfarers in a bath house. (p.201, no.798).

Study of Torah as is seen from the above examples, is a serious

matter; therefore unless a Gentile accepts the whole Torah with no exceptions whatever, they do not receive him into the community, nor does he live up to the ideal of *תורת ה' חמ'ם* (p.203, no.805 after Tal. *אורח חיים* 30b).

The high standard of moral conduct emphasized by Judah Hassid is reflected also in the caution to avoid doing any secular work on the sabbath, such as signing a document (p.422, no.1769).

In the matter of the purchase and preparation of food, we must naturally expect that the Jew would have to exercise care in order to live up to the traditional laws of cleanliness. On the one hand the church had forbidden its constituents to dine together with Jews. This regulation was probably a talio because the Jews themselves would not partake of Christian food. Especially in regard to the purchase of meat must the Jews be careful. In many places it was forbidden for Christians to purchase meat which was slaughtered by Jewish butchers (Cf. Stobbe p.171). The same regulation was made in regard to fish, and in the same category, Jews are forbidden to bathe with Christians (Cf. Stobbe 171).

For the maintenance of the purely moral and absolutely righteous life, we shall not be surprised in view of the regulations and conditions just named, that total aloofness is sometimes admonished by the author.

Gentile behavior towards Jews should be tolerated with a

No half way business proposition was to be tolerated with a Gentile such as borrowing money on books, the latter to remain in the Jews possession, while the Gentile shall retain the key to the place where the books are held.

If Gentiles say they will not speak of a matter such as the attack on Jews by highway robbers and where the Jews defend themselves, the Gentiles are not to be believed. The biblical verse of (1 Sam. 27:11) is quoted: "Ye shall not let live a man or woman lest they tell the Philistines." (p. 444, no. 1848)

The regulations go still further and in ways definitely restrictive, e.g. concerning the choice of a dwelling. A man is admonished not to live on a street which is a thoroughfare for the Gentiles on sabbath lest he sin in some way. (p. 163, no. 598). One should not live in a city where there are converts on account of the curses they may use in that particular place; nor where the Gentile nurses partake of unclean food: במקום היו מקללין אשה חבירתה ואיש בר מתלוקתו נשתמדו בניו, clean food: והמזובים היו מצוין לזרעם שלא ידורו באותם העיר כי רבים היו משומדים בעיר מפני הקללות ועוד גזירות מניקות ושפחות היו אוכלים בבית סמאים

(p. 348, no. 839). That this regulation is not aimed at the Gentiles out of disregard for them; but for the moral uplift of the Jews themselves, is seen from a similar statement (46, no. 57) where the name Gentile does not occur at all. Here we read a man should not live where there are quarrelsome families; nor where there is merely an atmosphere of business, for he will not be able to engage in study..

A Jew was not permitted to let a Gentile bind sacred books. (p.179,no.680). Even if there was a Gentile binder who was more expert in the work, a certain pious man would give the jew the preference. The Gentile binder would also despise the books he bound, and there might be the additional danger that he would use material left over from binding his own profane books. A modification of this regulation appears however, namely the Gentile is permitted to bind books from which they learn something and which have covers upon them: (p. 179,no.682.Cfalso note bott. of page).

There is also the warning not to let a Gentile view a corpse in the grave, and not to open the ark which contains the book of the law (p.382,no.1563).

The Jew must refrain also from studying or accepting opinions of the Gentiles. If a man hears a good opinion from a Gentile, "min" or a person who influences others to sin, he should not quote the authority of the same (p.198,no. 390). If a man learns from a teacher who becomes a convert, he shall not quote the opinions he learned from the teacher in the latter's name. (p. 198,no. 791). A wise man should not discuss Torah with a priest or wise Gentile lest they influence him to follow after them. To all these the verse of Proverbs 26:4 applies, "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou be also like unto him", (p.204 no.811). In the same way one must avoid conjurers, for even if one should ask about their conjecture, they would give a false answer. (p. 300,no.1201).

CHAPTER FIVE.

Impartial Application of the Laws and Regulations to Jews and non-Jews.

For the maintainance of upright conduct and a righteous life in in every respect, the laws and regulations just mentioned are included in the Sefer Hassidim. In a positive way however, we see that the goal of the laws and regulations is for righteous conduct on the part of both Jew and non-Jew. Often the Gentile's virtues are cited as object lessons for Israel; the gentile is to receive reward for meritorious deeds just as well as the Jew. A Jew who plans evil which happens to fall upon a Gentile is held responsible for it. Indeed all the relations between the children of men are to be honest and upright.

We note first of all the general principles which shall govern the conduct of all בני אדם. One must not relate evil of his fellow lest he fall into suspicion himself. Our text reads:

ידע כל המספר על בני אדם רע תוכל לחושרו באותו דבר רע שמספר על אחרים
שחרי אמרו כל הפוסל במומו פוסל. (p.55,no.92)

If you yourself have not sinned but your neighbor has, do not say:

"I am an angel compared to my neighbor." (p.12, no. 13). Note the con-

trast however: "If one speaks favorable of his neighbor, even the

administering angels rejoice before God". (p.55,no.93). In that

this conduct is not specifically limited to the Jew, we have no

reason to doubt that by such terms as בני אדם, חבֵר, the Gentile is

also included. At any event, there are many passages where the

Gentile is actually mentioned by name, that we may conclude such sentiments as expressed in numbers 92 and 93 are universalistic in their application.

Unrighteous conduct to a Gentile cannot be used as a reason for prosperity, even though the person in whose employ the Gentile may be, ascribes his prosperous condition to the fact that the Gentile is with him. "God executes judgment to the oppressed among Jews and Gentiles; therefore one should not steal either from a Jew or Gentile, and God's name be not profaned thereby" (p. 62, no. 1331).

In speech as well, there shall be no indication of Jewish or non-Jewish company. Thus in speaking of the praise due the righteous, whether among Jews or Gentiles, e.g. "such and such a one did such and such a good deed for Israel," one should say ב"י. (p. 199 no. 793). It is the intention of the heart that counts. "If one comes unto thee, who does not know the Hebrew language, but is God fearing; or if it is a woman, tell them they should ^{say} the prayers in the language they are accustomed to, (p. 9, no. 11). In the employment of names to a fellow man, one should not say: "If you do thus, you are not a Jew"; or "If so I am a Gentile or a convert". By the use of such phrases he causes himself to speak evil, and he should not even use them conditionally, (p. 56, no. 100. Cf. also note bott. p. 56).

Likewise anything embarrassing to the children of men

should not be spoken of in their presence as, for instance, speaking of matters pertaining to serfdom before a servant who has been set free (p. 56, no. 96 and Tal. B.M. 59b.)

Even when one gets angry at the presence of idolatry, he should weigh his anger, (p. 61, no. 125. Cf. also note bott. p. 61).

There are several laws and regulations which definitely point to the reward of virtue when found with the Gentiles. If there is a non-Jew who does something beneficial for Israel, they are able to supplicate God that he lighten his judgment upon them, (p. 385^{no.} 1571). From the Talmud our author quotes the very typical passage: "A Gentile who busys himself in studying Torah is like the high priest." He deserves more credit than one of Israel who does not study Torah. The conclusion of this passage reads:

ואל תולדו לא תבדחו יותר מישראל שאינו עוסק (p. 256, no. 1021. Cf. note)

In the same category belongs the admonition for a man to marry a virtuous proselyte, rather than one of Israel who does not possess these good qualities. (p. 279, no. 1097). In regard to the "Ger toshab" we read that a Gentile who keeps the seven laws of Noah is entitled to a place in "Gan Eden". (p. 150, no. 532). A case is cited where it is sometimes regarded as an honor to let a convert have the Sefer Torah

ופעמים שיש בבוד למשפחה שאומרים אע"פ שהוא ששומר לבו לשמים ואז מניחו

לתת לו. (p. 73, no. 190)

Many times we find that emphasis is laid upon the fact that a certain non-Jew stands out as an example of righteous conduct

in contradistinction to an unrighteous Jew.. We have noted two examples of this already. (Cf. above). Moreover we find a worthy tribute paid to a non-Jewish employer who treated his workmen well, allowing them to stop work when the sabbath came; while a Jewish employer did not grant this permission. Said a wise man, he wonders whether the Gentile or Jewish merchant will cause their establishment to be perpetuated, and their property to be inherited. The result was as the wise man expected. It was the establishment of the non-Jew that proved to be the more permanent, and which was turned over to his posterity. (p.361, no. 1499). When we reflect upon the historical conditions of Judah Hassid's time, and the bitter attitude the non-Jewish masses assumed towards the Jews, a citation such as this, stands out as absolute proof that the ethical ideals of Judaism, according to the author's interpretation of the same, were to be applied impartially to Jew and non-Jew.

Although, as Guedemann remarks, ^(p.150) the hatred against the Jews was very strong, the fear lest the name of God be profaned was still stronger. That God's name could be glorified by practicing injustice to his oppressors, did not occur to the Jews at all, even though they suffered both persecution and bitter hardships.

The author of the book goes still farther. A Jew shall not use the Gentile as an excuse for dodging the ethical principles which his religion emphasizes. The deed follows the intention of the

mind, not merely the execution of hand. Supposing a man has planned evil directly against a Gentile, and it happened to fall upon a Jew, the planner of the same is guilty. (p.67, no.158 and note bott.p.67). There is a case of a Jew who boasts of his strength, who enters into a struggle with a Gentile and slays the latter. They tell the Jew to leave the city in that it was the Gentile's intention to slay the Jew just as well. Moreover the evil results which would befall the Jewish populace would be due to the Jewish murderer. (p.68, no.156). "If a murderer flees unto thee, do not receive him whether Jew or Gentile. (p.72 no.181). In the same way Jews should show no partisanship between two cities which are hostile to one another. They should not pray in behalf of the one or the other; even though their brethren dwell in each of the cities. Rather should they pray for the peace of both cities. (p.385, no. 970, Cf. also note to this passage).

No deception towards the Gentile could be practised. One, for instance, should not disguise himself by wearing the garb of a priest so that the Gentiles would think he was one of their number, and thus could escape danger; nor should one learn the incantations of the non-Jews. The biblical verse from Ezekiel 20:25 applies to them:

אמר התכם עליכם נאמר (יחזקאל כ כה). חקים לא טובים ומשפטים לא יהיו בתם שודר
 ר' אליעזר אמר, ואמן עלי חריין ונצטער שעל כך נוצל. (p.85, no.259).

Furthermore when non-Jews are besieging a city, the Jews are to practise no deception, such as wearing the garments of priests, acting

like them, shave their heads, accompany them to their idolatrous places of worship, so that they may be numbered among them. To such Jews the words of Ps. 24:21 apply: "If we have forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange God" (p.85, no.260). There follows an exception in the case of a woman travelling along the highway and who may be in fear of an attack. She may don the robe of a ^{nun} priestess to save her virtue, even if those who would attack her are Jews. (p. 85, no. 261).

One of the chief reasons for these impartial rules of conduct, was the danger to the whole Jewish community if one Jew committed an unrighteous act. The evil not only returned upon the head of the individual Jew who was guilty; but privileges which all the Jews enjoyed so far, would be in danger of forfeiture. Thus robbery of a Gentile might result in many more evils than robbery of a Jew, (p.26, no.23). The case of Achan is noted where evil befell the whole household of Israel, due to the transgression of this one man, (Cf. also p.170, no.632).

Responsibility for unworthy conduct however includes the non-Jew as well. Although a good non-Jew or convert is to receive recognition, an evil one should not; nor should a wicked "Ger" receive recognition because his parents were righteous, as we read:-

וְגֵר שֶׁתַּפְּלִל עָלָיו אֲבִיו וְעַל אִמּוֹ לֹא יוֹעִיל לְהַקֵּל מִדִּינֹם וְאִם אֲבִיו וְאִמּוֹ שֶׁל חֲזָרִים
 חֲמִיאוּ אֶת הָרַבִּים אֲפִילוּ לְבֵן אִין לִבְקֶשׁ לְחַמֵּיב לְנִשְׁמַתָּהוּ ^{note)} (p.385, no.1571 also note)

Similarly a wicked servant in the house of a Jew or Gentile concerning

whom a father has admonished his son to have a care in that the servant may prove an obstacle to the son if permitted to go out. Such a wish of a father is to be obeyed. (p. 382 no. 1559).

Just as one should prevent a Jew from committing transgression, so one should do to the Gentile, if it is in their power. Note how God sent Jona to Nineveh to save the city from destruction (p. 482 no. 1965).

Finally we have to consider the illustrations of the ordinary rules of conduct which are to be observed both in regard to Jew and non-Jew. Here the general principle "mipene darke sholom" is to be applied. Whether a Jew or Gentile be burdened while traveling along the way, give the one who is burdened the "right of way". It is always best to be inconvenienced on account of your neighbor, than that he should be inconvenienced on account of you. (p. 248, no. 1003, also note). One may accompany a woman along the way to protect her from either Jewish or non-Jewish libertines. (p. 299 no. 1191). One should not do anything false even to a Gentile. (p. 305, no. 1232). The case of Rabba is noted who prayed for rain for the sake of a non-Jew. (p. 136, no. 478, also note).

CHAPTER SIX.

Detailed Instances of the Relations Between Jew and non-Jew:

A. Concerning Idolatry.

For the maintainance of righteous conduct, for moral uplift in every respect, we may naturally expect rigid admonition to keep away from idolatry; following biblical and post-biblical commands which grew out of the evil influence of idolatrous people and their ceremonies. Moreover a rabbinical synod at the time of the second crusade ordained. that no Jew should sell crucifixes, church utensils, vestments, church ornaments, and prayerbooks, because this traffice may lead to danger for the Jewish community. (Graetzp.214).

Three things are not to be regarded: the countenance of a woman, a wicked person, and idolatry; the latter being based on the verses Lev.19:4 and Ezek.8:5:"do not turn unto the idols", and "Then he sadd unto me, son of man, lift up thy eyes now to the North. So I lifted my eyes to the North, and behold northward at the gate of the altar this image of jealousy at the entry".(p.46,no.55).

One who practices idolatry acquires an evil name for himself. Angelic names used by the Gentiles are also to be avoided:

שלע"ז יש לבנות לה שם לונאי כגון אם היה שמו אברהם יקרא אברהם וכן ביוצא
בזה"ש. לא נתגלו בתורה שמות מלאכים פן יעשו אלהות שחרי יום אחד בשנה
עושין יום איר לשם מיכאל ומתפאין עליו דברי שקר ולעתיד לבא הוא יקטרג
עליהם ובתיב(דניאל יב א) בעת ההיא יעמר מיכאל השר. (p.74,no.193.Cf.note).

A Jew should not use the non-Jewish holidays as a means for reckoning; nor swear by their gods; nor even speak jestingly of

idolatry to a "Ger"; nor swear falsely to a Gentile; nor commit any unclean action vs. idolatry; nor answer "amen" when a Gentile says: "our God will help thee", but to say "amen" on the other hand when the Gentile says: "thy God will help thee". (p.331, no.1348, also note).

Windows should not face a place where there is ~~idol~~. This applies both in the home and the synagogue. The same care should be used when one is passing through a gate where there is ~~idol~~ and it is necessary to stoop in order to get through the gate. In this case one should turn ^{his} ~~their~~ face in another direction, so that it does not seem as if he is bowing to ~~idol~~. (p.333, nos.1353, 1354 and note to 1354.). There is an account of a certain pious man who died, and for whom God performed a miracle. He caused the wall to fall in, so as to allow the funeral procession to pass through, and to avoid the necessity of passing by the gate of the city where there was an evidence of idolatry. (p.333, no.1356). A Jew should not look at any idolatry from the synagogue. The window should be covered up (p.333, no. 1364). A certain man would not go to meet the king because he knew images and incense were part of the royal procession (p.333 no.1361). Another Jew would not follow a priest into an "abominable" place, even though the priest owed him some money (p.334, no. 1362).

We find the explicit statement that in the synagogue there shall be no image or likeness of any living being; especially before the ark, lest it appear as if they are bowing down to this image.

Then the Gentiles can say: "they believe in images". The cherubim and lions form an exception to the images (p.396, no.1625). "There grew up a strong feeling against ornamenting the synagogue with representations of animals other than lions", says Israel Abrahams (p.29).

There are a few more regulations which will help to make clear the general attitude towards idolatry. There is the incident of a certain Jew who went into a court yard where there was idolatry, and he heard a voice which said: "Thou hast cast me behind thy back". He fasted the rest of his days. (p.333, no.1357). Another man entered a house where there was idolatry, repented, and asked a wise man what he should do. The latter replied to the repentant one that he should fast on that day each year. (p.333, no.1358). Water which is used for idolatrous purposes should not be used for the ritual bath or other sacred purposes. (p.334, no.1369).

Even the intention in the heart to practice idolatry is equivalent to actually performing idolatrous rites. Thus do we find Zimri held accountable for his wickedness, 1 Kings 16:18-19, (p.75, no.199). Not only evil intention on the part of the person who was inclined toward idolatry was to be condemned; but even if a person dreamed of a certain Jew joining idolatry, he should not relate his dream. There is the case of a Gentile relating a dream that a certain Jew would practice idolatry. The priest who has related this dream has really committed a sin in that dreams follow the utterances of

the mouth. He who tells a Jew that he will sin, has virtually caused him to sin, Cf. Is. 29:21. Even though the one who discloses the dream is a wise man, and he knows that if he would not relate the vision, the one inclined to sin would sin anyway; nevertheless he should not impart his vision, (p.111 ed. Bol., no. 440).

Others must be kept away from idolatry also, e.g. the conduct of Jonadab ben Rachav, (II Kings 10:23, who entered the heathen house of worship in order that he might be sure there should not be found there any worshipper of God, (p.258, no. 1032).

Jews were not permitted to buy building material left over from idolatrous structures for their own dwellings, and especially not for a synagogue; nor could they sell any building material left over from a synagogue for profane purposes. An interesting case is noted where Jews leave a city for residence elsewhere. What shall be done with the synagogue? One said sell it to the Gentiles; another said destroy it; an old man admonished that they shut up the doors, place a watchman over the building, who shall not permit anyone to enter unless it be a Jew who wants to pray in it, or perhaps to sojourn there (p.397, no. 1630).

At the same time non-Jewish institutions or ceremonies which were originally Jewish are to be respected. If you see a righteous man's house or a synagogue occupied by non-Jews or wicked people, know that Israelites were there formerly, and conducted themselves

in a decorous way. An interesting remark on the matter of "covered head", as well as the good example Israel was always to set follows:-

ובן בית המדרש שנוהגין בו קלות ראש סופו נופל בידי ערלים דיו לעבד שיהיה
 כרבו כי לא נהגו גוים קלות ראש ובזיון בבית ה' עד שנהגו ישראל תחילה קלות
 שנאמר (תהלים פ יג) וארות כל עברי דרך. (p.78, no.224).

Garments of the Gentiles are also not to be used; nor shall there be an exchange of garments for offering unto idolatry (p.426, no.1792 and p.334, no.1363).

The attitude towards non-Jewish hymns is shown in the statement that Israel began composing their own songs; because when they were in exile, there were some scoffers who noted that the songs of the gentile were also יפיים במקשקל (p.133, no.469, also note bott.p.133).

There is also the admonition not to use a piyut of the priests to render praise unto God; nor to tell them the יידיש of piyutim used to render praise to the God of Israel, (p.331, no.1348).

God's name must not be profaned. Thus if there is a man or woman who practise idolatry openly; or even if it is known to the Gentiles, and the congregation accordingly fears if they should expell the transgressor, he may become converted; nevertheless it is better that they expell him, so that God's name be not profaned, (p.72, no.186).

CHAPTER SIX.

Detailed Instances of the Relations Between Jew and non-Jew:

II Concerning Conversion.

The fact that there are so many regulations concerning conversion in the *Sefer Hassidim* shows the problem of the *משיב* was a serious one, and demanded the attention of the author. Historical conditions of the time bear out this conclusion. With the crusades started the persecution of the Jews. In their fanatical desire to spread the doctrines of Christianity, they thought it was part of their solemn duty to maltreat and abuse the Jewish populace. Especially along the Danube and Rhein, in such cities as Triers, Speyer, Worms, Cöln, Prague and Regensburg. Thus Judah Hassid must have witnessed himself the dire results of the crusaders fanatical belief that the Jews must be persecuted because they do not accept the Christian faith.

For the spread of Christian doctrine, it was thought proper to let Jews become converts at any time, (Stobbe p. 164). At the same time the desired end was encouraged by constant hindrance to the spread and furtherance of Judaism. Thus church and state, while promoting conversion, simultaneously did all they could to hinder the progress of Judaism. "Mit Feuer und Schwert suchte man das Judentum auszurotten durch Drohungen und Gewalt den Uebertritt zum Christentum zu erzwingen." Again Stobbe (p. 165) says: "Da fehlte es an einem kirchlichen Gebot, welches die Folgen des Zwanges für nichtig erklärt."

hatte; im Gegenteil schrieb die Kirche der Taufe ewige, unverilgbare Wirkung zu and gestattete nicht den zur Taufe gezwungen, wieder zum Glauben ihrer Vater zurückzukehren. Die kirche sagt: es soll niemand zur Taufe gezwungen werden; wer aber trotzdem in Folge von Zwangsmassregeln das Bekenntniss abgelegt hat, darf nicht mehr den christlichen Glauben verlassen." (Stobbe p.165).

Henry the Fourth, in his "Privilegium" of 1090, forbade forced conversion of children without the consent of their parents; and even when Jews of their own accord wanted to be converted, there should be three days allowed them for serious reflection as to the motive which was impelling them to become baptized. It was on his return from Italy that he recalled the right to forcibly baptize the Jews, and gave permission for those who were forcibly baptized, to return to Judaism. This encouraged the clergy in later years to pursue their desired end more vigorously.

As for those who did become converted, it must be remembered that they were hated by their relatives and former coreligionists, and but seldom gained the confidence and respect of the Christians.

In addition to the many examples of martyrdom rather than submission to baptism or conversion, which we shall find in the Sefer Hassidim, we note in Smak (S.158), the admonition that a father should slay his own children in order to prevent them from becoming forcibly baptized. A father, to quote another example, begged the rabbis for

permission to put his daughter to death, in that she was engaged in a love intrigue with a Christian man, (these instances taken from Guedemann pp. 150, 151).

The attitude of the Sefer Hassidim towards conversion is one of absolute disregard in most cases for the one who is converted. Great care must be exercised in order to prevent, and discourage one of Jewry from submitting to conversion; and finally choice of death rather than the sacrifice of one's faith, when the acceptance of Christianity would be the only means for prolongation of life. Numerous examples of martyrs are quoted as exemplary of this choice of death rather than conversion.

We shall find some exceptional cases where the worthy צדיק is to be helped, left in the community when he returns to it, and respect for his posterity shown. This agrees with our general conclusion that Judah Hassid's conception of Judaism was one of recognition for the righteous of all peoples, without regard for their religious belief. Only when they were an evil influence, and retarded the practical application of the ethical principles of Judaism into one's daily life, were they not to be tolerated. A worthy convert is to be helped. Indeed it is an honor to do so, says our author. (p. 73 no. 190).

First of all we note the regulations which show the general estimation of conversion and the convert. He is associated with the

אדם שמתמיה את הרב'ס and מין (p.198, no.790). In another context he is associated with those of a city who use curses, and a city where the Gentile nurses and servants eat unclean food, (p.348, no.1439). One should not accept a good opinion from him (p.198, no.790). They shall not sell a Sefer Torah to a convert, lest he claim ownership of the same later on; also his family might be embarrassed when they listen to the reading from that scroll, for people will say: "This is the Torah of that convert". Association of the משומר with the congregation, in case the former contributes money, is dependant on the majority in number and amount of contributions being in favor of the Jews. If the Jews hold this majority, the convert may be associated with them:-- ואם רוב ישראל נתנו המעות ומיעוטן המשומר ישתתפו אותו עמם, ואם לאחר זמן יכולים המשומרים או יורשיהם שבנויים לומר תכתבו חלקינו ותנו לנו אל ישתתפו אותו עמם, אבל אם היהודים רבים מן המשומרים ויכלים לסלקם במעות אם ישאלו חלקם אז יקבלו מתם (p.73, no.190)

In case of two men who need alms, a wicked and a righteous one, a person should help the righteous one, even if the wicked person says he will become converted or do some other iniquitous deed. Only in case this deed is murder should one restrain himself from helping the righteous one. The fact conversion is associated with other sinful actions will help to determine the general attitude to the משומר (p.215, no.857, also note bott.p.215).

One is not to learn from a Jewish teacher who becomes a

convert, (p.198,no.791). This admonition is repeated again under the subject of "Talmud Torah": one is not to quote a good opinion of Torah in the name of a ~~גוי~~, and if he does, he shall not show him the honor of saying, "may his memory be a blessing". A convert shall not have the right to help build a synagogue or write a ~~Sefer~~ Sefer Torah. To such the biblical verse of Ezekiel 7:11 applies: "Violence is risen up into a rod of wickedness." The righteous are always hurt when they are instrumental in giving pleasure to the wicked, or receive the same from them, (p.357,no.1476). Even if a ~~גוי~~ rescues books of his own accord from a fire on the sabbath, and thus saves the books from destruction, he is to receive no honor at his grave, (p.164,no.604). One should not dwell in a city where there are many converts on account of the curses they use. (p.348,no.1439).

Further exemplary of the ill esteem of a convert is the regulation that a son whose father was a convert, is not called up to read out of the Torah by the father's name; but they use the name which is associated with his Jewish pedigree, even if it is necessary to go back several generations to secure this Jewish name, (p. 385,no.1572).

Just as one should not suggest the practice of idolatry; so not even the suggestion of conversion should be made, lest the mere suggestion lead to the realization of what the person has

intimated. A man should not say to his companion or to his children: "Go and become converted", for they might actually do so, (p.347, no.1435, and note bott. p. 347). On account of the evil example of a certain father, who carried a cross and escaped death with other citizens, in order to avoid being slain, his children became converts. Thus a person should pray that there be no temptation to sin, for which he himself may be held responsible. (p.465, no.1922).

One who advised the Jews of his city to become converted, and afterwards returned to Judaism; nevertheless caused his children's children to become converts. Thus were they punished on his account, and it was just as if he was responsible for the sin of all of them. (p.74, no.198, and note bott. p.74). Rather than tell a certain city of the evil example of another place where they were becoming converted, a ruler said instead, that they were being slain as martyrs. If he told them the truth, they might have done like their brethren, and not become martyrs so as to secure their just portion in "olom habo", (p.428 no.1798).

If one has already subjected himself to conversion, he should not be influenced to return, lest he cause evil and danger for the community. Three opinions of wise men are quoted concerning a Jew who asked permission to return to Judaism. This particular person was willing moreover to take money from the Gentiles and then flee in order to profess Judaism again. One wise man admonished:

since he wants to repent, he should not take the money and thus commit theft. Another advised it would be better for him to take the money and flee, than to continue to eat unclean food and profane the sabbath. If he is caught and put to death, his death is but an atonement for his sins. A third admonished however, that no advice be given to the man at all; for he will cause danger to the whole Jewish community by telling the Gentiles that he received counsel from the Jews. (p.75,no.200). A similar case follows: In case there is a ~~7D1WD~~ who wants to return to Judaism; but there would be danger to the city if he would flee, and the responsibility for the deed might rest on the Jewish community; the convert has the right to deceive the Gentiles, so that they will think he is going to some place of merriment. He can take with him garments accordingly, until he is out of sight of the Gentiles; then he removes the clothes he has put on. By so doing he has not caused any danger to the Jewish community. (p.75,no.201).

In a definite way we find a wise man advising the parents of a converted son not to influence him to return, or to subscribe money for his return, lest he influence his brothers and sisters to act as the Gentiles do. He may cause others to sin, and thus bring danger upon the whole community, (p.72,no183).

In a case of a son's warning to his parents, that he will either marry a certain woman or become converted; a wise man advises it

is better to let him become converted than that he should disgrace a Jewish woman. In the end he would probably become converted anyhow, or on account of his evil nature, he would commit iniquitous deeds as the *משומר* do, (p.455, no.1876). This decision of the wise man shows very definitely the ill esteem of the convert, both from the son's warning, and the man's association of wicked deeds with the *משומר*.

The return of the convert was not altogether impossible; but from the above regulations it may be seen that readmittance to ^{Judaism} would be a matter for very serious consideration. From the following case, we see what is to be done in order to accomplish a return to Judaism. If one has caused others to become converted, they do not accept him back again into the Jewish fold, until he has induced to return, those whom he caused to sin. This he must first do before they can show him how to repent for his own sins. In the words of Ezekiel 18:30ff: "Repent and return from all your transgressions, so that it be not unto you a stumbling block of iniquity." So shall they speak to the *משומר* who has enticed others, (p.76, no.208).

Another example of the condition for a return to Judaism follows: They may drink wine with him and pray with him; but not unless he is willing to act as the rest of the Jews do. (p.76, no.209).

The saddest fact associated with the whole subject of conversion is that the admonition is repeatedly given to choose death rather than conversion. There is a list of martyrs mentioned in the

Sefer Hassidim, as well as in the historical records of the time of those who actually did chose death. The remark in Talmud Sanhedrin 74a was carried out in practice: "Israel was commanded concerning קידוש השם; but the Gentiles were not commanded concerning ח"פ." Among the martyrs are mentioned R. Israel and R. Shavti; the latter said of the former, who conceived in a dream, that he would die a martyr: "All those that resolve in their heart to be slain have a portion in Gan Eden". (p.86, no.264). Martyrs were always regarded with honor, and special prayers were offered for their souls. There grew up in the middle ages a list of such martyrs, which became known as the "Martyrologium", with its purpose to honor due to those who died ח"פ: (Berliner p.109).

Some became converted with the intention of returning to Judaism when they were able; but at the sight of the sword, they lost their courage. Some women whose husbands were killed, and some single women, became priestesses; concerning these our author says: "it is better for them to engage in priestly service than to become outraged by the uncircumcised ones", (p.85, no.262). Two students came to a city where the Gentiles were killing the Jews because they would not become converted. The two students hid themselves, and one resolved to sacrifice his life על קידוש השם. (p.83, no.251).

The following case will stand out as typical of the method of conversion and the spoliation which the authorities enjoyed in

in their frequent plunder of their household effects and property:

מעשה היה בהגמון אחר שגזר בעיר מגנצ"א שיהרגו היהודים או לתפוש דתם, ושלח
אחר התועים ואמר תיזהרו בגופיכם שלא תגעו לממון יהודים אלא לגופם, מי שלא
ישתמר יהרג וזנה תוגה, ליהודים מיד בששמעו הקהל סגרו הבתים וחשליכו מן הבתים
לרחוב כל כספם וזחבם.... הנה הרבה מהם ברכו.. ונמלטו, שמע ההגמון הרב ושלח
אחר התועים וצוה להם אל תגעו ביהודים, חזרו התועים לפניו ואמרו לו מעיקרא
מאי ניתא לך, ולבסוף מאי קשיא לך, אמר להם מעיקרא כל זמן שהממון תחת ידם היה
להם טורח להפסיד ממון גדול וחגוף והיו נאנסין, ועתה הממון בלה ובברקצים
בתייתם ויהרגו טרם יעברו חוקם, ועוד אם לא הייתם שוללים כי אם מיד הורגים
הייתם מוצאים כולם זקן בחור ובתולה.. עתה עד שהייתם טרודים לשלול הבחורים
והפריצים ובתולות ובחורות ברחו להם ולא נשארו כי אם חזקנות וחזקנים והטובים
אותם בברור יתרגו, (p449, no. 1862)

Not even one soul is to be turned over as a sacrifice for
all, in case the Gentiles should demand the one person to insure the
safety of the remainder. Such a warning was given to a company of
wayfarers. (p. 83, no. 254, from Tal. Yer. Cf. note.). If they ask that one
woman be handed over as a sacrifice for the rest, the same rule ap-
plies: "they shall not hand over one soul of Israel". (p. 83, no. 253,
from Tal. Cf. note bott. p. 83).

CHAPTER SIX.

Detailed Instances of the Relations Between Jew and non-Jew:

III Concerning Business, Especially Moneylending.

The Jew was forced into the moneylending business. This fact may be stated at the outset. That he showed some ability in this trade and was a valuable asset to those in whose midst he lived, was not due to his own choice; but it was due to compulsion. We may now consider this subject in detail.

In the first place the clergy was not slow to see in the Jews a class of people who could supply them with money and not be under the ban of excommunication by the canonical law, (J.E. vol 5, p. 623). The archbishop of Mainz announced: "quia Christianis usuras percipere interdictum esset", (Neu. p. 306). Though it was considered a sin for the Christian, it could not be accounted as sinful on the part of the non-Jew. Thus canonical and state regulations agreed: "Ut malus malum evitaretur numero longe superantum i.e. Christianorum usuraria pravitas impediretur."

According to biblical law this trade would be forbidden, (Stobbe p. 105); but the fact that they were deprived of the right of owning property, becoming millers and innkeepers, had to change their place of residence from time to time, (Berliner p. 76) gives evidence of the numerous restrictions which forced them into the one channel of trade which was open to them. As Stobbe notes: (quoted Ber. p. 79)

"lag es denn wirklich im freien Belieben der Juden, sich an dem regen gewerblichen Treiben der Städte zu beteiligen? Die ganze Ausbildung des gewerblichen Lebens und des Innungswesens schloss den Juden von jeder Teilnahme am Handwerk aus, und es blieb ihm keine andere Wahl, als von Schacher und Wucher zu leben; denn der mittelalterliche Stadt liess ihm keine anderen Erwerbungsquellen."

Another important reason for the compulsory acceptance of the business of usury and moneylending came through the withdrawal of trade when Christians themselves assumed this oriental traffic. Christian merchants were now able to get wares which formerly came through the intermediacy of Jews. They formed guilds which purposefully worked to shut out the Jews from this oriental trade. We know that Judah Hassid's own home city Regensburg was an important trade center. Regensburg was the metropolis for the Danube trade, and wholesale merchants shipped goods from here to the West and the North. (Ber. p. 77).

Again the Jewish populace had to have a means of meeting the excessive tax levies which were constantly thrust upon them. For their position as "Kammerknechte" they had to pay liberally. The Speyer community had to pay "three and one half Pfund" yearly, in addition to their regular assesment due the Kaiser, for each person's right of residence. Similar payments were made in Mainz, Nürnberg Breslau and elsewhere. (Neu. p. 295).

The Christian lords held the right to supervise the loan business which the Jews were engaged in, also to summon them before court. Often when the Jews did accumulate money or property, some ruler was able to take the whole amount away from them. It was a case of being pressed on all sides into unworthy business dealings. As one writer, (Meir of Rottenburg) says: "It is the usual custom of the Christian lord to demand many times as much from the Jew as he possesses, in order to terrify him and hurry him to release the debt. The biblical verse, Ps.144:8, applies well to the conduct of their Christian taskmasters: "Whose mouth speaketh falsely, and their right hand is deceptive". "The very horror of the persecutions of the time, stand out as testimony to the unnatural way in which usury and moneylending was carried on". (Neu. p.346).

A few of the details which stand out as examples of the manner in which the Jew had to conduct his business are as follows: he had to tell the day hour and place where he received the goods; that he lent money on the goods in open daylight; and that the goods do not represent stolen property. If the Jew falsifies, he has no further claim for reparation; but is denounced as a "dealer in stolen goods", and loses his Jewish rights and privileges, (Stobbe p.123).

There were also Christian usurers at the time of Judah Hasid in spite of canonical legislation against this practice. They utilized moreover, all the harsh methods they could safely employ.

Bernard of Clairvaux said about 1146: "Rejus judaizare dolemus Christianos foeneratores, si tamen Christianos, et non magis baptizatos Judaeos convenit appellare", (quoted in Güd. p.131).

We quote another example, which Guedemann says applies to Christian usurers, in that Jews are not specifically mentioned as was the custom when such Jewish application was meant: "Getoufter wouche-rere, du schalk begest vil groze sunde," (from Minnesinger Meister Rumelant, end of the 13C). "You greedy usurers, what answer will God give you on the final day when these poor children of God will complain of you?" (Bertholdt, one of the clergy of 13C.).

The guiding principle of conduct for the Jew, in regard to this whole subject of moneylending and usury, is repeated several times in the Sefer Hassidim viz: "One should not lend out the money of others for profit, in that they themselves could do the same thing." The same ethical regard for righteous conduct, which underlies all of the regulations and laws which Judah Hassid includes in his book are to be found in connection with business matters. That the religion of the Jew certainly demands honesty in business, our author makes perfectly clear. In order to live in accordance with the highest moral life, one cannot take advantage of his fellow man in any way. Historical conditions made obedience to this principle all the more necessary, and this is

perhaps how we can account for the frequent phrase: "it is worse to cheat a non-Jew than a Jew." Similarly says the Smak: "A Jew sins more against God by cheating and robbing a Christian than when he cheats and robs a Jew; though both acts are dishonest and criminal, in the case of the Christian, the Jew not only sins against the moral law, but profanes the sacred name of God," (Smak 85, 275, quoted from Israel Abrahams p. 106).

The sentiments of the Semak, although it is a contemporary work to the Sefer Hassidim, may well be considered in connection with similar statements from Judah Hassid's work. Thus another passage reads "I have preached to the exiles of Israel, that those who cheat the non-Jew, belong to those who profane the name of God. They cause the non-Jews to think Israel has no religion. Moreover (Zeph. 3:13) states, 'the remnant of Israel shall do no iniquity, nor speak lies, neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth.'" Another passage reads: "It is forbidden to deceive one in buying and selling goods, Jew or Gentile. Jews and Gentiles are alike in this matter," (Semak, no. 170).

We shall find these ideals set forth in detail in several of the laws and regulations of the Sefer Hassidim. The conduct of the business man is to be absolutely free from any form of dishonesty, deception, and even gainful desires. The warning not to lend out money

for profit occurs repeatedly:" Just as you are enabled to derive profit from other peoples money, so they can do themselves. This is equivalent to robbery; even though you tell him to wait, and he thinks it is your intention to pay him back. To one who is careful in these matters applies the words:" Let my portion be as thy portion"."Just as it is necessary to deal faithfully with Israel, so the same conduct must be shown to the Gantile." (p.308,no.1237).

The biblical verse (Zeph3:13) "The remnant of Israel shall not speak falsely, nor shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth", becomes the warning against any fraudulent method in business, such as falsifying concerning the price paid for goods; or manifestation of an intention to sell goods, when such is not the real intention." Let every man speak truthfully to his neighbor", (Zech.8:16). Dealings between the rich and the poor are also to be governed by no deception, (p.304,no.1225). The "Zaddikim" also show this liberal desire, (p.303,no.1217, also note bott. p.303). A man should not form a partnership with one who is suspected of dealing in מחל; or with a miserly person, or with an angry person, or with a man who deals dishonestly with money, or who sells alloy instead of the genuine metal, or who practises deception in weights, (p.319,no.1292).

Retaliation should not be used in business methods, so that one could say "Because he did this to me, I will do likewise to

him", (p.308, no.1244). Although the Talmudic dictum, (יבמות ס"ח ב')
 מותר לשנות בררבי שלום, is to be observed, one is not privileged to
 say when a Jew or Gentile comes to borrow money" לי"א, fearing that
 the money will not be paid back. The Talmudic principle cited above,
 applies only to matters that happened in the past, (p.346, no.1431).

The punishment for taking more than the fixed price is
 that the guilty party will lose his possessions in the end, (p.346,
 no.1426). Just weights and measures should be given, business should
 be transacted with a pleasant countenance for everyone. All should
 be dealt with faithfully, and one should not be too scrupulous with
 his neighbor. One should not trust a man so that it is necessary
 for him to take an oath; nor buy goods on credit, lest he have to
 take an oath. The above passages reflect many of the ethical rules
 for the management of one's business, as well as the general princi-
 ples governing the relations with the non-Jew, (above regulations from
 p.303, no.1216. Cf. also note, bott. p.303.).

Further expatiation on the prohibition to utilize funds
 placed in one's care for other purposes occurs in the following re-
 gulations: One should not practice usury and then give to those who
 learn Torah, (p.204, no.808; also note). ומליאל. likewise:
 אם היה חובו מרובה מתקדשו לא תקדיש בלום, לבן אדם שחייב לאחרים ממון ואין
 לו משלו, לא יקנה ספרים ולא יתן צדקה ולא ישביר סופרים ולא יתן נרות לבית

תבוסת ועל זה נאמר (ישעיה סא ח) שנה גזל בעולה: (p.305, no.1229).

The Sefer Hassidim is very explicit in its attitude to the non-Jew concerning business matters. Although the passages just mentioned apply to business dealings only in general, there are specific regulations which are concerned with the non-Jew in particular. The same faithful dealing should be extended to Jew and Gentile, (p.303, no.1216). An example is given of a certain man who attributed his prosperity to a Gentile ^{with} whom he came into contact in business dealings. After his prosperity ceased, a certain wise man called his attention to the fact that he may have misused the money of that Gentile, a fact which the complaining Jew admitted. After his death his angel told him of his wicked deed, and the reverse emphasizes the truth at the conclusion: "God exercises judgment over the oppressed of Jews and Gentiles"; therefore one should not rob either a Jew or Gentile, lest he profane the name of God, (p.62, no.133).

A compact between Jews and Gentiles must be righteously observed. If the Gentiles keep it with all their sincere intentions the Jews must do likewise. Without regard for Jew or Gentile, one shall approve of the standpoint taken by the person who is right in the matter of compact, or when quarrels arise between the parties:

בין שמתעבר על ריב לא לו אפילו ישראל לא יעזור לו לשקר,
ובן גוי וישראל שעשו תנאי יחד ולא דחקו חגוים את ישראל יאמר

ישראל אם לצורך יתגרו בנו, אז נהיה עמכם לעזרה ואם שלא לצורך מתגרים אל
יעזרום, וכן ישראל לישראל ראובן שרוצה להרוג את תגוי ואותו גוי אינו

רוצה להרוג את ראובן, יתחבר שמעון עם הגוי (p.445 no.1849).

One should always show the same conduct to a non-Jew as one of Israel, (p.308, no.1239). Indeed it is the duty of a Jew to tell a Gentile with whom he has association in business, as to what Jews in a certain place can be trusted, and with whom the Gentile may do business, (p.310, no.1257).

We know from the conditions of the time, that it would be dangerous for the Jewish moneylender or merchant to cheat a Gentile on account of the evil results that might follow. Primarily such action would be profanation of God's name on account of the unworthy motive with which the deed is to be associated; but with officials and rulers ever ready to punish and persecute the Jewish people, no chance could be taken to arouse anger or charges against any Jew. This truth is stated in (p.170, no.632). If a Gentile makes a mistake, he must be careful to remind him, lest he profane the name of God, (p.303, no.1216). For the same reason money should not be lent to Jew-baiting officials. This is equivalent to robbery of Israel; for the officials will say: "If they do not trust me, I will persecute the Jews," and he will also necessitate an oath in the matter. The taking of an oath was regarded as a very serious step, in that it involved God's name.

A certain Jew asks a wise man whether it would be better for him to go from town to town and solicit alms, or take money from the Gentiles and run away with it. The wise man told him to accept alms, so that the people do not call Jews robbers and cheats. In the end the non-Jews would sieze him on account of his debts, and the Jews would have to ransom him, (p.308, no.1248).

There was a special danger when money was lent on the sacred properties of the church; for if the Jew had no "Gewährsmann" for himself, and the goods were found in his possession, he was treated as a thief. Without any compensation, he must give up the articles, and suffer the punishment of a thief. Small wonder why some regulations forbade the Jew entirely from acquiring these properties, (Stobbe 124). If a man owes money to Jews and Gentiles, he should pay the Gentiles first. A case which is exemplary of this is: אחד שאל לחכם אני חייב ליתודים ולנוים אמר לו אם אתה תשלם ליתודים ות-
נוים יתפשוך ויענוך, מוטב שתשלם לנוים (p.345, no.1425)

A similar instance shows the danger of selling images and Jewels used for idolatry to the priests, when these were concealed in a certain place after the one, who had lent money on them had died. There came a man to a certain חכם who knew where the goods were located; but would not tell, for, said he: - אם אניר ליורשים הם יקחו וימכרו לכומרים ולגולחים נמצא חטא זה על ידי עדותי. (p.332, no.1359)